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# The Romantic Outlaw Narrative

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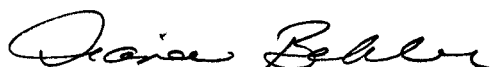
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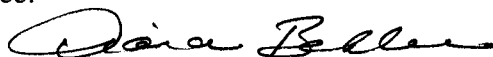
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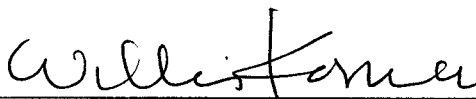
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**Abstract**

The Romantic Outlaw Narrative

Eric Schaad

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Focusing on five German works of the Romantic Period, this study offers a glimpse into the nature of Romantic outlaw narrative and its place in literary history. Friedrich Schiller's Die Räuber (1781), serving as a fountainhead of the Romantic treatment of the outlaw, is discussed in the context of Kantian ethics. Several other works by Schiller illustrate his interest in criminality, particularly his programmatic treatment of the outlaw in "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre" (1786) and his subtle and tangential treatment in Wilhelm Tell (1804). A. C. Vulpius's Rinaldo Rinaldini (1798), a best-selling novel and potent text for exploration of the outlaw theme, represents German Robber Romanticism (*Räuberromantik*). In Heinrich von Kleist's Michael Kohlhaas (1808), we see the deflation of the outlaw hero and the beginnings of a transition to other kinds of criminal narrative. The portrayal of the outlaw in Romanticism draws on earlier elements of criminal narrative, but the intensity, variety, and complexity of treatments represents a new phenomenon. The portrayal of inner humanity of the criminal, the tribute given to the melancholy outlaw, and the importance of nature in both the inner and outer existence of the outlaw make the Romantic outlaw narrative unique. My contribution to the existing critical literature is a concentrated effort tying the canonical German outlaw narratives with the less canonical and providing a framework for distinguishing Romantic outlaw narrative from other criminal narratives.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

### Preface to Sir Walter Scott's Rob Roy

The character of Rob Roy is, of course, a mixed one. . . Roy Rob was moderate in his revenge and humane in his successes. No charge of cruelty or bloodshed, unless in battle, is brought against his memory. In like manner the formidable outlaw was the friend of the poor, and, to the utmost of his ability, the support of the widow and the orphan, kept his word when pledged, and died lamented in his own wild country, where there were hearts grateful for his beneficence, though their minds were not sufficiently instructed to appreciate his errors. (Scott, Prefaces 116)

### 1. Popularity of the Outlaw Theme and Scope of this Study

Narratives about criminals and outlaws constitute an integral part of human expression and have existed since even before the beginning of literature, when stories were transmitted by way of oral tradition. Ziolkowski expresses the belief that “a morbid fascination with crime” seems to be one of the “basic human traits” (“Portrait” 289). Many of the world’s myths begin with stories of transgression and crime: Zeus killing his father, Cain murdering Abel, Prometheus stealing fire. Most great myths and literature feature crime, and the continued interest in Robin Hood, outlaws of the American West, and modern courtroom television drama attests to the current interest in law and crime. Certainly, “morbid fascination with crime” is one explanation for the universal popularity of outlaw stories. But it is less a fascination with crime and more a fascination with criminals that drives the production and consumption of the criminal narrative. As Milton’s portrayal of Satan in Paradise Lost illustrates, the villainous character captures our interest more than the moral character—Satan more than God or saint. In his Preface to Paradise Lost, C.S. Lewis emphasizes the universality of the “Satanic predicament” which enables us to empathize with the evil figure: “To project

ourselves into a wicked character, we have only to stop doing something that we are already tired of doing; to project ourselves into a good one we have to do what we cannot and become what we are not” (Lewis 98). Friedrich Schiller expresses this phenomenon thus in “Über das Pathetische”: “Ein Lasterhafter fängt an, uns zu interessieren, sobald er Glück und Leben wagen muß, um seinen schlimmen Willen durchzusetzen; ein Tugendhafter hingegen verliert in demselben Verhältnis unsere Aufmerksamkeit” (Erzählungen 536). Similarly, we are told in Vulpius’s Rinaldo Rinaldini of people’s interest in listening to stories about the evil Rinaldini (“dem bösen Rinaldini”) because “Er gefällt, er interessiert” (Vulpius 502).

People are fascinated by crime as an ever-present aberration of society and by the criminal who performs this crime in defiance of society. But crime is one of those phenomena we love to read about but do not love to experience ourselves. It is a fascination only as long as it remains distant and objectified in texts or art. Articulating this phenomenon, a painter in Rinaldo Rinaldini remarks that people do not like robbers in life but are fascinated by them in art and entertainment. As he paints a symbolic picture which includes Rinaldini the robber, he remarks: “so wenig man die Räuberhauptleute gern *in natura* sieht, so teufelsmäßig gern sieht man sie gezeichnet, gemalt und gestochen” (70-1). As Wayne Booth expresses it, “our desires concerning the fate of such imagined people differ markedly from our desires in real life” (Booth 130). As a result, the reading of criminal narratives represents a paradox. Our involvement with such figures is somewhat schizophrenic. We can both cheer and condemn the outlaw, as the narrator in Rinaldo Rinaldini relates about Rinaldini—“Man lobte, man schalt ihn” (501). The paradoxical involvement and sympathy is particularly true with outlaw narratives featuring a criminal of mixed character, often in the form of a “noble outlaw”—a concept to be discussed in more detail later. Besides engaging the reader’s interest with criminal exploits, such noble outlaws also win the reader’s emotional involvement and sympathy with charismatic or honorable traits. They often oppose the established order, which seems to elicit universal sympathy from all of us who have, at one time or another, experienced frustration, disillusionment, or

oppression by the government, bureaucracy, religion, or other socio-political power structures. Instinctive feelings of aggression find release in the written word and are rationalized and dismantled by reading criminal stories. Müller-Fraureuth in 1894 cites the “joy in seeing poor get rich or dukes and government officials overthrown and hanged” as one explanation of contemporary popularity of robber novels (95). Similarly, Gladfelder suggests that “the audience for criminal writing might share, at least in part, the outlaw’s alienation from the centers of economic and ideological power” (9). Narratives both then and now can elicit this joy or sympathy. In such narratives, the outlaw figure represents an avenue for venting frustrations or a way to vicariously experience a latent desire for rebellion. For crime novels generally, there can be the feeling of unpunished enjoyment of “sin”. This enjoyment presupposes and requires that justice is eventually served and that the reader himself is on the side of law and order and could never commit such horrible crimes (Luppa 17).

Tales about outlaws also make good stories. By definition, an outlaw elicits action, first instigated by himself through his crimes or alleged crimes and perhaps later by those who try to apprehend him.<sup>1</sup> Often this action dominates the plot and allows little else in the form of theme or character development. But action is popular; and action sells. The German adventure novelist Karl May cites the action in German robber novels as one of the reasons he enjoys reading them (Dainat, *Abaellino* 115).

In addition to entertainment and vicarious pleasure, outlaw narratives address issues central to what it means to be a society, namely legal and moral codes. Every society consists of some kind of implicit or explicit, proverbial or highly codified, set of norms for behavior within that society. The outlaw narrative, featuring those who test and violate these norms, explores this central aspect of our identities as members of a society. These works demand that we, the reader, reevaluate our relation to society (Hammer 19). As much as they are about society, such narratives are also about the individual. We find in the portrayal of the outlaw the roots of a (perhaps unconscious)

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<sup>1</sup> Narratives focusing on the criminal constitute outlaw narratives, and those focusing on the apprehension of the criminal represent the detective novel, which arose in the nineteenth century.

existence—our existential [my word] homelessness (Hirn 92). The outlaw, the criminal, the outcast all touch on many aspects of the human condition.<sup>2</sup>

This study will focus on the portrayal of the outlaw in German literature during the Romantic Period, comprising the last decades of the eighteenth century and first decades of the nineteenth century. More precisely, we will begin with Schiller's first drama, Die Räuber (1781)—the fountainhead, according to many, of the German Romantic treatment of the outlaw. We will continue with Schiller's portrayal of the outlaw in his prose work, "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre" (1786) and his last play, Wilhelm Tell (1804). We will then explore August Christian Vulpius's Rinaldo Rinaldini (1798) in the context of German Robber Romanticism (*Räuberromantik*). Rinaldo Rinaldini was a best-selling novel and a fine example of the genre, as well as a potent text for exploration of the outlaw theme. Lastly, we will discuss Heinrich von Kleist's Michael Kohlhaas (1808), another canonical work of German outlaw narrative of the Romantic Period. The detailed look at these five texts will offer a limited but indicative glimpse into the nature of Romantic outlaw narrative and its place in literary history. The German writers selected—Schiller, Vulpius, and Kleist—were selected as writers who were passionate, thoughtful, persistent, and relatively prolific in their literary treatment of law, crime, and criminals.

One could say the same about other European (and American) writers of the period, such as Sir Walter Scott, Lord Byron, Alexander Pushkin, Victor Hugo, and James Fenimore Cooper. All these writers wrote multiple works on the criminal or outlaw. Indeed, I wish I could treat all these writers and their works in as much detail as their German counterparts. Nevertheless, my approach will be consonant with Lüsebrink's declaration that Robber Romanticism is a European and not just a German

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<sup>2</sup> Schiller, writes in "Über das Pathetische," for instance, of character portrayal in relation to asserting one's free will within this society: "Woher sonst kann es kommen, daß wir den halbguten Charakter mit Widerwillen von uns stoßen und dem ganz schlimmen oft mit schauernder Bewunderung folgen? Daher unstreitig, weil wir bei jenem auch die Möglichkeit des absolut freien Wollens aufgeben, diesem hingegen es in jeder Äußerung anmerken, daß er durch einen einzigen Willensakt sich zur ganzen Würde der Menschheit aufrichten kann" (Schiller, Erzählungen 536).

phenomenon: “Die ‘Räuberromantik’, die traditionell als ein wesentlich nationalliterarisch-deutsches Phänomen gesehen wird, jedoch in Wirklichkeit eine europäische Dimension aufwies....” (Lüsebrink, “Französische Brigantenliteratur” 187). Although an in-depth study of these other authors would offer even more insight into the Romantic portrayal of outlaws, the German works present an ample view of the seminal issues. The conclusion will include a brief summary of some of the other Romantic writers.

In addition to their interest in the criminal narrative, Schiller, Kleist, and Vulpius are seminal figures for their influence on literary history. No discussion of robbers in German literature is complete without mention of Schiller’s Die Räuber and Kleist’s Michael Kohlhaas. Furthermore, Schiller is important for his influence on English and Russian writers.<sup>3</sup> Both Schiller and Kleist are considered canonical writers, but Vulpius and his works are usually considered below literary standards which simply appeal to popular culture—indeed Vulpius’s Rinaldo Rinaldini was a best seller in its day. Hammer insists on a distinction between popular culture and literary art, and says literary works may employ formulas of popular writing but do so for “considerably more complex (and critical) purposes” (14). I am focusing more on these formulas and less on the purposes. Rinaldo Rinaldini is certainly less complex and less literary than Schiller’s and Kleist’s works, but I am not making a literary value judgment and am adopting the stance suggested by Beaujean that there existed a fluid boundary between art and trivial literature during this period (9). Instead, like the German loan library (*Leihbibliothek*) of the nineteenth century which housed these books all together, this study treats them together because they all thematize and problematize the outlaw. Like Schiller and Kleist, a discussion of robbers in German literature would not be complete without Rinaldo Rinaldini.

Before turning to these works, I will describe the popularity of the outlaw theme in German literature during the Romantic Period. Not only was the popularity of criminal accounts and biographies on the rise, the end of the eighteenth century saw

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<sup>3</sup> See Kostka for Schiller’s influence on Russian literature.

canonical writers of literature engage themselves in the subject matter. The outlaw theme is ubiquitous in European literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which is one reason why the Romantic Period is such a fascinating and relevant period to investigate. The portrayal of the outlaw in Romanticism draws on earlier elements of criminal narrative, but the intensity, variety, and complexity of treatments represents a new phenomenon. Much has been written about English criminal narratives of the eighteenth century, about detective fiction since Poe, and of crime fiction of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There also exists a significant amount of critical literature on the Romantic outlaw, but these studies usually have breadth with little detail or detail on only one or two works. My contribution to this critical literature is a concentrated and detailed effort to tie the canonical German outlaw narratives with the less canonical, and furthermore, to provide a framework for discussing the Romantic outlaw narrative and for distinguishing Romantic outlaw narrative from other criminal narratives. The interest of German writers and readers in works portraying the criminal is clear from books treating the subject across all genres and written by writers of various backgrounds for readers of various social classes. Serious poets of the German *Romantik* and *Klassik* write about outlaws, as do popular robber novelists and hack writers.

In Germany, as in England and France, criminal biographies began springing up in the 1700s and remained popular through the nineteenth century. French outlaws included Louis Dominique Cartouche and Jules Mandrin. English criminals included Jonathan Wild<sup>4</sup>, Jack Sheppard, and Dick Turpin. Germany's famous outlaws were

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<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Wild was the subject of such prominent eighteenth-century writers of criminal narrative such as Daniel Defoe and Henry Fielding and remained a figure of fascination well into the nineteenth century. Wild turned in fellow thieves for reward money and thereby eliminated the competition and strengthened his sway over the surviving thieves. Wild cleared the metropolis of four large underworld gangs between 1721 to 1723, virtually preventing activity by highwayman until his execution. At his trial in 1725, he distributed a list of about 75 criminals he had discovered, apprehended, and convicted (Bender 172).

Klostermeyer<sup>5</sup>, Schinderhannes (alias Hiesel and Johann Bückler)<sup>6</sup>, Lips Tullian<sup>7</sup>, and Hundssattler.<sup>8</sup> The lives of such criminals served as fodder for many biographies as well as a springboard for the imagination of many writers throughout Europe to create fictional outlaws. The German Jeremias Lustig wrote about the French outlaw Cartouche in 1800 (Müller-Fraureuth 92), and many writers used Italian outlaws as their subject, such as Fra Diavolo and Angelo del Duca.<sup>9</sup> In 1787, the priest Christoph Friedrich Wittich published the biography of the criminal Hannikel, whom Müller-Fraureuth considers to be one of the first real-life robbers to be transformed into a hero and victimized genius (89).<sup>10</sup> Ludwig von Tieck's teacher Rambach published his collection Thaten und Feinheiten renommirter Kraft-und Kniffgenies (1790-91), which

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<sup>5</sup> According to Hobsbawn and his definition of the social bandit, Mathias Klostermayer represents the only clear case of social banditry in eighteenth-century Germany (169).

<sup>6</sup> Johann Bückler, alias of Schinderhannes, was born in 1783 (he was also known as "Johannes durch den Wald." Charged with 53 crimes, including murder, he was a robber captain in the Rheinland until hanged in 1803 in Mainz. Train wrote about him in Gaunerstreiche, Grausamkeiten und Mordthaten des furchtbaren Räuberhauptmanns Bückler und seiner Genossen (1831) (Müller-Fraureuth 91), and Carl Zuckmeyer wrote about him in Der Schinderhannes (Liese 151). A very good modern biography of the outlaw is found in Manfred Franke's Schinderhannes: Das kurze wilde Leben des Johannes Bückler, neu erzählt nach alten Protokollen, Briefen und Zeitungsberichten, (Düsseldorf: Claassen, 1984). He was also known as Hiesel. A short biographical essay on Schinderhannes is found in Siebenmorgen 81-96.

<sup>7</sup> Lips Tullian lived 1673-1715 and was also known as Phillip von Mengstein and Elias Erasmus Schönknecht (Plaul 211). Joseph Karl von Train wrote Die schwarze Garde oder Lips Tullian mit seinen Raub- und Blutgesellen (1834) and Ernst Frei wrote Lips Tullian und seine Raubgenossen: Eine romantische Schilderung der Thaten des furchtbaren Räuberhauptmanns und seiner Bande (1855).

<sup>8</sup> Hundssattler's real name was Moring. See the biography Hundssattler und Leineweber (1796) (Plaul 208).

<sup>9</sup> Angelo del Duca (1734-1784), or Angiolillo, was a Sicilian bandit who some cite as the "Vorbild des Rinaldo Rinaldini." Paul Angiolillo's book is the best source in English on this outlaw. Fra Diavolo's real name was Michele Pezza, who lived 1760-1806. Narratives about this outlaw include Leben und Heldenthaten des Antonio Gargiulo, genannt Fra Diavolo: Exkapuziner, Räuberhauptmann und General in Kalabrien (1803); Antonio, genannt Fra-Diavolo, des Excapuziners...Leben und Thaten (1803); and Fra Diavolo, Banditen-Hauptmann und Heerführer der Calabresen (1821). Daniel-François-Esprit Auber (1782-1871) wrote an opera about him in 1830 which remains in current repertoire: Fra Diavolo, ou L'hôtellerie de Terracine (Fra Diavolo, or The Inn of Terracina).

<sup>10</sup> Christoph Friedrich Wittich, Hannikel, oder die Räuber- und Mörderbande, welche in Sulz am Neckar in Verhaft genommen und am 17ten Juli 1787 daselbst justificirt worden. Ein wahrhafter Zigeuner-Roman ganz aus den Kriminal-Akten gezogen (Tübingen, 1787). Wittich continues his biography of Hannikel in Hannikel und seiner Consorten letzter Auftritt als Anhang seiner Lebensgeschichte (1787). A short biographical essay on Hannikel is found in Siebenmorgen 67-74.

contained the story of Klostermayer.<sup>11</sup> Schinderhannes, also known as Johann Bückler, was probably the most famous, giving rise to such titles as: Der berühmte Räuberhauptmann Schinderhannes, Bückler genannt (1802) by Theodor Ferdinand Kajetan Arnold—a biographical novel billed as a “wahrhaftes Gegenstück zum Rinaldo Rinaldini” (Müller-Fraureuth 91, Appell 66)—and Johannes Bückler, genannt Schinderhannes und seine Gesellen by Gustav Berthold (Plaul 210).

The list below, covering works published over a 60-year period (thirty years on each side of 1800) is meant as a sampling to give some insight into the kinds of criminal works that were being published in German alone and the extent to which this interest persisted during this period.<sup>12</sup>

- 1771 Freundshaftliche Briefe, worinnen das Leben und Thaten des berüchtigten Wilderers Matthias (Brentans) Klostermayrs, vulgo Bayrischer Hiesel genannt, beschrieben werden von zweyen Freunden
- 1772 Leben und Ende des berüchtigten Anführers einer Wildschützband, Mathias Klostermayrs, oder des sogenannten Bayrischen Hiesels. . .
- 1776 Urgericht und Peinliches Urtheil, über Anna Barbara Gackstätterin, [. . .] Welche wegen begangenen Kinder-Mords [. . .] mit dem Schwerdt zum Tod gebracht worden<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Friedrich Eberhard Rambach, ed., “Mathias Klostermayer oder der Bayerische Hiesel,” in Thaten und Feinheiten renommirter Kraft-und Kniffgenies, 2 vols. , (Berlin, 1790-91), 141-334. Ziolkowski calls this work a “pot-boiler” and describes the work thus: “through circumstances, situation, and convention a misshapen monster was formed out of such lovely material” (298). Dainat, however, notes that the work does not stray significantly from its original sources (Abaellino 159). In 1800, Heinrich August Kerndörffer published his novel Matthias Klostermay'r, der sogenannte Bayerische Hiesel (Heiderich 140-2). Other writers in the nineteenth century continued to write about this outlaw, such as August Leibrock in Matthias Klostermeier, der furchtbare Wildschützen-Hauptmann im Baiernland, ein Seitenstück zum Hundssattler (1831), Friedrich Wilhelm Bruckbräu in Der bayrische Hiesel, als Wildschütze, Räuberhauptmann und landesverrufer Erzbösewicht (1833), and Frank Lubojatzki in Der bayrische Hiesel als Wildschütz (1865/67) (Plaul 210).

<sup>12</sup> The full citations of most of these titles are found in Dainat’s bibliography (Abaellino 284-90).

<sup>13</sup> During the time of *Sturm und Drang*, women were driven to crime (such as *Kindsmord*) because of the fear of shame and harsh punishment for extra-marital sex (Luppa 4). In addition to accounts like these, the subject was treated by canonical writers such as Friedrich Schiller in “Die Kindsmörderin” (1782). Most of the crimes of women concern gaining material possessions (stealing, deceit) because of their dependance of men in society (Luppa 4). One sees this also in English novels such as Defoe’s Moll Flanders (1720).

- 1778 “Blutschänder, Mordbrenner und Mörder zugleich, den Gesetzen nach, und doch ein Jüngling von edler Seele” by A. G. Meißner<sup>14</sup>
- 1780 “Auszüge aus den Kriminal- Akten und Geschichten” by A. G. Meißner
- 1784 Rede von den Quellen der Verbrechen und der Möglichkeit selben vorzubeugen by Karl von Eckartshausen
- 1785 “Mörderin, Unkeusche, Mordbrennerin, und doch ein gutes, nur Mitleid wertes Mädchen”
- 1786 “Die Nachricht von dem Judenmörder in der Gesellschaft Sayn betreffend”
- 1787 Geschichte eines Räubers by J. F. Abel
- 1788 Verbrechen aus Infamie by G. I. Wenzel
- 1789 “Johann Herrmann Simmen, ein braver Soldat, ein zärtlicher Vater, liebevoller Gatte, ehrbarer, ordentlicher, stiller Bürger und—kaltblütiger Mörder seiner Anverwandten”
- 1792 Kriminalgeschichten: Aus gerichtlichen Akten gezogen by K. F. Mühler
- 1793 Luitprands des Räuberhauptmanns Beichte by Ludwig von Baczko
- 1794 Kriminalfälle für Rechtskundige und Psychologen by Carl Friedrich Bühler
- 1795 Straßenräuber Galant und Consorten by G. F. Palm
- 1796 Kriminal-Geschichten: 10 Theile in einem Band by A. G. Meißner
- 1797 Julius Lontar: Eine Räubergeschichte aus dem vorigen Jahrhundert by L. C. A. Berend
- 1799 Rinaldo Rinaldini der Räuberhauptmann by C. A. Vulpius
- 1800 Ferrandino: Fortsetzung der Geschichte des Räuber-Hauptmanns Rinaldini by C. A. Vulpius

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<sup>14</sup> This story is from his “Skizzen” of 1778 (Kaiser 47). August Gottlieb Meissner was a friend of Spieß and referred to by Müller-Fraureuth as the father of the German criminal history (55). Beaujean, like Dainat, cites Meißner as a groundbreaker in the portrayal of criminals and cites Schiller as one who follows in the same vein (81).

- 1801 Dolko, der Bandit: Zeitgenosse von Rinaldo Rinaldini by J. F. E. Albrecht
- 1802 Mazarino der grosse Bandit in Lothringen und Elsass by Gottlieb Bertrand
- 1803 Cäsar Caffarelli, Graf von Casara, der kühne Räuber-Herzog by C. L. H. Bardeleben
- 1804 Astelmo Musso der Räuberhauptmann<sup>15</sup>
- 1805 Der schwarze Jonas, Kapuziner, Räuber und Mordbrenner by T. F. C. Arnold
- 1806 Der furchtbare Abenteurer Nickel List, genannt: von der Mosel by Gottlieb Bertrand<sup>16</sup>
- 1807 Ruprecht und Rudolph, die edlen Räuber; mehr Wahrheit als Roman
- 1809 Romantische Biographie des Räuberhauptmanns und Lustgärtners Theodor Under, genannt der große Karl by H. L. Lehmann
- 1818 Kurze aktenmäßige Beschreibung des von der ledigen Gertrude Pfeifflin von Teinach den 24. Junius 1817, an der Wittwe Anna Maria Blocher von Nordstetten, geborner Joachim von Oehringen, begangenen Raub-Mord-Verbrechens
- 1820 Aranzo, der edle Räuberhauptman: Ein Schrecken in Spaniens Thälern und Gebürgen by August Leibrock
- 1822 Guavanni, Furchtbares Oberhaupt der Banditen zu Neapel by August Leibrock
- 1823 Ortellino der große Räuberhauptmann: Italiens Furcht und Schrecken by K. F. Richter

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<sup>15</sup> Müller-Fraureuth points out that the outlaw in this narrative, while he commits murders and many bloody acts, rescues a woman from rape by a priest and has a noble heart (85).

<sup>16</sup> According to Müller-Fraureuth, Nikol List lived at the end of the 1600s in a village called Beuthe (91). Plaul gives his dates as 1650-1699 and cites other works about this outlaw (211): August Leibrock's Leben, Unthaten und Ende des berühmten Räubers Nickel-List, genannt Herr der Mosel, und seiner Bande (1824) and Ernst Frei's Nickel List und seine Spießgesellen: Eine romantische Schilderung des Räuber- und Gaunerlebens in Deutschland in der letzten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (1854).

- 1824 Soretto, der kühne Räuberhauptmann by A. Aerindur
- 1827 Rebellino oder die furchtbaren Räuberbanden in den Apenninen und Calabriens Gebirgen: Eine romantische und abentheuerliche Geschichte by Sebastien Aniello
- 1828 Francesco, der kühne Räuberchef in Calabrien: oder die bewaffneten Rebellen by Sebastien Aniello
- 1829 Arzobiso oder die Räuberkluft im Cabrillasgebirge: Aus den Zeiten der Kreuzzüge by Giovanni Morani
- 1830 Agostino, der kühne Räuberhauptmann und seine Genossen: Romantische Gemälde aus Spaniens und Italiens neuester Zeit

Most of these works were popular in their day but are now forgotten—as are their authors. The ubiquitousness of the outlaw theme can be further illustrated by authors that have not been forgotten. Although not as persistently engaged in the subject as Schiller and Kleist, other German Romantic writers generally accepted as canonical—such as Goethe, Tieck, Chamisso, Grillparzer, Hoffmann, and Heine—also exhibit in their works an interest in the outlaw theme. They wrote about outlaws and they read about outlaws. One reviewer in 1897 goes as far as to suggest that most poets and canonical writers of the period, in addition to classical and other high literature, also read popular adventure and robber stories in their youth: “Die abenteuerromane” were “jugendlectüre der meisten romantiker und gleichaltrigen dichter” (qtd. in Dainat, Abaellino 25).<sup>17</sup>

Goethe apparently read Vulpius’s Rinaldo Rinaldini, as indicated in a 1799 letter to Vulpius: “Ihren Rinaldini habe ich mit Vergnügen gelesen, sollte sich einmal eine neue Ausgabe nöthig machen, so wäre es doch der Mühe werth, dass Sie ihn nochmals durcharbeiteten; ich würde dabey gern mit meinen Bemerkungen dienen” (qtd. in Dainat, Abaellino 122). But his reading of the novel was due probably more to

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<sup>17</sup> Albert Köster, Review of Karl Müller-Fraureuth, Die Ritter- und Räuberromane: Ein Beitrag zur Bildungsgeschichte des deutschen Volkes, in Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum 23 (1897): 294-301, p. 296.

his relationship to Vulpius—his brother-in-law—than to his interest in outlaw narrative. Vulpius’s novels are not among Goethe’s books (Simanowski 185), and Goethe declined a request by the publisher to write an introduction to the fourth edition of Rinaldo Rinaldini and to participate in a cooperative effort on the novel (Simanowski 197). Goethe’s scorn of the robber narrative can be seen in his annals, where he writes that Schiller’s Robbers was “hateful to me...because an energetic but immature talent had poured over the country in full torrent just those ethic and theatrical paradoxes from which I was endeavoring to clear myself” (Goethe, Autobiography 21). Goethe, of course, introduced his own outlaw-like figure some twenty-five years earlier. Götz von Berlichingen (1773), though not really an outlaw narrative, features in Götz a representative of freedom who is victimized and criminalized by a corrupt establishment: “This loyal subject of the Emperor is forced by the times into lawless actions, into an alliance with the rebellious peasantry” (Pascal 139). Based on a historical figure, Götz, in the play as in life, is in fact a robber baron, but “his goodness of heart is always evident” (Thorslev 72). In addition, in relating Goethe’s Faust to Kleist’s Michael Kohlhaas, Whittinger also suggests that Goethe is attempting in Faust to “rehabilitate...another ‘criminal’ of the Luther era (174).

Ludwig Tieck deals with subjects of morality and sin in several of his works, such as in William Lovell (1795-96) and “Der blonde Eckbert” (1797). In 1790-1791, under the direction of his teacher Friedrich Eberhard Rambach, he took part in the writing of a biography on the robber Klostermayer<sup>18</sup>, the outlaw who served as the model for Schiller’s “Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” (Dainat, Abaellino 159; Hirn 51). Tieck also followed the popular robber novels of the time enough that in 1797 he planned a satire, which never materialized, against the stupidity of these novels (in particular, Zschokke’s Kuno von Kyburg) (Müller-Fraureuth 101).

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<sup>18</sup> Friedrich Eberhard Rambach, ed., “Mathias Klostermayer oder der Bayerische Hiesel,” in Thaten und Feinheiten renommirter Kraft-und Kniffgenies, 2 vols., (Berlin, 1790-91). 141-334.

Adelbert von Chamisso's Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte (1814) features a fantastic and unconventional outlaw. Banished from society for not possessing a shadow, Peter Schlemihl is not only a literal outlaw from society but also an outcast from humanity. The narrative, though fantastic and drawing on many folkloristic and mythological motifs, possesses many basic characteristics of the typical outlaw narrative. The themes of alienation, wild space, transitory physical condition, and disguise are all prominent. Ironically, Peter is not made an outlaw for the cause of his lost shadow (i.e., greed, lust for gold, materialism) but only for the outer, superficial signs of his bargain—the lack of a shadow (Schulz 435). As an outlaw with “kein Ziel,” “keinen Wunsch,” and “keine Hoffnung,” he leaves the space of social interaction and enters a wild space of isolation. He states clearly the nature of his departure: “Ich...suchte ferner keines Menschen Gesellschaft” (9:59).

Franz Grillparzer's first published play, Die Ahnfrau (1817), is based on an anecdote about the French robber Jules Mandrin and draws on elements both of robber narratives and ghost stories. In his autobiography, Grillparzer explains that part of his motivation for writing this novel arose out of the popularity of robber and ghost narratives and a desire to transform this lowliest of narrative subject matter into respectable poetry: “Da immer von Räubern, Gespenstern und Knalleffekten die Rede war, beschloß ich, bei einem zweiten Drama...den möglichst einfachen Stoff zu wählen, um mir und der Welt zu zeigen, daß ich durch die bloße Macht der Poesie Wirkungen hervorbringen imstande sei” (qtd. in Dainat, Abaellino 116).

E.T.A. Hoffmann highlights crime in his “Das Fräulein von Scuderi” (1819), which focuses on the dual existence of Cardillac as a respected citizen by day and a criminal (murderer) by night. Although a criminal thriller—evoking the suspense of a detective story—more than an outlaw narrative, the novella exhibits an interest not only in the criminal figure but in larger socio-legal issues—in, for instance, “a society

corrupted by a judicial anarchy” (Garland 250).<sup>19</sup> Hoffmann also wrote “Die Räuber” (1820-21), which tells the story of Hartmann and Willibald, who find themselves in the middle of a real-life version of Schiller’s Die Räuber. Remaining distanced from the robber/outlaw theme and plot elements, the story is split between a distanced third-person and epistolary narrative which focuses more on the psychological aspects of Amalia than the exploits of Karl. Though not an outlaw narrative in the slightest, this story evokes Schiller’s seminal drama as a means to explore the psychological and the relationship between art and reality.

As a final example, Heinrich Heine mentions Rinaldini, Karl Moor, and other real-life outlaws in a jovial verse about robbing and thievery from his Buch der Lieder (1822):

Den Rinaldo Rinaldini,  
Schinderhanno, Orlandini,  
Und besonders Carlo Moor  
Nahm ich mir als Muster vor           (Heine 64)<sup>20</sup>

Enough said. These examples are meant to illustrate the pervasiveness of the topic. In the following sections, I will discuss some of the cultural background and literary precursors to the Romantic outlaw.

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<sup>19</sup> One reviewer of Karl Müller-Fraureuth’s study also associates this story of Hoffmann’s with German robber romanticism, though perhaps more strongly than warranted: “In das Gebiet dieser Räuber- und Verbrecherromane gehört doch wohl auch Hoffmanns Fräulein von Scudery?” (Carl Heine, Review of Karl Müller-Fraureuth, Die Ritter- und Räuberromane: Ein Beitrag zur Bildungsgeschichte des deutschen Volkes, in Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Literatur N.F. 10 (1896): 277-80, p. 280.

<sup>20</sup> The verse occurs as part “Traumbild” #8 of the “Junge Leiden” cycle, which was written between 1817 and 1821 and first appeared in 1822 and later in 1827 as part of Buch der Lieder.

## 2. Humanization of the Criminal: “A New Age for Penal Justice”

The decades before and during the Romantic Period produced a host of changes in all the legal systems of Europe, which altered the way criminals were viewed by society as well as the way they were punished. These changes occurred gradually and with varying velocities in different countries, beginning in the seventeenth century, accelerating in the eighteenth century, and peaking in the nineteenth century. Forming the philosophical foundation of most Western criminal justice systems today, this shift in legal thought represents what Michel Foucault calls in Discipline and Punish, “a new age for penal justice” (7). Within less than a century, Foucault observes, “the entire economy of punishment was redistributed” as public execution and torture was replaced by confinement in prison as the main institutional form of punishment (7). This era of history, Foucault continues, produced “a new theory of law and crime, a new moral or political justification of the right to punish” (7).<sup>21</sup>

The most important result of these changes for purposes of understanding outlaw narratives is the change in focus on the criminal. Executions still occurred as public events, but they were less often preceded by torture; and the body as the major target of penal repression gradually disappeared as the means of execution became increasingly mechanical and speedy (Foucault 8). Punishment began to be seen as equally or even more savage than the crime itself—as if the executioner had become the criminal and judges murderers in a last-minute role reversal “to make the tortured criminal an object of pity or admiration” (Foucault 9). Corporal punishment began to

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<sup>21</sup> Germany participated in the major changes in the application of punishment which Foucault mentions. Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, the German states began distancing themselves from the Carolina following the publication of Beccaria’s On Crimes and Punishments (Wegert 118). In Prussia, torture was abolished by stages in 1740, 1754, and 1756, and there were a series of new laws intended to humanize the treatment of criminals. The Prussian reforms were later incorporated in the Allgemeines Landrecht of 1794. Baden abolished torture partly in 1767, completely in 1831. Württemberg did so in 1806 (Wegert 118).

affect life rather than the body (12).<sup>22</sup> Foucault's view of the changes in punishment between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (shared by most historians) as the "decrease of physical violence by the state against bodies" represents only part of the institutional and cultural changes (Grossman 8). As Grossman points out, citing two subsequent studies as his sources, "the history of punishment in this period might also be better understood as a decline in punishment as spectacle" (8).<sup>23</sup> Not only was focus shifted from the external (body) of the criminal to internal (soul), focus shifted from the spectacle of the punishment to the criminal himself: "punishment ceased to be mounted with an eye to those who watched, and was served up (at least in intention) single-mindedly on the prisoner in order to reform and rehabilitate him" (Beattie 614). The move to a focus on the criminal, particularly the inner aspects of the criminal—his soul instead of his body, his intent instead of his deeds—was a revolutionary shift. It was the beginning of the movement which has continued up to the present day of judging not the deed of the criminal (the crime) but the intent or soul of the criminal (Foucault 19). Friedrich Schiller actually comments on this phenomenon in his "Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt betrachtet" (1785), saying that "Menschlichkeit" and "Duldung" are becoming part of the spirit of the age: "Menschlichkeit und Duldung fangen an, der herrschende Geist unsrer Zeit zu werden" ("Was kann" 828). He continues by stating that this is evident in the courts and government leaders in the form of softer punishments, better trials, and the abolition of executions and torture.

One reason for this change was the changing definition of "soul". By the late eighteenth century, the concept of the criminal "soul" no longer was centered on the religious, transcendental soul of earlier centuries but came to focus on the mind—the psyche. Reflective of the genesis of modern psychology, criminal literature focused on

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<sup>22</sup> Between 1760 and 1840, the nations of Europe vacillated in their attitudes toward the practice of torture and public execution, but the general trend eventually led to the end of public executions preceded by torture by 1848 (Foucault 14). Increasingly, criminals were sentenced to prisons or other kinds of confinement or exile.

<sup>23</sup> Grossman cites J.M Beattie's Crime and the Courts in England, 1660-1800 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986) and V.A.C. Gatrell's The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English People, 1770-1868 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994).

psychological processes as the criminal mind became more important than the criminal act for aesthetic contemplation (Ziolkowski, "Portrait" 300). During this period, figure analysis was by far the most popular kind of literary analysis, and motivating it was precisely this interest in individual psychology and a belief that art could teach us about this (Biener 211). In Karl Moor's and Wilhelm Tell's monologues, and especially in the portrayal of the inner life of Christian Wolf, Schiller embraces the *Zeitgeist* by focusing on the psychological. He and other writers do not yet mimic the psychological as Dostoevsky and twentieth century writers would do, but his manner of portrayal is grounded in an interest in illuminating the psychological. Due to this isolation of deed and psyche (motive, intent, soul), the criminal could be examined beyond the context of his—or her—crimes. This idea was the most important development in the late eighteenth century for the criminal narrative.

Citing a 1784 murder performed by an otherwise upstanding citizen, Holger Dainat outlines the new attitude developing in Germany toward crime and criminals. The story of Johann Kruse, who brutally murdered the daughter of a farmer, is recorded in "Ein besonderer Criminalfall," published in 1787. As Dainat points out, such a story was in 1787 no longer so extraordinary, but had come into fashion during the previous decade (Abaellino 173). Nevertheless, the unexpectedness of Kruse's murder prompted an investigation into his former life. According to the testimonies of others, the violence of the crime stood in contrast to his otherwise exemplary image as a citizen—as one who possessed "Treue und Arbeitsamkeit" and no "Neigung zur Dieberey" ("Ein besonderer Criminalfall" 340; qtd. in Dainat, Abaellino 173). Such cases, in turn, gave impetus for socio-psychological studies that isolated the crime from the criminal. One 1791 study argues that a single crime does not make one a villain: "Eine einzige That, und wenn sie auch noch so auffallend ist, macht noch lange nicht einen Bösewicht aus, und eine That ist nicht im Stande eine Reihe guter Handlungen zu verlöschen" (qtd. in Dainat, Abaellino 174).<sup>24</sup> Another study dispels the notion of

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<sup>24</sup> Karl von Eckartshausen, Ueber die Notwendigkeit physiologischer Kenntnisse bey der Beurtheilung der Verbrechen: Eine Rede, (Munich: 1791), 26.

being able to deduce the nature of the criminal by looking at the crime—“von der Abscheulichkeit einer That auf die Abscheulichkeit des Thäters—von der Grösse des Verbrechens auf die grössere Schuldhaftigkeit des Verbrechers” (qtd. in Dainat, Abaellino 174).<sup>25</sup> In summary, by the end of the eighteenth century, “Kein Kontinuum verbindet mehr den Täter mit seiner Tat” (Dainat, Abaellino 174).

This break in the continuum between crime and criminal, between deed and doer, lies at the heart of the oxymoronic concept of the noble outlaw and marks the difference between most criminal narratives of the Enlightenment and criminal narratives of Romanticism. This certainly seems to be the case in Germany, although in England, Defoe and Fielding had already begun to do this. The *Schafottliteratur* of the Enlightenment rests on the assumption of a one-to-one correspondence between law and moral, whereas criminal narratives of the Romantic Period endeavor to challenge precisely that assumption and highlight the discrepancy between law and ethics: “Wo die Schafottliteratur die *Identität von Recht und Moral* voraussetzt, tritt bei den Kriminalgeschichten die *Differenz* in den Vordergrund” (Dainat, Abaellino 174). Dainat cites August Gottlieb Meißner as the fountainhead of this shift, with the entire genre of this kind of criminal narrative (including “Ein besonderer Criminalfall) initiated by Meißner’s “Blutschänder, Mordbrenner und Mörder zugleich, den Gesetzen nach, und doch ein Jüngling von edler Seele” (Dainat, Abaellino 174-5). Published in 1778, Meißner’s work, beginning with the title, contains a program of reformulating the concept and portrayal of the criminal (Dainat, Abaellino 175).

The break in correspondence between the criminal’s deeds and his human soul gave birth to a new kind of continuum between the now-isolated human soul and the humanity of all of us, whether in real life or literature. The criminal came to be viewed not only as a criminal—as a violator of laws—but also as a human being. Even while public execution continued, the minister Johann Christoph Rasche calls on the spectators of a hanging in 1770 to remember the humanity of the criminal: “Und wenn er auch vorher der größte Missethäter gewesen ware: so ist die gewaltsame Beförderung

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<sup>25</sup> Carl Friedrich Bühler, Kriminalfälle für Rechtskundige und Psychologen, (Frankfurt: 1794), 17.

seines Endes und der Anblick seines Blutes eine durchdringende Stimme an jeden: *Er war dein Mitmensch!*” (qtd. in Dainat, Abaellino 149). Schiller, in “Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt betrachtet” (1784) expresses his vision for a realization of the common origins and nature of all human beings: “*eine* allwebende Sympathie verbrüderet, in *ein* Geschlecht wieder aufgelöst, ihrer selbst und der Welt vergessen und ihrem himmlischen Ursprung sich nähern” (“Was kann” 831). Similarly, in his novel, Vulpus has Rinaldo Rinaldini try to level the distinction between outlaw and non-outlaw by appealing to the universal human condition: “Sind wir nicht alle sündige Menschen? Gott mag richten” (389). This common link of humanity fosters the idea that the criminal is not substantially different from the ordinary, law-abiding citizen—that “Jeder kann zum Verbrecher werden” (Dainat, Abaellino 177). All men are equal and equally capable of crimes. Dainat discusses a continuum of crime which links the worst criminal with the most honorable citizen, for in the essence of our shared humanity, we all have the potential to commit crimes. The difference between the criminal and citizen is only in degree: “Das Kontinuum verbindet die Zuschauer und ihre Alltagsdelikte mit dem Mörder und Straßenräuber” (Dainat, Abaellino 150).

Since we are all human, crime begins to be seen not as a matter of being but of circumstance—I could become a criminal if I were in the same situation. The preface to Meine Reisen durch die Höhlen des Unglücks und Gemächer des Jammers (1796) highlights the growingly popular notion that chance and circumstance can make anyone an outlaw. The narrator remarks:

daß ein geringes, von mir und tausend andern schon oft verübtes Verbrechen, wenn sich Zufall und Umstände mit ihm vereinigen, den redlichsten Mann zum Räuber, das gefühlvollste Herz zum Mörder, den wärmsten Patrioten zum Verräter seines Vaterlandes machen können.  
(qtd. in Beaujean 82)

Similarly, C.F. Sintenis’s Hallos glücklicher Abend (1783) offers a defense of a father murderer and highwayman: “Diese beiden Verbrecher würden vielleicht das nie gethan haben, was sie nun wirklich verübten, wenn sie von Jugend auf mehr menschliche

Erziehung genossen hätten” (qtd. in Beaujean 68). The idea of the criminal as human being and his identification with us on a continuum of humanity opens the door to being able to treat the outlaw sympathetically.<sup>26</sup>

### 3. Robin Hood and the Rise of Criminal Narrative

Although we begin to see great changes in the eighteenth century regarding the attitude toward crime, punishment, and the criminal, the portrayal of a sympathetic outlaw figure was not a new phenomenon. In the Western world, concentration on the outlaw as a subject for prolonged literary treatment began in the Middle Ages, flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the picaresque novel, and has continued to constitute a major fictional sub-genre, with the rise of a reading public, in various forms until the present day. There were earlier criminal prototypes—Prometheus, Titan, or Ulysses in the classical world and Cain in the Judeo-Christian world—but not sustained outlaw narratives. The Icelandic literary tradition, which experienced its golden age during the 1300s, produced many novel-length sagas about various outlaws. The longest and most notable is Grettir’s Saga, which tells of a hot-headed strong man who is outlawed twice and forced to wander the seas and desolate terrain, finally taking refuge on a deserted island. Others include Njal’s Saga, Gisli’s Saga, and Egil’s Saga. Presumably Thorslev had such heroes in mind when he cited “Norse pirates” as prototypes of the noble outlaw (57). Shakespeare portrays two outlaws in The Two Gentlemen of Verona (1594), and Milton’s Satan in Paradise Lost (1667), whom Praz cites as an example of noble evil—“fallen beauty” and “splendour

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<sup>26</sup> David Hume makes a reference in the preface to the *Miscellanies*: “a Judge in Every Man’s Breast” from his A Treatise of Human Nature (1739-40): “Take any action allow’d to be vicious: Wilful murder, for instance. Examine it in all lights, and see if you can find that matter of fact, or real existence, which you call *vice*. In which-ever way you take it, you find only certain passions, motives, volitions, and thoughts. There is no other matter of fact in the case. The vice entirely escapes you as long as you consider the object. You never can find it, till you turn your reflection into your own breast, and find a sentiment of disapprobation, which arise in you, towards this action. Here is a matter of fact; but ‘tis the object of feeling, not of reason. It lies in yourself, not in the object. So that when you pronounce any action or character to be vicious, you mean nothing, but that from the constitution of your nature you have a feeling or sentiment of blame from the contemplation of it” (qtd. in Bender 154).

shadowed by sadness and death” (Praz 57)—approaches the outlaw type of later Romantic writers: “Towards the end of the eighteenth century Milton’s Satan transfused with his own sinister charm the traditional type of generous outlaw or sublime criminal. Schiller’s Rauber Karl Moor (1781) is an angel-outlaw in the manner of Milton’s” (Praz 57). The most famous and enduring figure is Robin Hood, who for most represents the prototypical outlaw who explicitly or implicitly forms part of the context of most Romantic outlaw narratives.<sup>27</sup> The following sections sketch literary genres and writers before Romanticism that are important to understanding the outlaw narrative. The goal is not to give a literary history but to highlight some similarities as well as contrasts so that the uniqueness of the Romantic outlaw narratives comes into focus.

### **Robin Hood and the Picaresque**

The value of Robin Hood for the Romantic outlaw narrative lies not in a single text or historical source but in the idea of Robin Hood, which has appeared in many manifestations over the centuries. There is no single authoritative literary source for the story of Robin Hood, nor can the existence of Robin Hood as a historical figure be proven, although some scholars point to historical prototypes for this enduring outlaw persona.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, depending on what century one looks at or whether one looks at a ballad, a film, a novel, or the May games, the characteristics of the outlaw figure Robin Hood can be wide-ranging and contradictory.

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<sup>27</sup> Thorslev 67 is one scholar who cites Robin Hood as the prototypical noble outlaw. Thorslev 92 also discusses Cain, Satan, and Prometheus, who all rebelled against God, as central Romantic types.

<sup>28</sup> Several historical medieval outlaws have much in common with the Robin Hood figure in their status as an exile in the woods, their use of disguise, and their playful trickery against enemies (Potter, “Introduction” 15). Referencing Maurice Keen’s *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend*, Potter offers the following examples: Hereward the Wake and William Wallace, both patriots resisting an oppressor (William the Conqueror and Henry I of England, respectively); Fulk, a Norman baron at odds with King John; Eustace the Monk, a renegade monk and pirate who fought for the kings of both France and England; and Gamelyn, who, after being mistreated and nearly killed by his older brother, joined a king of the outlaws in the woods before becoming the king himself. (Potter, “Introduction” 15).

The earliest records of Robin Hood, from about 1220 to 1600, consist of historical, topographical, quasi-biographical and literary references to Robin Hood (Knight, Complete 24-38).<sup>29</sup> Beginning around 1450 and continuing into the seventeenth century, Robin Hood ballads, which were read or sung, told the adventures of this outlaw with many traditional Robin Hood scenes, such as the town rescue, archery contest, robbery of monks, and combat with the king (Knight, Complete 75). These were told in the form of a single incident or as compilations which strung many incidents together in an attempt to portray a more complete image of the figure.<sup>30</sup> Beginning late in the fifteenth century and extending late into the eighteenth century, a variety of performances, plays, games, processions, and carnivals dominated the Robin Hood tradition. Some of the plays and games were informal events staged by itinerant performers in pageant mode carrying forest imagery and employing familiar motifs of arrow shooting, quarter-staff fighting, disguise, ambush, and the humbling of the proud and honoring of the simple (Knight, Complete 99). In the London theater, more structured plays featuring Robin Hood figures also found prominence during the 1590s (Complete 115), with seven major plays performed between 1588 and 1601. One of these plays was Shakespeare's As You Like It, which, however, leaves the Robin Hood figure unidentified as Robin Hood (Knight, Complete 133-4; Davenport 45).

By the time we get to the periods of Romanticism and pre-Romanticism, scholars exhibit a piqued interest in pulling together the various aspects of the Robin Hood tradition, and novelists begin to make him part of this rising genre. An example of such scholarly interest might be seen in Joseph Ritson's 1795 compilation, Robin

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<sup>29</sup> Examples of early references to Robin Hood include, for instance, a line in William Langland's Piers Plowman (ca. 1370) when an idle priest says he knows "rymes of Robyn Hood" (Langland 56; Passus 5, line 396). Such a reference, dating two generations after when some place a historical outlaw, marks an appropriate time for a legend to spread (Knight, Complete 24). Early chronicles of the 1400s also refer to "Litol Iohun and Robert Hude" or "Robert Hood" as figures whom the populace praised and celebrated (Knight, Complete 32-8).

<sup>30</sup> "The Gest of Robin Hood," written around 1500, is one such compilation and represents the fullest and perhaps most popular Robin Hood text up to that time. (The text is #117 in Francis James Child's English and Scottish Popular Ballads.) Another significant text is Martin Parker's "A True Tale of Robin Hood" (Child #154), which, published in 1632, is the first attempt at telling the full story of the life of Robin Hood (Knight, Complete 17).

Hood: A Collection of All the Ancient Poems, Songs, and Ballads Now Extant Relative to the Celebrated English Outlaw. According to Leonardy, this collection served as a source of Robin Hood material for later authors (i), and its combination of “gentrified life and bold deeds” “was a springboard for the dynamic performance of Robin Hood in the nineteenth century” (Knight, Mythic 96). Knight cites the years of 1818-19 as “the most important single period in Robin Hood’s whole mythic biography,” with the production of works by John Keats (with John Hamilton Reynolds and Leigh Hunt), Sir Walter Scott, and Thomas Love Peacock (Mythic 100). Their works about the noble bandit served as the foundation for the values of Robin Hood through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Knight, Mythic 100). Novelistic interest can be seen in the numerous novels (at least forty) which were published between the beginning of the nineteenth century and the 1930s that drew on the Robin Hood tradition. Most of these novels were not reprinted and portray a two-dimensional character with little novelistic complexity (Knight, Complete 178).<sup>31</sup> Even Sir Walter Scott’s treatment of Robin Hood in Ivanhoe (1819), which Potter calls the most significant treatment of the legend (Playing 160), places the outlaw hero on the fringes of the plot. Film, of course, has carried on the novelistic treatment of Robin Hood in feature films about the outlaw.<sup>32</sup> In his Preface to Rob Roy, Sir Walter Scott describes his noble outlaw as one who plays pranks in the beginning of the eighteenth century “as are usually ascribed to Robin Hood in the middle ages” (Scott, Prefaces 115). Also, in Scott’s novel The Pirate, Bunce describes Clement Cleveland “as gentle a thief as Robin Hood himself” (334; Ch.31). Robin Hood, though not a major protagonist in Romantic outlaw narrative, was a dominant topos.

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<sup>31</sup> Treatments of Robin Hood in the novel during the Romantic Period include the following: The Adventures of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon, commonly called Robin Hood, the famous English archer: being a complete history of all the merry adventures and valiant battles (Baltimore [Md.]: Printed and sold by William Warner, 1812); Mills, Alfred, Sherwood Forest, or, Robin Hood and Little John (London: Published by E. Wallis ..., [ca. 1825]).

<sup>32</sup> For more information on Robin Hood in film, see Morsberger, Katherine M. and Robert E. Morsberger, “Robin Hood on Film: Can We Ever Again ‘Make Them Like They Used To’?,” in Potter, Playing, 205-31. See also Knight’s chapter in his Robin Hood: A Mythic Biography (Ithaca: Cornell, 2003).

Another more generic figure worthy of note is the *pícaro*, who ranges in social deviancy from a mischievous trickster to a professional criminal. Descriptions of the picaro's character vary widely among scholars, largely because the definition of the picaresque novel itself has become so inclusive and variously interpreted.<sup>33</sup> Bjornson provides an illuminating summary of the contradictory descriptions and broad semantic value attached to the picaro:

Variously described as a social conformist in avid pursuit of material possessions and a rebel who rejects society and its rewards, an optimist and a pessimist; a good-for-nothing without scruples and a wanderer with potentialities for sainthood, he has been called immoral, amoral, and highly moral. (5)

Like the figure of Robin Hood, many contradictions exist in the figure of the picaro—an invariable result of trying to assign generalizations to a large body of individual works. But most scholars seem to agree that the picaro does not exhibit the worst in criminal tendencies. Like the noble outlaw, he is a character which elicits some sympathy and which stands in contrast to the villain. This distinction between picaro and villain was expressed succinctly by Chandler in 1907 and has served as a foundational view in picaresque scholarship since then. Chandler defines the villain as a “creature of malice,” or pathological conditions, whose evil proceeds to extremes. In contrast, the picaro (Chandler uses the term “rogue”) is less vicious, and his portrayal

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<sup>33</sup> One school of thought views the picaresque novel as an extrinsic genre, or historical phenomenon, which is limited to social factors and a specific historical period. This specific historical period began with the Spanish novels of the late 1500s and early 1600s and gradually declined with French, German, and English versions of the picaresque in the 1600s and 1700s. Blackburn espouses a more-or-less extrinsic view of the genre when he refers to the Spanish novels as the “classic” form of the picaresque (97) and later manifestations of the picaresque as “dialectical” (95) and “symbolic” (97) forms of the genre. Bjornson similarly contrasts the Spanish picaresque with later forms (12). The other school of thought views the picaresque as an intrinsic genre, unlimited by historical factors. A picaresque novel is picaresque either because of an ideal or typical picaresque form or because of typical picaresque content. Miller entertains both when he bases generic distinction of the picaresque novel on its special plot patterns and rhythm as well as on narrative elements such as fate, loneliness, and internal instability. Parker identifies “the atmosphere of delinquency” as the “distinguishing feature of the genre” (6); and Wick includes a long list of what he calls “basic picaresques,” which includes novels from the sixteenth to the twentieth century.

casts rascality in a humorous light or explains it as a result of social environment (1-2). Thus, Chandler continues, picaresque literature deals mainly with the occasional criminal inclined to becoming a professional or habitual criminal but who stops short of villainy (3). Parker expresses a similar view of the *picaro*, preferring the term “delinquent” as a translation for *pícaro* as a figure who is an “offender against the moral and civil laws; not a vicious criminal such as a gangster and murderer, but someone who is dishonourable and anti-social in a much less violent way” (4). The picaresque novel built itself around such a figure in the form of the biography (or more often the autobiography) of an anti-hero who makes his way through the world by adopting morally questionable or criminal behavior.<sup>34</sup> In many ways, it may be viewed as a pre-cursor to Romantic outlaw narratives. Although the picaresque novel, emerging in Spain in the 1500s, cannot be said to be the first instance of novelistic treatment of the criminal, the picaresque literary tradition represents one of the most important influences on outlaw narratives in later centuries.

Unlike the Robin Hood tradition, the influence of the picaresque emerges not from a prototypical figure or concept of what the figure embodied. Instead, the influence is more in the attitude toward narrative itself and the act of portraying the socially deviant. It is this focus on such a figure—both dangerous and not dangerous—which brings the picaresque and Romantic narrative closest together. Both kinds of narrative are focused on the outlaw, and both treat their flawed heroes with sympathy, often contrasting them with other, more serious, criminals or villains. However, where the picaresque novels of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and the outlaw narratives of the Romantic Period differ can be found in the degree of this focus on the hero as well as the tone and the angle of thematic concentration.

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<sup>34</sup> Many scholars insist that the picaresque novel *must* be autobiographical to be considered truly picaresque (see a review of scholarship on the subject in Wick). Others argue that, while the autobiographical form is the most common literary form of the picaresque novel, it is not essential (for instance, Parker 6). Whether in autobiographical or biographical mode, nearly all scholars agree that narrative attention and point of view are centered on the *picaro* (for example, Blackburn 19 and Miller 13).

The picaresque, relating the adventures of a hero, concentrates more heavily on the protagonist, often resulting in an autobiographical narrative. Autobiography is usually too close for the Romantic outlaw narrative, which favors dramatic narrative or a sociological/legal exploration rather than the confessional novel. The picaresque does feature (religious) conversion (Parker 102-3), but the truly Romantic outlaw narrative rarely does, for the noble outlaw feels himself—and is often portrayed—as morally right. The excessive focus on the hero, in the form of autobiography, poses additional problems for outlaw narratives. First, often the outlaw is killed, and an autobiography cannot relate this. Second, the Romantic outlaw often lives on in an almost legendary timelessness. This cannot happen in autobiography because, in addition to an abrupt sense of time stopping at the hero's death, the outlaw would be too subsumed in his own consciousness to allow for the portrayal of the hero suspended in timelessness.<sup>35</sup>

In addition to the degree of focus on the protagonist, the different thematic bent of the two forms is also significant. Both the picaresque novel and the Romantic outlaw narrative expose weaknesses in society, such as corrupt institutions of law and religion. In the picaresque, society at large is critiqued and manners tend to be mocked. There is seriousness in these critiques but also a good deal of humor in the narrative (Chandler 5). The Romantic outlaw narrative, in contrast, focuses on the establishment and law itself in a more serious style. From its more removed perspective (biographical rather than autobiographical) it uses the outlaw figures more for driving thematic issues than for driving the plot.

While some Romantic outlaw narratives, such as Rinaldo Rinaldini, do contain serial adventures, most feature the outlaw figure as the thematic center of the narrative but not necessarily the plot center. We do not necessarily follow the Romantic outlaw everywhere, but his presence allows the pertinent themes to emerge. This is especially

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<sup>35</sup> Such is the case in general, but Godwin actually pulls it off beautifully in Caleb Williams, which is both autobiographical and portrays a sense of timelessness in the many existing narratives of Caleb and in Caleb's timeless state as narrator.

true in Schiller's Wilhelm Tell and Walter Scott's novels, where Wilhelm Tell, Rob Roy and Robin Hood in Ivanhoe, are at the thematic but not the narrative center. Both employ the motif of traveling and thereby develop the loneliness of the hero, but the picaresque's loneliness is *within* society traveling from master to master (Blackburn 19), while the Romantic outlaw's loneliness is outside society, fleeing and hiding from society. Again, the Romantic treats its themes more somberly. The Romantic outlaw's alienation is much more profound, for he has broken from society, often at the cost of losing status as noble or middle-class citizen, and often pursued by the same pursuer or haunted by the same moral anxiety.

### **Newgate, Pitaval, Defoe and the Rise of Criminal Narrative**

While the picaresque novel accustomed the European reader to sustained portrayal of a rogue, and while Robin Hood served in his many manifestations as an outlaw icon, the criminal account provided writers with a repository of concrete and real-life criminals. The late seventeenth century saw a rise of interest in modern histories of crime and punishment, particularly in England. There was a rise in new genres (crime report, anatomy of roguery, providence book, criminal biography, gallows speech), due in part to new printing technologies and methods for book distribution but also due to "an increasingly widespread cultural perception that criminality and the law were lenses that brought into focus much of what was disturbing, and most exciting, about contemporary experience" (Gladfelder 5). As in Germany, criminal narratives in England were first transmitted via criminal pamphlets and broadsheets, but by 1730 the popularity of the separate criminal pamphlet was on the wane and was replaced by newspaper notices, collected chronicles of crime, and narratives by Daniel Defoe (Chandler 164).<sup>36</sup> From paragraph-length accounts of criminals at the Old Bailey trials in the 1670s, to the 6-page pamphlets of the 1720s, accounts of criminals grew longer and longer (Faller, Crime 4-5). Growing interest in

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<sup>36</sup> The newspapers, then in their youth, were devoted to accounts of robberies, rogueries, executions, and advertisements of articles lost (i.e., stolen) (Chandler 156).

crime and the criminal in both letters and science of the eighteenth century is evident by not only the number of criminal accounts but also by the ever-increasing length and depth of these accounts.<sup>37</sup>

By the 1730s, accounts developed into biographies, some stretching more than fifty pages (Faller, Crime 4-5). The criminal biography signifies a greater and more linear commitment to portraying the criminal than was found earlier in broadsheets or newspaper stories. Almost always ending with an execution, the genre is “rigidly shaped against the backdrop of the gallows” (Grossman 32). Scholars differ in how they characterize these biographies, but generally, they fall into the two categories of the religious and the non-religious. Faller describes the latter formula as “frivolous, overtly romantic and often fantastic,” modeled on the picaresque and meant to entertain (Faller, Crime 6). Grossman, ascribing to this category a greater religious framework, describes it as a “teleological picaresque story that relates the graphic movement of a transgressive body up until its final ‘lamentable’ dead stop” (32). The earlier criminal narratives focus on the religious and portray criminals who are influenced by Satan to commit sin. In the eighteenth century, this force of temptation and folly begins to be translated into modern terms of “the natural pressure of social and economic reality” (Richetti 53). Thus, the law begins to prevail “over religion in the struggle for ideological dominance during the long eighteenth century” (Gladfelder 5).

Faller defines the more religious, or spiritual, criminal biography as “morally serious and quasi-realistic” (Crime 6), and Grossman as “a homily that rewrites the criminal’s life as a series of archetypal stepping stones of sin progressing to a heinous moral collapse that is, usually, followed by a scripted recitation of repentance before the inevitable, abrupt departure for the beyond” (32). Thus, as Faller expresses it,

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<sup>37</sup> Although the heyday of the English criminal biography was in the early 1700s (1720-1740), there are earlier examples, such as Richard Head and Francis Kirkman’s collection about witty rogues, The English Rogue, published between 1665 and 1667 and also The Lives of Sundry Notorious Villains (1678), which begins with factual accounts of real criminals and ends with a novella (Novak, Realism 126). Furthermore, biographies continued to be produced into the 1800s. Examples include: Memoirs of the Northern Impostor, or Prince of Swindlers (about James George Semple; 8th ed. in 1786); Memoirs of James Hardy Vaux (1819); Life of David Haggart, Alias John Wilson, Alias Barney McCoull (1820) (Chandler 168-9).

“serious criminal biography sought to extend and enhance the significance of executed criminals, giving plot and substance to their lives”—traced from a fall, to the depths of depravity, and finally to repentance (Crime 8).<sup>38</sup>

In contrast to Romantic outlaw narrative, these biographies focus on a fall and repentance. Romantic criminal narratives do not deal with a fall but an impetus to crime, portraying the depths of depravity, but not necessarily repentance. Although real and imaginary criminals may be executed, in Romantic narratives the focus is not on the execution. The purpose is not to enhance their significance but to use them either to enhance the expression of whatever message the author wanted to communicate—emotion, alienation, tyranny, injustice, freedom, morality—or to focus on the criminal as subject and as human being.

In the eighteenth century, these criminal biographies began to be commissioned enthusiastically and put together in anthologies, later serving Romantic and other literary writers as source material to work from. Captain Alexander Smith’s History of the Lives and Robberies of the Most Notorious Highwaymen (1714) was the first systematic collection of criminal accounts to be published in England (Novak, “Appearances” 33).<sup>39</sup> One of the most notable English collections, and in its fifth edition by 1719, it contained almost all of the information that had been published up to that time (Chandler 172). Specializing in “the brief account of the criminal’s life, trial, and end,” Smith’s collection exhibited the same pattern as that of the famous Newgate Calendar (Novak, “Appearances” 33). Although Smith’s history does not have “sustained analysis of character or motivation,” his collection opened the way for writers of greater talent to develop this material (Novak, “Appearances” 35).

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<sup>38</sup> Fallor also remarks that “criminal biography was almost exclusively concerned with convicts safely and permanently put away” (Crime 7-8). Criminals not captured, escaped, or reformed rarely got biographical treatment, for criminal biography sought to impose “a socially acceptable signification on criminals” (8).

The Newgate Calendar is certainly the best-known collection in England which chronicles the careers of notorious criminals. Taking its name from London's most notorious prison and the calendars of assizes (or gaol deliveries), the Newgate Calendar includes a wide variety of narratives with varying emphases—expository, sensational, and religious. Before the Newgate Calendar, criminal stories would have been lost in newspapers and ephemeral broadsides, but now they found a permanent repository (Novak, Realism 132). There is no single Newgate Calendar. Collections of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century appeared under different titles and carried largely the same stories with the same colorful cast of characters—Captain John Kidd, Jack Sheppard, Jonathan Wild, Dick Turpin—many of which had never seen the inside of Newgate (Emsley xii). Chandler refers to collections as large as five volumes and two thousand pages and cites several versions which appeared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: “Robert Sanders issued the ‘Calendar’ in six volumes in 1764. The Reverend John Villette...announced his “Annals of Newgate” (1776) and “Knapp and Baldwin, attorneys-at-law, issued a four volume ‘Criminal Chronology, or New Newgate Calendar’ (1809-1810), often reprinted” (Chandler 179).

Novak places the Newgate Calendar into two classes: the mythic Newgate Calendar, whose emphasis was to relate entertaining adventures, and the more factual version, whose emphasis was to assemble facts (“Appearances” 37). The mythic class is represented by Captain Charles Johnson's The Lives and Adventures of the Most Noted Highwaymen, Pirates, Housebreakers, Street-Robbers, etc. (1734) (Novak, “Appearances” 37; Novak, Realism 131).<sup>40</sup> This collection contained abridged versions of Defoe's lives of pirates and criminals alongside mythic figures such as Robin Hood and Falstaff (Novak, “Appearances” 37). More realistic collections

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<sup>39</sup> An even earlier collection records pirate raids but not the lives of the pirates: “Sale catalogues reveal that many libraries contained the English translation of Alexander Olivier Exquemelin's History of the Buccaneers of America (1678; first English translation 1684-85) (Novak, “Appearances” 33). This was the original collected chronicle of pirates, first published in Dutch as “De Americaensche Zee-Rovers” (1678), “often reissued in Dutch, and translated into Spanish as ‘Las Piratas’ (1681), into French as ‘Les Aventuriers’ (1686)” (Chandler 177).

<sup>40</sup> Seemingly in consonance with Novak's division, Chandler says that Smith's and Johnson's collections represent the “romanticism of rogue biography” (Chandler 178).

included Applebee's (Defoe's publisher) History of Executions (1731), which told of the lives and deaths of 13 characters (Chandler 178); and The Lives of the Most Remarkable Criminals (1732) [reprinted in 1874], which prided itself on having avoided "feigned or romantic adventures, calculated merely to entertain the curiosity of the reader" (Chandler 178). Nevertheless, the "narratives selected reveal a bias towards the sensational" (Novak, "Appearances" 37).

The Newgate Calendar contains short narratives, many with a similar structure. They often begin with a narrator's introduction, describing the nature of the case—horrible, pitiful, tragic—and disclosing the end of the narrative by telling not only the crime but also the final punishment. The introductory section often includes a commentary on law, including the specifics of the law of the particular crime, its punishment, and sometimes a critique on this law or punishment.<sup>41</sup> After an account of some misfortune, temptation, or flaw of character, the main part of the narrative begins with what Emsley calls "a description of the life and times" of the offender (xi).<sup>42</sup> The accounts typically end with a description of the execution (e.g., executed at Tyburn on 20 July 1708) and an indication of whether the criminal repented or not (sometimes accompanied by the criminal's dying words)—with an occasional closing moral commentary by the narrator. Friedrich Schiller's "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre" resembles very closely this structure with its narratorial introduction, revelation of the execution at the beginning, account of the pre-criminal, and the hybrid genre of the account itself (letters, different narrative points of view, etc.).

Despite their often similar structure, these narratives contain a broad spectrum of criminals and portrayals of these criminals, from horrific tales of cannibalistic families to the semi-sympathetic narratorial perspective that we begin to see more and

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<sup>41</sup> The criminal biographies often begin by locating their subjects in society, indicating their place of birth, occupation or father's station. (Faller, Crime 50-1).

<sup>42</sup> Emsley divides the Newgate accounts into five sections: (1) "a report of the trial"; (2) parts of the sermon, including Biblical passages, preached to the condemned; (3) "a description of the life and times" of the offender; (4) "a miscellany," which might include a piece purportedly written by the condemned; and (5) "a description of the execution" (Emsley xi).

more in the eighteenth century.<sup>43</sup> Catherine Hayes, who murdered her husband, is portrayed as utterly evil (*Newgate* 143-58); and the image of John Gow, “captain of a notorious gang of pirates,” starts off very negatively but improves with the contrast between him and those pirates crueler than he (*Newgate* 159-75). Stories of ignoble citizens also appear, such as Captain John Porteous, who, after abusing his office by killing people, is eventually hanged by a mob (*Newgate* 176-82). Besides feeding the public’s appetite for crime stories, the *Newgate Calendar*’s contribution was to serve as a repository for plots, situations, and characters that were not to be found in mainstream histories of reigns and battles and which could serve as a source for later criminal fiction (Novak, “Appearances” 37).

The stories of dozens of sympathetic criminals are also included in the collection, reflecting the “new age of penal justice” and new consciousness of the humanity of the criminal. The story of “John Peter Dramatti,” for instance, opens and closes with a call for sympathy for the murderer who killed his abusive wife (*Newgate* 36-9). It begins with, “This is a case, though of the most heinous nature, yet the perpetrator is entitled to some commiseration” (36) and closes with, “He was an ill treated stranger too; and therein he became doubly an object of compassion” (39). Similarly, the story of “Christopher Slaughterford” ends with the narrator’s belief in Slaughterford’s innocence, with almost a defense of the man executed for murder: “The charitable reader must, therefore, be inclined to think this man was innocent” (*Newgate* 61). More explicit expressions of dissatisfaction with the legal system crop up in various tales. Anticipating Beccaria’s principle of proportionality between the seriousness of the crime and the severity of the sanction, the narrator of “William Gregg,” criticizes the excessively broad definition of crimes and application of punishment: “This indiscriminate blending of crimes, so disproportionate in their nature...is certainly liable to great objections, seeing that the judgment in this offence is so extremely severe and terrible” (*Newgate* 51).

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<sup>43</sup> “The Life of Sawney Beane” is one cannibalistic tale that presents “such a picture of human barbarity” (*Newgate* 10-13).

Similar to the Newgate Calendar in its desire to gather together criminal accounts, Pitaval's Causes Célèbres (1734) was one of the most popular works of the eighteenth century (Ziolkowski, "Portrait" 290; Dainat, Abaellino 169). In the context of the encyclopedic drive of the Enlightenment, the French lawyer François Gayot de Pitaval (1673-1743) published the 20-volume Causes Célèbres et Intéressantes from 1734 to 1754 (Lüsebrink, Kriminalität 105). This collection of 1528 cases documenting various crimes and criminals was very popular and ambitious (Lüsebrink, Kriminalität 112): "Der programmatische Entwurf des *Causes Célèbres*, alle 'berühmten', vergangenen und zeitgenössischen, Kriminalfälle darstellen zu wollen, verweist auf einen für das 18. Jahrhundert charakteristischen enzyklopädischen Gestus" (Lüsebrink, Kriminalität 171). Between 1734 and 1789, 18 publishers published 9 separate editions for a total of 25 editions and 253 volumes, and its influence spread beyond France (Lüsebrink, Kriminalität 104). Both the Newgate Calendar and Pitaval's collection remained popular through the eighteenth century but experienced a noticeable revival in the mid-1800s. Causes Célèbres was translated into German in 1782 and influenced both Schiller and E.T.A. Hoffmann (Ziolkowski, "Portrait" 290). Stories from Causes Célèbres include Schiller's "Die Polizey" and E.T.A. Hoffmann's Fräulein von Scudéry (Lüsebrink, Kriminalität 169). Ziolkowski calls the collection "one of the new forms devised for indulging a more refined public taste for crime" ("Portrait" 291).<sup>44</sup>

In contrast to "Schafottdiskursen" and other criminal accounts, such as the Newgate Calendar, the emphasis of the Causes Célèbres was not the gruesomeness of

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<sup>44</sup> In Germany, the collection by Paul Anselm Feuerbach, Aktenmäßige Darstellung merkwürdiger Verbrechen (1801/1811), followed the models of collections such as Pitaval's as well as Fielding's "Examples of the Interpositions of Providence in the Detection and Punishment of Murders" (1752, German 1762) (Plaul 214). Willibald Alexis produced a new version of Pitaval's collection entitled Neuer Pitaval, which included cases gleaned from law courts throughout the European continent. The first volume appeared in 1842, and Alexis edited 28 volumes before his death in 1860. By 1890, it had grown to 60 volumes (Ziolkowski 291). A similar work, containing 216 cases in ten volumes, is Johann Friedrich Eisenhart's Erzählungen von besonderen Rechtshändeln (1767-79) (Dainat, Abaellino 170). In England, the Newgate novels of the 1830s and 1840s revitalize biographical treatments of criminals found in the Newgate Calendar. For instance, Edward Bulwer-Lytton wrote about Eugene Aram, and William Ainsworth wrote about Jack Sheppard and Richard Turpin.

the crime or severity of the punishment but the juristical and legal interest of the case (Dainat, Abaellino 169). Dainat also contrasts Pitaval with the criminal narrative by claiming that criminal narrative turns to the doer, the deed, and the circumstances, whereas Pitaval creates suspense from the interesting legal case and juridical argument (Dainat, “Wie” 195). Rape and infidelity were the most popular crime in Causes Célèbres, with only about 8% of the stories about murder or killings.<sup>45</sup> Similarly, a low percentage of texts in the Causes Célèbres can be said to be about brigands, and these texts are much shorter than the 35-page average in the collection. With the exception of the biographies of Mandrin and Cartouche, the narratives are schematic and imprecise (Lüsebrink, Kriminalität 155). Like the Newgate Calendar, the collection was diverse. Because the border between popular and scientific collections of legal cases remained fluid in the eighteenth century (Dainat, Abaellino 172), the function of the *causes* is not limited to conveying legal knowledge of criminal cases but also includes interest in exploring the psychological and promoting discourse of morality. Positioned as a non-fiction narrative form with the goal of portraying actual events, the Causes Célèbres argues for its veracity in the Preface, contrasting itself with other genres such as the novel, tragedy, and the fable (Lüsebrink, Kriminalität 107). Despite this, Pitaval took minor liberties in shaping court cases for his readers, though not significantly (Marsch 120).

Friedrich Schiller, in his preface to a 4-volume selection of Pitaval’s 20-volume work, praises “the important gains for the study and treatment of humankind” (“Dieser wichtige Gewinn für Menschenkenntnis und Menschenbehandlung”) that could be obtained from studying these criminal cases (Schiller, “Vorrede” 866) and the insight into the human heart that can be gained by the observer (actually “judge”) of criminal cases: “So ist der Kriminalrichter imstande, tiefere Blicke in das Menschenherz zu tun” (“Vorrede” 865). The insight that could be gained from criminal cases was one explanation for Schiller’s interest in criminal stories. For others, it was the betterment

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<sup>45</sup> Murder stories were popular in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but they do not fit the goal of the Causes Célèbres to “instruireet amuser” (Lüsebrink, Kriminalität 115).

of society, the redemption of the moral soul, or simply curiosity and entertainment. The range of texts that address these interests was great, from legalistic tracts of Fielding and Beccaria to sensationalist criminal biographies in England. The moral and the instructive, however, were repeatedly articulated as by-products, if not purposes, of the eighteenth-century criminal narrative.

In works from most of the eighteenth century, moral prefaces to the criminal narrative were almost obligatory, reflecting either genuine moral interest or included only as an excuse for peddling questionably moral material. For instance, in the Preface of Moll Flanders, Defoe outlines the moral parameters of the novel:

There is not a wicked Action in any Part of it, but is first or last rendered Unhappy and Unfortunate: There is not a superlative Villain brought upon the Stage, but either he is brought to an unhappy End, or brought to be a Penitent: There is not an ill thing mention'd, but it is condemn'd,...nor a virtuous just Thing, but that it is, but it carries its Praise along with it. (40)

“This, of course, is not true,” Punter reminds us, citing Moll as the primary example of an “ill thing” not being condemned (38). “Upon this Foundation this Book is recommended to the Reader,” the Preface continues, stressing that from every part of it “something may be learned” and will offer something of Instruction” (Defoe 40).<sup>46</sup> Defoe is very clear both in his Preface to Moll Flanders and in the novel proper regarding the purpose of the narrative. The novel maintains a didactic stance common

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<sup>46</sup> There are many examples of Moll the narrator pausing to offer didactic observations: “We ought to be cautious of gratifying our own Inclinations in loose and lewd Freedoms” (171); “Let ’em remember that a time of Distress is a time of Dreadful Temptation, and all the Strength to resist is taken away” (254). Elsewhere, Moll states that the account of her life is “for the sake of the just Moral of every part of it, and for Instruction, Caution, Warning and Improvement to every Reader” (409). This purpose is reiterated throughout the novel at various intervals. Also, in his Preface, Defoe discusses the two-part structure of his narrative, which, while striving to emphasize the repentance of Moll, must necessarily include an account of her sins and crimes: “To give the History of a wicked Life repented of, necessarily requires that the wicked Part should be made as wicked as the real History of it will bear, to illustrate and give a Beauty to the Penitent part, which is certainly the best and brightest, if related with equal Spirit and Life” (38).

in criminal biographies of the early eighteenth century but largely abandoned later in the century by writers of Romantic outlaw narratives.

Defoe and Fielding were “the two eighteenth-century authors most directly connected, for professional reasons, to the discourses of criminality” (Gladfelder xii). Grossman sees a leap from the criminal biography to the novel, the former being a “refitting of plot to formulaic repetition, to legend, and of character to mythic types” and the latter a “fictional elaboration and expansion”: “Unlike criminal biography, the novel spins out language, so that any moment or character might be endlessly explored” (Grossman 35). Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) provided a direct and vital impulse for the transformation of the criminal biography into the modern novel as he turned from writing criminal pamphlets on Jonathan Wild and Jack Sheppard to the novels Moll Flanders and Colonel Jack (Chandler 186). As one who lived in a time “notably troubled and greatly fascinated by crime” (Faller, Turned xi), Defoe showed great interest in law, crime, and in writing about criminals. Although criminal accounts were common enough before Defoe, his fiction, which appeared concurrently with a sudden surge of crime, helped to give the existing criminal accounts a particular shape. He may be described as a “mythologist of the crime wave” (Novak, “Appearances” 31). When Jonathan Wild was imprisoned, Defoe hastened to procure an interview and published it in Applebee’s Journal by means of a pamphlet: “The True, Genuine, and Perfect Account of Jonathan Wild” (1725) (Chandler 160).<sup>47</sup> He also chronicled Jack Sheppard’s many escapes in Applebee’s Journal, interviewed him, and wrote a pretended autobiography: A Narrative of all the Robberies, Escapes, etc...of John Sheppard... Written by Himself (1724) (Chandler 162). Other outlaw narratives by Defoe include “The King of Pirates” (1719), “Account of the Conduct and Proceedings of John Gow the Pirate” (1725), and “A Brief Historical Account of the Lives of Six Notorious Street Robbers Executed at Kingston” (1726). He is also credited with a

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<sup>47</sup> Contemporary to Defoe’s account was the account of Captain Alexander Smith, who features Wild on the title page of his criminal biography collection, Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Famous Jonathan Wild (1726), printed in a facsimile edition by Garland Publishing in 1973. Furthermore, at least seven other accounts of Wild’s life had appeared before Defoe’s and Smith’s.

translation of the famous French criminal, Cartouche (Chandler 161), and occasionally, The Highland Rogue (1723), a narrative about the famous outlaw Rob Roy (163).<sup>48</sup>

The complexities of Defoe's treatment of the outlaw figure is best articulated by Sill, who applauds the dialectical balance of his best works "in the form of a dramatic tension between the narrator's exhilaration at the success of his or her thefts, and the pangs of conscience and fear of punishment that inevitably follow" (122). Sill cites Defoe's Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain (1724), which portrays two contradictory versions of the outlaw (122). The first is a legendary highwayman named Nicks who robbed a gentleman in the afternoon and made a remarkable ride across the downs of Norfolk to arrive in York in time to play at bowls later that day. Nicks was acquitted and later is said to have had a private audience with King Charles II. The portrayal lacks any moral outrage at the crime itself, and the interview between the rogue and the monarch seems to suggest that they both "exist in a dimension somewhere beyond the reach of ordinary mortal laws" (Sill 123). In contrast, when the same narrator in the Tour describes "the most notorious –owling trade," or smuggling, his tone moves from one of "apparent relish" to notable condemnation, as Sill observes: "The narrator has no sympathetic words for the owlers, even though their crime requires as much enterprise and courage as that of Nicks the highwayman.

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<sup>48</sup> The Highland Rogue (1723), reprinted in 1973 by Garland, is a very interesting piece that matches in most respects the paradigm of the Romantic outlaw narrative that I lay out in this study. Several scenes are reminiscent of Schiller's Die Räuber, and the work has many of the same narrative themes of the noble outlaw. Claiming on the title page that it is "impartially digested from the Memorandums of an authentick [sic] *Scotch MS*" (Highland Rogue), the story begins and ends emphasizing the nobleness of Rob Roy. Incomplete, the story ends when the narrator says the Scotch manuscript "breaks off abruptly in this place" (Highland Rogue 61). He gives a little epilogue of Rob Roy living the rest of his days in peace and says that "there now wants nothing to complete this History, but the Account of his Death" (63). The question of authorship of this narrative is still open. The writer of the introduction of the Garland edition, Josephine Grieder, does not suggest Defoe as a possible author, but the possibility is intriguing. The Preface begins: "It is not a romantic Tale that the Reader is here presented with, but a real History: Not the adventures of a *Robinson Crusoe*, a *Colonel Jack*, or a *Moll Flanders*, but the Actions of the *Highland Rogue*: a Man that has been too notorious to pass for a mere imaginary Person" (Highland Rogue iii). The fact that the writer himself mentions characters of Defoe leads me to believe this is in fact Defoe writing, opposing himself with himself, historical vs. fictional writing of an individual. Notably, he does not mention the name "Defoe" in the Preface. This is in contrast to his harsh criticism of Smith: "What an Object of Contempt and Ridicule is Captain Alexander Smith.... His Works are a confus'd Lump of absurd Lies" (vi). The contrast with Defoe, who is not mentioned, is simply expository, but the contrast with Smith is inflammatory and cutting.

Instead, the narrator reserves his praise and sympathy for the excise officers” (123). In contradiction to many Romantic outlaw narratives, in which smuggling is portrayed in sympathetic terms, the owlers represent, in Defoe’s narrator’s view, a crime of great detriment to the English economy since it can be repeated indefinitely and denies the government payment of excise (Sill 123). In contrast, the story of Nicks’s daring crime and escape could never work twice and represents an act that is harmless to Defoe’s bourgeois audience *as a class*, amounting to “essentially a transaction between private parties, and thus not a matter for public policy” (Sill 123-4).

This kind of ambivalence is found throughout Defoe’s work. Defoe is significant not only for the volume and range of criminal work that he produced but also for enlarging the scale of and adding complexity to criminal portrayal.<sup>49</sup> Defoe’s novels, particularly Moll Flanders (1722), Colonel Jack (1722), and Roxana (1724), illustrate the movement from criminal biography to novelistic treatment of the criminal. Geoffrey Sill even proposes Robinson Crusoe as an outlaw narrative:

The heroic version of the outlaw reached its fullest and finest expression...with the publication of *Robinson Crusoe*. The Crusoe story is not normally regarded as a book about an outlaw....Yet, the opening pages of the narrative clearly stamp Crusoe as an insubordinate vagabond, who rebels against authority, necessity, and reason in running away to London....where he pursues for some time a ‘loose and unguided’ course which, according to the formula of the criminal biography, would have led him into the life of a highwayman, pickpocket, or housebreaker. (Sill 125)

I find Moll Flanders the most useful of Defoe’s novels to compare with the Romantic outlaw narrative, but one might equally well choose Colonel Jack or Roxana. All are fascinating criminal figures. Colonel Jack manages to become a fugitive from

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<sup>49</sup> Regarding influence, Faller contends that it is “not obvious that Defoe exerted any significant influence on subsequent writers of criminal biography” (Crime 246). I cannot refute or substantiate this comment, nor is it my intention to do so in the scope of this study.

English, French, and Spanish law. Like his analogues in conventional criminal biography, Jack is a gentleman yet no gentleman; but, unlike them, the ambiguity of his status is never resolved (Faller, *Crime* 177). Roxana, despite her middle-class conscience, “becomes the only protagonist in Defoe’s fiction who intentionally forces evil on another character—a worse crime than any personal sin” (Novak, *Realism* 105). Passively evil, she lacks Moll Flanders’s “warmth and humor” (Novak, *Realism* 110). Moll Flanders is a sinful whore during the first half of the novel and rises to a criminal of legendary proportions in the second half—well known throughout Newgate as a thief “that all of them had heard of, but none of them have ever seen” (377). Richetti points out the similarity between “whore biography” and stories of highwaymen: “Whores and highwaymen frequently become sympathetic figures, robbing or poxing with rollicking bravado and making fun of conceptual monsters such as avaricious landlords, canting religionists, vicious aristocrats, or political extremists” (Richetti 38).

Critics differ in the view of Defoe’s three novels with regard to their portrayal of the criminals. Faller, for instance, sees a progression in the sophistication of the insight offered.

Where *Moll Flanders* offers only a glimpse at the origins of a criminal mentality and *Colonel Jack* a brief, vertiginous sense of how powerfully self-alienating it might feel to be a criminal, *Roxana* provides an extended opportunity to develop both kinds of insight....Roxana builds its history of moral and psychological decay on a character who is like a *tabula rasa*. (Faller, *Crime* 215)

Sill, on the other hand, sees a progressive degeneration:

From *Moll Flanders* through *Colonel Jack* to *Roxana*...there is a progressive degeneration in his fiction of the heroic version of the outlaw, coupled with an increasingly grim view of the possibility of spiritual regeneration. The resulting dialectical imbalance caused a loss of dramatic tension, which is particularly marked in *Roxana*, and may

have led to Defoe's abandonment of the full-length fictional narrative after that book was published. (Sill 126)

Which view is correct—and they may both be—will not concern us here, but both perspectives reveal a progression in Defoe's treatment of the criminal figure.

Defoe's The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders (1722) exhibits many elements and motifs found later in Romantic outlaw narratives. As mentioned, criminal narratives of the Enlightenment tend to be dogmatic and instructive, showing the repentance of an individual. Often the "moral underlining is much less organic to the story, simply pasted on at the end of an account which has presented the criminal as an attractive folk hero rather than as a horrible example of the wages of sin" (Richetti 48). But Defoe goes further in sophistication, and Moll Flanders is more than just an account of Moll Flanders and her fall from virtue and eventual entrance into crime. Like many Romantic outlaw narratives, Moll Flanders portrays a whole life from beginning to end and features the sympathetic figure of Moll Flanders. In the very telling of her prior life, we are distanced from her criminal actions (Vaver 46). Feeling sympathy for her situation, we as readers find Moll agreeable, but she is not romanticized into a noble outlaw figure.

Similar to the outlaw, Moll exhibits a transitory physical condition—not because she is being chased but due to hardships such as her financial problems or death of a husband. However, after being convicted of her crimes, she is temporarily banished to America, and her criminal condition seems static for a while, when she no longer feels guilt for her actions. Although Moll eventually does seem to repent in the end, her repentance is doubtful from a religious perspective, but her secular rehabilitation is complete (Bender 46-7). With Defoe's detailed focus on Moll's point of view, he stresses the importance of inner thoughts rather than criminal deeds—a tendency which continues in many Romantic outlaw narratives. Defoe "employs the model of spiritual autobiography and decisively breaks with it, for self-consciousness replaces the ascent from hell to heaven, thought replaces salvation" (Bender 46). But though the focus is on thoughts, we get the sense that it is still more religious than

psychoanalytic, at least compared to treatments a century (or even half a century) later.<sup>50</sup>

The novel also raises the theme of law and crime on several occasions. The adventures of Moll's former husband as a robber captain are discussed, resulting in an outlaw story within an outlaw story (378-9). Similarly, Moll the narrator spends pages discussing legal procedures (315-6). She then discusses a confusion of justice, introducing a theme popular in Romantic outlaw narrative of the blurred line between citizen and criminal. In a scene fraught with humor, citizen and thief become jumbled: "a Mercer had stop'd a Gentlewoman instead of a Thief, and had afterward taken the Thief, and now the Gentlewoman had taken the Mercer, and was carrying him before the Justice...and they [the crowd] cry'd out as they went, which is the Rogue? which is the Mercer?" (317). This also introduces the common theme, going up to Kleist and later Kafka, of the unavoidable problems of legal systems.

As mentioned, eighteenth-century criminal biography usually uses God to give meaning to the criminal life. Beginning with writers like Defoe, we no longer have "the continual reminder of God's presence"; instead, authors begin to speculate "on cause and effect as if the world were not entirely under God's control" (Novak, "Appearances" 32).<sup>51</sup> For instance, there is no reason to explain Moll's good fortune (Faller, *Crime* 121). Similarly, *Roxana* displays a "pattern of psychological causality rather than the mysterious workings of God's invisible hand," which sets it apart from

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<sup>50</sup> The novel, in its dual focus on crime and repentance, possesses many similarities to Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*. Both novels make implicit and explicit references to sin, God, and temptation. Both feature a semi-outlaw character. Like Raskolnikov, Moll is not an outlaw in the sense of being an outcast forced to wander and rebel against society. Rather, she is a creature of the city, pushed to crime at first by circumstances—poverty—but later revels in crime, infused with her own sense of superiority and invincibility. For most of the novel, like Raskolnikov, Moll is not alienated but rather dwells and works in the city. As with Raskolnikov, the only wild space is the wild pockets within the city itself—there is no forest or cave. Like *Crime and Punishment*, *Moll Flanders* shows in great detail the working of the criminal mind, spends a lot of time of the initial act of crime, dwells on issues of guilt and getting caught, and finally ends with repentance.

<sup>51</sup> Novak also suggests that "just as the courts of law came to focus more and more upon facts and evidence, so fiction came to function in a world of secondary causes and events" ("Appearances" 32).

Defoe's earlier novels and makes special contribution to history of the novel (Faller, Crime 231).<sup>52</sup>

By the time we get to Romantic outlaw narrative, we have moved from reading a conversion story and looking inward to our own sins to concentrating on the literary object, feeling the criminal's pain and his sin to the bitter end. Furthermore, Romantic outlaw narratives typically do not end in conversion because the outlaw is an outlaw not only through his own choice but because of an insurmountable circumstance. The outlaw never sinned in the traditional sense—he may have sinned against the State or a political figure, but not against God. With no laws of God, only the laws of men, the laws of bad men (or ignoble citizens), therefore, can be broken with some sympathetic acceptance by the reader. Any conversion the outlaw undertakes occurs not by contrition to God but by noble acts (offering aid, rescues, giving to poor, prohibitions on excessive bloodshed) grounded in the hero's own ethical system. The battle is not against the devil, or sin, which is surmountable through repentance and piety, but against man and society. The formula for victory in this battle is much less defined. Even in narratives that affirm the established order by repentance or regret or punishment of the outlaw, there still is not a focus on conversion. Instead, focus is on freedom, ethical victory, and moral challenges, amounting to a secular, not a religious perspective.

Another key difference between Enlightenment criminal biography and Romantic outlaw narrative is the attitude toward the criminal as human being. Criminal anatomies (canting dictionaries, Newgate, moral tracts on causes of delinquencies)—purpose is to construct the criminal as alien, as a “radicalized other” (Gladfelder 11). The criminal biographies tried to make their criminals “subjects ‘fit’ for execution” and to represent them “as either saints or rogues, now beyond or beneath ordinary human concern” (Faller, Crime 111). Romantic outlaw narrative represents

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<sup>52</sup> Hammer seems to be missing this subtle change in her view that Roxana and many of Defoe's stories unfold within a Christian moralist sphere and operate within the standard schema of the criminal biography and the Protestant spiritual autobiography. Hammer continues, argues that the novel is thus more a Protestant anatomy of guilt than a discussion of criminality as a socio-legal category (Hammer 9).

the reversal of this perspective—the humanization of the criminal—which already begins in the Preromantic era.

Like Defoe, Henry Fielding (1707-54), trained as a lawyer and founder of the London police, was intimately involved with law and crime.<sup>53</sup> His concentrated work on the topic of the criminal, The Life or History of Mr. Jonathan Wild the Great (1743)<sup>54</sup>, illustrates that by the 1740s criminal narrative was a genre popular and vibrant enough to satirize. As a satire and “burlesque” of English criminal biographies (Parker 131), Jonathan Wild “requires us to understand the opposite of apparent denotation” (Bender 151). Defoe had written a narrative about Jonathan Wild almost twenty year earlier in 1725, but unlike Defoe’s narrative or Gay’s The Beggar’s Opera (1728)—which Fielding directly imitates—Fielding introduces “authoritative moral control into the novel rather than leaving it implicit” (Bender 145).<sup>55</sup> In contrast to the total irony of Gay’s treatment of Jonathan Wild, it “focuses meaning and guides interpretation” (Bender 152). Fielding’s narrative may be said to be presented as “the allegorical antithesis of the good man Heartfree to the great man Wild” (Nokes 22). In Jonathan Wild we find a kind of inverted outlaw narrative, for instead of a citizen being wronged and then turning outlaw, a despicable criminal (portrayed ironically as a great man) ruins a good citizen, Heartfree. The truly noble character, Heartfree, is portrayed negatively, as a “low character” (3.3; p.129).<sup>56</sup> Here, the good citizen never considers

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<sup>53</sup> Fielding was directly responsible “for the establishment of a centralized agency dedicated to the collection, cross-referencing, and dissemination of information on metropolitan crime and for the organization of a professional police force engaged in crime detection” (Bender 139). He and his half-brother John are usually considered the founders of London’s Metropolitan Police, an institution that would wait until 1829 for parliamentary sanction (Bender 145). Fielding’s Bow Street Runners were, like other aspects of his newly created police force, partly modeled on Wild’s party of thief-takers (Bender 172).

<sup>54</sup> Jonathan Wild was first published in 1743 in the third volume of Fielding’s Miscellanies (Bender 146). At the close of his judicial career, Fielding published the second, definitive edition of 1754 (Bender 163). In addition to Jonathan Wild, Fielding wrote reformist works in the 1750s, including An Enquiry Into the Causes of the Late Increases of Robbers.

<sup>55</sup> Bender remarks that Fielding directly imitates The Beggar’s Opera in his use of Jonathan Wild but abandons Gay’s “treacherous aplomb” (150). Gay’s treatment was so radical that Defoe condemned its light treatment of villainy (Macheath as highwayman) as a profession (Bender 88).

<sup>56</sup> Citations for Jonathan Wild include the Book and Chapter followed by the page number in the Penguin edition.

becoming an outlaw and never really has the opportunity after being jailed. Fielding's Jonathan Wild is a criminal but, like Moll Flanders, not an outlaw figure in the sense of being outlawed and hunted. He commits petty crimes but is portrayed as great. In his role as a wily professional thief, Wild cheats everybody that he can, repeatedly affirming the philosophical satisfaction of criminal behavior, despite the fact that it leads to his demise (Hammer 14).<sup>57</sup> Fielding's satirist narrator attacks both Wild and all those who mistakenly see any shade of greatness in him (Hammer 55). Besides demythifying the outlaw and showing him for what he really is—not a hero but a villain worthy of contempt—the narrative departs from typical criminal narrative in its purported focus away from the criminal.<sup>58</sup> In his Preface to the *Miscellanies* (1743), Fielding states that “Roguary, and not a rogue, is my subject” (29). Although the narrative itself, in the sense of plot, is focused on the rogue Jonathan Wild, the message of the narrative is not. In this, *Jonathan Wild* reveals its distance from the Romantic treatment of the outlaw, which, while interested in broader issues of “roguary” or law and criminality, tends to focus on the the personal, the inner, the human aspect of the rogue. Hammer suggests that *Jonathan Wild* possesses a similar narrative dynamic as Kleist's *Michael Kohlhaas* in its presentation of a “true” history, covering an outlaw career from beginning to end (Hammer 192; n.1). While I agree that the two criminal narratives share a concentration on an entire outlaw career, I think the more significant similarity is their shared focus on “roguary, and not a rogue.” Kleist, as we shall see, adopts many typical outlaw narrative patterns and motifs, like Fielding, only to manipulate them into a new focus. Part of this new focus is a move from the individual to society, combined with the concerted effort to dispel the outlaw hero myth. One of

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<sup>57</sup> Wild's method consisted of devising a system of indexed registers to keep track of London robberies. He gained detailed information about the circumstances of the crimes from the victims and correlated this with knowledge of the goods involved. Then he got the stolen property back to the original owners in exchange for supposedly voluntary reward money (Bender 140-1). He also used the knowledge he had gained to blackmail thieves or to use as evidence against those that held back funds or betrayed him. Thus he posed as a public benefactor—a kind of private police detective.

<sup>58</sup> The narrator “gradually abandons his central character because he proves too dangerous....The novel's double narrative articulates both an anxiety about the criminal's disruptive power and a sneaking delight in his stubborn refusal of what we call ‘goodness’” (Hammer 78).

the major themes in Jonathan Wild that Hammer sees is precisely this dispelling of myths throughout the novel. The narrator “suggests that our conceptions of greatness are false” and that “greatness, as we construe it, is a dangerous myth” (Hammer 60). Book 1 presents an ambiguous view of Wild, but the subsequent books depict his decline (Hammer 71). He is “demoted to the level of buffoonery, appearing as a cuckolded villain who cannot even rape ‘well’” (Hammer 73). In this, the novel exhibits another similarity to Kleist’s Michael Kohlhaas, where the hero is deflated and greatness is confused and demythified. But, as Hammer suggests, “Jonathan Wild’s character presents a far more complex problem for the reader than does the thief/highwayman of the standard criminal biography of which Fielding’s novel is at once a parody and an elegiac parody” (77). “Fielding’s satiric recasting” of the standard biographical figure who terminates at execution is just the opposite, for he “cannot be silenced and therefore can never be killed definitively” (Hammer 77). As a result, “the narrator’s attempt to ridicule Wild and (thus make him forgettable) instead, ironically, memorializes him and guarantees his immortality” (77).

In summary, criminal biographies—whether the short accounts in *Newgate* or *Pitaval*, or the novelistic treatments in Defoe or Fielding—share with their Romantic counterparts the focus on and interest in the criminal. They often exhibit the sympathy for the criminal that becomes commonplace in Romantic outlaw narratives, dealing with the criminal hero in a sympathetic portrayal and in a heroic vein—even if only to challenge that idea, as we see in Fielding and later in Kleist. Some of the differences have already been noted, such as the greater religious worldview and the consciousness of needing a moral—or at least claiming in the preface that the narrative has one. There are other differences as well.

In early criminal narrative fiction such as the picaresque novel, conversion story (e.g., Moll Flanders), and some criminal biography, the tendency is to portray the extremes of virtue and vice in one character but at different stages of that character’s life. Characters move linearly in time from good to bad (fall into sin) and often to good again (repentance): “The criminal’s life...serves as a means to lead the criminal (and

the reader) to repentance and salvation” (Davis 108). Here, the formula portrays the criminal in two separate and temporarily discrete extremes—the extremely criminal and the extremely pious and repentant (Dainat, Abaellino 149). In the Romantic outlaw narrative, these extremes are combined simultaneously in the same person at the same time. Instead of two extremes on a temporal continuum, we witness a mixed character in a dialectical battle between two identities. Most Romantic outlaws do not convert but continue along the track that either they or fate has chosen, for having the criminal convert at the last minute threatens to become too didactic, too passé for both the outlaw character and the outlaw narrative. The fact that both of Schiller’s tales end in conversion show his work as still being bound to the Enlightenment.

Another major contrast with Romantic outlaw narrative is the milieu and orientation toward society. Thinkers in eighteenth-century Enlightenment studied man in his social context, but successful writers in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth century writers created simpler, more colorful imaginative worlds with “heroes of superhuman effectiveness” (Butler 2). Earlier criminal narratives, like the picaresque and works by Defoe and Fielding, very often focus on crime in the cities and on issues of social classes. For example, all Defoe’s works have the comparison between upper-class and lower-class crime (Novak, Realism 130). In contrast, Romantic outlaw narratives tend to avoid the cities in favor of the wild space beyond the realm of society. Romantic writers were no less interested in society, but their engagement with law and society takes a more distanced, sometimes more philosophical or emotional view of society, beyond the details of economics, class, and politics. In the era of Defoe and Fielding, we see crime as profession—as a social, quasi-institutional, economic endeavour—such as when Defoe’s *Moll Flanders* teaches according to how she was taught: “The Comrade she helped me to dealt [sic] in three sorts of Craft, (*viz.*) Shop-lifting, stealing of Shop-Books and Pocket-Books, and taking off Gold Watches from the Ladies Sides” (266). This is not found in Romantic outlaw narrative. Crime in Romanticism is not about routine acts to make a living—it is about righteous rebellion and highly-charged attacks and revenge.

The blurring of the line between citizen and criminal is another area where the difference in social and spatial perspective is clear. Eighteenth-century criminal narratives share with Romantic outlaw narrative the manipulation of the distinction between the noble outlaw and the ignoble or villainous citizen (or politician or magistrate), but again, writers during the time of Defoe and Fielding did so with a strong socio-economic slant. Criminal rogue biography dealt with “the claim that thieves were just another variety of economic individualist”—like tradesmen or merchants—more glamorous but less hypocritical (Faller, *Crime* 112). The politics of 1720 England—the South Sea Bubble and perceived corruption of the Walpole administration—“made the resemblance between capitalists and criminals immediately apparent; for what is the difference between the petty thief who steals simply in order to survive and the corrupt capitalist who embezzles thousands or even millions of pounds from the government and his investors?” (Vaver 249-50). Vaver suggests that the very criminality of Wild and Sheppard is an inversion of societal systems. While Wild, as portrayed in various biographies and novels,

organized his criminal network according to the rules of capitalism—thereby putting in question the very basis of that economic system—Sheppard took the skills that he had acquired in his apprenticeship and the workhouse—an institution meant to instill positive habits and values—and turned them to criminal use. (Vaver 287)

While the Romantic outlaw narrative does not necessarily oppose this idea—and often continues it—it simply tends to place its emphasis elsewhere, often going a step further. Instead of simply proposing an equivalence between criminal and citizen, merchant, or government official, the Romantic outlaw narrative tends to favor the criminal, highlighting his nobleness and morals in contrast to the ignoble citizen. As we have mentioned, works before Romanticism also tend to be more socially orientated—an orientation we see returning in the mid-nineteenth century (in Dostoevsky, Dickens, Hugo, and others).

#### 4. Elements of Outlaw Narrative and the Noble Outlaw

We have discussed the universal popularity of criminal narratives, cultural changes, and the rise of criminal narratives in the eighteenth century. We have also drawn some distinctions between criminal narratives earlier in the eighteenth century and those of the Romantic Period. This section will provide a conceptual framework for defining what it means to be an outlaw and what an outlaw narrative is.

Throughout this study, I will be referring to outlaw narrative as a distinct kind of criminal narrative, including plays as works that portray a story in the most general sense of the word “narrative”. It is thus important to discuss briefly the unique meaning and aptness of the term *outlaw*. Criminality terms divide themselves into two main semantic categories: terms denoting specific crimes and terms denoting criminality in general. Both the terms *criminal* and *outlaw* are general terms, indicating someone who has committed a crime, without revealing the nature of the crime. Such general terms are the most useful for a study that investigates criminals of all kinds.

Among crime-specific terms, the words for offenders tend to point to crimes against the body (e.g., murderer, rapist), crimes against property (e.g., thief, smuggler, burglar), and crimes against both body and property (e.g., robber, plunderer, marauder). Specific terms for those who commit violence against the body seem to carry a graver connotation than those which involve only property. The eighteenth-century Italian criminologist Beccaria (1738-94) puts these “crimes against the security of the private citizen” as the most grievous of crimes, after high treason (Beccaria 81; section 27). He also divides crimes into “attempts against a man’s person” and “against his property,” citing the former as the more serious: “The former ought infallibly to be rewarded with corporal punishment” (81; section 27).<sup>59</sup> For instance, the idea of a murderer or a rapist is generally thought to be worse than that of a robber, bandit, or

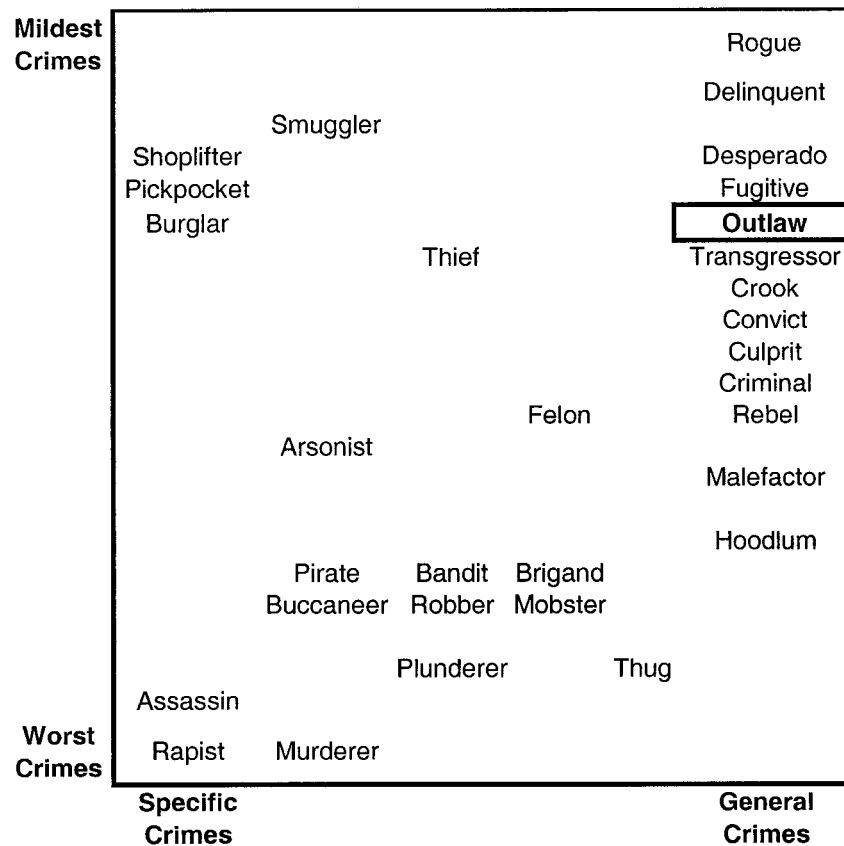
plunderer, for although the latter terms imply violence against body *and* against property, murder and rape carry a more immediate, more explicit, and more violent image and consequence of crime.<sup>60</sup> Literature tends to favor the more general terms, allowing the actual crime to be de-emphasized in favor of the development of other aspects of character and theme. However, many terms—such as robber, bandit, brigand, and pirate—have become popular as romantic terms.

The figure below (Figure 1) attempts to plot criminal terms by degree of specificity and by degree of mildness. The coordinates assigned to each term are subjective and are only meant to offer a rough estimate of the range in semantic value. The main point is that the term *outlaw* is a general term inclined to denote more mildness.

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<sup>59</sup> Beccaria's principle of proportionality between the seriousness of the crime and the severity of the sanction has inspired research on establishing a scale of crimes. One example in the United States involving over fifty thousand interviews has produced a Beccarian scale of the perceived seriousness of 204 offenses: Marvin E. Wolfgang, Robert M. Figlio, Paul E. Tracy, and Simon I. Singer. The National Survey of Crime Severity. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1985.

<sup>60</sup> One finds as ironic exception to the idea that murder is worse than robbery in Henry Fielding's Jonathan Wild (1743). In Book 3, Chapter 3, Wild himself argues the opposite: "You have, it seems, reconciled your conscience (a pretty word) to robbery, from its being so common. Is it then the novelty of murder which deters you?...Is it not more generous, nay, more good-natured, to his [sic] send a man to his rest, than, after plundering him of all he hath...to punish him with a languishing death, or, what is worse, a languishing life?" (Fielding 130-1). Beccaria discusses the variability of virtue and vice in Section 25: "the meaning of virtue and vice, of good citizen and guilty man changes with the revolution of the ages, not in accord with the changes in the country's circumstances. . . but in accord with the pardons and errors which move the different legislators" (Beccaria 79). As illustration of this, Faller points out that murder has been seen as the most heinous of crimes until only recently. In the Middle Ages and even Renaissance, heresy and treason were worse (Faller 22). Faller also quotes from Hobbes's Leviathan, to illustrate this principle: "Amongst men, till there were instituted great Commonwealth, it was thought no dishonour to be a Pyrate, of a High-way Theefe; but rather a lawful Trade" (qtd. in Faller 119).

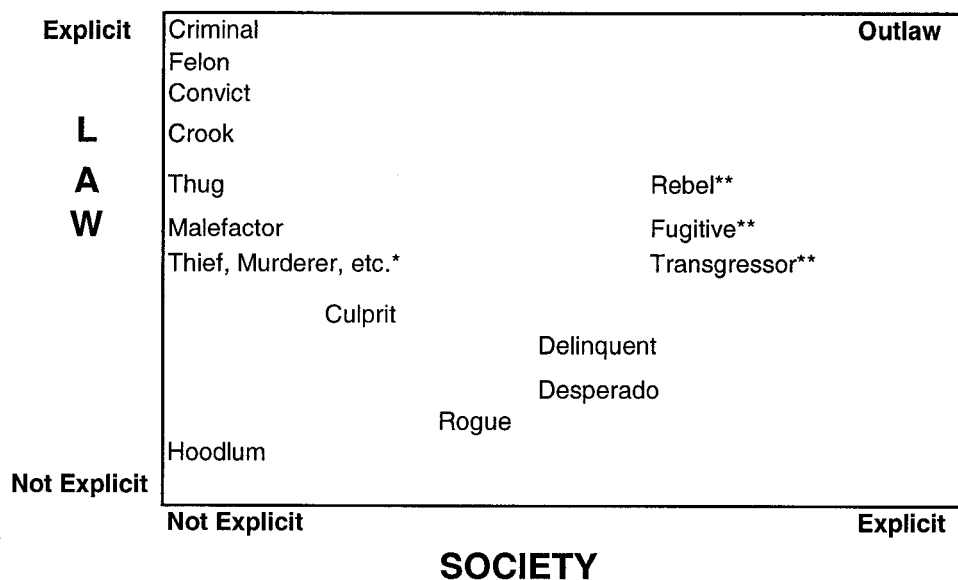


**Figure 1: Criminal Terms by Specificity**

In contrast to crimes against the body, crimes against property tend to grow milder as they become more specific (as long as they are divorced from bodily violence). For instance, a smuggler and a thief have much milder connotations than a bandit because their crimes against property do not involve bodily violence—taking the property by force by confronting body. Instead, these crimes involved stealth and secrecy. Just as the terms *criminal* and *outlaw* are demystified when specific terms are used instead, so terms such as *thief* lose some of their aura of mystery when the crime is specified. A specific kind of thief, such as a burglar, pickpocket, or shoplifter, tends to trivialize the criminal, allowing less room for myth-making or legend creation.

In addition to its present-day romantic associations, the term *outlaw* signifies a break from both law and society much more explicitly than other criminal terms. Just as criminal terms may be semantically mapped according to their specificity or

according to their seriousness, so may they also be mapped according to the degree that law and society are explicit as concepts within the term. Most criminal terms contain some implicit reference to law. Among other things, the chart below illustrates why *outlaw* is a good term for the kind of protagonists discussed in this study. In addition to being a general term—thus distancing the hero from specific criminal acts—and inclined toward the mild, the term is loaded most heavily with referential meaning to law and society.



\*Crime-specific terms (also assassin, rapist, burglar, pickpocket, etc) are only partly law explicit  
These acts are illegal only if the law so dictates

\*\*The deed need not represent transgression of the law (can be a religious or informal social code)

**Figure 2: Criminal Terms by Reference to Law and Society**

*Outlaw* is the term which most fully and explicitly embraces both the concepts of law and society. It is a term containing two morphemes, “out” and “law”—the first pointing to a societal (as well as legal) relationship, the second explicitly calling forth the concept of law. An outlaw is outside the law in that he has transgressed the law or committed a crime, and in some cases has been excluded from normal legal protection and rights. The term *criminal*, for instance, makes reference only to the crime (the

breaking of law) but not the consequence of the crime for the criminal in society. The term *outlaw* signifies that the person is both outside the law *and* outside society.

Because of its unique and potent semantic value, the term outlaw is a popular one for iconic figures and for criminals who can be romanticized. In his historical study, *Bandits*, Hobsbawm employs the term “social bandit,” roughly synonymous with my use of *outlaw*. In addition to the romantic, the term “outlaw” also suggests the noble. The phrase “noble outlaw” (a coinage owing much to the term “noble savage”) is common when discussing benevolent, mild-mannered criminals such as Robin Hood, who fight for social and moral causes. But the “noble” is almost redundant, for “outlaw” itself carries this sense of nobleness. We will discuss the concept of the noble outlaw in more detail shortly. It is a central, though not unique, concept to the Romantic outlaw narrative. But before discussing the noble outlaw, we will focus on what exactly it means to be an outlaw (as opposed to just a criminal). As part of this, we will discuss specific elements of the outlaw life and character.

An outlaw narrative must do three things. First, it must focus on (in primary or secondary position) an outlaw character who commits crimes or is banished. Second, it must thematize criminality at some level. This thematization does not have to be deep or original—it does not have to be philosophical—but criminality has to be a recurring and integrated theme, not just part of the plot. Lastly, it must employ traditional outlaw motifs (even if only to invert or deconstruct them) and exhibit certain structural elements. An outlaw narrative requires both an outlaw and a narrative, and the “narrative” must tell a story of the outlaw as he moves from point A to point B. This movement can be a physical or geographical movement—a wandering to a doomed end, an execution—or it can be a moral/spiritual movement toward repentance, consciousness, etc.

Outlaw narratives tend to follow two patterns. The less serious outlaw narratives (such as the typical *Räuberroman* or Robin Hood ballads and novels) take the form primarily of an adventure story, with most of the narrative focused on the

exploits of the outlaw hero.<sup>61</sup> The structure of such outlaw narratives tends to be cyclical, with little character development, and a lot of repetition. Vulpius's Rinaldo Rinaldini exhibits this pattern. In these narratives, the outlaws are already outlaws when we meet them. We learn their origins only later and in an abbreviated form; thus, the etiology of crime loses its importance, becoming only one episode in a long string.<sup>62</sup> One effect of this is more concentration on action and less on psychological or moral aspects, although the episodic structure could be thought of as reflecting the metaphysical randomness—and timelessness—of the outlaw's life in the wild space (Dainat, Abaellino 265). This structure also emphasizes the static outlaw condition of an outlaw who is doomed and cannot go back to a former life because we as readers (and by extension society) cannot and do not see them in this former life. This pre-outlaw life does not exist in the main narrative. The more sophisticated and serious treatments of outlaws convey the completeness of a human life. Portraying the origins of the outlaw, such narratives tend to be more linear, showing the pre-outlaw life and the etiology of crime, followed by the series of adventures and hardships of the outlaw existence. Finally, we witness the end of the outlaw, brought about by either the repentance of the criminal or pursuit of the outlaw to a tragic end. The etiology of crime is the most important and interesting aspect of outlaw narratives. Consisting of the explanation of how the protagonist becomes an outlaw, this part of the narrative delves into issues of societal influences and human nature in an attempt to portray and explain the phenomenon of crime. In addition to the general portrayal of the pre-outlaw—that is, of the protagonist before any threat of criminality emerges—the

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<sup>61</sup> One sees many elements of outlaw narratives in the seven types of adventure tale that Green outlines in his book, Seven Types of Adventure Tale. The Avenger Story, The Wanderer Story (which includes criminals), and the Hunted Man story are adventure tale types which share elements with the outlaw narrative. For more details on the types, see Green 121-2.

<sup>62</sup> But such de-emphasis and unlinear explanation of the outlaw's origins is not always a result of a narrative not being "serious." For instance, two of Sir Walter Scott's novels, Ivanhoe and Rob Roy, are both serious in their treatment of the outlaw theme and may be seen as outlaw narratives; however, the narrative space allotted to the outlaw is marginal. In addition, Dainat notes that some robber novels endow the robber with a mysterious past who must be uncovered by the hero during the course of the narrative (Abaellino 272). Such robber novels resemble more the Gothic novel than the Romantic outlaw narrative.

etiology of crime consists of two structural elements: an impetus that edges slowly or propels quickly the character to become an outlaw and a verbalization of the outlaw's will to crime.

The impetus to crime implies an external force or person that propels the hero to become an outlaw. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the question of origins of the criminal was rarely explored.<sup>63</sup> The reason for crime was held to be simple: the inherent evil in man and woman, temptation, and weakness of the flesh in turning from God to the devil (Dainat, Abaellino 154-5). Base causes—such as money, fame, or women—sometimes play a role (Abaellino 155), especially in writers like Defoe, but as we move later in the century, crime is less about a personal fall and more about external forces—relationships, conflicts, and entanglements. The impetus results less from base human weaknesses and temptations and more from the external factors of economic or social hardship, political oppression, or treachery from a villain. The noble outlaw “is always first a victim of, and only then a rebel against, society” (Thorslev 22). Such a change in the perceived reason for crime—an external impetus—coupled with the careful portrayal of the outlaw's origins helps establish a more sympathetic character. In The Pirate (1822), Scott distinguishes between the etiology of crime for the villain and for the noble outlaw:

There are two sorts of men whom situations of guilt, and terror, and commotion, bring forward as prominent agents. The first are spirits so naturally moulded and fitted for deeds of horror that they stalk forth from their lurking-places like actual demons.... But Cleveland belonged to the second class of these unfortunate beings, who are involved in evil rather by the concurrence of external circumstances than by natural inclination. (414-5; ch. 39)

Schiller makes a similar distinction in his essay “Über das Pathetische,” where he stresses the importance of showing the cause of a character's hardships: the

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<sup>63</sup> Few eighteenth-century biographies of criminals actually go into the etiology of the crimes they describe (Faller 59).

“Darstellung der *Ursache* des Leidens” (Erzählungen 523). We do not tend to feel sympathy, or *Mitleid*, for the pure villain because the villain’s misfortunes are caused by “einen bösen Willen,” not by an external impetus to crime, or, as Schiller puts it in “Über die tragische Kunst,” by “den Zwang der Umstände” (Erzählungen 379). Ziolkowski also points out that Romantic works on crime usually include this kind of good man that is corrupted (“Portrait” 300).

One tendency of Romantic outlaw texts is to portray the impetus to crime as resulting explicitly from political oppression. Dainat cites the common occurrence in robber novels of the protagonist being an “Objekt menschlicher Bösheit” (Abaellino 273). The French robber Jules Mandrin became a bandit and “the captain-general of the smugglers” on account of an injustice by the administration, which refused to pay him for some mules (Angiolillo 7). Benedetto Croce cites the impetus that “made of honest Angelo Duca a brigand” as a result of “the arrogance of a lord, the complete lack of any guarantee of legal justice” (qtd. in Angiolillo 141). In his discussion of the noble outlaw type, Thorslev explains that he is “wronged either by intimate personal friends, or by society in general” and that “his rebellion is always given a plausible motive” (69). Similarly, Hobsbawm, in his historical study, describes the social bandit’s career as beginning not by crime but as a victim of an injustice, often persecuted by the establishment for an act not felt to be criminal by the folk (47-8). Walter Scott’s *Rob Roy* is very vocal in his resentment for his unjust sufferings: “Considering what I have been—what I have been forced to become—and, above all, that which has forced me to become what I am” (Rob Roy 437; ch. 35).<sup>64</sup> He continues: “Can I forget that I have been branded as an outlaw,—stigmatized as a traitor,—a price set on my head as if I had been a wolf,—my family treated as the dam and cubs of the hill-fox...—the very name which came to me from a long and noble line of martial ancestors, denounced” (Rob Roy 437; ch. 35).

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<sup>64</sup> One can see a reversal of these words in Victor Hugo’s Le Dernier Jour d’un Condamné [The Last Day of a Condemned Man] (1829): “Wretched man! what a crime I have committed and what a crime I cause society to commit” (qtd. in Porter 20).

In addition to explicitly resulting from an oppressive establishment, the external impetus may also arise out of an establishment or society which allows poverty and other social problems to exist. In English criminal narrative of the early eighteenth century, for instance, poverty was often cited as the impetus or cause. Defoe perceived the “injustice of contemporary English society which failed to provide for the poor, drove them to crime, and then hanged them. No wonder that Defoe’s heroes and heroines escape the hangman. None of them fall into necessity through vice” (Novak, Defoe 87-8). Issues of poverty usually arose in the context of a large urban center, such as London, yet this impetus of poverty continues from early in the eighteenth century through the Romantic Period and beyond in many outlaw narratives, whether literary, biographical, or historical. The German chronicle, Das Hildburghausener Protokoll (1753), places emphasis on the outlaw’s honest origins and on the fact that his motivation for stealing derives from a helpless position of poverty: “Er, Mahr, habe keinmal mit gestohlen, auch keine Diebstähle ausgekundschaftet, oder verrathen, wäre auch niemals eingestiegen, sondern nur mit seiner Mutter und Stieff-Vater herum gezogen...” (Das Hildburghausener Protokoll 10, qtd. in Kraft 28). We also see an attempt to twist his premeditated illegal actions of marauding into reactive instincts of neediness, combined with moderation: “In einem Dorffe [sic] im Gothaischen hätte er, Mahr, vorm Jahr ein Hemd gestohlen, weil er keines gehabt und eins gebraucht, und ihm niemand eins geben wollen. Er hätte es doch gnädig gemacht, und nur eins genommen” (Das Hildburghausener Protokoll 56, qtd. in Kraft 28). Daniel Defoe, throughout his writings, recognizes how fear and poverty drive men to sin and crime. In his “Essay Upon Honesty” in Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe, he calls this impetus to crime *necessity*: “Necessity is above the power of human nature, and for Providence to suffer a man to fall into that necessity is to suffer him to sin....[N]ecessity makes the highest crimes lawful, and things evil in their own nature are made practicable by it” (Defoe, Serious 39-40, Ch.2). Novak cites this necessity, which “makes an honest man a knave” (Defoe, Serious 37, Ch.2) as a central problem

in Defoe's fiction. Moll Flanders, Colonel Jack, and Roxana all attempt to excuse their crimes by pleading "Necessity" (Novak, Defoe 65).<sup>65</sup>

August Gottlieb Meißner, whom Simanowski calls the founder of the German "Kriminalgeschichte," puts blame on society for a young man who becomes a robber in his narrative "Ein Räuber, weil die menschliche Gesellschaft ohne Schuld ihn ausstieß" (1780) (Simanowski 346). The narrator of August Kähler's history of "Bauer Martin der Mörder" (Leipzig, 1801) discusses frankly the oppression felt by farmers, which leads Martin to kill his boss when he rapes his bride and mocks him (Müller-Fraureuth 38). Similarly, Baumgarten in Schiller's Wilhelm Tell is driven to murder the man who tries to rape his wife. The editor of the 1787 Hannikel biography gives several excuses for the Hannikel brothers Geudel and Wenzel turning to crime, all of which are external:

So sich selbst überlassen, zu keinem anhaltenden Verstand und Körper nützlichen Geschäft gewöhnt, durch keine Religionsbegriffe aufgeklärt, von Eltern und Großeltern angesteckt, durch böse Exempel vergiftet, durch die Farbe ihres Gesichts verraten..., von allen Mitteln entblößt, von keinem Menschenfreund mitleidig unterstützt und zur Arbeit gedrungen.... (Simanowski 346-7, n.362)

The programmatic nature of highlighting the criminal as victim of circumstance is especially obvious in the biography of the robber Konstanzer Hans (1787) (Simanowski 347 n.363). It features a beginning that was not uncommon and which anticipates the opening of Kleist's Michael Kohlhaas: "Hundertmal geschieht's, daß einer mehr durch eine ungünstige Lage und durch widrige Zufälle als aus Neigung und Wahl ein Bösewicht wird. Dies war der Fall bei Hans" (Simanowski 347). Gabriel Stein (F.A.G. Schumann) published a collection of stories called "Die changeante

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<sup>65</sup> Although the impetus of necessity is central, it is also rendered problematic in Defoe. For instance, the remorse of Moll Flanders "for her crimes also throws some doubt on her attempt to plead necessity as an excuse for her actions.... Unlike Colonel Jack,... Moll continues to steal after she is wealthy enough to retire" (Novak, Defoe 80).

Mappe" (1796), in which poor Wilhelm breaks into a rich cousin's house in order to be able to marry. Portrayed as a victim of circumstance, Wilhelm says:

Ja, ich bin der abscheulichste Verbrecher; aber machen Sie einen Menschen zu Ihrem Sklaven, sperren Sie ihn, aller Nahrung entzogen, in einen Keller; wenn er sich durch Ketten und Gemäuer nagt und gleich einem Wolfe ihren Säugling fasst und vernichtet: dann nennen sie ihn auch Verbrecher?... Ungerechtes Schicksal und grausame Bestimmung sind seine Räte! O Gott, dass ich doch kein Teufel bin, und gegen dich zu wüten! – Ich war gut, aber arm; du Welt macht's aber der Armut unmöglich, ehrlich zu bleiben. (qtd. in Müller-Fraureuth 37-8)

It is precisely at this point, when it is impossible "ehrlich zu bleiben" that the criminal is born and the impetus, whether singular and immediate or gradual and multi-faceted, takes effect. Once the impetus has triggered the protagonist to commit crime, the will to crime can be expressed. The will to crime is simply the outlaw's formalized reaction to the impetus, often resembling a declaration of war against society at large. Kleist's Michael Kohlhaas expresses his will to crime when he "übernahm sodann das Geschäft der Rache" (29); and Christian Wolf, in Schiller's "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre," declares his will to crime thus: "Ich wollte Böses tun" (21). Scott's pirate-outlaw, Cleveland, in The Pirate expresses his will to crime as an abandonment of all moderation and nobleness:

It was there I formed the resolution to seem no softer-hearted nor better-instructed, no more humane and no more scrupulous, than those with whom fortune had leagued me....I bargained with myself then, that, since I could not lay aside my superiority of intellect and education, I would do my best to disguise, and to sink in the rude seaman, all appearance of better feeling and better accomplishments. (243; Ch.22)

Ziolkowski calls the will to crime one of the main characteristics of Romantic works on crime ("Portrait" 300). The idea of a crime without a will, or a crime without a motive,

would be a modernist discovery (Black 93).<sup>66</sup> In the Romantic era, most writers were “committed to the idea of motivation as the basis for human action” (Black 94); and thus motive, which is directly related to impetus and will to crime—as well as the exploration of the inner psyche—was very important. The will to crime combined with the impetus and pre-outlaw life constitute the etiology of crime. These are the most important structural elements for the outlaw narrative. The tragic end is less consistently part of the outlaw narrative and, while the adventures are almost always a part of the narrative, this structural element is too general to warrant any further commentary.

In addition to its structural elements, an outlaw narrative is also determined by its sustained focus on an outlaw hero, cited by Ziolkowski as one of the two common traits of the Romantic criminal novel (“Portrait” 291). Many narratives feature a criminal or an outlaw, but, an *outlaw narrative* must maintain a focus on an outlaw figure who exhibits essential outlaw motifs. The outlaw does not have to exhibit them all, but the less he exhibits, the more he should be considered another kind of criminal and the more the narrative should be viewed as a different kind of genre.

Many writers on outlaw and noble robbers have listed essential traits of the outlaw and elements of their narratives—most notably Hobsbawm, Ziolkowski, Lüsebrink, and Angiolillo. I have seven, many of which are found in these other lists and many of which are closely related. They represent my attempt to distill the most essential elements of the outlaw, whether or not he is a noble outlaw or a product of Romanticism. The first set of motifs concerns society: alienation, a static criminal condition, geographical freedom, and transitory physical condition. The second set, closely linked to the motifs in the first set, concerns place: association with the wild space and a public persona with sometimes legendary proportions. Many of these elements are present in various genres of adventure stories and epic, but a crucial

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<sup>66</sup> For example, many of Handke’s criminals are one-time killers (as in The Goalie’s Anxiety at the Penalty Kick and Across) whose acts derive from no perceptible motivation (Hammer 169).

element in the outlaw narrative is crime. The outlaw must have committed or be accused of a crime, whether guilty or not.

Alienation consists of social and legal separation from society. Static criminal condition relates to the finality of alienation and banishment to the wild space. The outlaw is figuratively outside the law and society due to actual crimes as well as literally beyond law and society when banished or exiled. Beccaria in Of Crimes and Punishments (1764) states the need for social removal: “Everyone who disturbs the public peace, everyone who will not obey the law...should be excluded from society, that is, should be banished” (Section 17; p.61). But alienation includes not only physical separation but the kind of alienation that forbids society from associating with criminals, as the monk in Rinaldo Rinaldini expresses in a fervent speech: “Gemeinschaft aber kann man mit solchen Gesindel nicht haben” (82). This alienation usually represents a static criminal condition—a condition from which the outlaw cannot or will not return. He is a habitual criminal either due to inclination or to his doomed state as an outlaw. He is branded.

Despite being alienated from society, the outlaw must also be known by society. His identity can be false or distorted, but he must possess a public persona. The outlaw cannot be a secret murderer, for a link between the crime and the identity of the criminal must be evident. Where this link does not exist we have a different kind of criminal narrative—a Gothic novel or detective novel—not an outlaw narrative.<sup>67</sup> This link, however, does not have to be true or factual. In fact, the opposite is usually true, for the manipulation of and transfiguration of this link often makes up a key aspect in outlaw narrative. When the link between real outlaw and public persona of the outlaw

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<sup>67</sup> Richard Alewyn outlines the difference between the detective novel and the crime novel: “Der Kriminalroman erzählt die Geschichte eines Verbrechens, der Detektivroman die der Aufdeckung eines Verbrechens. Der Unterschied hat aber weitgehende Folgen. Im Kriminalroman wird der Verbrecher dem Leser früher bekannt als die Tat und der Hergang der Tat früher als ihr Ausgang. Im Detektivroman dagegen ist die Reihenfolge umgekehrt. Wenn dem Leser der Täter bekannt wird, ist unweigerlich der Roman zu Ende, und auch den Ausgang der Tat erfährt er früher als ihren Hergang, und diesen Hergang nicht als Augenzeuge sondern durch nachträgliche Rekonstruktion” (qtd. in Haslinger 174). For more on the difference between the detective novel and the criminal novel, with direct criticism and revision of Alewyn’s paradigm, see Gerber.

diverge, the outlaw achieves legendary proportions. The legendary outlaw-hero is often recounted as having magical powers that preserve him from death, attack, and capture. He could make himself invisible, either literally (through magic potion/object) or figuratively through disguises which enable him to move about at will (Angiolillo 10; Hobsbawm 48). Appell, in his discussion of *Räuberromantik*, notes that most German robber novels were partially based on the lives of real criminals, for it was a tendency of the age to turn the commonest of rogues into great robbers and heroes (71-2). This greatness, which Ziolkowski calls “titanism,” is an important part of the Romantic outlaw narrative (“Portrait” 300).

The social alienation of the outlaw finds spatial expression in the outlaw’s occupation of the wild space. Referred to in Robin Hood scholarship as “pastoral,” the concept of the wild space signifies a literal, geographical space outside society—“Wälder, Wildnisse und Wüsten,” as Dainat puts it (Abaellino 157).<sup>68</sup> The wild space, often portrayed by forests, storms, and ruins, exists in contrast to flowering valleys, gardens and parks, the buzz of cities, and the quiet life on the farm (Dainat, Abaellino 199). The wild space fits the eighteenth-century notion of the sublime. In Edmund Burke’s A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (1757), “beauty is linked to pleasure, society and the goal of reproduction. The sublime is linked to mingled pain and delight (as opposed to pleasure), to ideas of terror and danger, and to self-preservation” (Clery 112). In the sublime, self preservation is significant in the milieu of the outlaw, for this is the law of the wild space, the law of the jungle. The sublime represents the wild, terrifying experience of the present, while the beautiful is often what the melancholy outlaw remembers in the past. By definition, wild space requires a transitory physical condition. If the outlaw does not remain in transit, the abode ceases to be a hideout and becomes a settlement—no longer wild. The outlaw (“out” as a spatial indicator) must occupy a wild space (the Wild West, the forest, a robber den, Sherwood Forest) outside the realm of normal

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<sup>68</sup> Dainat offers several examples of the wild space as portayed in robber novels (Abaellino 197-200).

society because of his transgressions. This banishment, recalling the withdraw of poets and prophets, can also symbolize alienation from God (Dainat, Abaellino 157).

The association with wild space, and the resulting transitory physical condition, makes possible another prerequisite of the outlaw—freedom. Freedom of movement differentiates the outlaw from the prisoner. The moment the outlaw is captured he ceases to be an outlaw and becomes a prisoner—and the nature of the narrative necessarily changes. Caleb, in Godwin's Caleb Williams, contrasts the prisoner and the outlaw thus: the prisoner is “shut up like wild beasts in a cage, deprived of activity and palsied with indolence...They had no more hope...but were reserved to the most dismal prospects, and forbidden to think upon any other topic”. In contrast, outlaws (or thieves), are “generally full of cheerfulness and merriment. They could expatiate freely wherever they thought proper. They could form plans and execute them. They consulted their inclinations” (218; vol. 3; ch. 2). This freedom is spatial only, asserted by penetrating the social space in disguise and by dominating the wild space. Common in outlaw narratives is the motif of the outlaw (while in disguise) hearing others talk about him and his deeds. The outlaw is allowed in discussion with society only as an object—a topic (Dainat, Abaellino 245).

This freedom, of course, is limited and, to some extent, illusory. The outlaw, normally hunted with a price on his head, cannot appear freely in society and finds himself in constant movement. This transitory physical condition—a symptom of the wild space he occupies—pervades the outlaw's existence. He, like an animal that both hunts and is hunted, must always be on the move. As an occupier of the wild space, the outlaw also tends to assume the characteristics of his environment. One secondary definition of outlaw (found in the Oxford English Dictionary, and elsewhere) is “a wild, untamed, hunted beast”. Outlaws are often portrayed or described as wild beasts, wolves, etc. Although outside of society, the outlaw, because he is a public persona, is constantly pursued by a society that seeks to bring him back for punishment, to earn a reward, or to destroy him.

Below is a table which summarizes the essential outlaw elements in the outlaw narratives of this study. The darker the shape, the stronger the presence of that element.

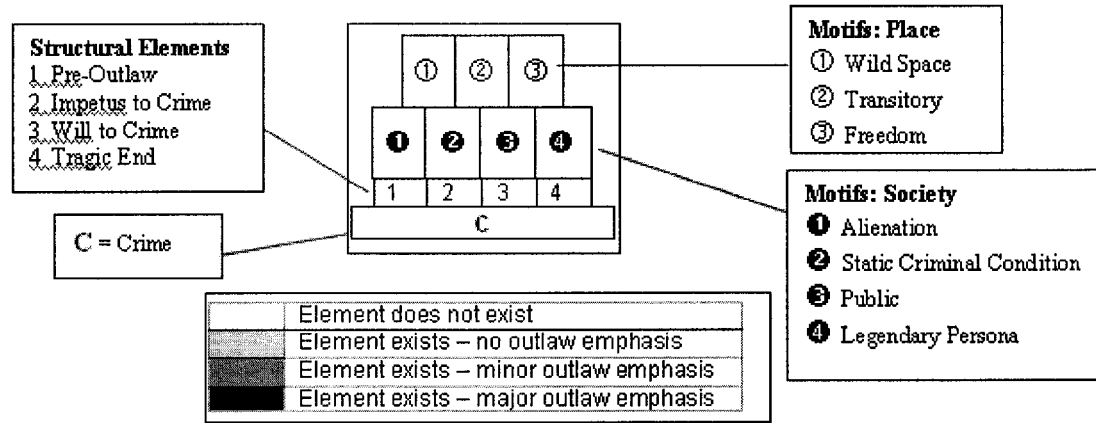


Figure 3: Essential Outlaw Elements

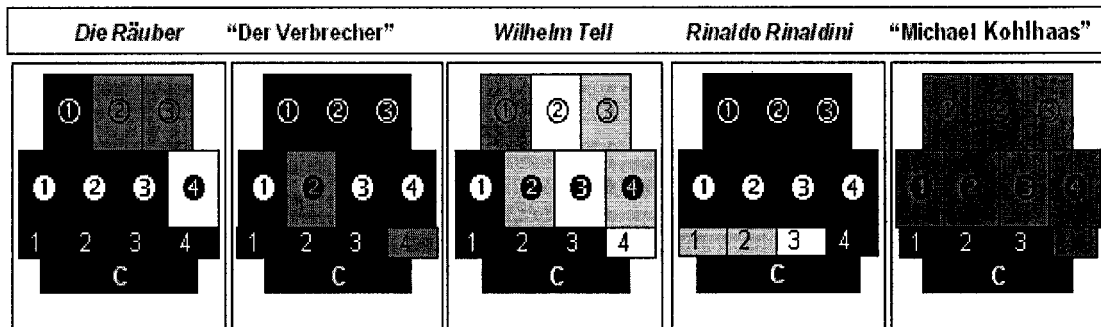


Figure 4: Outlaw Elements in Dissertation Works

By definition, an outlaw narrative features an outlaw at the center of the narrative. Such an outlaw, which is able to win even some of our sympathy, represents what is commonly referred to as the “noble outlaw.” The prototypical noble outlaw is Robin Hood. Outlaws such as Robin Hood may indeed commit crimes, but they do so for noble purposes—and often exhibit the manners of genteel and noble society.

Lüsebrink outlines the characteristics of the typical hero of French and German “Brigantenliteratur” of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Often the hero comes

from a middle to upper-class background and is portrayed as having unusual charisma, physical attractiveness, intelligence, and eloquence, and an aversion to unnecessary bloodshed—qualities contrasting sharply with actual reports of actual figures of these times (Lüsebrink, “Französische Brigantenliteratur” 179). All the traits I will lay out here apply to so-called noble outlaws, and many apply to heroes generally, for in fact, in many ways the noble outlaw is both a hero and anti-hero.<sup>69</sup>

An essential aspect of most heroes, and thus of the noble outlaw, is greatness. Sheerly by excelling or demonstrating greatness, the outlaw becomes noble and gains not only our interest but also our sympathy. In his discourse on the “Virtue Most Necessary for a Hero” (1751), Rousseau calls “strength of soul,” which “consists in always being able to act forcefully” as the most essential virtue for the hero (Rousseau 10-1). Of particular interest for the idea of the criminal hero is Rousseau’s assertion that “heroism must not be viewed...with the idea of moral perfection...but as a composite of good and bad qualities, healthy or harmful according to the circumstances” (Rousseau 3). The Romantic outlaw embodies just such a composite of good and bad qualities. Ziolkowski, drawing on Nietzsche, reiterates the nearness of heroes and criminals in that the criminal and all great men feel alienation from society, but one is unable to prove he is stronger than society and thus degenerates into a criminal (“Portrait” 306). However, the ordinary criminal becomes extraordinary in the perception of others or in the portrayal of the narrative through performance of extraordinary acts. Michael Kohlhaas, by all appearances an ordinary horse-dealer, becomes extraordinary—“einer der rechtschaffensten zugleich und entsetzlichsten Menschen seiner Zeit” (3)—in his criminal pursuit of justice. Diderot’s Neveu de Rameau (1774) discusses criminal greatness in terms of the sublime:

If there’s one realm in which it is essential to be sublime, it is in wickedness. You spit on ordinary scum [the petty thief], but you can’t deny a kind of respect to a great criminal: his courage amazes, his

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<sup>69</sup> Furst discusses at length the “the Romantic hero” as “already on the way to the modern anti-hero” (“Romantic Hero” 40). I will expand upon her remarks in the conclusion.

ferocity overawes. People especially admire integrity of character.

(Diderot 58)

Rameau's concept of "sublime crime" clearly reflects Edmund Burke's notion in A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (1757) that the sublime only arises upon contemplation of the terrible, which in turn evokes astonishment, reverence, and respect—precisely those emotions which Rameau says are the effects of evil. Burke himself implies a connection between sublimity and crime by citing the Iliad's description of a fugitive murderer on an astonished crowd as a perfect example of the sublime. Burke's description implies an "empathic identification of the part of the spectators"—the onlookers sympathize with the criminal rather than condemn him *and* they participate imaginatively in the crime itself (Hammer 180n). Furthermore, as Peyrache insightfully notes, the motif of the sublime criminal celebrates a new aesthetic that explores the limits of terror and pleasure: "Le motif du brigand sublime célèbre une nouvelle esthétique qui va explorer les limites de la terreur et du plaisir" (Peyrache 287)

A great criminal is one who causes terror, who inspires awe, and who exhibits unusual strength, skill, or bravery. In stories of John Sheppard in the Newgate Calendar, what fascinates the narrator *and* the public is not his robbery crimes but his jail escapes: "The curiosity of the public being greatly excited by his former escape" (Newgate 105). This is evident in the narrator's excitement and detail in telling about these exploits and by the amount of time he devotes to them compared to the actual crimes. We enjoy the skill displayed and the defiance of the establishment. We also identify with the instinct to break free and can feel sympathy or at least understanding for anyone who does this. Thus, the focus is on the escapes, not the crimes of Sheppard—or the mentality of a repeat offender—which we may find harder to understand. Similarly, Jonathan Wild, though portrayed as villainous and often unsympathetically, is also portrayed as smart. For this reason, in addition to the complexity and irony of Wild as a criminal enforcer-citizen, we are interested in him.

In fact, the subject of greatness as a value and a perception is central in Fielding's Jonathan Wild, though employed to hyperbolic satiric purpose.

In addition to greatness, the noble outlaw exhibits genuinely noble traits. They manifest themselves in the outlaw's deeds and manners, in his self-reflection, and in his moral codes. In English tradition, the gentleman robber, though a literary trope, seems also to have been a reality. He exhibits good manners while continuing to rob. Although this discrepancy between behavior and motives exists, it may have been a genuine discrepancy and not just a performance. In Captain Alexander Smith's Lives of the Highwaymen, Hind had the courage and brazenness to rob two travelers single-handedly but also the generosity to return some of their money. Smith writes that Hind's mentor was "very proud, to see his companion rob with good grace" (Faller, Turned 7). Hobsbawm cites a 1903 account of an Italian outlaw who extols the wisdom of adopting a Robin-Hood-like disposition: "If a typical brigand wants a long career he must be or show himself to be a philanthropist, even as he kills and robs to the best of his ability. Otherwise he risks losing popular sympathy and being taken for a common murderer or robber" (qtd. in Hobsbawm 19). Thorslev agrees that the noble outlaw's "sins, if not completely exonerated, are at least palliated by reference to his innate gentleness of nature, shown especially in his courteous treatment of women" (22).

Hobsbawm's definition of the social bandit includes the code to right wrongs (47-8). The noble outlaw is a man of action and generosity. Pancho Villa, after his first important success, is reported to have given his mother five thousand pesos, four thousand to his relatives, and "a tailor's shop for a man named Antonio Retana who had very poor eyesight and a large and needy family" (Angiolillo 13). Jesse James is supposed to have lent money to a poor widow so she could pay her debts and then rob the banker to get the money back (Angiolillo 13). In Don Quixote, Roque is thanked for his "courtesy and generosity." The Doña Guiomar de Quiñones "wanted to jump out of the coach and kiss the great Roque's hands and feet" but he "begged her pardon for the injury he was forced to do her, to comply with the strict obligations of his wicked calling" (864; Part 2, ch. 60). When the outlaw's generosity consists of taking

from the rich and giving to the poor, we can call this the Robin Hood motif. This is one of the attributes of Hobsbawm's social bandit (Hobsbawm 47-8). Moll Flanders, though not actively stealing from the rich and giving to the poor feels a Robin-Hood-like sympathy for the poor: "Looking back on her first theft from her repentant old age, Moll blames the devil and poverty; but her chief concern at the time is not so much with the morality of the act itself as with the fear that, like Colonel Jack, she might have robbed from a poor widow in the same necessity as herself" (Novak, Defoe 79). Schiller's Karl Moor gives away money, as did French criminals such as Mandrin and Cartouche (Hirn 51-2).

The noble outlaw exhibits these traits because he is either a disinherited noble, who was raised in genteel society, or because he represents the noble savage with an innate sense of morals and generosity. Fairchild defines the noble savage as "any free and wild being who draws directly from nature virtues which raise doubts as to the value of civilization" (2).<sup>70</sup> Thorslev considers the noble savage, or "Child of Nature" as he calls him, one of the earliest pre-Romantic types (30). He is "depicted as a being close to nature and to natural life, and this association has given him moral principles and love and natural generosity" (Thorslev 30). Similarly, Michelsen asserts that the concept of the noble savage of the period certainly had something to do with Schiller's noble robber (71). The notion of the noble savage is, of course, an invention, being "the creation of a philosopher, who, reacting from contemporary glorification of culture, takes from the explorers a picture of the savage and virtuous being" and draws a conclusion which casts "discredit upon the accomplishments of human intellect" (Fairchild 22). In the context of this study, discredit falls most often on legal institutions. The wildness of the Noble Savage or Child of Nature is integral to the Romantic outlaw. In European Romanticism, the outlaw is not a genuine child of

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<sup>70</sup> Fairchild thinks the term was first used in Part One of Dryden's Conquest of Granada (29):

"I am as free as Nature first made man,  
Ere the base laws of servitude began,  
When wild in woods the noble savage ran."

Fairchild is careful to distinguish between an actual savage, who is "little better than a beast," and the noble savage, who is a "virtuous and scornful critic of civilization" (135).

nature but a social being thrust into the wild space. But one sees portrayals of the noble savage as outlaw, particularly in Scott's novels portraying Scottish outlaws, some of Pushkin's tales, and Byron's Eastern tales. Scott, for instance, in his Preface to Rob Roy, calls out the noble savage qualities of his outlaw from the Highlands: "Thus a character like his, blending the wild virtues, the subtle policy, and unrestrained license of an American Indian, was flourishing in Scotland during the Augustan age of Queen Anne and George I" (Prefaces 115).

The noble outlaw has a natural sense of ethics. Already early in the eighteenth century, criminal narratives began to de-emphasize religious commandments and codified legal statutes and focus on natural law as a primary moral system. Defoe's characters are almost all Christian penitents, but they seldom concern themselves with violations of the laws of society" (Novak, Defoe 87). Natural law was regarded as a divine law of reason, far superior to the unjust legal codes of eighteenth-century Europe (87). Except for her robbery of a poor widow at a fire, Moll Flanders acts with an impeccable sense of her rights under natural law" (Novak, Defoe 80).

Implicit in these examples and in many criminal narratives of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is the discrepancy between nature laws and political laws. In his "Commentary on the Book of *Crime and Punishments*" (1766), Voltaire calls natural laws "those which Nature dictates in all ages, to all men, for the maintenance of that justice which she...has implanted in our hearts" (in Beccaria 151; section 14). Political laws are "those that are made in compliance with present necessity, whether it be to give stability to the government, or to prevent misfortune" (in Beccaria 151; section 14). Although Voltaire lists many crimes committed by outlaws which violate natural law—such as theft, violence, homicide, and conspiracies against one's country—such crimes, when committed as part of outlaw narrative plot, are often distanced, meaning they are not seen by the viewer or reader. In addition, if committed, such crimes may be relatively mild in nature, reflecting the noble outlaw's seemingly innate sense for natural law. With moderation as one of his traits, the noble outlaw kills only in self-

defense or just revenge (Hobsbawm 47-8).<sup>71</sup> His nobleness extends beyond personal traits to a sense of justice (Lüsebrink, “Französische Brigantenliteratur” 179), which includes not only an inner ethical and moral sense as well as a belief that justice should prevail in a society.

As one who has a fundamental respect for law and society, it is not surprising that the protagonist outlaw is often elected as captain by the band, and the band is held together by this captain to whom all swear loyalty (Dainat, Abaellino 204). Loyalty and some code of honorable values are central to outlaw bands, whether in literature or historical chronicles (such as the German “Protokolle” of the eighteenth century). Robber bands became communities unto themselves with their own culture, values, and laws. Dainat points out, citing Cicero’s De officiis, 2:11:40, even robber bands cannot live without justice (Abaellino 157; n.44). As captain, the noble outlaw becomes the moral authority of the band. Furthermore, his sense of ethics often provides a stark contrast to his band members.

Once the criminal breaks from society, he is further separated among the criminals themselves, or, as Dainat puts it: “Innerhalb der Wildnis, unter den Räubern wird erneut nach gut und böse unterschieden. Diese Unterscheidung des Unterschiedenen erzeugt jene edlen Banditen, die weder Engel noch Teufel sind oder beides zugleich” (Dainat, Abaellino 220). In Shakespeare’s Two Gentlemen of Verona Speed tells his outlawed master, Valentine, to join a band of “good” outlaws: “be one of them; it’s an honorable kind of thievery” (4.1.38-9). In the literary treatments of such “noble brigands,” one of the main thrusts is to set the hero apart from the everyday criminal (Lüsebrink, “Französische Brigantenliteratur” 179). The noble outlaw is often contrasted with several ignoble outlaws, usually members of his own band. This contrast is usually less intensive and confrontative than that between the noble outlaw and the ignoble citizen, but it is based on a similar construct. Such a construct assumes

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<sup>71</sup> In Henry Fielding’s Jonathan Wild (1743), we see the satirical altering of semantic value of the word “moderation.” Normally, in outlaw narratives, it means steal only from the rich (not poor), or rob only without causing physical harm or death. In Wild’s world, it means murder only one person (for a specific reason), rather than many (for fun) (Ch. 3.4).

a similar deed performed by a noble outlaw and an ignoble outlaw with either different motives or a greater degree of severity. The ignoble outlaw might commit worse deeds or might commit similar deeds with a higher degree of malice or blood-lust. The noble outlaw, in contrast, displays moderation. One sees this contrast not only in Romantic outlaw narratives but also picaresque novels and historical records. In Das Hildburghausener Protokoll, “der Delinquent Mahr,” leader of a robber band, is contrasted with the rest of the band. His human feelings and conscience are emphasized when he disapproves of his band performing brutal actions and rejects “gottloser” activities such as church desecration (Kraft 27-8). Arendt, in his discussion of individual picaresque novels, frequently notes the distinction inherent in the text between the picaro and other criminals or villains: Guzmán is not a robber like his friend Sayavedra and no rebel like Sotho; Simplicissimus contrasts with his robber companion Olivier; and Gil Blas flees the robber band (91). Thus, the picaro distances himself from rebels, robbers, and professional criminals (Arendt 91).

Another favorite contrast of the noble outlaw is with a technically legal but corrupt or oppressive establishment. Kraft suggests that the idea of restoring the balance of goods and destroying the dukedoms in favor of the common man was an important idea among historical robber bands, whether or not it was actually executed (64). Lüsebrink adds to *compassion for the poor a hate towards the rich* as another typical trait of the noble outlaw (“Französische Brigantenliteratur” 179). This Robin-Hood-like antagonism toward the rich and sympathy for the poor lends a sympathetic portrayal to the criminal as a people’s hero who defies an unpopular authority (Ziolkowski, “Portrait” 291). If we turn again to Robin Hood, the quintessential anti-establishment outlaw, the symbolic liberator who “steals from the rich and gives to the poor,” we find he is often placed in a historical context of rebellion or political dispute. He fights against the establishment while assisting the common people, alternating between being a gentleman and an outlaw, a benefactor and a threat, a savior and a rebel. For instance, in Martin Parker’s ballad, “A True Tale of Robin Hood” (1632), Robin Hood is noble because he opposes a church seen as corrupt (yet, as a force of

disruption, he deserves to be destroyed by that very same church) (Knight, Complete 92). The clergy often becomes a favorite villain in Romantic robber novels (Müller-Fraureuth 42).

The noble outlaw may fight against the establishment in general or oppose a citizen villain, who may or may not represent the establishment. In Kleist's Michael Kohlhaas, the Junker Wenzel von Tronka and the other Tronkas represent such ignoble citizens, whose status as part of society is highlighted or who are, in fact, part of the establishment. This conflict of noble outlaw and ignoble citizen, which Hammer calls the "criminal-compliant dichotomy," often emerges as a conflict between doubles, such as Karl and Franz Moor or Jonathan Wild and Heartfree (80). In Schiller, Franz Moor and Gessler are the starkest examples of the ignoble citizen-villain. The point of contrast is that, though both commit crime or sin, one remains inside society, while the other remains outside it. The contrastive characters are often referred to in German scholarship as "Edle Räuber and feine Bösewichter." Both characters are not what they seem: the noble robber commits outwardly bad deeds but is in fact noble in many respects; the ignoble citizen is outwardly law-abiding and noble while committing great wrongs in secret (Dainat, Abaellino 227-8). Thus, the main difference between the noble outlaw and the villain is the openness of the outlaw's crimes. The outlaw may have begun his crimes in secret, but at some point he commits his crimes openly: "so beginnt der Bandit... 'sein Handwerk öffentlich fortzusetzen'" (Dainat, Abaellino 229). The villain (or *feiner Bösewicht*), anxious to preserve his status in society, is deceptive and commits his crimes in secret. A line from the robber novel Astelmo Musso makes the contrast: "der feine Bösewicht, der nicht mit dem Dolche und dem Pistol raubt und mordet, [sondern sich] oft unter der Larve eines rechtschaffenen Mannes verbirgt" (qtd. in Dainat, Abaellino 227). In the context of the outlaw narrative, openness in crime is a value, and one that appeals to readers.

The contrasts of the noble outlaw with both the ignoble citizen and the ignoble outlaw serve to make the outlaw more sympathetic. In the first case, the outlaw's nobleness, despite his being an outlaw, is highlighted through contrast with the so-

called noble in the legal realm. In the second case, the outlaw's relative nobleness is highlighted in the illegal space. In addition to the ennobling effect, the Ignoble-Citizen and Ignoble-Band contrasts work to isolate the outlaw hero, highlighting the outlaw's alienation. The Ignoble-Citizen contrast focuses on the physical separation from a society. The Ignoble-Band contrast focuses on a moral separation—they share the same physical space, but the noble outlaw leader is different morally. In the end, we realize the noble outlaw fits in neither.

Consistent with the eighteenth-century focus on cities and society, the ignoble citizen who serves as foil to the criminal is often a politician. In Henry Fielding's Jonathan Wild, this is one of the major themes of the narrative. Jonathan Wild, although he did not invent organized crime nor its syndication under the guise of law enforcement, was “the first private (i.e., non-officeholding) thief-taker to erect a public persona as servant of the state” as “Thief-Taker General” (Bender 172). Implicit in Wild's character is a comparison with the corrupt politician Walpole. This is true not only in Fielding's version of Wild but also Gay's version in the earlier Beggar's Opera (Bender 100). Wild exercised a new kind of power in the guise of public service, and Walpole “employed similar methods in a parody of traditional hierarchy and patronage.” They were perfect analogues of each other (Bender 141). In 1.5, Wild and Count la Ruse discuss whether it is better and more honorable to be a common thief (outlaw) or a citizen thief. Wild argues: “In civil life, doubtless, the same genius, the same endowments, have often composed the statesman and the prig” (Fielding 52).

Fielding's Wild also shows other reversals, such as when Wild tries to rape Mrs. Heartfree (2.10). A French captain emerges as hero when he rescues Mrs. Heartfree from Wild, but in the next chapter, he too becomes villain as he turns out to have the same lust as Wild. Such reversals form an integral part of outlaw narrative and underline the often profound and dangerous ambiguity of the noble outlaw.

Role reversal is a common way to thematize the central contradiction of the outlaw who is both noble and criminal. For instance, Robin Hood exists as the youth

who is the senior, the yeoman who is the lord (Wiles 58).<sup>72</sup> Role reversal not only highlights the noble outlaw himself but also draws on supporting characters and entities to infuse the narrative with ambiguity. This is done by placing the outlaw in a moral no-man's-land, where he stands alone, contrasted with legal society on one hand and fellow criminals on the other.

At the time of the Robin Hood plays, games, and ballads of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the term “good fellow” and “good fellowship” carried a meaning similar to “noble outlaw” with similar ambiguity and tension (Davenport 46). Robin Hood is often referred to in the early ballads and plays as a “good fellow,” which then meant both a neighbor or friend but also a thief and threat to society (Davenport 46).<sup>73</sup> Good fellowship (like “noble outlaw”) implied the most social and the most antisocial of behaviors, containing both a threat of violence as well as connotations of conviviality. Theft could be a kind of charity and charity a kind of threat, for while Robin Hood is a good fellow, generous to friends and neighbors, he is always acquiring—“his robberies receive the patina of charity” (Davenport 46).

Ambiguity thrived during the Robin Hood summer festivals when participants of games and plays took their roles so seriously that they often confused game with reality, committing crimes while engaging in play (Wiles 14). Because of the carnival atmosphere of such summer games and plays, the potential for real violence as well as contemporaneous acts of charity always existed, making Robin Hood an ambivalent and sometimes threatening figure (Davenport 45). A “Robin Hood,” chosen to gather money or materials for a summer feast, might simply take the goods from the townspeople and force his way into their houses (Wiles 16). For instance, in 1497, a Staffordshire town selected a Robin Hood to ride with his retinue through the town to collect money for the church. He was later accused of ordering his band of over a

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<sup>72</sup> These role reversals also exist among the three main players in Robin Hood plays: (1) “the woman who is a man”; (2) “the cleric who has no morality”; and (3) “large Little John who is strongest yet subordinate” (Wiles 58).

<sup>73</sup> Compare also in *I Henry IV* when Falstaff says to Hal and Poin when he finds out they stole the money he had previously stolen: “Gallants, lads, boys, hearts of gold, all the titles of good fellowship come to you” (Riverside Shakespeare 2.4.277-9).

hundred men to beat any inhabitant of a rival town that they encountered. When tried in a court of law, this “Robin Hood” maintained that he was merely following tradition, peacefully gathering money for the benefit of the church (Davenport 45).<sup>74</sup> The ambiguity in the Robin Hood games of being both a generous but threatening force is part of the noble outlaw paradox. He is an outlaw for his crimes and illegal activities, but the noble characteristics receive the focus.

Despite being alienated and cast out, the noble outlaw is also tied to society. Three of Hobsbawm’s nine points of the noble robber concern his ties to society (47-8). First, the noble outlaw is admired and helped by his people. Second, if he survives, he returns to the community as an honorable citizen. In fact, he never actually leaves the community (47-8). The noble outlaw’s ties to society, though damaged, are often strong since the noble outlaw had often been an ideal citizen or a disinherited noble. Examples of the disinherited noble include Robin Hood, Valentine from Shakespeare’s The Two Gentlemen of Verona, and Schiller’s Karl Moor. Hobsbawm’s third point, illustrated by Schiller’s Wilhelm Tell, is that the noble outlaw is not the enemy of the king or emperor, “who is the fount of justice, but only of the local gentry, clergy or other oppressors” (48).

This introductory chapter has sought to provide some context for discussing Romantic outlaw narratives by discussing cultural attitudes and earlier criminal narratives. We have also laid out elements of the outlaw and paradoxes and ambiguities of the noble outlaw. Using the concepts of this chapter, we will investigate the portrayal of the outlaw within works by Schiller, Vulpius, and Kleist.

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<sup>74</sup> One further example of the blurry line between game and criminal act was the tradition of the may-pole. A Robin Hood was often chosen to bring in the may and the boughs which decked the may-pole, and tradition held that the boughs were stolen from the lands of the wealthy (Wiles 19).

## II. FRIEDRICH SCHILLER

Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) launched his dramatic career at age 21 with Die Räuber (1781), which focuses on the outlaw pursuits of Karl Moor. As we shall see, Die Räuber and “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” (written five years later) represent a fountainhead in the Romantic treatment of the outlaw. Benno von Wiese remarks that “Es ist gewiß kein Zufall, daß fast alle Schillerschen Dramen in ihrem Grundriß als Kriminalstücke gebaut sind” (Wiese, Deutsche Novelle 33). Although Schiller does not repeat the Sturm-und-Drang energy of Die Räuber, he does continue to explore in his later works the issues of criminality, law, ethics, and the individual’s (outcast’s) relationship to society. Both his first drama, Die Räuber, and his last, Wilhelm Tell, feature an outlaw protagonist, and many of his works in between—dramas, stories, poems, theoretical and historical works—consistently probe outlaw-related issues and often feature outlaw-type figures.<sup>75</sup> In contrast to Goethe and many other Romantic writers who dabbled with outlaw narrative, Schiller exhibits longevity in his interest in crime. The preponderance of legal themes and outlaw figures in his works is unmatched in German canonical literature, although Kleist exhibits a similar intensity of interest twenty years later, as do, of course, the reviled but immensely popular writers of German Robber Romanticism.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> At the time he wrote Die Räuber, Schiller may well have empathized with an outlaw figure. In September 1782, under house arrest and forbidden from leaving Stuttgart, he escaped like an outlaw in order to live in Mannheim (Burschell 34-6). Marsch makes this point as well, stating that “Die Figur des ausgestoßenen Einzelgängers, Karl Moor, wird nachträglich zu einem Analogen der eigenen Existenz” (136). Schiller writes about this time in a letter of October 1782: “Sobald ich Ihnen sage, ich bin auf der Flucht, sobald habe ich mein ganzes Schicksal geschildert” (qtd. in Wiese, Friedrich Schiller 171). Not only does Schiller directly portray criminals in his narratives and discuss their artistic and moral value in his theoretical writings, he often evokes the criminal as an example when discussing other aspects of art, indicating his profound interest in the criminal as literary problem. In “Was kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigentlich wirken?” [“Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt betrachtet”], for instance, Schiller mentions “kühne Verbrecher” as the first example of something that can come alive on the stage (“Was kann” 5). He also uses the “Verbrecher” as an example in the second paragraph of “Über die tragische Kunst.”

<sup>76</sup> Writers with comparable interest in crime and the law outside of Germany include Defoe earlier and Scott later in England; Cooper in America, Sade and Hugo in France, and Pushkin in Russia.

This longevity of interest and preponderance of production, combined with his status in literary history as fountainhead of this thematic movement, establishes Schiller as a unique figure in the history of the criminal narrative. But his significance is not just based on the quantity but especially on the quality of his engagement with crime and the criminal in his work. Over the course of his literary career, one sees the depths and the variety with which Schiller uses crime and the criminal to analyze, explore, and expose basic ethical and human problems on many different levels and from many different angles. One sees three main driving forces in his treatment of crime and the criminal: (1) The Scientific, including the psychological and the sociological; (2) The Moral, including ethics; and (3) The Artistic. In the following section, I will outline Schiller's pervasive interest in crime and the criminal, and the use of outlaw themes in various narratives. The focus will then turn to Schiller's three outlaw narratives: Die Räuber (1781), "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre" (1786), and Wilhelm Tell (1804).

## 1. Schiller's Scientific, Moral, and Artistic Interest in Criminality

Inherent in any outlaw or criminal narrative is a conflict between the individual and society. Schiller's works often thematize the relationship of the individual and society; and this theme, often with a rebel vs. establishment slant, is central to his outlaw texts. At the time of the French Revolution, many supporters of the revolution praised Schiller's dramas (Räuber and Fiesko) for their revolutionary spirit and portrayal of freedom. However, this praise is based on false conceptions of the dramas (Biener 60), for his dramas make no reference to actual political struggles. Although many of *Schiller's* works foster a tension between freedom and despotism, between the citizen and an oppressive establishment, revolution is never a call for a demolition of the established government (Wallraven 5, 39).<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Hajo Holborn goes as far as to say that we hardly ever encounter in Germany the idea of a political upheaval without compromise, only a reform of the old system while retaining the absolutist structure—no destruction of the establishment, only reform (91-2).

None of Schiller's major characters seriously question the moral order: "the hero and society in Schiller's world rarely disagree on the end to be achieved, but only on the means to be employed" (Ziolkowski, "Ontology" 125). The tragic figure becomes the one who knowingly deviates from this order: "For all his nobility, he cannot be permitted to endure," for he threatens the whole premise of society ("Ontology" 126). Thus, as Ziolkowski expresses it, Schiller's dramas revolve around a social order that is approved by society, threatened by the hero, defended by a practical antagonist [= character whose sole function is to protect the existing order], and confirmed by the death of the hero/heroine ("Ontology" 127-8). Further, Ziolkowski states:

Society as a whole is edified by the realization that an individual, be he ever so noble, cannot with impunity offend the accepted norms: the collective anxiety, aroused by the spectacle of the hero's nearly successful defiance, is met and put to rest by his defeat. (125)

The individual in Schiller, like the traditional hero, is most often a great individual—the great individual being the best object for literary treatment. Many critics have remarked on this attribute of Schiller's. Sharpe says that "in the plays from *Wallenstein* onwards Schiller investigates the career of some extraordinary person and asks why that person should be considered great or memorable" (Schiller 145); and Beyer stresses Schiller's tendency and desire for "heroischer Größe" in his dramas (99). Similarly, Wiese states: "Kein Zweifel: Schiller verachtet die kleinen Bösewichter und sympathisiert mit den großen" (Friedrich Schiller 140). Schiller himself states the requirement in art for greatness and idealization, not only in "Was kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigentlich wirken?" (1784), in which he states that a play should lift people out of their everyday lives and show grandeur and heroism, but also in "Über Bürgers Gedichte" (1789): "Eine der ersten Erfodernisse [sic] des Dichters ist Idealisierung, Veredlung, ohne welche er aufhört, seinen Namen zu verdienen. Ihm kommt es zu, das Vortreffliche seines Gegenstandes...von gröbern, wenigstens fremdartigen Beimischungen zu befreien..." (Gedichte 979). About his work directly,

in his “Advertissement” for the first performance of Die Räuber, Schiller speaks of Karl Moor as being “groß und majestätisch im Unglück” (Gedichte 489), and we see this impulse expressed by Franz in the play: “Ich bin kein gemeiner Mörder gewesen” (5.1; 129) (“I have been no common murderer” [149]). Even in “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre,” which features not a great man but an average human being turned criminal, Schiller expresses the need for greatness in the opening paragraph, where the narrator speaks of great crimes: “Bei jedem großen Verbrechen...” (13). The subject is a “big crime” with big consequences, not petty theft. Similarly, Schiller writes: “Räuber Moor ist nicht Dieb, aber Mörder, Nicht Schurke, aber Ungeheuer” (Vermischte Schriften 120).

Wallraven suggests that it is the aristocrat in Schiller which makes him take interest in only the brave and exceptionally grand criminal (36). But this interest is not unique to aristocrats, for we all gravitate toward the great, the exceptional, and the extraordinary. Aristocrat or not, we are all more interested in the grand and the great than the trivial and mundane. Not the lowly, bumbling criminal but the noble outlaw, who, by definition, displays greatness in some form, captures the interest of readers. As an artist who portrays the great and noble—while at the same time portraying the criminal—Schiller includes in his works many of the essential elements of the outlaw narrative discussed in the Introduction.

The great but flawed individual is central to the concept of the noble outlaw, which Schiller portrays in seminal works such as Die Räuber as well as in many of his lesser known and incomplete works. A noble captain in his fragment “Die Flibustiers” (1803), who is reminiscent of Karl Moor (Wiese, Friedrich Schiller 693), stands in contrast to the wild crew: “Unter diesen steckt ein edler und feiner Gefühle fähiger Mann, den seine Schicksale und Leidenschaften in dieses Gewerbe geschleudert, der es im Grunde verabscheut, ohne sich losreißen zu können” (Schiller, Dramatische Fragmente 314). As Benn points out, “although the pirates’ community is based on the precepts of justice and equality, Schiller makes clear that the pirate crew does not embody moral freedom” for “the pirates are still slaves of their senses and hence

commit atrocities” (Benn 125). The pirates “are seen as the very antithesis” of the captain, or the “edler und feiner Gefühle fähiger Mann” (Benn 125). Similarly, Schiller’s notes for “Seestück” (1798)—another fragment—describe “Eine furchtbare Schaar von Seeräubern“ who contrast with “ihr Anführer ein ehemals edler Mensch, ihre strenge Justiz, rohe Güte” (Schiller Dramatische Fragmente, 319).<sup>78</sup>

A critique of society is implicit in these little-known pirate fragments. Pirates in “Seestück” have suffered from society and possess, as Schiller writes in his notes, a “Wüthende Rachsucht gegen eine bestimmte Nation, gegen einen besondern Stand (die Mönche) und Neid gegen die ganze civilisierte Gesellschaft beseelt ihn” (Schiller, Dramatische Fragmente 320). Although they may be cruel, their criminality possesses a clear impetus, resulting from desperate circumstances, as in “Die Flibustiers”: “Unmenschlichkeit der Flibustiers, sie ist eine Folge ihrer Desperation, weil sie keine Gnade zu hoffen haben” (Schiller, Dramatische Fragmente 313). This desperation endows the pirates with some sympathy. This is particularly true for the captain of the pirates, who “erwählt auch den Stand des Korsaren aus Notwendigkeit, weil er nicht mehr zu den Europäern zurück kann” (320).

In his fragment “Die Polizey” (1802), which Wiese associates with the “old writer of The Robbers” because of its similar plot (Friedrich Schiller 688),<sup>79</sup> we see Schiller introducing an anti-establishment element in portraying an imperfect police force. Schiller’s notes reveal: “[die Polizei] muß oft das Übel zulassen...um das Gute zu thun oder das größte Übel zu entfernen” (Schiller qtd. in Wiese, Friedrich Schiller

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<sup>78</sup> As Benn points out, the dates of these fragments are uncertain. Some claim “Das Schiff,” “Die Flibustiers,” and “Seestück” were all written in 1798. Others say 1798 or 1803, or sometime between these dates (Benn 118).

<sup>79</sup> Wiese suggests that Pitaval provided some inspiration for this story (Friedrich Schiller 686) and notes the correspondingly more common and less philosophical bent of the story: “Mittelpunkt der Konzeption ist nicht die strahlende Kraft einer sittlichen Idee, sondern die Faszination, die vom Geheimnis eines Verbrechens ausgeht” (Wiese, Friedrich Schiller 687). This fascination, however, is not a base fascination. Marsch contrasts Schiller’s “Verbrecher” and Pitaval in their narrative approach: Pitaval offers commentary whereas Schiller tells without explanation, although the reader is led in the structure and manner of the narrative (Marsch 138-9). Also, Pitaval works from the assumption that his protagonists are criminals, whereas Schiller’s starting point is that his are human (Marsch 147).

690). Schiller also explicitly expresses the need for showing this imperfect establishment:

Auch die Nachtheile der Polizeiverfaßung sind darzustellen. Die Bosheit kann sie zum Werkzeug brauchen, der Unschuldige kann durch sie leiden, sie ist oft genöthigt schlimme Werkzeuge zu gebrauchen, schlimme Mittel anzuwenden – Die Verbrechen ihrer eignen Offizianten haben eine gewisse Straflosigkeit. (Schiller, Dramatische Fragmente 96)

In addition to sociological aspects, Schiller writes about crime to explore the psychological. “From his first essay, Philosophia Physiologiae, to his last, unfinished play [“Demetrius”], Schiller’s imagery and thought explore ‘erhabene Verbrecher’ and ‘Ungeheuer mit Majestät’ in their many manifestations of evil” (Engel 36). His major works as well as his lesser known projects—such as his unfinished narratives, fragments, detective novel notes, and various poems and adaptations—show his interest in the psychology of crime. Many of the themes and motifs that reflect this interest were already present in Die Räuber and emerge again and again in Schiller’s body of work.

To explore psychology, he must explore evil. Schiller portrays evil characters (such as Franz Moor or Gessler) in most of his works but usually as secondary characters in contrast or in conflict with the main hero. Agrippina (in his fragment “Agrippina” [1800]) is the kind of utterly evil character that he had not portrayed since Franz Moor (Manck 105). Ready to commit crimes such as adultery, incest, and murder, she nevertheless exhibits shades of a “mixed character” (Manck 104). Manck suggests that one reason the work may have remained a fragment is that Schiller could not make such an evil character the primary subject of a work—despite his devotion as an artist and ability as a dramatist (Manck 106).

Schiller’s detective fragment “Narbonne” or “Die Kinder des Hauses,” (1804)<sup>80</sup> also exhibits tension of this mixed character. Schiller explores the criminality of

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<sup>80</sup> According to Herbert Kraft, Kettner attributes part of the idea of “Kinder des Hauses” to a particular Pitaval story (Herbert Kraft, Dramatische Fragmente 462).

Narbonne, an apparently upstanding citizen in a small French town, who commits murder in order to cover up his other crimes (Manck 106). Haslinger remarks that Narbonne is thoroughly a lowly character, incapable of causing sympathy: “Dieser ist keiner Idealisierung fähig, er ist durch und durch ein niedriger Charakter” (179). But this is not completely true, at least as Schiller intended to portray his hero. He envisioned him as “ein verständiger, gesetzter, sich immer besitzender, sogar zufriedener Bösewicht” (Schiller, Dramatische Fragmente 115). Like the classic noble criminal—and like Michael Kohlhaas—he must be mixed in character: “Der Held der Tragödie muß ein sicherer und ein mächtiger Bösewicht seyn, den die Reue und Gewissensbiße nie anwandeln; zugleich ist er geehrt...wird für einen exemplarischen Mann gehalten” (Schiller, Dramatische Fragmente 114-5).

Schiller wrote an adaption of Shakespeare’s Macbeth for the Weimar stage in 1800 (Wiese, Friedrich Schiller 702). This work is worthy of note not only because it is the first time that he treats as his primary character one who is fully evil (much as he did in his fragmentary drafts) (Manck 132), but also because of the alterations he made in Shakespeare’s criminal hero. Good and evil in Shakespeare were still a matter of external forces—nature, fate, society—but Schiller concentrates the evil much more directly in the hero and his moral choices (Wiese, Friedrich Schiller 702).

Schiller’s treatment of crime and of evil is driven by a desire to learn more about and portray more profoundly the psychology of the criminal. In 1792, he wrote a preface to a four-volume selection from the famous 20-volume Pitaval collection of criminal accounts, Causes Célèbres (Ziolkowski, “Portrait” 290).<sup>81</sup> In his preface, he praises “the important gains for the study and treatment of humankind” (“Dieser wichtige Gewinn für Menschenkenntnis und Menschenbehandlung”) that could be obtained from studying these criminal cases (“Vorrede” 866) and the insight into the human heart that can be gained by the observer (actually “judge”) of criminal cases: “So ist der Kriminalrichter imstande, tiefere Blicke in das Menschenherz zu tun”

(“Vorrede” 865). One finds a similar drive in his notes to “Die Kinder des Hauses”:  
 “Man muß die Nähe dieser Person [dieses Mörder] erfahren, ehe sie der Polizey in die Hände fällt” (Schiller, Dramatische Fragmente 126). Benno von Wiese states the power of law and crime in the creative production of Schiller to portray humanity:

Der radikal zugespitzte Rechtsfall gibt besondere Möglichkeiten, extreme Situationen oder auch extreme Charaktere und Affekte darzustellen, die für Schiller von früher Jugend an besonders anziehend waren. Der Verbrecher fesselt ihn vom Standpunkt der Menschenkunde aus. (Wiese, Deutsche Novelle 33-4)

For Schiller, it is crucial to become acquainted with the human side, not just the criminal aspects of one’s character.

As we shall see, many of his narratives approach crime from this scientific perspective while delivering it in a purely literary form. An example of this is Schiller’s poem “Die Kindsmörderin” (1782), essentially a gallows speech which treats the popular Sturm und Drang subject of female murder of children.<sup>82</sup> This poem is a call to listen to her story—not to condemn her, but to learn about a human soul. Following the eighteenth-century formula for moralistic tales and gallows speeches, she stands at execution giving her confession, recounting her story and ending with a confession and call on others to repent.

Psychological treatment facilitates sympathy on a human level. In 1804, after Wilhelm Tell, Schiller began “Demetrius.” In contrast to his other fragments, he did not put it aside unfinished but worked on it periodically until his death (Manck 133; Kraft, Demetrius 413). Wiese criticizes most commentary on “Demetrius,” which

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<sup>81</sup> The collection was published in French in 1734 and translated into German in 1782. The selection Schiller wrote for was published 1792-95 in Jena as Merkwürdige Rechthändel als Beitrag zur Geschichte der Menschheit, ed. Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer.

<sup>82</sup> Bennholdt-Thomsen asserts that this kind of crime, *Kindsmord*, was the first kind of asocial behavior German writers turned their attention to (35). She seems to mean (semi-)canonical writers. She mentions Goethe’s Urfaust (1775/76) and H.L. Wagner’s “Die Kindermörderin” (1776). Oddly, however, she does not mention Schiller’s poem. Luppa suggests that women were driven to crime (such as *Kindsmord*) because of the fear of shame and harsh punishment for extra-marital sex (4). Thus, fear of one law or rule of society leads to the breaking of another law.

claim that this work is an aberration in Schiller's corpus (Friedrich Schiller 791). Instead of an aberration, this work illustrates the continuity of Schiller's interest in the criminal and his familiar treatment of a criminal on a human level. Neither a noble criminal (because he is guilty) nor an evil villain, Demetrius experiences a loss of innocence and commits crime due to unfortunate circumstances and an "impetus to crime," minimizing his own guilt: "Einer Schlechtigkeit ist er nicht fähig, seine einzige Schuld ist sein böses Verhängniß" (qtd. in Wiese, Friedrich Schiller 803).<sup>83</sup> Schiller, in his notes (*Studienheft*), emphasizes his innocent beginnings: Demetrius "erscheint zuerst im Stand der glücklichen Unschuld, denn das ist eben das tragische, daß ihn die Umstände zuletzt [sic] in Schuld und Verbrechen stürzen. Seine Unschuld ist aber keineswegs sentimental" (Schiller, Demetrius 93). Even once becoming a criminal, or "Feind der Menschen" (Wiese, Friedrich Schiller 802) with no possibility of returning to innocence, he is still portrayed sympathetically as one who is not completely in control of his own actions: "das furchtbare Element [trägt]...ihn nun selbst, er beherrscht es nicht, er wird von der Gewalt fremder Leidenschaften geführt, und ist jetzt gleichsam nur ein Mittel und eine Nebensache" (qtd. in Wiese, Friedrich Schiller 803).

Despite the often inherent sympathy, Schiller maintains a clear ethical grounding from Karl Moor to Wilhelm Tell. The Scientific is one thrust, but the Moral is another. The morality is not overdone or excessively preachy like other writers of his time and earlier in the Enlightenment, but a strong ethic framework always exists.

Schiller argues in "Was kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigentlich wirken?" for the educational value of Die Räuber and criminal narratives in general:

Ich selbst bin der Meinung,...daß Karl Moors unglückliche  
Räubergeschichte die Landstraßen nicht viel sicherer machen wird....Mit  
diesen Lasterhaften, diesen Toren müssen wir leben....Jetzt aber  
überraschen sie uns nicht mehr. Wir sind auf ihre Anschläge

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<sup>83</sup> Wiese quotes from the Kettner edition of "Demetrius" (Ed. Gustav Kettner, Schillers Kleinere dramatische Fragmente, Weimar: 1895).

vorbereitet. Die Schaubühne hat uns das Geheimnis verraten, sie ausfündig und unschädlich zu machen. (826).

While narratives about crime may not keep us from being robbed or make our streets any safer, they enlighten us and empower us with the knowledge of the criminal and the criminal mind. Furthermore, as if to defend writing about crime, Schiller downplays the role of crime and villainy, saying that foolishness has as much—or more—power to threaten society: “Das Glück der Gesellschaft wird ebensowohl durch Torheit als durch Verbrechen und Laster gestört” (“Was kann” 825).

The third drive for Schiller’s portrayal of crime and the criminal is artistic, which combines the scientific (psychological and sociological) and the moral. Graham draws attention to the fact that in “Über den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen,” Schiller

“ponders the perplexing fact that immoral actions displaying mere force of will are frequently found to be aesthetically satisfying....Schiller considers that the poet may exploit the aesthetic potentialities of the wickedly forceful action to the full without in the least impairing the total effect which derives from the presentation of morality. (Schiller: A Master 143).

Already in the Preface of the first edition of Die Räuber, Schiller discusses the importance of using the contrast of evil to portray the good: “Es ist einmal so die Mode in der Welt, daß die Guten durch die Bösen schattiert werden und die Tugend im Kontrast mit dem Laster das lebendigste Kolorit erhält” (“Vorrede zur ersten Auflage” 485). In his 1782 preface, he writes:

Außer dem sage ich, kann ich die Tugend selbst in keinem triumphierenden Glanze zeigen, als wenn ich sie in die Intrigen des Lasters verwickle und ihre Strahlen durch diesen Schatten erhebe, denn es findet sich nichts Interessanteres in der moralisch ästhetischen Natur, als wenn Tugend und Laster an einander sich reiben. (Schiller, Vermischte Schriften 118)

As Manck points out, using evil to highlight the good is a topos that has been in use since Augustine in Christian philosophy and which Schiller uses for artistic purposes (23).

Schiller's mode of drama incorporates contrasts: "the central character can only be seen in true perspective when another is placed alongside him" (Sharpe, Schiller 139). He also puts contrasts within the same character. In "Über die tragische Kunst," Schiller suggests that it is characters with both good and bad—"den gemischten Charakteren" that are ideal for tragedy (Erzählungen 391-2). In the same way, the literary outlaw figure is most potent as a mixed character.

In "Über den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen," Schiller uses contrasts to argue for the paradoxical necessity of contrasts. Schiller asserts the viability of the criminal as subject of art in his statement that the life of a criminal is no less tragic than the suffering of a saint: "Aber das Leiden eines Verbrechers ist nicht weniger tragisch ergötzend als das Leiden des Tugendhaften....und doch ist beides ein sehr dankbarer Gegenstand für die Kunst" (Erzählungen 366). Going even further, he claims that we are more likely to feel pain at the luck of a villain than at the suffering of a saint: "Hingegen schmerzt uns das Glück des Bösewichts auch weit mehr als das Unglück des Tugendhaften, weil erstlich das Laster selbst und zweitens die Belohnung des Lasters eine Zweckwidrigkeit enthalten" (363). Thus, a very interesting thing happens to our emotional engagement in the subject. The villain has more power to engage us, not only because of our outrage at the villain's thwarting of moral justice but also because the suffering of the virtuous itself cannot invoke the same outrage. One reason for this, which Schiller does not mention, is that suffering, in art and in life, is perceived to be part of virtue. To be a saint is to suffer—Christ, the most virtuous, suffered. Suffering also implies salvation and closeness to God.

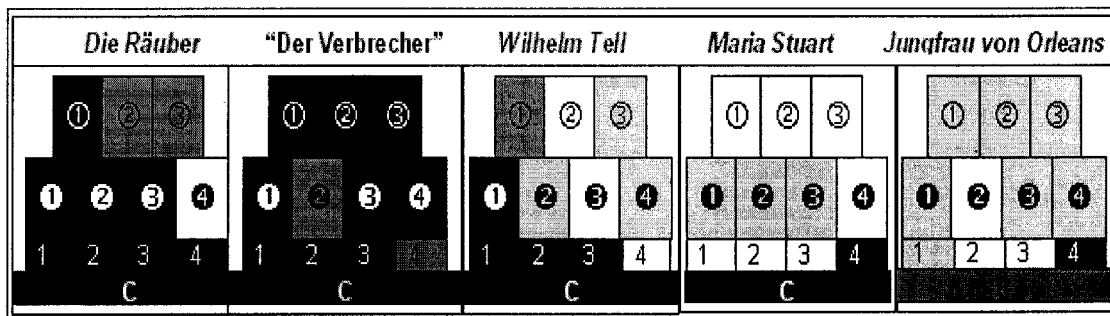
For Schiller, the regret felt by the sinner or criminal is morally sublime in its affirmation of the moral law: "Reue, Selbstverdammung...in der Verzweiflung, sind moralisch erhaben, weil sie nimmermehr empfunden werden könnten, wenn nicht tief in der Brust des Verbrechers ein unbestechliches Gefühl für Recht und Unrecht

wachte” (“Vergnügen” 366-7). Schiller continues: “Ein Mensch, der wegen einer verletzten moralischen Pflicht verzweifelt, tritt eben dadurch zum Gehorsam gegen dieselbe zurück, und je furchtbarer seine Selbstverdammung sich äußert, desto mächtiger sehen wir das Sittengesetz ihm gebieten” (“Vergnügen” 367). The death of a pained, guilt-ridden criminal is actually more sublime than the death of a martyr in its power to raise our attention to the moral law. Each “steigt unsre Achtung für das Sittengesetz zu einem gleich hohen Grad empor” (“Vergnügen” 367). In his final (as well as fragmentary) literary works, Schiller’s drive for the artistic, the moral, and the scientific converge.

The purpose of this section has been to focus on Schiller’s long and varied interest in criminal portrayal and narrative, beyond the well-known Räuber and lesser known “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre.” Before turning to these works along with Wilhelm Tell, we will look briefly at the outlaw figure in Maria Stuart and Jungfrau von Orleans in the context of the outlaw narrative elements discussed in the Introduction.

Ziolkowski states that “Schiller’s heroes, from Karl Moor to Demetrius, belong to the tradition of the noble brigand, the outlaw, the great criminal (“Ontology” 142). Although Schiller treats criminals or near-criminals in many ways, I would classify only Die Räuber (1781), “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” (1786), and, to a lesser degree, Wilhelm Tell (1804) as genuine outlaw narratives. Based on the criteria and essential elements discussed in the Introduction, Wallenstein (1799) and Maria Stuart (1800), with their political outlaw figures, and Jungfrau von Orleans (1801), featuring a religious outlaw, exhibit some similarities to outlaw narrative, but in their structures and employment of outlaw elements they do not exhibit the focus and thematic purpose of an outlaw narrative. The charts below and the ensuing discussion, drawing on the criteria discussed in the Introduction, will hopefully make this distinction clearer.

Below is a figure which summarizes the outlaw elements in the five narratives of Schiller.



**Figure 5: Essential Outlaw Elements in Schiller**

As can be seen from this figure, *Die Räuber* and "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre" are Schiller's most concentrated outlaw narratives. *Wilhelm Tell*, although not normally thought of as an outlaw narrative, deserves inclusion alongside Schiller's two *bona fide* outlaw narratives. Tell, though not portrayed primarily as an outlaw, is in fact the main outlaw of the narrative, with his brief career as an outlaw framed by the snapshots of two other outlaws, Baumgarten and Parricida. Schiller's *Maria Stuart* and *Jungfrau von Orleans* will be discussed briefly for their use of outlaw themes and motifs. These two works, however, do not portray real outlaws. Maria has committed a crime but her narrative lacks the other essential elements of the outlaw. *Jungfrau von Orleans* contains most of the outward elements of the outlaw narrative, but none emphasize or thematize the problem of crime or law. Johanna is cast out, as an outlaw, but the emphasis throughout the drama is religious and supernatural, not legal or social. What separates *Wilhelm Tell* from *Jungfrau von Orleans* is its focus on the outlaw theme. Like *Jungfrau von Orleans*, it possesses most of the essential outlaw elements but without the outlaw emphasis. But unlike *Jungfrau von Orleans*, *Wilhelm Tell* is a play about outlaws, and Tell does commit three concrete (though arbitrary) crimes, is arrested, and then escapes—defiantly at large as an outlaw.

Maria Stuart has committed a crime and is socially alienated, but, being in jail, she lacks the geographical freedom essential to the outlaw. A prisoner, not an outlaw, she occupies not wild space but an enclosed prison that retains the associations of her society. Although she is not an outlaw, Schiller makes her into a noble figure despite

her criminal acts. Sharpe, discussing both Maria and Wallenstein, remarks that Schiller “reduces the audience’s perception of the hero’s (heroine’s) culpability, not so that we are not aware of their failings, but so that the impression of their dignity outweighs the sense of their culpability” (Schiller 122). She adds that “we are not to experience her death as innocent suffering” but “rather as an assertion of dignity in the face of the death she has to some degree brought upon herself, but now accepts as a kind of freedom” (Sharpe, Schiller 122). In his drama, we see Schiller’s tendency for psychological study and celebration of the humanness. In addition to dignity, the portrayal of Maria Stuart lends sympathy to her character. Adolph von Haugwitz’s Schuldige Unschuld Oder Maria Stuarda—a 1683 version of the story (Diecks 237)<sup>84</sup>—highlights the oxymoronic tension found in Maria Stuart and Schiller’s other outlaw figures. Guilty innocence (*schuldige Unschuld*) characterizes many noble outlaw figures. Although many contemporary critics of the drama believed that Schiller failed in his portrayal of Maria’s innocence, Ferdinand Delbrück writes in 1802 of Schiller’s success in portraying Maria Stuart in a sympathetic light by casting her as a victim of “feindseliger Dämonen” and coercion in her murder of King Darnley (Biener 106).<sup>85</sup>

Johanna d’Arc in Jungfrau von Orleans, a kind of religious outlaw, is actually cast out of society (“Ich bin verbannt” [5.5; 3209]), thus representing the more active alienation from society that the outlaw figure engenders. She is not simply alienated by being separated, as Maria Stuart is in jail, but is thrust out and rejected by not only society but by her own father, who bears witness against her, declaring that she sold her

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<sup>84</sup> Diecks adopts this phrase in his essay: Thomas Diecks, “‘Schuldige Unschuld’: Schillers *Maria Stuart* vor dem Hintergrund barocker Dramatisierungen des Stoffes,” Schiller und die höfische Welt, eds. Achim Aurnhammer, Klaus Manger, and Friedrich Strack, (Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1990).

<sup>85</sup> Biener summarizes several reviewers contemporary to Schiller who criticize his portrayal of Maria on dramatic, historical, and aesthetic levels (104-6). Delbrück’s review is found in Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung 1 (1802): 174-7. Supporting this sympathetic portrayal by highlighting the contrast in the drama, Manck points out that Maria’s crime occurs in the past, while Elisabeth’s failings of hypocrisy and lack of penitence are in the present (95). Biener further remarks that Wilhelm von Humboldt was the only contemporary who fully understood Schiller’s Maria Stuart, citing a letter from Humboldt to Madame de Staël, in which he claims to have seen and accepted the tragedy of a woman turned murderer because of inner weakness (Biener 108). Wilhelm von Humboldt an Madame de Staël on 15 Aug. 1801. See Wilhelm von Humboldt über Schiller und Goethe: Aus den Briefen und Werken gesammelt und erläutert von Eberhard Haufe, (Weimar: 1963), 55.

soul to the devil: “- hier verkaufte sie / Dem Feind der Menschen ihr unsterblich Teil” (4.11; 2992-3).<sup>86</sup> Although not officially convicted of a crime, Johanna is banished due to these religious charges: “Johanna d’Arc! Der König will erlauben, / Daß Ihr die Stadt verlasset ungekränkt./...Ihr habt nicht Ehre, / hier länger zu verweilen” (4.13; 3042-3, 3046-7).

In addition to alienation, Johanna illustrates other central outlaw motives as well. Even before she is cast out, she is associated with the wild space, portrayed by Raimond as displaced not only geographically but temporally:

Jetzt liebt sie noch zu wohnen auf den Bergen,  
Und von der freien Heide fürchtet sie  
Herabzusteigen in das niedre Dach  
Der Menschen, wo die engen Sorgen wohnen.

(Prolog, scene 2; lines 69-72)

.....

Und dünkt mir’s oft, sie stamm’ aus andern Zeiten.

(Prolog, scene 2; line 79)

In the wild space after her banishment, she suffers some of the transitory physical condition of the outlaw. In “ein wilder Wald,” we see her wandering with Raimond, who tells her: “Kommt, hier finde wir / Ein Obdach vor dem wüt’gen Sturm. Ihr haltet’s / Nicht länger aus, drei Tage schon seid Ihr / Herumgeirrt, der Menschen Auge fliehend, / Und Wilde Wurzeln waren Eure Speise” (5.2; 3073-7). Johanna, held to be a witch, wanders as a scorned and feared outcast. She painfully feels her alienation—“Du siehst, mir folgt der Fluch, und alles flieht mich” (5.4; 3110)—and witnesses the *Köhlerbub* cry, “Das ist die Hexe / Von Orleans!” (5.3; 3008-9), after which his family flees from Johanna (“Bekreuzen sich und entfliehen” [5.3]).

Although Johanna is associated with the wild space both before and after her banishment, and although her alienation is real, she is not hunted like an outlaw and has

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<sup>86</sup> Johanna’s English enemies also refer to her league with the devil during battle: “Die Höll’ ist los, der Satan kämpft für Frankreich” (2.1; 1254); “Der Teufel hilft ihr!” (2.5; 1528).

committed no real crime. Furthermore, in Schiller's drama, her alienation and transitory physical condition are only temporary. Thus, she lacks persistent alienation—the static criminal condition—of the outlaw. The difference between the outlaw portrayal of Johanna and, for instance, Karl Moor, Christian Wolf, or even Wilhelm Tell is that Schiller endows only a portion of her story and only a portion of her character with the characteristics of an outlaw. He is not interested in portraying her as an outlaw as such. For instance, Johanna's name and image have achieved the legendary proportions common in many outlaw narratives, but she is military leader, a French hero, a heretic—but not an outlaw. She has no will to crime, only a will to silence (when she refuses to speak, to defend herself).

## 2. *Die Räuber*

### Essential Outlaw Elements and Kantian Ethics

Those outlaw motifs found in Schiller's later dramas and writings can, of course, be traced back to Schiller's first drama, Die Räuber.<sup>87</sup> Published in 1781 and first performed in Mannheim in 1782, Die Räuber was an immediate sensation, stunning its audiences. An eyewitness to the Mannheim performance reports that the

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<sup>87</sup> Schiller's original source for Die Räuber was Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's Zur Geschichte des menschlichen Herzens, which appeared in Schwäbischen Magazin von gelehrten Sachen (1775) (Günther Kraft 145; Wiese, Friedrich 144). Schubart's narrative does not focus on the robber life—that is Schiller's invention (Bennholdt-Thomsen 110). In contrast to most of his other dramatical works, Schiller did not name his historical source for Die Räuber (Günther Kraft 139). Günther Kraft, in his detailed study of official records and reports ("Protokolle") about robber bands in the mid-eighteenth century, speculates that Schiller used a variety of historical sources. Convinced that Schiller knew robber stories from the oral tradition (119), Kraft also asserts that Schiller had direct or indirect access to written accounts of robbers in the areas of Römheld, Ansbach, and Stuttgart (141). He draws parallels between Die Räuber and a 1700 text, which contains many detailed similarities as well as parallel motifs (Günther Kraft 81-118). The influence of real-life robber bands in the mid-eighteenth century on German literary production preceding and during the Romantic Period is questionable and difficult to prove. Nevertheless, Kraft insists that such documents influenced Schiller's Die Räuber and are testimony of "Stoffgestaltung aus dem Zeitgeschehen" (126). He examines three main "Protokolle": Die Akte Buttlar (1734), Das Hildburghausener Protokoll (1753), and Die Themarer Protokolle (1754-1761) and focuses on the band of Krummfingers-Balthasar (also spelled Krummfingerles Balzerle), which was active near Nürnberg (Kraft 44). From these documents, Kraft describes the robber bands and outlines the characteristics of their leaders. A good source for the history of robbery in Germany is Friedrich Christian Benedict Avé-Lallemant, Das deutsche Gaunertum, Vol. 1 (Munich: Müller, 1914).

theater turned into a madhouse, with stomping feet, screaming, sobbing, and women fainting (Simons 71). Performances of the drama inspired young men in the 1780s and 1790s to imitate the robber Karl Moor, much as those in the 1770s had copied Werther's dress and suicide (Biener 45).<sup>88</sup> A 1784 newspaper tells about a city in Schwaben where 12-14 year-olds came upon the idea of forming a robber band after a performance of Die Räuber (in Biener 45)<sup>89</sup>; and a 1785 newspaper blames Die Räuber for bands of youth in Bayern and Schwaben mimicking the murders, robbing, and burning in Schiller's drama (in Köpf 71).<sup>90</sup> Such imitators actually caused performances of Die Räuber to be canceled, as in Danzig and in Leipzig, where the Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung of 1784 reports that theft in Leipzig increased so much after two performances of Die Räuber that further performances had to be canceled (in Biener 45-6).<sup>91</sup>

Many writers, including Schiller himself, have tried to de-emphasize the criminal aspects and robber subject matter of the drama. Michelsen comments that only half of Die Räuber is actually about the robbers (71). Schiller emphasizes in his self-commentary of Die Räuber the "innere Handlung" as opposed to the external robber plot, which Michael Mann sees as a hint that it is superfluous and could be lifted (98). Mann points out that critics and remakers have considered Karl's "Läuterungsprozeß" the truly poetic part of the drama and the whole robber plot as merely a retarding ["retardierendes"] element (98). As if to prove it could (or should) be done, an anonymous writer created a version of Die Räuber without the robber plot,

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<sup>88</sup> This imitative tendency is comparable to the propensity during the Robin Hood games of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England to erupt into mimical violence, crossing the line from game to violence, from imitation to crime.

<sup>89</sup> Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung, No. 43, Oct. 23, 1784. Berlin, 1784. p.62.

<sup>90</sup> Magazin der Philosophie und schönen Literatur, 2<sup>nd</sup> issue of 1785. p.151, (Mainz & Leipzig): "...In der Gegend von Baiern und Schwaben rotteten sich vor nicht langer Zeit gefährlich schwärmende Jünglinge zusammen, und wollten nichts geringeres ausführen, als sich durch Mord und Mordbrennerei auszuzeichnen, und einen Namen zu machen, oder dem großen Drange nachzugeben, Räuber und Mordbrenner zu werden. – Und welcher Anlaß konnte solche Unglückliche, in der Imagination versengte Menschen verleiten, und sie auf den Grad von Ausschweifung bringen, wenn wir es aufs gelindeste benennen? Sie wollten Schiller's *Räuber* realisieren..."

<sup>91</sup> Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung, No. 43, Oct. 23, 1784. Berlin, 1784. p.62.

Die Grafen von Moor (1785) (Michael Mann 98, Rullman 9).<sup>92</sup> However, as already discussed, crime is integral to Schiller's literary works, and the fact that Karl is an outlaw is integral to the potency of the themes—religious, moral, psychological, and philosophical—that Michael Mann discusses later in his chapter. As will be seen, there is indeed very little robbing and plundering that we, the audience, witness first hand; and the robber deeds are usually narrated to us after the fact. Nevertheless, the narrative depends on the existence of Karl as outlaw, for only a robber plot establishes the basis for the contrasts of good and evil, ethical and unethical, lawful and unlawful that are crucial for Schiller.

Karl Moor possesses all of the essential characteristics of the outlaw, but not all are emphasized. Although an outlaw with a price on his head (and, thus, a public persona), we do not hear of Karl achieving any legendary proportions. Perhaps due to the focus in the drama on the inner Karl, his name is not known outside his band or beyond the establishment that wants to apprehend him, and there is no popularizing by the folk. In a similar way, his transitory physical condition, though present, is not emphasized. We do see his movement: “Auf! Sattle die Pferde! Wir müssen vor Sonnen Untergang noch über die Grenze sein!” (4.3; p. 581), and we know he and his band are hunted (“Ganze Haufen böhmischer Reuter schwadronieren im Holz herum” (2.3; p.548).<sup>93</sup> But his flights, rather than precipitated by attack, result more often from inner reactions to external stimuli. The wild space is also not thematized but

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<sup>92</sup> Rullmann discusses many such adaptations of Schiller's drama in his 1910 monograph. The first sequel—“Die Braut in Trauer”—was by Schiller himself, which exists in 4 versions (Rullman 63). Isabella Eleonore von Wallenrodt disliked that the play ended right when Karl repents, so she wrote a sequel in Karl Moor und seine Genossen nach der Abschiedsscene beim alten Thurm: Ein Gemälde erhabener Menschennatur, als Seitenstück zum Rinaldo Rinaldini, (Mainz: Vollmer, 1801) (Rullman 66-7). The first version for the French stage was Lamartelière's Robert, chef des brigands, fait historique en cinq actes (1793), in which Robert is acquitted and the robber band receives an imperial amnesty (Peyrache 285). Many adaptations changed the plot to fit their moral sensibilities. Plümicke wrote an adaptation of it 1783 in Berlin with the goal “die Moral des Stückes zu heben” (Rullman 4), and in the Stralsund version (1783), only Franz dies, with all others left alive. Karl and the robbers repent, and the story ends with Amalia happy with Karl (Rullman 5). J.K. Arnold's novel “Die Grafen von Moor: Ein Familiengemälde” (1802) follows Schiller closely but ends with a rehabilitated Karl and Amalia in a cloister (Beaujean 138).

<sup>93</sup> I will cite Die Räuber by act and scene, including page numbers where appropriate. I will sometimes cite the original first, sometimes the translation, depending on the grammatical context.

nevertheless present as the outlaw backdrop. Titles to the various scenes signal this space:

“Die böhmischen Wälder” (2.3)

“Die Räuber, gelagert auf einer Anhöhe unter Bäumen” (3.2)

In one scene, Schiller couples the scene of a forest, the most common wild space in outlaw narratives, with the wildness of night and adorns it with a romantic ruin:

“Nahgelegener Wald. Nacht. Ein altes verfallenes Schloß in der Mitte” (4.5). Benn

argues that the “woods are significant in that their isolation reflects the isolation of the robbers” and the wildness of the woods reflects the wild activities (stealing, murder, etc.) of the robbers (134). While this is true of the forest as motif, the wild spaces of the forest in *Die Räuber* appear only as necessary stock scene titles and do not rise to thematic importance. It is the inner rather than the outer space that is key in this narrative. In Schiller’s first Karlschule address, “Gehört allzuviel Güte, Leutseligkeit und große Freigebigkeit im engsten Verstand zur Tugend?” (1779), he states that he is not concerned with “die glänzende Außenseite prangender Taten” but with “ihre innerste Quelle” (qtd. in McCardle 105). This concentration on the intentional rather than the behavioral aspect of crime finds itself in many of Schiller’s literary works—most explicitly in “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre.” This is the case with many Romantic narratives.

Most prominent in this inner space is Karl’s consciousness of his alienation and the lamentation of his static criminal condition. He feels this alienation poignantly as he decides to become an outlaw—“Ich habe keinen Vater mehr, ich habe keine Liebe mehr, und Blut und Tod soll mich vergessen lehren, daß mir jemals etwas teuer war!” (1.2; p. 515). His attempt to compensate for this alienation by accepting leadership of the robber band and instigating the oath of loyalty is unsuccessful. He is still alienated. As an outlaw, Karl Moor states—“Ich allein der Verstoßene, ich allein ausgemustert aus den Reihen der Reinen” (3.2; p. 561-2)—and warns Kosinsky against taking the same path: “Du trittst hier gleichsam aus dem Kreise der Menschheit” (3.2; p. 566). This consciousness of alienation which is permanent—static—expresses itself as a

lament as well: “Nimmer mir der Geliebten schmachtender Blick – nimmer nimmer des Busenfreundes Umarmung!” (3.2; p. 562). Wacker counts seven unrealized or failed attempts of Karl to flee from his criminal existence (114). One such expressed desire to leave—“hier entsag ich dem frechen Plan...(Er will fliehen) (2.3; p. 548)—is interrupted by the announcement of impending troops. At one point, he even contemplates suicide to escape his situation, which he describes as both dark— “Es ist alles so finster – verworrene Labyrinth – kein Ausgang” (4.5; p.591)—and constraining—“angeschmiedet an das Laster mit eisernen Banden” (3.2; p.562). Karl’s consciousness of his static alienated state as outlaw becomes most poignant when confronted with loved ones from his pre-outlaw existence. He speaks of himself as “verloren” when meeting Daniel—“Ich bin dein Karl, dein verlornen Karl” (4.3; p.579)—and when speaking (disguised) to Amalia: “ihre Liebe ist für einen, der verloren ist” (4.4; p.584). To his father, again disguised, he says: “Dein Sohn—ist—ewig verloren” (5.2; p.611). Karl’s recognition of his doomed state culminates at the drama’s end, when the band claims him as theirs. Karl realizes he cannot return to normal society or to his previous life: “Ein großer Sünder kann nimmermehr umkehren, das hätt ich längst wissen können” (5.2; p.615).

As we have mentioned, highlighting this previous life and then telling the origins of the outlaw (etiology of crime) is of central importance for many outlaw narratives and is typically Romantic. Manck contrasts Schiller’s and Kant’s approach to ethics by claiming that Kant looks at the situation at the beginning of the ethical situation, while Schiller looks at the end (Manck 49). In his literary works, however, Schiller strives to portray the beginning of the ethical situation. In “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre,” his narrator stresses the importance of ascertaining the origins of the criminal (“eine Mutter zu diesen verlorenen Kindern” [“Verbrecher” 15]) and how criminals emerge from law-abiding citizens: “Wir müssen mit ihm bekannt werden, eh er handelt” (“Verbrecher” 14). In both “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” and Die Räuber, Schiller portrays the etiology of crime in the stages outlined in the Introduction. The first is the portrayal of anti-social characteristics which either lead to

or somehow reflect on his outlaw persona. The second is the impetus to crime, or an external force (event or person) which helps launch the protagonist into crime. The third is the will to crime, when the character actually embraces crime and the outlaw existence. (The portrayal in Wilhelm Tell of the etiology of crime also has three stages which loosely follow this model.)

Schiller presents us with the ingredients of a noble outlaw before Karl's career begins. Though characterized by wildness, impulsiveness, irresponsibility and other deviations from acceptable societal behavior, Karl commits no serious crimes in the beginning which would brand him as a criminal. He gets into debt, feels contempt for his professors, and is guilty of youthful pranks (1.2). But he feels guilt for his pranks, as we see in his query to his companion Spiegelberg, who does not share his moral sense: "Und du schämst dich nicht, damit groß zu prahlen?" (1.2; p.505) ("Are you not ashamed to boast of such a thing?" [38]). Thus, in his pre-outlaw phase, Karl is portrayed both as one who commits anti-social acts and who possesses moral consciousness of these acts. He is positioned at a crucial juncture, with one foot planted in the realm of respectable society and the other flirting with the non-social sphere which disregards morals and laws.

The force which drives Karl to becoming an outlaw is Franz's malicious deception—his "Spitzbübische Künste," as Karl later describes it (4.3; p. 581). Franz first deceives his father with exaggerated stories of Karl falling into debt and committing seduction and murder.<sup>94</sup> Having falsely portrayed Karl as a criminal, Franz then drafts a letter to Karl in his father's behalf, though not with his father's intentions. This letter, which Karl believes to be from his father, condemns and disowns him, sending Karl reeling in emotional pain, denial, and anger. By laying this foundation of injustice for his hero, Schiller portrays Karl as a tragic figure and asks us to view him from a human perspective. In his "Advertissement" for the first performance of Die

Räuber, Schiller describes the impetus to crime thus: “Zügelloses Feuer und schlechte Kameradschaft verdarben sein Herz—rissen ihn von Laster zu Laster—bis er zuletzt an der Spitze einer Mordbrennerbande stand” (Gedichte 489). Adopting the notion popular in the late eighteenth century—that man is basically good and has been corrupted only by the forces of society (Ziolkowski, “Portrait” 298)—Schiller describes the impetus of crime in terms of external forces acting upon the seemingly helpless victim.

As a result of Franz’s letter, which serves as the impetus to crime and effectively severs his ties to society, Karl decides to become an outlaw. Underlining his conscious decision, he later tells the priest: “Mein Handwerk ist Wiedervergeltung – Rache ist mein Gewerbe” (2.3; p.553).<sup>95</sup> The exact moment at which Karl crosses the line of legality is hidden from our view, and we do not know what specific deed causes him, according to the letter of the law, to become an outlaw. We see only his decision in 1.2 to agree to be the leader of a band of robbers. Schiller thus sets the pattern for the rest of the play, corresponding with the emphasis in Kantian ethics on intention, by focusing the action not on the specific deeds of crime but on the motivations and thoughts behind them. Schiller retains this focus with Christian Wolf in “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre,” raising it to a programmatic objective of the narrative. Karl does not become an outlaw before our eyes by committing some external action (letter of the law), but he does become an outlaw ethically (spirit of the law) when he wills to be the robber captain. This will is forcefully declared and exercised, and Karl himself acknowledges that he becomes an outlaw first not through deeds but through a word (intention): “Mörder, Räuber! - mit diesem Wort war das Gesetz unter meine

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<sup>94</sup> Franz reads a false letter to Old Moor: “Gestern um Mitternacht hatte er den großen Entschluß, nach vierzigtausend Dukaten Schulden’—ein hübsches Taschengeld, Vater!—nachdem er zuvor die Tochter eines reichen Bankiers allhier entjungfert und ihren Galan, einen braven Jungen von Stand, im Duell auf den Tod verwundet, mit sieben anderen, die er mit in sein Luderleben gezogen, dem Arm der Justiz zu entlaufen” (1.1; p.494-5).

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Michael Kohlhaas speaking of “Geschäft der Rache” when deciding to become an outlaw. It is precisely this moment of deciding for revenge that Karl renounces at the very end of the drama. Addressing God, he says: “*Dein* eigen allein ist die Rache” (5.2.; p. 617).

Füße gerollt” (1.2; p.515) (“Murderers, robbers! at that word I trampled the law beneath my feet” [49]).

In my analysis of Die Räuber, I will be drawing on Kantian ethics, especially as formulated in The Grounding for the Metaphysics of Morals (Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten, 1785) and The Metaphysics of Morals (Metaphysik der Sitten, 1797). A contemporary of Schiller, Kant is the most important proponent of deontological ethics, or ethics of duty and obligation to actions which are right in themselves. Although Schiller’s Die Räuber pre-dates Kant’s articulation of his ethical theories of the 1780s and 1790s, the depiction of these ethical ideas in his drama runs very much in parallel to Kant’s philosophical treatises. There is some precedence for applying Kant to Die Räuber, such as Ilse Graham’s study, Schiller’s Drama: Talent and Integrity.<sup>96</sup> Steven Martinson also argues for a strong link between Kant and the young Schiller, suggesting that

Schiller’s intensive study of Immanuel Kant’s critical philosophy in the early 1790s, rather than constituting the decisive turning point in his career, actually reflects his exuberance over having found some profound theoretical justification for one of the most essential aspects of his early literary practice and theory: the triumph of the moral will. (1)

In The Metaphysics of Morals, Kant divides the area of moral law into two categories which may prove useful in evaluating the portrayal of Karl Moor as an outlaw. The first is the field of justice and legality, which Kant calls *Recht* (Right).

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<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, though I do not wish to argue influence, Kant’s ethical ideas play a large role in many of Schiller’s dramatic and theoretical writings after Die Räuber—particularly in “Über Anmut und Würde” (1793), where Schiller both accepts many of Kant’s main principles and diverges from them. Schiller disagrees with Kant’s claim that pleasure or inclination diminishes the moral worth of an action and, in “Über Anmut und Würde,” introduces the concept of “die schöne Seele,” which combines both inclination and duty. Many essays and books examine the relationship between Kant and Schiller in aesthetics as well as ethics. Relevant to the latter are books by Reiner, Nelson, and Negri, which discuss Schiller and Kant’s system of ethics at length, focusing on Schiller’s theoretical works but with little or no mention of the dramas. Essays by Koopmann and by McClelland offer limited discussion of Kant’s ethical ideas in Schiller’s dramas. Steinhagen investigates the relationship between Kant’s moral philosophy in Kritik der reinen Vernunft and Schiller’s Die Räuber (both published in 1781), concentrating on Franz Moor rather than Karl. Perhaps Graham offers the most insightful, though brief, discussion of Kantian ethics in Die Räuber.

Acts in this field include external acts of keeping or breaking the law—acts which affect the social rights of other people and which can be rewarded or punished by society. The second field Kant calls *Tugend*, or ethics (virtue in the more narrow sense). This field is not external and public but internal and personal, beyond the constraints and dictates of law. One cannot pass laws against such vices as malice and envy, even though these vices may lead to illegal acts in the social sphere. Furthermore, for Kant, it is not enough to refrain from breaking the law. Because obeying the law is itself a duty as a citizen, it falls within the ethical, provided one's intention is moral and not based on fear of punishment or hope for reward. But to be truly ethical, one must strive to eliminate the corrupting vices in one's character and to develop virtues, which are not prescribed by external law. The leading principle in arriving at moral decisions and actions is duty (*Pflicht*).

In Kant's system of ethics, a moral decision must be made in accordance with duty rather than “feelings, impulses, and inclinations” (Grounding 40) (“Gefühlen, Antrieben und Neigungen” [67]). When Karl decides to “trample the law beneath his feet”, his action is based entirely on an emotional reaction to his perceived misfortunes:

Menschen haben Menschheit vor mir verborgen, da ich an Menschheit appellierte, weg dann von mir Sympathie und menschliche Schonung! – Ich habe keinen Vater mehr, ich habe keine Liebe mehr, und Blut und Tod soll mich vergessen lehren, daß mir jemals etwas teuer war!....es bleibt dabei, ich bin euer Hauptmann! (1.2, p.515)

(Men showed me no humanity, when to humanity I appealed; so let me forget sympathy and human feeling! I have no father now, I have no love now, and blood and death shall teach me to forget that ever I held anything dear!....— it is agreed, I shall be your captain! [49])

We know his decision to become an outlaw is not ethical, but we empathize with his emotional and human turmoil. Thus Schiller creates a character for whom we can feel sympathy while at the same time condemn ethically. Schiller's intention to create this dynamic of ambivalence can be seen in his own commentary on the drama. In his

“Unterdrückte Vorrede,” Schiller tells us that “man wird sich meinen Mordbrenner bewundern, ja fast sogar lieben” (Gedichte 483). He continues: “Niemand wird ihn verabscheuen, jeder darf ihn bedauern” (483). The creation of this ambivalent sympathy is a hallmark of Romantic outlaw narratives. Similarly, in his “Advertissement” for the first performance of Die Räuber, Schiller says: “Einen solchen Mann wird man im Räuber Moor beweinen und hassen, verabscheuen und lieben” (Gedichte 489).

The decision to act contrary to legal regulations establishes one as a criminal. But Karl Moor does not simply decide to break the law. He does not simply will to violate a certain law or set of laws but vows to cast off completely the authority of law over his life. He rejects the law as an idea and as an ordering principle of society, at least initially.<sup>97</sup> In constituting a band of robbers and outlaws, of which he becomes the head, he strives to actively oppose the system that has wronged him and simultaneously to construct an alternate order in which he can have faith. Zipes, who speaks along similar lines about the romantic hero in general, would consider him a “creator” who fashions a world of his own, different from the society that has failed him. Being creative does not preclude him being destructive, for his destruction can be born out of a desire to reorder and recreate (Zipes 21).<sup>98</sup>

### **Noble Outlaw and Contrastive Entities: Establishment, Villains, and Bad Outlaws**

Recognizing the dynamic of ambivalence, one critic of 1785 comments that Karl Moor was: “Ein Räuber, ein Mörder, und doch ein edler Mensch.”<sup>99</sup> Schiller writes in the “Unterdrückte Vorrede” to Die Räuber (1781) that “Man trifft hier

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<sup>97</sup> Liepe points out that “Wohl vertritt Moor die Idee der Menschheit gegen die Gesellschaft, aber nur die verderbte Gesellschaft, nicht gegen die Gesellschaft als solche” (320).

<sup>98</sup> Zipes makes a distinction between the (rebellious) romantic hero and the noble outlaw, claiming that the creative mission of the former is much different than the criminal outburst of men who have been wronged. He offers Kleist’s Michael Kohlhaas as an example of the romantic hero and Karl Moor as an example of the noble outlaw, who, in contrast to the romantic hero, rebels against injustice, and commits crimes, but respects the society he defies (28). The distinction is unconvincing, at least in the case of Karl Moor. Kohlhaas also affirms this society many times.

<sup>99</sup> Quoted in Biener 97; Magazin der Philosophie und schönen Literatur. 2<sup>nd</sup> issue of 1785. p. 151. (Mainz & Leipzig) p. 156.

Bösewichter an, die Erstaunen abzwängen, ehrwürdige Missetäter, Ungeheuer mit Majestät" (*Gedichte* 482). Integral to the very concept of the noble outlaw are both the "noble" and the "outlaw" aspects.<sup>100</sup> As an outlaw, Karl violates a limited number of easily recognizable juridical laws (i.e., belonging to the field of *Recht*). He is known primarily as a robber, and the text offers ample evidence of his crimes in robbery and thievery. He not only steals property but also destroys personal and public property through arson, as when he causes a whole town to be burned: "Itzt sagt der Hauptmann, brennt an, brennt an!" (2.3; p.544).

Karl himself catalogues his crimes in a kind of mock confession to the priest who visits his camp. Feeling guilt for his actions, Karl takes this opportunity with the priest to verbalize his sins. It is only a "mock" confession because, though an unconscious or veiled expression of guilt, it is not an open acknowledgement of his guilt as would occur in a genuine confession:<sup>101</sup>

Wahr ists, ich habe den Reichsgrafen erschlagen, die Dominikuskirche angezündet und geplündert, hab Feuerbrände in eure bigotte Stadt geworfen, und den Pulverturm...herabgestürzt. (2.3; p.552)

(It is true, I killed the Count, I plundered the Dominican church and set it alight, I cast firebrands into your city of bigots, I blew up the powder-magazine [88-9].)

Although Karl is specific in his listing of crimes, it remains ambiguous whether Karl personally performed some of these acts, such as plundering the Dominican church, or if he merely assumes responsibility (and guilt) for the acts as captain of the band.<sup>102</sup> He continues by identifying the rings he took "from a minister" whom he "laid low" ("niederwarf") and from a priest that he "strangled with [his] own hands" (2.3; p.89)

<sup>100</sup> Kautsky mentions Karl Moor as a noble outlaw in his discussion of "der edle Räuber" (153), but Cysarz declares that Karl is not a noble robber like Cervantes' Roque Guinart or a precursor of Corsair [Byron] or of Bramarbas of "des Räuberromans, Brigantenoper und Bänkelballade." He is a "faustischer Verbrecher" (Cysarz 326). It is not clear if by "faustischer" Cysarz means brooding or ambitious.

<sup>101</sup> Graham agrees that Karl does not acknowledge his guilt (100).

<sup>102</sup> When Razmann tells the story of the how Karl kills a "crafty lawyer," he indicates that Karl did not plunder, quoting him as saying: "das Plündern ist eure Sache" (2.3; p.541) ("plundering is your business" [77-8]).

(“den ich mit eigener Hand erwürgte” [552]). Thus, he reiterates his crimes of robbery and arson and adds to them assault and murder.

In Kant’s system of ethics there can be no justification for Karl’s criminal acts either legally or ethically. Observing the laws of society is for Kant the minimum moral duty to be expected of every rational citizen (Wick xli). Breaking the juridical law thus becomes not only a violation of *Recht* but also of *Tugend*. This is true no matter what “drives” him outwardly to commit his crimes; Karl himself is responsible for the inward determinants of his choices, according to Kant. Kant’s categorical imperative clearly cannot be invoked without contradiction for any of the combined crimes of Karl. Robbery, destruction of property, murder, and rebellion against the state all violate the requirement of the categorical imperative:

Act only according to that maxim whereby you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law. (Grounding 30)

(Handle nur nach derjenigen Maxime, durch die du zugleich wollen kannst, daß sie ein allgemeines Gesetze werde [51].)

If robbery, for instance, were to be willed a universal law, a contradiction would immediately present itself, for in doing so, we would will that we ourselves be robbed. The same arguments may be made against arson (also a deprivation of property) and murder as well (deprivation of life). Robbery violates the duty of observing the rights of others and, if willed a universal law, would also violate what Kant calls in The Metaphysics of Morals “perfect duties to oneself” (“vollkommene Pflichten gegen sich

selbst”). Although Kant does not specifically speak of robbery in this section, in willing that all can and ought to rob—which would cause us to be robbed—we harm ourselves, thus violating our perfect duty to ourselves.<sup>103</sup>

In addition to robbery, an indirect attack on the state, Karl challenges the state directly by first preventing the execution of Roller, thus thwarting its authority to enforce its laws, and then again when calling his men to arms: “Ladet alle Gewehre!” (2.3; p. 549). Rebellion against the state cannot be willed as a universal law, for if carried out, every person, including those that form the state, would rebel against the state. Kant, like Schiller, held the state to be a necessary institution in society and would therefore deem immoral any attack against it.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, the entire concept of the state would disintegrate were there to be a universal law to rebel against it. One might draw an analogy to an example he discusses in Grounding—the lying promise. In order for a lie to work, there must exist the concept of a promise—or telling the truth. Likewise, in order for the idea of rebellion to exist, there must also be a state. Were only lies to exist, as the expression of a universal will, then promises (telling the truth) would be conceptually impossible. Kant expresses it thus:

I immediately become aware that I can indeed will the lie but I can not at all will a universal law to lie. For by such a law there would really be no promises at all, since in vain would my willing future actions be

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<sup>103</sup> In The Metaphysics of Morals, Kant also addresses robbery and arson indirectly when formulating the Juridical Postulate of Practical Reason, which concerns property. Korsgaard sums up the argument tersely: “A property right is correlated with an outer duty—a duty of justice. To say ‘this is my book’ means that the imperative ‘you ought not to take this book’ has acquired categorical or moral status” (216). Another way of looking at this is through the third formulation of the categorical imperative, often called the formula of the end in itself, which reads: “Act in such a way that you treat humanity, whether in your own person, or in the person of another, always at the same time as an end and never simply as a means” (Grounding 36) (“Handle so, daß du die Menschheit, sowohl in deiner Person, als in der Person eines jeden andern, jederzeit zugleich als Zweck, niemals bloß als Mittel brauchest” [61]). By robbing someone, one uses a person as a means to an end, namely as a means to obtain their possessions.

<sup>104</sup> Despite his support of the American and French Revolutions and the high value he placed on freedom and human rights, Kant writes in The Metaphysics of Morals that revolution is always wrong and that it is “the people’s duty to endure even the most intolerable abuse of supreme authority” (qtd. in Korsgaard 229). For discussions of Kant’s paradoxical attitude toward the French Revolution see Lewis White Beck, “Kant and the Right to Revolution,” Journal of the History of Ideas 32 (1971): 411-22; and Hans Reiss, “Kant and the Right to Rebellion,” Journal of the History of Ideas 17 (1956): 179-92.

professed to other people who would not believe what I professed....Therefore, my maxim would necessarily destroy itself just as soon as it was made a universal law. (Grounding 15)<sup>105</sup>

In the same way, a maxim for rebellion would also destroy itself, for the idea of rebellion (read also “slave”) cannot exist without the idea of state (read also “master”).

The portrayal of Karl as a robber, a plundering arsonist, and a murderer violating legal laws (*Recht*) is mollified by several factors. Karl is portrayed at certain points as a Robin Hood type who takes from the rich and gives to the poor and whose lack of greed and concern for booty cast him in a more sympathetic light. Razmann points out that Karl “mordet nicht um des Raubes willen wie wir—nach dem Geld schien er nicht mehr zu fragen, sobald ers vollauf haben konnte” (2.3; p.540-1) (“doesn’t murder for plunder as we do—he didn’t seem to care about the money, as long as he could keep his pistols primed” [76]). And, following the Robin Hood stereotype, he altruistically sets up a kind of orphan scholarship fund, as Razmann explains: “Selbst sein Drittel an der Beute, das ihn von Rechts wegen trifft, verschenkt er an Waisenkinder, oder läßt damit arme Jungen von der Hoffnung studieren” (2.3; p.541) (“Even his third of the booty that is his by right, he would give away to orphans, or to promising lads from poor homes so they could study” [76-7]).

Leidner locates Karl’s mollifying effect in his personality and charisma, which is capable of inspiring not only the robber band but infecting Schiller’s audience as well. He cites Karl’s qualities of “vision, imagination, and ‘great plans,’” noting Karl’s ability to make “the actions of misfits poignantly appropriate,” “outsiders feels like insiders,” and “crime feel divinely inspired” (59). But it is more than just a matter of his personality, or charisma. Narrative strategies of developing an ethical dimension of the outlaw which overshadows the juridical crimes, creating narrative distance from

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<sup>105</sup> “So werde ich bald inne, daß ich zwar die Lüge, aber ein allgemeines Gesetz zu lügen gar nicht wollen könne; denn nach einem solchen würde es eigentlich gar kein Versprechen geben, weil es vergeblich wäre, meinem Willen in Ansehung meiner künftigen Handlungen ändern vorzugeben, die diesem Vorgeben doch nicht glauben....mithin meine Maxime, so bald sie zum allgemeinen Gesetze gemacht würde, sich selbst zerstören müsse” (30).

which we the reader/audience experience his crimes, and establishing a contrast between the noble outlaw and citizen villains all work to create a sympathetic image of Karl Moor.

It is primarily the narrative's focus on the inner Karl rather than his outward deeds which makes us, the reader/audience—the outsiders—feel like insiders. Schiller shields us from experiencing Karl as robber, arsonist, and murderer. After Karl has become an outlaw, it is a long time, narratively speaking, before we experience his immediate presence on the stage. After Karl agrees to be captain in Act One, we do not see him again until near the end of Act Two. In addition to narrative absence, narrative distance in Die Räuber also means that we never directly witness Karl in the acts of robbery and burning which characterize his band. All accounts of Karl as *Räuber* and *Mordbrenner* are conveyed to us second hand: Spiegelberg recounts Karl's pranks before becoming an outlaw (2.3), Razmann describes Karl's illegal acts of murder (2.3) and robbery (1.3), and Schweitzer gives the account of Karl calling for a town to be burned at the rescue of Roller (2.3). The narrative distance allows Karl to remain untarnished by the immediate image of the crimes. He remains in the background both in the action of the story and in the telling of it, appearing on stage only after the work is done when he can emerge as triumphant rescuer.

Admittedly, practical considerations of drama account for some of this narrative distance. Past events can only be related, not performed (at least according to eighteenth-century conventions of drama); and the implausibility of staging the burning of a town and a mounted rescue at a public square is of course obvious. However, one cannot explain the narrative distance granted Karl in terms of only pragmatic theatrical concerns, for certainly many crimes could have been performed on stage, such as murders, assaults, and robbery. The omission of these crimes in direct representation grants the distance which becomes crucial to depicting the noble outlaw and for setting up further development of Karl as a noble outlaw.

This further development of Karl as outlaw occurs largely through literary contrasts. Integral to the portrayal of each outlaw is an ethical contrast between him and his opponents. In Die Räuber, the contrast, set up in the opening sections and reiterated throughout, lies between the outlaw and the Establishment as well as the outlaw and an opponent who embodies vice. Besides being disassociated from their crimes through the direct demonstration of virtues (or *Tugend*) and having their crimes veiled by narrative distance, noble outlaws are contrasted with those who commit even worse offences, so that we the reader/audience tend to see the outlaw-heroes separated from the very acts which make them outlaws.

As already discussed, Schiller explores the individual vs. establishment dynamic, which is central to many outlaw narratives. Condemnation of the law and other institutions of society is voiced most prominently by Karl in the first half of the Die Räuber. About the law in general, Karl exclaims:

Ich soll...meinen Willen schnüren in Gesetze. Das Gesetz hat zum Schneckengang verdorben, was Adlerflug geworden wäre. Das Gesetz hat noch keinen großen Mann gebildet. (1.2; p.504)

(I am supposed to...strait-jacket my will with laws. The law has cramped the flight of eagles to a snail's pace. The law never yet made a great man [36]).

The climax of tension between establishment and outlaw occurs in the dialogue between Karl and the *Pater* in 2.3. The priest, part of the religious establishment, villifies Karl (just as Martin Luther villifies Michael Kohlhaas in Kleist's narrative) with epithets such as "Aussatz der Menschheit" and "köstliches Mahl für Raben und Ungeziefer" (2.3; p. 550). Karl then turns the tables by condemning the priest and his hypocrisy: "predigen Liebe des Nächsten und fluchen den achtzigjährigen Blinden von ihren Türen hinwegt....euch Falschmünzer der Wahrheit, euch Affen der Gottheit" (2.3; p.552-3). Karl condemns other sectors of the establishment when showing the priest four rings, each from a corrupt member of the establishment. These include: a squire "der seine Bauern wie das Vieh abschindet" (2.3; p.541) ("that drives his peasants like

cattle” [77]), a “Schurken mit goldnen Borten...der die Gesetze falschmünzt” (2.3; p.541) (“gold-braided scoundrel that twists [counterfeits] the laws to his own advantage” [77]), and a minister of finance “der Ehrenstellen und Ämter an die Meistbietenden verkaufte” (2.3; p.72) (“who sold offices and honours to the highest bidder” [89]). But while individuals of the establishment (both church and state) may be portrayed as corrupt, Schiller does not portray the establishment itself as corrupt; and Karl, in the end, affirms its authority. His constant reference to “den väterlichen Hainen” illustrates his connections to the social system which the father represents (Maier 286), and at the end of the play, he states that his goal has been “die Gesetze durch Gesetzlosigkeit aufrecht zu halten” (5.2; p.617) (“to uphold the cause of justice through lawlessness” [159]).<sup>106</sup> As Liepe points out, “Räuber Moor, denkt nicht daran, die Gesellschaft und ihre Gesetze grundsätzlich...zu verachten. Im Gegenteil...er versucht...den...beleidigten Gesetzen zu Hilfe zu kommen....Gesetzlosigkeit ist nicht das Ziel Moors, sondern nur das Mittel” (321). The drama is not a drama of political revolution but of revolution of the individual—an attempt at emancipation from the strictures of tradition institutions and authority (Wallraven 67), for it is precisely the corrupted and abused laws that Karl opposes, not the law itself.<sup>107</sup>

As an opponent of corruption, Karl gains our sympathy. The actual portrayal of a corrupt establishment remains rather abstract. The contrast between a corrupt establishment and rebellious outlaw is accompanied by a much more concrete contrast between Karl and his villainous brother Franz, who, though not an official in the establishment, represents a lawful citizen of society. Franz is unusual among Schiller’s characters in being a completely one-dimensional villain with absolutely no redeeming

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<sup>106</sup> Acknowledgement of the absolutist authority is the programmatic note of the stage performance of the play when Karl says to the robbers: “Gehet hin, und opfert eure Gaben dem Staate. Dienet einem Könige, der für die Rechte der Menschheit streitet” (5.6; *Gedichte* 934).

<sup>107</sup> Maier suggests that it is wrong to think of Karl’s rebellion as only against absolutism and conventions. The goals of the rebellion are almost irrelevant—they could be switched with other things at whim (280). Liepe remarks that the acts of robbery lose their social significance after the third act: “Vom dritten Akt ab it dann von der sozialen Aufgabe seines Räubertums nicht mehr die Rede” (324).

qualities.<sup>108</sup> Guilty of plotting against his brother, imprisonment of his father, coercion of seventy-year-old Daniel to kill Karl (4.2), and attempted rape (3.1), Franz is nevertheless portrayed as upholding the letter of the law (the juridical law), while violating the spirit of the law (or the moral law). He is not formally charged and convicted—or made a criminal in society’s eyes. Hammer suggests that Schiller makes it impossible to answer the question whether Franz or Karl is the true criminal (93). In Biener’s study of Schiller, the section on “Evil Characters” (85-90) features Franz Moor rather than Karl, reflecting both critical and popular reception which views Franz, the lawful citizen, as the true criminal rather than the robber captain Karl. In this case, true criminality becomes more about intention and morality than about actual crimes committed. Schiller positions Franz as a contrast to Karl—Franz being the evil and immoral villain who should be punished, with Karl as the outlaw who displays nobility and elicits our sympathy.<sup>109</sup>

In order to maximize the potency of the Franz-Karl contrast, Schiller endows the brothers with many similarities as well. Both Karl and Franz repudiate the laws by which ordinary men feel bound, as many readers of the drama have pointed out (Graham, *Schiller’s Drama* 69; Hammer 95). Franz illustrates this in his Machiavellian statement: “Das Recht wohnt beim Überwältiger, und die Schranken unserer Kraft sind unsere Gesetze” (1.1; p.500). Similarly, Karl expresses his contempt for the law thus: “Ich soll meinen Leib pressen in eine Schnürbrust und meinen Willen schnüren in Gesetze...Das Gesetz hat noch keinen großen Mann gebildet” (1.2; p.504). Both Karl and Franz are criminals: Cysarz calls Karl a “Verbrecher aus Idee und Irrtum” and

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<sup>108</sup> Refuting this idea, Martinson, comparing Franz to Schiller’s later outlaw Christian Wolf, suggests that Franz is “both guilty and innocent of his crimes” and that “society shares part of the blame for his tragedy” (4).

<sup>109</sup> As an exception to this, Beck offers a damning portrayal of Karl, insisting that Karl is a “Werwolf, ein grandioser Einzelgänger, ein Feind der Menschheit und Rächer schlechthin...” (133). At least once, Franz is also contrasted with the other outlaws as well. After they find out the villainous deeds he has committed against his father, they (the robbers) exclaim: “Es ist ein Belialsstreich! Sag einer, wir seien Schelmen! Nein bei allen Drachen! So bunt haben wirs nie gemacht!” (4.5; p.596).

Franz a “Verbrecher aus Natur und Sünde” (324).<sup>110</sup> Their similarity as criminals, however, is outweighed by their contrast in motive and morality. Citing their common problems with murder, egoism, and viewing Amalia as an object, Steinhagen makes the point that “Die Brüder unterscheiden sich zwar in ihren Gesinnungen sowie in den Motiven und Zwecken ihres Handelns, aber in der Praxis verschwindet der Unterschied” (142). Although similar in their deeds and some of their behaviors, the contrast in motive and intention is crucial. Karl is deceived and becomes a criminal through the machinations of others and through his own rash actions. Frank is criminal by nature, sinning with despicable, calculated motives.

The differences in the criminality and morality of Karl and Franz, and in the portrayal of their criminality, favor Karl and place him in a more sympathetic light. Manck comments on the importance of Franz as a contrast figure:

Franz bildet als Kontrastfigur in dem herkömmlichen Sinn den dunklen Hintergrund für den Helden. Beide Brüder werden in ähnliche Situationen gebracht, um ihre verschiedenartigen Reaktionen deutlich zu machen und dadurch den Helden in strahlendes Licht zu setzen. (Manck 23)

Franz is a static and flat character who remains completely evil throughout the drama. Karl’s character is mixed and therefore able to develop (Michael Mann 107). The key contrasts between Karl and Franz are the emotional aspect of Karl versus the rational aspect of Franz, the honesty of Karl versus the deception of Franz, and the actual crimes that each commits and how these are portrayed. Karl’s impulsiveness and emotional instability actually work in his favor when contrasted with the calculated evil of Franz. When it comes to actually committing crimes, Karl acts but does not plan, while Franz plans but does not act (e.g., fails to kill father directly and to rape Amalia).

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<sup>110</sup> Other similarities, less related to their criminality, include the following: Maier cites, among other things, their similar “Ich-Schwäche” and alienated consciences (304); Hammer states that “both are unable to fulfill what they set out to accomplish” (95). Martinson, in a similar vein, suggests affinities between Franz Moor and Schiller’s later outlaw Christian Wolf: “Like Franz Moor, Christian Wolf is both guilty and innocent of his crimes” (4).

Although we know that Karl's criminal, emotion-based acts are not moral—Kant requires that a moral decision be made in accordance with duty rather than “feelings, impulses, and inclinations” (Grounding 40)—the rational intention of Franz to perform evil is far more immoral. Here we see the problematization of Kant's basic assumption that practical reason will always lead to morality. In Franz, we see that “Er handelt ohne Zweifel völlig vernünftig und doch absolut unmoralisch” (Steinhagen 157). The rationality and reflectiveness of Franz is found precisely in doing evil and performing evil deeds, while the rationality and reflectiveness of Karl is found in acknowledging evil, the folly of his actions, and his own guilt.

Central to Franz's character is his deception, which contrasts with Karl's oath-keeping and honesty. Most of Franz's actions originate with a lie at various levels: lying to his father about Karl (1.1; 2.1), lying to Karl in the letter about his father's love (1.2), lying to Amalia about Karl's love (1.3), and lying to Hermann about giving him Amalia (2.1). Kant condemns lying strongly in The Metaphysics of Morals, stating, “The greatest violation of man's duty to himself considered only as a moral being...is the opposite of veracity: lying” (90). For Kant, lying is in itself wrong, despite its consequences, for “lying is the...obliteration of one's dignity as a human being” (Metaphysics 90-1).<sup>111</sup>

But while lying and deception are core to Franz's crimes, he of course commits far more ignoble offences in his attempts to bury his father alive and bring about the downfall of his brother. Pastor Moser in 5.1 names parricide and fratricide as the two greatest sins, at which Franz pales. Franz's crimes are grievous sins against father, brother, Amalia, and old family servants. Even though he has not been convicted of these crimes in a literal and juridical sense, we realize his guilt on an ethical level because of the deeds themselves and because of the narrative focus on his intent. Karl's crimes of robbing and town-burning are much more generalized than Franz's and far less narratively visible. In contrast, we follow Franz's mind as he

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<sup>111</sup> “Die größte Verletzung der Pflicht des Menschen gegen sich selbst.. ist das Widerspiel der Wahrheit: die Lüge”; Die Lüge ist...Vernichtung seiner Menschenwürde” (562 [article 9]).

enthusiastically plans the destruction of his brother and the spiritual killing of his father: “den Körper vom Geist aus zu verderben – ha! ein Originalwerk!” (2.1; p.522). Because Karl’s crimes are all told to us second hand, they seem less grievous to us in their openness and their lack of targeted malice. Franz does not plan clean-cut killings but sneaky plots to slowly kill his brother and father. When contemplating how to spiritually traumatize his father, he states: “Ich möchte ihn nicht gern getötet, aber abgelebt” (2.1; p.521).

In contrast to the control and deliberateness which Franz demonstrates, Karl’s crimes are not targeted on characters that we know in the drama, and, in their namelessness, the victims lose some claim on our sympathies. Karl, in contrast to Franz, does not always seem completely in control of his crimes, or the crimes perpetuated in his band for which he feels responsible. Karl expresses this fact after hearing about band members killing women and children: “Wer kann der Flamme befehlen, daß sie nicht auch durch die gesegneten Saaten wüte, wenn sie das Genist der Hornissel zerstören soll? (2.3; p. 547-8). Karl is also more open in his admission of guilt, while Franz does not acknowledge it, keeping it within until it begins to spiritually and mentally ruin him in 5.1. Manck suggests that the difference between the noble outlaw (“erhabenen Verbrecher”) and the villain is precisely the fact that the noble outlaw acknowledges guilt, while the villain (Franz, in this case) clings to evil (Manck 2).

Franz’s ignoble actions enable Karl and his band members to view themselves in a new, nobler light. The band may perform the same kind of actions, but, no longer motivated by a vague sense of rebellion against the establishment and unbridled yearning for freedom, they view their work as ennobled by taking up the cause of avenging Karl’s father.<sup>112</sup> Karl exclaims: “Heute, heute hat eine unsichtbare Macht

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<sup>112</sup> Michael Mann makes a similar point, quoting the scene—“Itzt zum ersten Mal komm mir zu Hülfe, Dieberei! (Er nimmt Brechinstrumente, und öffnet das Gittertor...)”—and notes that Karl has not changed, but feels like his robbing/thieving deed is made noble only because he has broken into his father’s cage (104). Michelsen argues that Old Moor should be viewed not just a private person but as a representative for the whole patriarchal authority of eighteenth-century society (72).

unser Handwerk geadelt" (4.5; p.597). Ennoblement of their work, in this case, seems to mean identifying a specific target guilty of villainous deeds.

The existence of Franz in the drama allows for the good traits of Karl to be highlighted. In truth, both are criminals and neither are characters to emulate. Wacker, among others, has pointed out that Schiller was less interested in the portrayal of individuals than he was in the dynamics of conflict (Wacker 113-4). The conflict between Franz and Karl, with its extremes of rationality and emotion (among other things) allows for the construction of an ideal. As Graham argues, referring to Schiller's tragedies in general but citing Karl and Franz specifically, "together, in the closest mutual interdependence, [the tragic protagonists] form one single organism, they share one common life" (Schiller 120). Each in turn also has his foils near him: Karl has Spiegelberg; and Franz has Amalia, Hermann, and Daniel. Like most of Schiller's tragedies, this one embodies the possibilities of onesideness and enables us to construct the ideal image of an integrated and whole personality.

The Karl-Franz contrast of citizen villain and noble outlaw is very pronounced. Less obvious, and inviting more complexity in the portrayal of Karl, is the distinction between the noble and the ignoble outlaw. Beyer in several places talks about the "good" robbers and "bad" robbers of the play. The "'guten' Räuber" include Schweizer, Roller, Karl Moor, and Kosinsky because they keep their word and are willing to defend each other—even sacrifice their lives for each other (72). The "'echte' Verbrecher," guilty of cruel and merciless robbery and murder, include Spiegelberg, Schufterle, and Razmann (Beyer 72). The priest—and other symbols of the establishment, such as Karl's father—does not discriminate between good and bad robbers. He lumps them all together: "ihr Diebe – ihr Mordbrenner – ihr Schelmen – giftige Otterbrut" (2.3; p.550) ("You thieves—you murderous incendiaries—you scoundrels—poisonous brood of vipers" [87]). Similarly, Spiegelberg offers a moral portrait of the band as a whole: "Deliziöse Bursche...wo als einer dem andern die Knöpfe von den Hosen stiehlt, und mit geladener Flinte neben ihm sicher ist" (2.3; p.536) ("Charming fellows, who would steal each other's flybuttons, and won't sleep

beside each other without their guns loaded" [p. 72]). With this moral homogeneity of the band established, Razmann then makes the distinction between band and captain, saying that Karl "doesn't murder for plunder as we do" (2.3; p. 76) ("Er mordet nicht um des Raubes willen wie wir" [p.540]). Indeed, Karl's separation from his band is emphasized throughout Die Räuber by members of the band, by Karl, and by the drama itself. Emotionally and spiritually distant from the group, Karl remains quiet and withdrawn while the band talks about plundering and exploits. He is also withdrawn physically, often commanding from afar, as when he has others retrieve Franz, or when he leaves to visit his home.

At the moment Karl decides to become captain of the band, he expresses a wild lust for murder, calling upon his men to perform as terrible deeds as possible: "Und Glück zu dem Meister unter euch, der am wildesten sengt, am gräßlichsten mordet, denn ich sage euch, er soll königlich belohnt werden" (1.2; p.515). Thereafter, he and the band immediately swear an oath of loyalty to each other. But, despite this oath and Karl's initial outburst, the discrepancy between him and his band soon becomes clear. When we see Karl again, he has changed, feeling remorse for his actions: "hier entsag ich dem frechen Plan" (2.3; p.548). Indeed, his lust for murder is gone, as illustrated by his shock at stories of their plundering. They all gleefully recount the plundering of a church, various acts of thievery, and how "the magazine alone blew sixty to smithereens"—to which Karl can only utter, "*sehr ernst*" ("very gravely"), "Roller, du bist teuer bezahlt" (2.3; p.547). It is clear that his motivations never were the same as most of his comrades. As Liepe points out, citing the very different and apparently unchanging motivation of the robbers as expressed in their singing of "Das Räuberlied," "Die Masse der Räuber schiert sich nicht um gesellschaftsrevolutionäre Ideen oder göttliche Rachemissionen" (328), but rather:

Stehlen, morden, huren, balgen  
 Heißt bei uns nur die Zeit zersteuern.  
 Morgen hängen wir am Galgen,  
 Drum laßt uns heute lustig sein. (5.1; p.585)

Separated from his band in motivation, Karl stands “in einsamer Erhabenheit innerlich allein. Auch hier nicht anders als in der Gesellschaft erlebt er die Tragödie einsamer Größe” (Liepe 323). Reinforcing the contrast with his band, Karl calls his men “schadenfrohe Schergen” (5.2; p.616), complains that he is “Umlagert von Mörder – von Nattern umzicht” (3.2; p.562), and declares to his men directly: “Ihr seid nicht *Moor* – Ihr seid heillose Diebe! Elende Werkzeuge meiner größeren Plane” (2.3; p. 544) (“You are not Moor.--You are nothing but a gang of thieves! Miserable instruments of my greater designs” [p.91-2]).<sup>113</sup>

Perhaps the most poignant example of Karl’s separation from the band occurs during the description of Roller’s rescue (2.3), where Schweitzer and particularly Schufferle brag about the heinous deeds they commit—the ransacking of a church and killing of women, children, and other helpless victims. The excited frivolity of the robbers’ lengthy bragging contrasts with Karl’s terse utterances of regret and horror: “O der armen Gewürme! Kranke, sagst du, Greise und Kinder?” (2.3; p.547). This contrast deepens after Schufferle tells of his throwing a baby into a fire, which prompts Karl to cast him out from the band and reprimand the entire group. As isolated leader, Karl also functions as judge.<sup>114</sup> Like Rinaldo Rinaldini, but without reference to explicit laws or codes, Karl’s judgment seems purely emotionally driven, even if based on noble morals and a genuine abhorrence of evil. In fact, he refers not to any internal laws but only to “meinem Grimm” after telling Schufferle, “Fort Ungeheuer! Laß dich nimmer unter meiner Bande sehen!” (2.3; p.547). The scene concludes with spatial concreteness of the moral divide between Karl and the band as the band exits and Karl remains: “(*Moor allein, heftig auf und ab gehend*)” (2.3; p.547).

The gulf between Karl and the band is also underscored by the development of Karl as the band’s father figure. Martini remarks that “Der Hauptmann Karl wächst immer mehr und mehr in dieser Männerfamilie in eine Vaterrolle hinein” (255), an

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<sup>113</sup> Simons claims that Karl thinks “the men under his command are not common outlaws” (74). This is not completely true—they may be better than most, but Karl realizes their immorality and commonness.

<sup>114</sup> Karl’s role as judge is made explicit later when Schweizer approaches Karl after stabbing Spiegelberg: “Sei du Richter zwischen mir und diesem...” (4.5; p.588).

opinion shared by Beyer (70). At least three times in the drama the robbers are referred to as his “Kinder”. Positioning Karl as a father figure implies a moral separation using a generational metaphor, for although Karl is not much older than most of his band, “father” implies a moral wisdom gained with time. This is what the drama is about—a moral maturity gained over time.

Although the contrast is made between the evil deeds of his band and his shock at these deeds, Karl makes a further and opposite contrast between himself and his band members by declaring that he alone carries the guilt for their common crimes: “Eure Verbrechen legen sie für Jugendfehler, für Übereilungen aus. Mich allein wollen sie haben, ich allein verdiene zu büßen” (2.3; p.554). Karl’s attempt to assume all the responsibility for the bad deeds contradicts the narrative reality, for it is clear from the action in the drama that Karl carries only partial blame. We know that the band members are more ruthless in their plundering crimes, and we also know that the excuse Karl poses for them—that their crimes are a result of “Jugendfehler”—would apply equally to himself. But even if taken as mere rhetoric, it establishes the contrast. This gesture, in addition to illustrating Karl’s view of his isolation from the band, also lends nobleness to his character.

The good/bad outlaw contrast is developed further by the extreme example of Spiegelberg—Karl’s greatest contrast within the band—whose villainy, with its emphasis on intellect and cunning, resembles most closely that of Franz.<sup>115</sup> Spiegelberg does not see himself as part of the homogenous band. Indeed, his aspirations to be their leader are thwarted by Karl, who wins the leadership position through his natural charisma rather than by machinations. Spiegelberg, unlike the rabble of the band, takes his role as outlaw to the extreme, embracing evil rather than simply living a life of moral laxity.

Breitenfellner cites Karl as an example of a “good” criminal and Spiegelberg as a “bad” criminal (187). The stark contrast between Spiegelberg and Karl is set up in

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<sup>115</sup> Other scholars have remarked on the similarity between Spiegelberg and Franz. Beyer mentions this in note 240 (72); and Martini refers to Spiegelberg as a “plebejische Karikatur des Franz” (245).

the first half of Die Räuber: Karl is honest, shows regret, and maintains idealistic integrity while Spiegelberg is dishonest, unscrupulous, and immorally opportunistic. Karl is shocked at Spiegelberg's lack of shame: "Und du schämst dich nicht, damit groß zu prahlen? Hast nicht einmal so viel Scham, dich dieser Streiche zu schämen?" (1.2; p.505) ("Are you not ashamed to boast of such a thing?" [38]). In contrast to Karl, Spiegelberg relishes telling his (scandalous) deeds. He is anxious to tell Razmann his exploits of stealing nuns' clothing and rape: "Einen Spaß muß ich dir noch erzählen, den ich neulich im Cäcilienkloster angerichtet habe" (2.3; p.537). Karl, however, does not talk about his deeds but only his thoughts (regrets) after performing them. Spiegelberg discounts the worth of an honest man, saying they are a dime a dozen: "Einen honetten Mann kann man aus jedem Weidenstotzen formen" (2.3; p.538). Schiller, however, shows just the opposite—the robbers are a dime a dozen and the honest (and moral) man must work and stand out as an individual. Karl calls Spiegelberg a "Narr" (1.2; p.507) and condemns his aspirations for glory and power, citing his own values as "noble": "Steig du auf Schandsäulen zum Gipfel des Ruhms. Im Schatten meiner väterlichen Haine, in den Armen meiner Amalia lockt mich ein edler Vergnügen" (1.2; p.508).

But just as Karl is an exception in his nobleness, so too is Spiegelberg an exception in his evilness. Razmann, a band member, contrasts Spiegelberg and Karl in their recruiting methods. Spiegelberg recruits for the band by appealing to the basest desires in men, which leads Razmann to say of Spiegelberg—comparing him to Satan in his desire to lead away the youth—"Der Satan mag seine Leute kennen, daß er dich zu seinem Mäkler gemacht hat" (2.3; p.540) ("Satan must know his man, choosing you for his scout" [p.76]). Later, Spiegelberg even plans an assassination of Karl (4.5; p.586-7).

The constellation of contrasts—establishment, Franz, ignoble outlaws—creates a sympathetic focus on Karl and presents a spectrum of criminality for the reader and audience to assess. Despite his faults, his emotionality, and his ethical failings, Karl emerges as a noble figure deserving not only our attention but our sympathy. In

addition, as we have shown, the contrasts also highlight the isolation of Karl as a human being.

### **From Melancholy Outlaw to Moral Victory**

Karl's isolation is most poignant as melancholy outlaw. Like Rinaldo Rinaldini, Karl Moor is a melancholy outlaw whose distaste for robbing and whose subsequent inaction often compromise his role as leader. But it is Karl's inaction and his melancholic musings which help to portray him as a noble outlaw. Regret may be viewed as an ethical concept in the sense that regret, as knowledge of one's lack of moral worth, corresponds to Kant's designation of man's duties to himself considered as a moral being. In The Metaphysics of Morals, Kant discusses conscience, which is given to every human being. Everyone "finds himself observed by an internal judge, who threatens him and keeps him in awe" (100) ("Jeder Mensch hat Gewissen, und findet sich durch einen inneren Richter beobachtet, bedroht und überhaupt im Respekt...gehalten" [537, article 13]). Regret may be viewed as part of this internal judge and part of the inner lawsuit that is conducted within one's being. Knowing oneself and judging oneself are duties:

Impartiality in judging oneself according to the law, and uprightness in confessing one's inner moral worth or lack thereof are duties to oneself; they follow immediately from the foremost command of self-knowledge. (Kant 104)<sup>116</sup>

One manifestation of Karl's regret, and a common motif in outlaw narratives, is lamentation of his outlaw status. Closely tied to nature and the outlaw's past, Karl's regret is self-centered and self-indulgent. But it does serve to demonstrate the outlaw's consciousness of his outlaw existence, which signals the first step to any change—a change noted by Liepe: "Der Seelenstarke ist zum Melancholiker geworden" (324).

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<sup>116</sup> Unparteilichkeit, in Beurteilung unserer selbst, in Vergleichung mit dem Gesetz und Aufrichtigkeit im Selbstgeständnis seines inneren moralischen Werts oder Unwerts sind Pflichten gegen sich selbst, die aus jedem ersten Gebot der Selbsterkenntnis unmittelbar folgen (577, section 15).

Karl is a typical melancholy outlaw.<sup>117</sup> He longs for the innocence of childhood: “Meine Unschuld! Meine Unschuld!...Daß ich wiederkehren dürfte in meiner Mutter Leib!” (3.2; p. 561-2). Scenery evokes the contrast by which he indulges in self-deprecation: “Diese Erde so herrlich.... / Und ich so häßlich auf dieser schönen Welt – und ich ein Ungeheuer auf dieser herrlichen Erde” (3.2; p.561). Not only an outlaw from society, he characterizes himself as alienated from humanity—as an “Ungeheuer.” The new Romantic concepts of nature evoke themselves powerfully here as conduits for emotional—and no longer simply rational—reflection. The French garden and a rational attitude to Nature were replaced in Germany, as in England, “by the English garden and a belief that landscape had emotional value” (Benn 14).<sup>118</sup> Capitalizing on this emotional value, Schiller has Karl talk to nature directly, thinking of the natural setting of his childhood: “Ihr grünen, schwärmerischen Täler! O all ihr Elysiumszenen meiner Kindheit! – Werdet ihr nimmer zurückkehren – nimmer mit köstlichen Säuseln meinen brennenden Busen kühlen? – Traure mit mir, Natur” (3.2; p.562). Personified, nature takes on the characteristics of a human companion, representing the human companionship that Karl lacks. This land of childhood appears again when Karl actually returns home. He greets the land:

“Sei mir begrüßt, Vaterlandserde! (*Er küßt die Erde.*)

Vaterlandshimmel! Vaterlandssonne! – und Fluren und Hügel und Ströme und Wälder! seid alle, alle mir herzlich begrüßt!...Die goldene Maienjahre der Knabenzeit leben wieder auf der Seele des Elenden – da warst du so glücklich, warst so ganz, so wolkenlos heiter – und nun – da

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<sup>117</sup> Of Schiller’s three outlaws, Karl is the most profoundly melancholy with his Hamletesque loss of innocence and emotional anguish. This quality is lacking in Tell and only objectively reported in “Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre.” Rinaldo Rinaldini is also melancholy like Karl, yet we are introduced to him as a melancholy outlaw. Narratively and from a character point of view, there is more interest in seeing a character change and develop. *Die Räuber* is more about internal development, while *Rinaldini* is more about outward deeds in a relatively static existence.

<sup>118</sup> Benn credits Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld’s five-volume *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (1779-85) for ensuring “that enthusiasm for the new style [the English garden] became so all-embracing in Germany” (13). Hirschfeld praises “the emotional basis of the English garden” and its purpose to not only “please the eye, but also to excite the imagination with sensations of grandeur, melancholy, gaiety and sublimity” (Benn 13).

liegen die Trümmer deiner Entwürfe!...Lebt wohl, ihr Vaterlandstähler!  
 einst saht ihr den Knaben Karl, und der Knabe Karl war einst ein  
 glücklicher Knabe – itzt saht ihr den Mann, und er war in Verzweiflung”  
 (4.1; p.569-70).

Here again, a personified nature evokes the contrastive epochs of Karl’s existence. Portraying a loss of innocence that everyone feels, this theme of innocence lost is central to Romanticism. Here, Karl, now a criminal, laments this loss, but because this is a universal phenomenon, we sympathize with him, forgetting that he is a criminal and relating to him on a human level.

Self-indulgent lamentation occasionally gives way to expressions of guilt and remorse. Karl’s first outright admission of sinfulness is found in his utterance: “Was ich getan habe, werd ich ohne Zweifel einmal im Schuldbuch des Himmels lesen” (2.3; p.553). He makes several similar statements, but his expressions of guilt and regret, though persistent, are erratic. Maier sees in Karl’s regret precisely the characteristics of the noble outlaw, supporting his claim with Schiller’s later discussion—in “Über den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen”—of the noble character in tragedy: “Und was kann auch erhabener sein als jene heroische Verzweiflung,...weil sie die mißbilligende Stimme ihres innern Richters nicht ertragen und nicht übertäuben kann?” (*Erzählungen* 367). Indeed, Karl does exhibit a certain nobility in his articulation of guilt.<sup>119</sup>

But despite occasional noble admissions, Karl is easily distracted from moral self-examination. On hearing the death toll resulting from the rescue of Roller, whom Karl says is “teuer bezahlt” (2.3; p.547), we witness Karl’s regret and acknowledgment of shame:

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<sup>119</sup> Less nobly and more desperately articulated is Karl’s lament at the realization that all his criminal actions arose because of Franz’s deception. But his lament is less about a consciousness of guilt than an egotistical outburst: “Betrogen, betrogen!...*Spitzbübische Künste!* Himmel und Hölle!...*Mörder, Räuber* durch spitzbübische Künste! Angeschwärzt von ihm! verfälscht, unterdrückt meine Briefe...oh ich Ungeheuer von einem Toren...oh, Schelmerei, Schelmerei! Es hätte mich einen Fußfall gekostet, es hätte mich eine Träne gekostet – oh ich blöder, blöder Tor!...das Glück meines Lebens bübisch, bübisch hinwegbetrogen” (4.3; p.581).

Wie beugt mich diese Tat! Sie hat meine schönsten Werke  
vergiftet....hier entsag ich dem frechen Plan, gehe, mich in irgendeine  
Kluft der Erde zu verkriechen, wo der Tag vor meiner Schande  
zurücktritt.<sup>120</sup> (2.3; p.548)

(How this deed bows my head! It has poisoned my finest works....here I  
renounce the impertinent plan, go to hide myself in some crevice of the  
earth, where the daylight shrinks before my shame. [84])

This mood of internally judging his moral worth is interrupted, however, when his men are attacked by troops. Similarly, when he offers Kosinsky a fatherly warning not to adopt his outlaw ways, he seems to be acting in accordance with duty: “Mord, Knabe, verstehst du das Wort auch? du magst ruhig schlafen gegangen sein, wenn du Mohnköpfe abgeschlagen, aber einen Mord auf der Seele zu tragen--” (3.2; p.565) (“Murder, boy, do you know what the word means? You could chop off poppy-heads and go to sleep with a clear conscience, but to bear murder on your soul—” [102]). Graham sees in Karl’s actions here “an altogether new sense of responsibility, not just towards the stranger but...towards himself” (Schiller’s Drama 102). However, this responsibility seems short lived.<sup>121</sup> Liepe points out that the social injustices and hardships of Kosinsky no longer move Karl to vengeance against society but simply recall memories of his perceived innocence in childhood (324).<sup>122</sup> Karl has become deaf to the social injustices that Kosinsky complains of and hears only the name of Amalia. Emotion (inclination) overcomes duty, and Karl, in his excitement to see Amalia, loses all moral concern for Kosinsky: “Ich muß sie sehen. -- Auf! rafft zusammen--du bleibst, Kosinsky” (3.2; p.568) (“I must see her!--away! strike camp!--

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<sup>120</sup> Liepe points out that at this moment, anything resembling a social-revolutionary drama has ended before it has begun: “Damit ist auch das eigentlich sozialrevolutionäre Drama, in derselben Scene erst begonnen, schon beendet” (323). The rest of the drama, he says, must be viewed as “Individualtragödie des erhabenen Verbrechers” (Liepe 323).

<sup>121</sup> Michelsen 89 notes a similar responsibility, seeing here Karl taking over the role as father. But again, this role is only temporary.

<sup>122</sup> “Kosinskis furchtbare Anklage der Gesellschaft ruft ihn nicht mehr zum Rächer auf, -- ruft nur noch Erinnerungen an die glückselige Zeit seiner Unschuld und seiner Jünglingsliebe auf, die ihn der Heimat treibt” (Liepe 324).

you shall stay with us, Kosinsky” [106]). Karl shows regret and even profound remorse that is genuine but erratic, for just as his physical condition and relationships are transitory, his moral self-examination is easily derailed. External circumstances often place demands on the noble character, and in Karl’s case, so do emotional impulses.

At the end of Die Räuber, Karl’s will finds solid moral ground. Correlative to Karl’s decision to become captain of the robber band (a socio-legal decision) is his oath to his men (a socio-ethical decision): “Schwör ich euch hier, treu und standhaft euer Hauptmann zu bleiben bis in den Tod” (1.2; p.516) (“I swear to you to remain your captain in loyalty and constancy till death!” [50]). This oath, representing the solid moral ground, is of crucial structural and thematic importance in Die Räuber. It marks the point where Karl becomes an outlaw, and it emerges as the central issue at the dramatic ending when Karl abandons his outlaw career. Furthermore, the ethic of keeping one’s word, of making an oath, becomes the dominant moral imperative of the robber community. In many ways, the oath of Karl and his men recalls the first formulation of Kant’s categorical imperative: “Act only according to that maxim whereby you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law” (Grounding 30). The oath, remaining loyal to the band, becomes the robbers’ universal law. The robbers make the same promise to Karl: “Wir schwören dir Treu und Gehorsam bis in den Tod” (1.2; p.515-6) (“We swear loyalty and obedience to you till death!” [49]). Keeping one’s oath, or promise, is the opposite of one of Kant’s examples of an immoral decision—the lying promise—and of a hypothetical imperative. Telling the truth and remaining loyal are represented in Schiller’s drama as being virtues in themselves and not as means to some goal: making and keeping promises is categorical. Furthermore, telling the truth is an example of a perfect duty to others (Grounding 31).

The ending of Die Räuber may be viewed as a moral victory in Kantian terms. Karl has been reunited with Amalia, but his band demands that he remain true to his oath. This is Karl’s duty, but his inclination is to leave with Amalia. Kant distinguishes between duty and inclination thus: “What everyone of himself already

inevitably wants does not belong under the concept of duty, because a duty is a constraint to an end that is not gladly adopted” (*Metaphysics* 43).<sup>123</sup> When faced with the decision, Karl chooses not what he gladly adopts but what he must choose under the constraints of duty. His duty to the band is not based on his love for them or an inclination for them above Amalia but on the pure principle of keeping his word—on his oath.

The only way for Karl to keep his oath *and* end his criminal career to satisfy justice (aside from suicide, which he had already contemplated and rejected) is by performing an act of sufficient magnitude. The band, not Karl, realizes this fact when band members demand Amalia as a sacrifice. By shooting Amalia, although the act shocks, Karl can now, in accordance with duty both to his oath and to justice, renounce his outlaw career and surrender himself to the law, as the acknowledgment of Grimm that the debt is paid attests: “Du hast dein Schuld mit Wucher bezahlt” (5.2; p.616). Karl’s killing of Amalia is often condemned in criticism. Steinhagen remarks that Karl “opfert Amalia und betrachtet diese Tat als den “Triumph” seiner Größe und doch ist sie in Wahrheit lediglich ein Tauschobjekt, durch das er sich von der Bande freikauf” (Steinhagen 142). I agree on one level, but I also think that if you apply Kantian ethics through part of the drama, you have to do it here also, and view the act symbolically. I do not see Karl’s actions as “kaufen” in a negative, peddling sort of way, but in a higher sense, as in Christ “paying for” the sins of the world. When Karl sacrifices Amalia—“einen Engel geschlachtet” (5.2; p.616)—she pays for his sins, and, in a sense, the sins of the entire play. In fact, Amalia sacrifices herself willingly, pleading for Karl to kill her: “Tod ist meine Bitte nur” (5.2; p.615). Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that Karl and especially Amalia are not well-developed, complex individuals but representations centered not in themselves, but on a system of moral norms (Wacker 137). This is especially true of Amalia. Thus, they are more functions of the plot than individuals (Wacker 142). As such, the shooting of Amalia, as many

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<sup>123</sup> “Was ein jeder unvermeidlich schon von selbst will, das gehört nicht unter den Begriff von Pflicht; denn diese ist eine Nötigung zu einem ungerne genommenen Zweck” (515).

other actions in the play, does not originate from the being of the private individual but takes on an objective, symbolic, even ritualistic significance (Wacker 148-49). Karl's last decision, "dying for justice of my own free will" (5.2; p.160) ("daß ich mit Willen für sie [die obere Mächte] gestorben bin" [617]), corresponds to Kant's definition of what is moral: "For in the case of what is to be morally good, that it conforms to the moral law is not enough; it must also be done for the sake of the moral law" (Grounding 3).<sup>124</sup> In the end, Karl turns himself in not just to conform to justice but for the sake of justice.

While one may view the ending of Die Räuber as a moral victory in Kantian terms in the sense of a strict theoretical application of Kantian moral principles, one must also recognize a critique of Kant's deontological ethics in the sense of its application in real life and with real individuals. In his remorseful statement "daß zwei Menschen wie ich den ganzen Bau der sittlichen Welt zugrund richten würden" (5.2; p.617), Karl recalls Kant's categorical imperative. The maxim implicit in the oath and based on good intentions may have moral worth in Kantian terms, but its consequences are tragic, leading to the horrible deaths of Schweitzer and Amalia. Schweitzer's oath to return with Franz or die ("Entweder, du siehst zwei zurückkommen, oder gar keinen" [4.5; p.598]; "either you shall see the two of us return, or neither" [138]) leads to his suicide, which associates him with the greatest villain of the play, Franz, who also commits suicide. It is in fact Franz's suicide which, causing him to be unable to fulfill his oath, leads to Schweitzer's own suicide. And in order to fulfill the duty of his oath, Karl must murder his beloved. Graham mentions several critics who argue that Schiller accepts Kantian categories; but she herself disagrees, citing Karl's final gesture of giving himself to the law as "the most public manifestation of the moral conscience, in which unacted intention or motive count for nothing." Karl's final act, she states, "demonstrates his development from his initial inwardness and preoccupation with intention (which is the distinguishing feature of Kant's system of morality) to his

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<sup>124</sup> "...ist es nicht genug, daß es dem sittlichen Gesetze gemäß sei, sondern es muß auch um deselben willen geschehen" (14).

recognition of the public aspect of his act, i.e., the consequences of those intentions” (Graham, Schiller’s Drama 358n). Indeed, in offering to let the man with eleven children collect the reward money for his capture (“tausend Louisdore” [5.2; p.618]), Karl emphasizes the public nature of his new-found ethical consciousness. At the same time, Schiller provides a way for his hero to morally triumph. He draws attention to the costs of this triumph and the flaws of an ethical system based entirely on duty and intentions.

This problem is complicated by the fact that there are two substantially different endings to the play—the printed version, treated here, and “the alternative version—which can be briefly characterized as Schiller’s redaction of Wolfgang Heribert von Dalberg’s Mannheim staging” (Marshall Brown 109). We can follow Marshall Brown’s suggestion to discuss “Schiller’s ability to imagine—or at least his willingness to adapt to—alternative endings” rather than regard “the printed version as authentic and the stage version as a way of appeasing the authorities” (109). Brown draws attention to the variation in reactions to Karl’s killing of Amalia: “In the original printed version the murder of Amalia is presented as an excess” (“Du hast deine Schuld mit Wucher bezahlt”), and “identity is reduced from a stolen good to empty, merely aesthetic illusion” (Marshall Brown 109). In the stage version, there is no shock in the reaction of the robbers to Karl’s killing but rather adulation for a deed well done: “Bravo! bravo! Das heißt seine Ehre lösen wie ein Räuberfürst” (Gedichte 933). The murder of Amalia “is described as proper payment, not an excess of interest.... Thus where the individual dissolves in the earlier version into hostility or the aesthetic distance of ‘vain admiration,’ in this version the individual dissolves back into the communal group” (Marshall Brown 109). The two possible endings substantiate the idea of Schiller’s ambivalence in applying Kantian moral principles.

In Die Räuber, Schiller draws on common robber motifs with a hero that fits the paradigm of the noble outlaw. The focus of the drama, however, in addition to the portrayal of pure emotion and anti-social energy, is the wrestling of ethics and Karl’s path to a final stage of nobility of soul and ethical awareness. Schiller’s next outlaw

narrative is conspicuously non-emotional in its content and presentation. Like Karl Moor, Christian Wolf will show a path to ethical awareness, but Schiller details his progression much more methodically and with a greater interest in Wolf as a human being—not only as an *individual* human being but as a *representative* human being.

### 3. “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre”: The Human Criminal

Schiller’s second outlaw narrative, though similar to Die Räuber in its focused interest on the outlaw, differs greatly in the mode and program of this focus. Besides the difference in narrative form, Die Räuber focuses on the noble aspects of Karl while “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” focuses on the human aspects of Wolf. The entire narrative focuses on Wolf, while Karl shares the stage with Franz and other characters. Both works show interest in the origins and causes of crime, and both follow the outlaw to the end of his outlaw career (without actually showing his final demise). The difference in narrative forms—drama and narrative prose—reflect the different mode of this focus. Die Räuber represents a mix of dramatic action and psychological exploration with its portrayal of Karl’s inner thoughts via his melancholy monologues. Combined with the dramatic action, albeit often distanced and recounted second hand, “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” explores the psychological to a greater degree, offering a case study rather than a dramatic narrative unfolding.

Schiller originally published the narrative anonymously in 1786 as “Verbrecher aus Infamie, eine wahre Geschichte” in a journal called Thalia. Not until 1792 was it published as “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” with the same subtitle (Köpf 9; Kawa 6; Marsch 137).<sup>125</sup> Offering interpretations as an Enlightenment text, a social criticism, and a product of the criminal biography tradition (Kawa 22),<sup>126</sup> Schiller’s

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<sup>125</sup> Changes in the two versions, in addition to the altered title and preface, consist mainly in the softening of offensive elements in the language and content (Aurnhammer 254-5).

<sup>126</sup> Kawa cites the following as criminal biographies contemporary to Schiller: Wieland’s Wahre Geschichte der Nachtmahlvergiftung in Zürich (Deutscher Merkur, 1777); Meißner’s Geschichte einer Verbrecherin (Deutscher Merkur, 1779); and Seybold’s Ein Doktor der Arzneykunst am Galgen (Deutsches Museum, 1781) (23).

narrative draws on the history of Johann Friedrich Schwan from Ebersbach, near Schiller's home town. Schwan, the infamous robber captain "Sonnenwirt," was first jailed in 1746 at the age of 17 after stealing from his father (Köpf 9). After being released from jail, he fathered a child with Christine Müller and became a robber to support lover and child after the two were forbidden to marry by both father and church (Köpf 10). He became the leader of a robber band in 1757 and met the robber woman "die schwarze Christine" (Christine Schlettinger) who accompanied him on his robberies. Shortly thereafter he ambushed and murdered his worst pursuer, Hohenecker, eventually landing himself in jail again. In 1760, after an extensive confession, he and Christine were condemned to death and hanged in Vaihingen (Köpf 10).<sup>127</sup>

Although there is some evidence that Schiller may have heard the story of Friedrich Schwan as a child (Kawa 5),<sup>128</sup> most scholars agree that Schiller received in-depth exposure to the story from his teacher Jacob Friedrich Abel, whose father actually arrested Schwan (Kawa 5).<sup>129</sup> Schiller learned about the case while writing Die Räuber (Martinson 2). Two years after Schiller's tale first appeared—in 1787—Abel published a detailed and much more historically accurate account of "der Sonnenwirt," which appeared in Sammlung und Erklärung merkwürdiger Erscheinungen aus dem menschlichen Leben (Köpf 13). Most scholars now seem to agree that Abel was inspired to write his account down only after reading Schiller's

<sup>127</sup> Contemporary to Schiller's tale were other treatments of this outlaw known as Sonnenwirt. G.I. Wenzel's Verbrecher aus Infamie (1788) resembles Schiller's first version of the tale very closely except in its greater emphasis on the rivalry between Robert and Wolf (Köpf 10). In the anonymously written Sonnenwirt (1794), Wolf discovers too late that he is a lost member of a noble family (Köpf 10). W. Cramer produced a drama in 1854 called Der Sonnenwirt, in which the outlaw happily departs at the end with his beloved for a new life in America (Köpf 10). The most famous treatment was in Hermann Kurz's novel Der Sonnenwirt (1854) (Köpf 10; Kawa 57).

<sup>128</sup> Kawa supports this statement with J. F. Abel's own words that this was a criminal "von dem damals durch ganz Württemberg viel gesprochen wurde" (5). This robber was part of the Württembergisch folk tradition (Kawa 12).

<sup>129</sup> Abel's version is found in Jakob Friedrich Abel, "Lebens-Geschichte Fridrich Schwans," Sammlung und Erklärung merkwürdiger Erscheinungen aus dem menschlichen Leben, Part 2 (Stuttgart: 1787), Pp. 1-86. Examples of scholarly assurances of Schiller's debt to Abel include the following: "Wir dürfen sicher sein, daß Schiller den Stoff zu seiner Erzählung seinem Lehrer...Professor Abel verdankt" (Helmut Koopmann, Schiller-Kommentar, Munich: 1969, p. 225).

literary version—possibly in order to correct inaccuracies and complete the story with greater historical veracity (Kawa 5).<sup>130</sup>

### From Sympathetic Outcast to Hardened Criminal

As discussed in the Introduction, the genesis of the outlaw's career often forms an important part of the Romantic outlaw narrative, but especially and explicitly so in Schiller's "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre." In the beginning of Schiller's tale, the narrator stresses the importance of finding the cause of criminal acts ("eine Mutter zu diesen verlorenen Kindern" [15]) and also of becoming acquainted with the outlaw before he becomes an outlaw: "Wir müssen mit ihm bekannt werden, eh er handelt" (14). We see in Schiller's "Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre" a greater focus on the pre-outlaw life than in, for instance, Die Räuber, Wilhelm Tell, and Rinaldo Rinaldini.

Wolf's pre-outlaw life is characterized by his bad looks, bad luck, and bad social connections. In contrast to many noble outlaws who are handsome, Wolf is plagued by his "plattgedrückte Nase" and "geschwollene Oberlippe" (16).<sup>131</sup> Kawa warns against over-interpreting these physiognomic details in an attempt to establish a link between appearance and character or criminality (48). Similarly, he warns against attaching undue significance to certain traits of Wolf, such as his self-proclaimed sensuality ("Wollust war meine wütendste Neigung" [28]), since such emotions, he

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<sup>130</sup> Schiller's use of history for literary purposes is well known. As an example, see Schiller's comments in his letter to Caroline von Beulwitz, 10 December 1788: "Die Geschichte ist überhaupt nur ein Magazin für meine Phantasie, und die Gegenstände müssen sich gefallen lassen, was sie unter meinen Händen werden" (Schiller, Briefe 185). He also stresses the importance of inner truth over historical. "Es fragt sich, ob die innere Wahrheit, die ich die philosophische und Kunstwahrheit nennen will und welche in ihrer ganzen Fülle im Roman oder einer anderen poetischen Darstellung herrschen muß, nicht ebenso viel Wert hat als die historische" (Briefe 184). How "literary" Schiller's text actually is has been questioned. Benno von Wiese, for instance, remarks that it is fragmented rather than an artistic whole: "Wir haben die vom Geschichtsschreiber berichtete wahre Begebenheit, wir haben die moralische Seelenstudie, wir haben die szenischen Dialog- und Bildwirkungen und das pointiert Anekdotenhafte, ohne daß dies alles zu einer künstlerischen Ganzheit verschmolzen wäre" (46).

<sup>131</sup> Compare also, as Köhn 448-50 does, Franz's bad looks in Die Räuber: his "Lappländers Nase" and "Mohrenmaul." Martinson insists that "the physiological and psychological affinities between Christian Wolf and Franz Moor are so remarkable that they can hardly be superficial (as maintained by Sharpe) (2). I think this is overstated.

points out, are not abnormal or indicative of criminal potential but are universal human inclinations (Kawa 49). What is significant, however, is not only the portrayal of these universal human inclinations but the suggestion that criminality itself is one of these universal human inclinations and a real possibility for anyone of us.

Many critics have pointed to Wolf's alienation as a fostering agent of this criminality. Martini claims that "Christian Wolf ist von Beginn an der Vereinzelte, kontaktlos gegenüber seiner Umwelt" (136); and Kaiser says "erkennt man den Sonnenwirt von vornherein als Außenseiter der Gesellschaft" (52). It is clear that Wolf seems to be disliked at an early age: "Schon von der Schule her war er für einen losen Buben bekannt" (16), and that Schiller suggests a link between societal alienation and crime. Schiller actually constructs this thesis of the cause of Wolf's criminality by manipulating his historical subject matter, omitting, for instance, all the details of the historical Schwan's success with women (Kawa 9). The rejection of the girl plays into his thesis that Wolf's development into a criminal is based on society rejecting him (Kawa 9). In addition, Kawa suggests, Schiller refuses to portray Wolf in a positive love relationship because love for Schiller is a symbol of perfection (*Vollkommenheit*) and thus not consistent with the others acts of Wolf. However, Kawa points out the weakness of this thesis of deducing total societal alienation from, for instance, the rejection of a girl (49).

Consistent with the story's focus on internal thoughts and motivations instead of external actions, and similar to the focus in *Die Räuber* on the decision rather than the execution of the decision when portraying the launch of Karl Moor's outlaw career, we do not learn *how* Wolf committed his first crime but *why*. Love and poverty are the primary motivators, as we learn during the narration of Wolf's tragedy—his tragedy of middle-class mediocrity. Wolf is too ignorant ("zu unwissend") to succeed in business and too proud and weak ("zu stolz," "zu weichlich") to work as a peasant (16). But Christian Wolf is not merely damned by circumstances. He reflects on his position and consciously chooses a life of crime—the only way out ("Ausweg") he sees is "honett zu stehlen" (16).

Wolf's crime is poaching. Poaching in the eighteenth century often served as the impetus that launched the lower classes into a life of crime and is often mentioned as a part of robber band existence (Kawa 13). Punished harshly, poaching was a remnant of the feudal society tradition of the "Jagdprivileg" of the feudal lord—an issue treated in other *Sturm und Drang* writers (Kawa 12-3).<sup>132</sup> Because violators were often punished with death or assessed fines so high that the poor could never pay them, poaching was often seen in the folk's mind as a revolt against feudalism, and poachers were often celebrated in folk songs (Kawa 12).<sup>133</sup> By excluding other crimes actually committed by the historical Schwan, Schiller, in this narrative, showcases the crime of poaching in order to appeal to the sympathy of an implied anti-feudalistic audience. Schiller reduces the anti-social and illegal activities of Schwan quantitatively but also in the motivation—all the deeds of a boisterous, fastidious, affluent young man are boiled down to one crime—poaching—which begins his criminal career (Bennholdt-Thomsen 123).

Once Karl has entered a life of crime, he is unable to reintegrate into society. A sense of inevitability dominates the movement of Wolf toward being a criminal, as the pithy phrasing, "Er wird Wilddieb," is thrice repeated. He is released the first time with a fine, and, having learned nothing, commits poaching a second time. After one year in jail, his attempts at reintegration into society fail. Humbled, he applies for work doing manual labor, but, still a "Zärtling," he is rejected at every turn: "Der Bauer zuckt über den schwachen Zärtling die Achsel" (17). He has "einen letzten Versuch" as pig herder, but the stigma of his past bars him from entering even the lowliest of professions: "*Ein Amt ist noch ledig, der äußerste verlorne Posten des ehrlichen Namens – er meldet sich zum Hirten des Städtchens, aber der Bauer will seine*

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<sup>132</sup> The problem of "Jagdprivileg" emerges in Goecking, Halen, and also Goethe's *Götz* (Kawa 13).

<sup>133</sup> Beccaria discussed a similar crime, smuggling, from much the same viewpoint: "Smuggling is a real crime against sovereign and nation; but punishment for it should not involve disgrace, since the public does not think of an act of smuggling as disgraceful" (Beccaria 89; section 31). Hobsbawm substantiates this view of smuggling as "a trade never considered criminal by anybody except governments" (45). This discrepancy between written law and public opinion illustrates the potential for sympathy inherent in outlaw narratives.

Schweine keinem Taugenichts anvertrauen” (17). Like Michael Kohlhaas, who runs into roadblocks every time he tries to have his issue resolved according to lawful procedure, Wolf cannot penetrate lawful society again. With no other options, and seemingly doomed to a life of crime, Wolf commits his third crime and is arrested yet again: “In allen Entwürfen getäuscht, an allen Orten zurückgewiesen, wird er zum drittenmal Wilddieb, und zum drittenmal trifft ihn das Unglück, seinem wachsamen Feind in die Hände zu fallen” (17). This third arrest, after his failed attempts at finding lawful employment, signals his inability to return to society once removed from it. Martinson, calling him “both guilty and innocent of his crimes,” insists that “society shares part of the blame for his tragedy” (4).

Already we sympathize with Wolf’s failed attempts. The narrator, while recounting these incidents in an objective, journalistic style, reveals his sympathy for “den Unglücklichen” (14, 30) and subtly invites us to view Wolf sympathetically. Following Wolf’s third arrest, the narrator reports: “Die Richter sahen in das Buch der Gesetze, aber nicht *einer* in die Gemütsfassung des Beklagten” (17-8).<sup>134</sup> This statement, indirectly inviting us to look at the heart (motive) rather than the law (deed), appears in the guise of objectivity, but the very fact that it has been inserted here betrays a sympathetic viewing of the outlaw (Freund 14). The narrator’s careful attention to Wolf’s misfortunes and attempts at reintegration betrays his sympathy—as does his steering of the narrative focus on the inner thoughts and motives instead of the deeds themselves. The narrator often de-emphasizes the criminality of Wolf’s deeds (Kawa 43). Words and phrases such as “Ausweg” and “honett zu stehlen” (16) soften his image as a criminal. We see Wolf as he sees himself, as “den Märtyrer des natürlichen Rechts” and as “ein Schlachtopfer der Gesetze” (18).

Having brought the reader as close to the criminal protagonist as possible, the “objective” narrator turns us, the reader, over to Wolf himself. The narrative shifts

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<sup>134</sup> Köpf points out that German laws later in the eighteenth century, such as *Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana* (1769), began to differentiate crimes by the state of the criminal’s mind at the time of the deed—whether he was in the heat of passion, depressed, crazy, etc. (49-50).

from third person—which provides the didactic aspect—to first person, which provides identification and poignancy for the reader (Kawa 37). This shift in narrative perspective also signals the “neue Epoche” in Wolf’s life (18). Telling of his time in prison himself, Wolf supports the sympathetic image created by the narrator, but also describes the decline of his character and his move from a sympathetic to an unsympathetic character. He begins: “Ich betrat die Festung...als ein Verirrter und verließ sie als ein Lotterbube” (18). We see the comparative innocence of Wolf and his corruption by the prison environment. He is not a hardened criminal like the prison’s “zwei Mörder” and “berüchtigte Diebe und Vagabunden” (18). His religious sensibilities contrast with those of his fellow prisoners: “Man verhöhnnte mich, wenn ich von Gott sprach, und setzte mir zu, schändliche Lästerungen gegen den Erlöser zu sagen” (18). He listens with “Ekel und Entsetzen” to the “Hurenlieder” and each “schändlicher Lebenslauf” (18). But although Wolf is initially repulsed by his environment—“Anfangs floh ich dieses Volk und verkroch mich vor ihren Gesprächen” (18)—he eventually succumbs to its influence: “So gewöhnte ich mich endlich an das Abscheulichste” (18). In adapting to his environment in prison and growing hardened like his fellow prisoners, Wolf becomes a less sympathetic figure. Sympathy fades as Wolf is filled with hate and a desire for revenge, which Schiller explicitly cites as ignoble: “Rache...ist unstreitig ein unedler und selbst niedriger Affekt” (Erzählungen 536). His desire for revenge is deep: not just for one man—Robert, whom he “am gräßlichsten haßte”—and not just for the establishment, though he tries “das fürstliche Edikt zu verhöhnen” (Kawa 46). No, Wolf grows to hate all humanity: “Damals gelobte ich unversöhnlichen glühenden Haß allem, was dem Menschen gleicht” (19).

We see Wolf’s complete alienation—from society and from humanity—when he is released from prison and returns to his home town. The societal alienation is evident in the repulsion of all those with whom he comes in contact: “Man erkannte mich schnell, jedermann, der mich aufstieß, trat scheu zurück” (19). This reaction comes not only from those who know him but also from those who are unaware of his

history and social status. When he is insulted by a child who does not know him, Wolf perceives his complete alienation not only from a social network of human beings but also from humanity itself. Conscious of his hardening in prison, he himself begins to question his own humanity: “Habe ich aufgehört, einem Menschen ähnlich zu sehen, weil ich fühle, daß ich keinen mehr lieben kann?” (19). Indeed, the child views and treats him as an animal: “Der Knabe weiß nicht, wer ich bin, noch woher ich komme...und doch meidet er mich wie ein schändliches Tier” (19). Wolf’s kind offering of money to the child is met with hostility as the child throws the coin back into his face (“...warf mir den Groschen ins Gesichte” [19]). This act of throwing money—a medium which defines a society—signifies his rejection: he is no longer able to interact and use the currency of normal human beings. When he tries to reenter society by employing this medium of exchange, he fails.<sup>135</sup> But while Wolf may be perceived as non-human, we, the reader, see clear indications of his humanity in his human feelings. Wolf tells us that this incident pains himself more than his three years of confinement: “Die Verachtung dieses Knaben schmerzte mich bitterer als dreijähriger Galiotendienst” (19).

Wolf continues in his alienation by snubbing his old girlfriend Johanne. Seeing her misfortune, he insults her and coldly turns away: “‘Soldatendirne!’ rief ich und drehte ihr lachend den Rücken zu” (20). In insulting and turning his back on Johanne, even denying that he ever loved her—“Ich hatte sie niemals geliebt” (20)—Wolf symbolically turns his back on humanity. Wolf’s *Schadenfreude* at seeing the misfortunes of his old girlfriend renders him, for the first time, an unsympathetic character: “Es tat mir wohl, daß noch *ein* Geschöpf *unter* mir war im Rang der Lebendigen” (20). He is no longer a sympathetic character; but because he is telling the story from the present looking backward, he can retain, like Moll Flanders, that

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<sup>135</sup> A similar motif—the throwing of money by or at an alienated being—occurs near the beginning of Adelbert von Chamisso’s *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte* (1814). Schlemihl, a man without a shadow, is, like Christian Wolf, not only an outlaw banished from society but also banished from humanity. In response to the recognition or condemnation of his shadowless state (including the hurling of dirt clods at him), Schlemihl throws money.

distance from his unsympathetic self and imbue this character with sympathy as a narrator telling his story in a semi-confessional tone. Martinson cites this “earnestness of his search for identity” as “the primary reason for our inability to condemn the hero completely” (1). His rejection of Johanne is finalized with the news of his mother’s death and the sale of his house: “Ich hatte niemand und nichts mehr” (20). As in Kleist’s Michael Kohlhaas, the launch of an outlaw career is preceded by the death of a family member and sale of property. Both represent strong links to society. Wolf’s last departure is his abandonment of honor: “Es war die letzte Ausflucht, die mir übrig war, die *Ehre* entbehren zu lernen, weil ich an keine mehr Anspruch machen durfte” (20). With this last tie to society severed, Wolf’s alienation is complete, evident in his statement: “Mein Name war Vergessen” (20). No longer can he be identified in society by a name. His name—Christian Wolf—is forgotten: he is now “Sonnenwirt.”

Completely cut off from society and alienated from humanity, Wolf wills his life of crime. Ziolkowski rightly identifies this as a general trend among literary criminals: the criminal is born uncorrupted but begins to will his crime once his path has been deflected off the normal moral path, so that “the act of crime becomes secondary; it is merely a manifestation of a titanic impulse consecrated to evil” (Ziolkowski, “Portrait” 299). In a kind of criminal mission statement, Wolf declares his simple desire to do evil—“Ich wollte Böses tun” (21). No longer driven strictly by necessity and desperation, this will to sin and violate the law—“die Gesetze...zu verletzen”—arises from both an assertion of free will and from desire: “Ehemals hatte ich aus Notwendigkeit und Leichtsinn gesündigt, jetzt tat ich’s aus freier Wahl zu meinem Vergnügen” (21). Martinson, who sees many similarities between Wolf and Franz Moor, sees at this moment “a significant transition in Wolf’s psychological portrayal from the self-pitying Franz Moor to the self-punishing Karl Moor” (4).

Although his next criminal act, poaching, outwardly replicates his previous crimes, the nature of the deed is altered by the nature of the motive. As the first criminal act after his will to crime, Wolf draws a clear distinction between poaching now and poaching then. As he says, it is not about survival or his now-established

passion for hunting (he speaks of poaching in the possessive as “mein Wildschießen” and mentions his “Leidenschaft” [21]). His entire motive and state of mind has changed. Now there is an accompanying anti-establishment will to crime: “Aber dies war es nicht allein; es kitzelte mich, das fürstliche Edikt zu verhöhnen und meinem Landesherrn nach allen Kräften zu schaden” (21).

Of the outlaws in this study, Wolf has the most gradual decline. Not until returning home after his three arrests, two prison terms, and several years does the transformation in his soul turn him to embrace criminality. After his complete alienation from society and humanity, he wills his crime and eventually commits murder. It is at this point he becomes an outlaw—when he wills and has the freedom to actually commit his crime. This murder borders on premeditation, as he casts aside all fear of apprehension and anticipates shooting Robert: “Ergriffen zu werden, besorgte ich nicht mehr, denn jetzt hatte ich eine Kugel für meinen Entdecker bereit, und das wußte ich, daß mein Schuß seinen Mann nicht fehlte” (21).

Such inner meditations rather than the actual physical deed dominate the scene of the murder. In this, Schiller’s narrative contrasts with most murderer biographies of the eighteenth century, whose tendency was “to describe the crime with an almost dreamlike precision, each action broken up into its separate movements, each movement split into its component gestures,...the passage of time slowed and made ponderous” (Faller 44). Romantic accounts do not include this kind of detail in portraying the deed; however, they employ similar detail in portraying the psychology. Time is slowed and made ponderous in the scene of Wolf’s murder of Robert. In his account, Wolf devotes a full paragraph to describing his entire psychological state: the “tödliche Kälte” of this “schwarze Minute,” the culmination of his feelings of hate (“der Haß meines ganzen Lebens in die einzige Fingerspitze sich zusammendrängte”), the physical manifestations of his inner emotions (“Der Arm zitterte mir...meine Zähne schlugen zusammen...der Odem sperrte sich erstickend”), and the psychological struggle between revenge and conscience (“Rache und Gewissen rangen hartzäckig zweifelhaft”) (21-2). After several sentences of psychological detail, the narrative

jumps to the effects (not the performance) of the physical deed: “der Jäger lag tot am Boden” (22). Similar to the narrative distance and objectification of the criminal act that we find in Die Räuber and Wilhelm Tell (such as Tell’s shooting of Gessler), we are not shown the actual pulling of the trigger, nor are we even told directly that Wolf shot him—just that he now lay on the ground. The indirect language and psychological focus, as well as the narrative distance provided by reference to the unconscious or supernatural power (“Eine unsichtbare fürchterliche Hand schwebte über mir” [21]), gets us to focus not on the deed but the motive, and thus to focus on Wolf as a human (with thoughts) and not just a criminal (defined by deeds).

Following the murder, the focus remains on Wolf’s thoughts. He vocalizes in disbelief his new criminal identity (“Mörder”), recalls a childhood memory of an execution, and contemplates his guilt. Although the murder is portrayed primarily as a psychological event, its consequences are very concrete, as Wolf himself realizes: “Ich mußte auf meine Sicherheit denken” (23). At this point Wolf begins, unconsciously, to transfer himself to the wild space of the outlaw: “Unwillkürlich verlor ich mich tiefer in den Wald” (23). Yet even in his flight from society, he realizes his ties to society. He returns to take a watch and money from the corpse in order to use the money to help himself get over the border. Yet, reminiscent of the boy who threw money back at him, Wolf throws the watch back and leaves half of the money. The watch represents a very human construct of time; and his casting away of both the watch and money symbolizes his further rejection of civilization. Furthermore, by casting away this connection to time, Wolf signals his entry into a static existence away from society, where time stands still. This existence is described by the outgoing robber captain, who extols the timeless existence of the outlaw band: “Jeder Tag ist dem heutigen gleich” (28). Yet, Wolf does not throw back all the money because he cannot leave society completely. Wolf tells us that he threw it back so as to not diminish the crime of his murder: “Ich wollte für einen persönlichen Feind des Erschossenen, aber nicht für seinen Räuber gehalten sein” (23). Reflecting the primacy in the narrative for the inner, Wolf concerns himself not with the outward deed of murder, the interpretation of which

cannot be ambiguous, but with the motive of the murder—whether or not it was committed for petty financial gain or out of deep hatred. Even as Wolf flees into the wild space of the forest, society is foremost in his mind. He is concerned not with the actual motive but with the interpretation of the motive by society.

### **The Noble Outlaw**

Christian Wolf, the outlaw protagonist of “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre,” lacks many of the exceptional characteristics and flair of many outlaw heroes. He is not a shining robber hero (Kawa 50) and is often contrasted with Karl Moor, or the Karl Moor type. Haslinger points out that he is not “heroisiert oder gar idealisiert, wie ein Karl Moor” (180); and Benno von Wiese, noting that he is not a Karl Moor or Fiesco, describes him as an average criminal type:

Trotz seines späteren Nimbus als Räuberhauptmann dürfen wir ihn nicht unter die Kategorie der ganz großen, sondern weit eher der immer noch durchschnittlichen Verbrecher rechnen. Wohl ist sein Fall besonderes gelagert, aber er hat nichts von einem gefallenem Engel, nichts von einem Don Quixote wie Karl Moor oder von dem extremen Teuflischen eines Franz Moor. (Wiese, Deutsche Novelle 34)

Despite the mediocrity often and rightly attributed to him, the character of Wolf and his story represent a powerful portrayal of a criminal life. Marsch recognizes the unusual and often overlooked greatness in Wolf: “Die ‘Größe’ des Sonnenwirts liegt in der Selbstausslieferung ‘aus freier Wahl’ und in seinem Geständnis” (Marsch 145). The oxymoronic tension in the term “noble outlaw” is found in the name of Christian Wolf, which suggests both the Christ-like (the sheep, the shepherd) and the wolf (the menace, the outlaw). The name, as Aurnhammer notes, contains the double nature of humanity (258). We saw this double nature in Karl Moor as well, as when Amalia calls him both devil and angel: “Mörder! Teufel! Ich kann dich Engel nicht lassen” (5.2; p.614). Wolf is an example of “einen ‘häßlichen’ aber im Grunde ‘guten’ Verbrecher” (Breitenfellner 189).

Though not necessarily portrayed as a grand robber hero, Wolf possesses all the essential elements of the outlaw and the noble outlaw. His alienation is thematized both before and after he becomes an outlaw. In contrast to other outlaws in this study (except Michael Kohlhaas), Wolf spends a significant amount of time as a prisoner rather than as an outlaw. In the beginning of his outlaw career, he is arrested three times and jailed twice. In his cell, he longs for freedom and is tormented by “eine weite Aussicht” and “der freie Zugwind” that blows through the holes in the walls of his prison (18). Eventually released, he takes advantage of his geographical freedom, required for the outlaw. He wills his crime, continues poaching again, and murders Robert. Once a hunted outlaw, he relishes the freedom inherent in the outlaw: “Er war so glücklich, jeden Anschlag auf seine Freiheit zu vereiteln” (29). Yet this physical freedom is outweighed by his inability to escape his plight as an outlaw. The finality of his outlaw existence impresses itself upon Wolf as he approaches the hideout of the outlaw band: “Ich sah in den Schlund hinab...es erinnerte mich dunkel an den Abgrund der Hölle, woraus keine Erlösung mehr ist....mein begangener Mord lag hinter mir aufgetürmt wie ein Fels und sperrte meine Rückkehr auf ewig....Jetzt war ohnehin keine Wahl mehr. Ich kletterte hinunter” (27). The imagery of this utterance evokes not only a spiritual fall but also ties the imagery of nature with the acceptance of an outlaw life.

The public persona of Wolf begins immediately after he has willed his crime and continues poaching again: “Meine Verheerungen in der großen Jagd wurden ruchtbar” (21). The first person he meets after his murder of Robert—“einen wilden Mann”—recognizes him immediately and attests to his popularity: “Der Wildschütze Wolf?...Ich kenne dich recht gut.... Die ganze Gegend ist voll von dir....Man hat dich zu Grunde gerichtet, himmelschreiend ist man mit dir umgegangen” (25-6). His renown continues after he becomes captain of a robber band: “der Name des Sonnenwirts wurde der Schrecken des Landvolks, die Gerechtigkeit suchte ihn auf, und eine Prämie wurde auf seinen Kopf gesetzt” (29). Now a hunted outlaw with a price on his head, Wolf is forced into the transitory existence of the outlaw. He had gradually entered the

wild space, going “tiefer in den Wald” (23), which “wurde immer abschüssiger, unwegsamer und wilder” (26).<sup>136</sup> Later, after over a year as an outlaw, he emerges from the wild space with an appearance that has “etwas Schreckliches und Wildes” (31). His wildness, his transitory state and his elusiveness endow his person not only with a legendary aspect but also with an aura of the supernatural. He takes advantage of the “Aberglauben des wundersüchtigen Bauern” to have rumors spread about him. Not uncommon among outlaw figures, Wolf is believed to possess magical powers and be in contract with the devil: “er habe einen Bund mit dem Teufel gemacht und könne hexen” (29).

Many attributes of Wolf as outlaw emerge as captain of the robber band. Although much less developed and portrayed in a completely different narrative medium, Wolf’s role as robber captain resembles that of Schiller’s earlier outlaw Karl Moor. Like Karl, the newly arrived “Sonnenwirt” wins the leadership by his charisma. Hailed as a hero, Wolf is asked to be captain of a band of robbers (“schlag ein und sei unser Anführer” [28]) and joins with Karl’s sense of futility and blinded fervor: “‘Ich bleibe bei euch, Kameraden,’ rief ich laut mit Entschlossenheit” (28). He seems to be at the pinnacle of his outlaw career: “Alle kamen überein, mein Verlangen zu bewilligen, ich war erklärter Eigentümer einer H[ure] und das Haupt einer Diebesbande” (28). As the robber leader, Wolf, like Karl, is a lonely, melancholy captain who grows intensely unhappy after a year in his outlaw existence: “Ein Jahr schon hatte er das traurige Handwerk getrieben, als es anfang, ihm unerträglich zu werden” (29). The original—and typically Romantic—illusion of a timeless society of “Wohlleben und Einigkeit” (27) is quickly dispelled. Feasting gives way to poverty and hunger; unity and admiration give way to animosity and backbiting:

Eine verführerische Außenseite hatte ihn damals im Taumel des Weines geblendet....Hunger und Mangel traten an die Stelle des Überflusses,

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<sup>136</sup> Benn highlights the significance of this and other forest scenes in Schiller’s “Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” in supporting the themes of wildness, fear, loneliness, and alienation, which was found in *Die Räuber* as well (137).

womit man ihn eingewiegt hatte.... Das Schattenbild jener *brüderlichen* Eintracht verschwand, Neid Argwohn und Eifersucht wüteten im Innern dieser verworfenen Bande. (29)

Throughout his account of the historical Sonnenwirt, Jacob Friedrich Abel continually includes references to the signs of Schwan's basically ethical nature: his "Spuren der übriggebliebenen Menschlichkeit" and "Die Zuckungen der wiederkehrenden Tugend" (qtd. in Kawa 9-10). Schiller does not explicitly portray Wolf as ethical or noble. But Schiller does, in contrast to historical accounts of Sonnewirt that constantly refer to him as a robber and a murderer, emphasize the singular commission of murder (Bennholdt-Thomsen 124). He makes clear that, despite being in a band for a year, Wolf does not repeat his crime of murder: "aber einen zweiten Mord beging er nicht mehr, wie er selbst auf der Folter bezeugte" (29). This is an important detail for establishing the reader's sympathy and indicating that he is not a murderer by heart; but it is not Schiller's purpose to show him as ethical, as he does with Karl and Tell (or as Vulpius does with Rinaldo Rinaldini). He simply shows him as human.

Compared to many other outlaw narratives, "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre" employs very few contrastive elements to portray the outlaw in a noble light. The strategy in this narrative is much more psychological, concentrating on probing the character's thoughts and feelings and describing in expository style with a focus on *Bildung*. For instance, no literary contrast is set up between noble captain and an ignoble band. We are told of the band's lowly nature and the fear Wolf feels for his life among them, but no explicit or implicit contrast is developed. Similarly, one finds no compelling opponent in the establishment, only a few anti-establishment sentiments and a portrayal of law that is coldly indiscriminate.<sup>137</sup> Wolf expresses his desire "das

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<sup>137</sup> Aurnhammer points out the way the mere timing of the Law shows that law can be cruelly impersonal. Two new laws work to Wolf's destruction (Aurnhammer 265): One before he poaches: "Nicht lange vorher war ein strenges Edikt gegen die Wildschützen erneuert worden, welches den Übertreter zum Zuchthaus verdammt" (16-7); and one before he is about to flee: "Kurze Zeit vorher waren durch das ganze Land geschärfte Mandate zu strenger Untersuchung der Reisenden ergangen" (31).

fürstliche Edikt zu verhöhnen und meinem Landesherrn nach allen Kräften zu schaden” (21), and another outlaw offers a sharp critique of society and its treatment of Wolf. This outlaw, Köpf remarks, provides the harshest criticism of society in the narrative (55); but as Kaiser points out, he is the only character to put blame on society (54).

Just as the narrative contains no real outlaw-establishment tension, no real villain opposes Wolf. The narrator refers to Robert as Wolf’s enemy—“Wolf kannte seinen Feind”; “seinem wachsamem Feind” (17)—and Robert turns him in not once, not twice, but three times. Robert certainly has personal motives for wanting Wolf caught, but he does nothing that is reproachable to the reader. In fact, he might be commended by the reader for turning in a criminal, although the narrator gives no real opportunity for sympathy on his side. We know that Wolf hates Robert more than any other (“am gräßlichsten haßte”), but we as readers are given no reason to hate or despise him. In fact, the motivations of Wolf and Robert are remarkably similar. Wolf steals to get money and to win a girl’s (Johanne’s) love. Robert, who notices Wolf’s new-found money and becomes jealous of his foothold with Johanne, finds motivation also in money and love. Thus, money and love underlie the motivation for the *breaking* of the law and the *enforcement* of the law (i.e., Robert turning Wolf in). Both motivations are extremely personal—and human—and not rooted in any moral system.

### **Psychological Analysis of the Criminal Soul and Narrative Program of *Bildung***

One way Schiller delivers his analysis of the criminal soul is through explicit instruction in the introduction and a focus throughout the narrative on *Bildung*.<sup>138</sup> As the subtitle of the tale—“eine wahre Geschichte”—indicates and the repetition of the word “unterrichten” reinforces, this work constitutes a study meant to analyze the truth of a human soul—to investigate thoughts, not deeds. In his introduction, the narrator stresses that he wants the story of the criminal to be a learning experience—based on

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<sup>138</sup> As Benno von Wiese points out, in this respect Schiller adopts the thinking of the eighteenth century: “Am Anfang steht eine lange theoretische spielhaften Charakter erläutert, als einen Beitrag zur sittlichen Bildung des Menschen. Darin ist Schiller noch ganz der Denkweise des 18. Jahrhunderts verhaftet” (44).

principles of *Bildung*—not on *Neugier* or emotional melodrama as many works of his time were (14).<sup>139</sup> *Neugier* breeds not understanding, wisdom, or *Bildung* but propagates the idea of the great contrast between human beings, which the narrator is working to disprove. He works to disprove this idea by stressing the universality of the human soul and the universal susceptibility of the human soul to evil. This idea serves as the foundation for allowing oneself to feel sympathy for a criminal. Notable for a story of its short length is the relatively long introduction about the relationship between the reader and the criminal hero. The narrator begins early with the assertion that the reader sees the criminal only in dehumanized form—as a monster, a creature unconnected in any way to our own humanity: “Wir sehen den Unglücklichen...für ein Geschöpf fremder Gattung an, dessen Blut anders umläuft als das unsrige, dessen Willen andern Regeln gehorcht als der unsrige” (14). Attempting to bridge this gap between reader and (criminal) hero—“eine Lücke zwischen dem historischen Subjekt und dem Leser”—the narrator asserts the humanity of the criminal, who, he declares, is a “Mensch...wie wir” (14). He is akin to us both when he commits the crime and when he repents of this crime: “in eben der Stunde, wo er die Tat beging, so wie in der, wo er dafür büßet” (14). Asserting the common denominator of humanity, the narrator builds a bridge between criminal and reader by basing his narrative on the principles of *Bildung* and by stressing the universality of evil.

The narrator asserts the universality of “das menschliche Herz” while at the same time acknowledging the complexity and variance in the human soul (11). We are all made up of the same essence, and this essence consists of contradiction—both good and evil:

Ihn überrascht es nun nicht mehr, in dem nämlichen Beete, wo sonst  
überall heilsame Kräuter blühen, auch den giftigen Schierling gedeihen

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<sup>139</sup> The narrator states: “Ich weiß, daß von den besten Geschichtschreibern neuerer Zeit und des Altertums manche sich an die erste Methode gehalten und das Herz ihres Lesers durch hinreißenden Vortrag bestochen haben. Aber diese Manier ist eine Usurpation des Schriftstellers und beleidigt die republikanische Freiheit des lesenden Publikums, dem es zukömmt, selbst zu Gericht zu sitzen” (14).

zu sehen, Weisheit und Torheit, Laster und Tugend in *einer* Wiege beisammen zu finden. (15)

Within each soul, however, this essence produces different effects—the lawful citizen and the unscrupulous outlaw. In contrast to the tendency of the time to portray criminality as being an aberration of human nature, Schiller suggests that it exists as a potential in all of us (Aurnhammer 258). This potential is also shaped by outside forces, so that the origins of an act are found both in the essence of the human soul and the play of external forces: “in der unveränderlichen Struktur der menschlichen Seele und in den veränderlichen Bedingungen, welche sie von außen bestimmten” (15).

To understand the criminal, the reader must understand the origins of the crime or the thoughts and motives behind the deeds: “An seinen Gedanken liegt uns unendlich mehr als an seine Taten, und noch weit mehr an den Quellen seiner Gedanken als an den Folgen jener Taten” (15). By revealing “den Folgen jener Taten” immediately, before the narrative even begins, Schiller emphasizes the act of reading his narrative as a learning experience and not as *Unterhaltung* meant to satisfy *Neugier*. For example, once Wolf becomes an outlaw, we would expect the plot to turn to outlaw adventures and episodes of robbery and plunder. Yet the narrator upsets this expectation by interrupting the narrative and completely omitting any content that does not embrace *Bildung*: “Den folgenden Teil der Geschichte übergehe ich ganz; das bloß Abscheuliche hat nichts Unterrichtendes für den Leser” (28). After summarizing Wolf’s outlaw career and indicating Wolf’s fatigue with his outlaw existence, the narrator continues to describe Wolf’s moral and spiritual transformation in terms of *Bildung*: “Das Laster hatte seinen Unterricht an dem Unglücklichen vollendet” (30).

Schiller’s objective detachment and focus on the criminal mind rather than the criminal act make his tale different from many at the time (Ziolkowski, “Portrait” 297). While only giving laconic attention to Wolf’s deeds, Schiller’s fictitious narrator often

stops and lingers on the psychology of Wolf.<sup>140</sup> Wolf's initial series of crimes, consisting of the three acts of poaching, cover more than two years' time but only a page or two of text. All three deeds are narrated with extreme economy: "Er wurde Wilddieb" (16); "Er wird zum zweitenmal Wilddieb" (17); "...wird er zum drittenmal Wilddieb" (17). Wolf's feelings, however, after his first arrest commands a proportionately high amount of attention: "Drückendes Gefühl des Mangels gesellte sich zu beleidigtem Stolze, Not und Eifersucht stürmen vereinigt auf seine Empfindlichkeit ein, der Hunger treibt ihn hinaus in die weite Welt, Rache und Leidenschaft halten ihn fest" (17). By presenting Wolf's feelings and a glimpse at his human soul instead of an account of his offences, we as readers can make our own judgment. The fact that much of the story is narrated by Wolf himself in a confessional style and tone lends sympathy to his situation. In what Wayne Booth calls "Sympathy through Control of Inside Views," the author ensures we shall travel with the character and not stand against him by showing most of the story through the character's eyes (245), for "the sustained inside view leads the reader to hope for good fortune for the character with whom he travels, quite independently of the qualities revealed" (246).

### **Guilt, Melancholy, and Repentance**

Against this backdrop of sympathy for the outlaw at a human level, Schiller shows other feelings of Wolf. Even before the disillusionment with robber life, Wolf expresses feelings of regret. Within moments of murdering Robert, Wolf feels regret for his crime: "Ich wünschte gleich darauf, daß er noch lebte" (22). No longer full of rage and hatred, he cannot comprehend how he committed such a crime: "Ich begriff gar nicht, wie ich zu dieser Mordtat gekommen war" (22). But, much like Karl Moor, Wolf's thoughts of regret are interrupted when the circumstances of his outlaw status intrude: "Ich mußte auf meine Sicherheit denken" (23). His regret and anguish are

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<sup>140</sup> Sharpe devotes an essay discussing the psychology in "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre" and its similarity to the more complex psychology in Schiller's later work, *Wallenstein*: "Schiller perceives the complexity and irony of the relationship between what a man is and what he appears to be, between what he intends and what he is finally forced to do" ("Verbrecher" 106).

recurring emotions, and, like Karl Moor and Rinaldo Rinaldini, Wolf briefly considers suicide to rescue him from the pain of his outlaw existence (23). But he can neither escape through self-destruction or flight. Just before he is about to meet the outlaw band, he decides to flee his current situation, but through external circumstances as well as a purely physiological failure (“mein Arm fällt gelähmt zurück” [27]), he proceeds further: “Meine Rechnung war völlig, die Zeit der Reue war dahin” (27).

Wolf remains without regret until after a year as outlaw captain, when “sein natürlich guter Verstand siegte endlich über die traurige Täuschung” (30). At this point his real repentance begins: “Das verstummte Gewissen gewann zugleich seine Sprache wieder, und die schlafende Natter der Reue wachte bei diesem allgemeinen Sturm seines Busens auf” (29-30). With his new-found sense of guilt, Wolf becomes conscious of his moral downfall and adopts the persona of the melancholy outlaw seen in Karl Moor and to be seen again in outlaws like Rinaldo Rinaldini. Hatred of humanity gives way to self-condemnation, and despair gives way to melancholy: “Jetzt fühlte er, wie tief er gefallen war, ruhigere Schwermut trat an die Stelle knirschender Verzweiflung” (30). Like Karl Moor, Wolf painfully laments his present status by longing for the past: “Er wünschte mit Tränen die Vergangenheit zurück” (30).

Martinson draws the comparison between Schiller’s two outlaws and outlaw narratives thus:

In both Die Räuber and “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” we witness a decisive change of heart, a revolutionary act of moral character....By having both Karl Moor and Christian Wolf turn themselves over to the authorities after a dramatic change of heart, Schiller also established a substansive link between the moral and legal spheres of influence. In doing so, he anticipated the work of Immanuel Kant. (9)

Although both Karl Moor and Christian Wolf are melancholy outlaws who lament and experience somewhat oscillating pangs of guilt, Karl is more erratic, more self-indulgent, and less systematic (rational) in his attempts at repentance. Whereas

Karl longs emotionally for the innocence of his youth, Wolf's thoughts of the past are self-reflective and constructive: "Jetzt wußte er gewiß, daß er sie [die Vergangenheit] ganz anders wiederholen würde" (30). Wolf's introspective lamentation actually brings him closer to the moral good: "Auf dem höchsten Gipfel seiner Verschlimmerung war er dem Guten näher, als er vielleicht vor seinem ersten Fehltritt gewesen war" (30). If this is true, then we as readers cannot condemn him to death but must let him repent. As Köpf suggests, Schiller expresses a similar thought in "Über das Pathetische," discussing the thin line between villain and moral hero (Erzählungen 44).<sup>141</sup> He discusses the villain who "nur einen einzigen Sieg über sich selbst, eine einzige Umkehrung der Maximen kostet, um die ganze Konsequenz und Willensfertigkeit, die er an das Böse verschwendete, dem Guten zuzuwenden" and suggests "daß er durch einen einzigen Willensakt sich zur ganzen Würde der Menschheit aufrichten kann" (Erzählungen 536). For Schiller, all that is required is the will ("Willensfertigkeit," "Willensakt").

Wolf's will to rectify his wrongs continues in concrete form with his confessional letter to the "Landesherr" and in his fleeing to Prussia after abandoning his outlaw band. For a letter, this occupies a relatively large portion of the entire narrative (5%). In his plea for mercy he articulates his will to repent of his crimes by serving society. But just as he was unable to integrate into society after his prison terms, he is unable to elicit a response to his multiple letters from the *Landesherr*. We are soberly told of their uselessness (Köpf 46), just as we are earlier told dispassionately three times that "er wurde Wilddieb": "Diese Bittschrift blieb ohne Antwort, wie auch eine zwote und dritte" (31).

Schiller apparently very consciously diverges from Jacob Friedrich Abel's version of the story concerning the outlaw's repentance. Abel's version concentrates more on the spiritual reformation of Schwan once he is captured (Köpf 13), but for

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<sup>141</sup> Graham, who questions whether we can really believe the views Schiller puts forth in some of his theoretical writings, says: "Schiller's concentration, both in his tragedies and in Über das Pathetische, now on the moral hero and now on the great criminal, has rarely if ever in Schiller scholarship been

Schiller, and outlaw narratives in general, the interesting part is when the criminal is *free* and able to exercise his will. Furthermore, in Abel, Schwan does not repent until after imprisonment. His repentance is due less to his own initiative and more to others showing him his hopeless situation and thus reviving his conscience (Kawa 10). It might be said that Schiller is more interested in showing the genesis of crime (Kawa 10), while Abel, perhaps, is more interested in the genesis of repentance.

Keeping with the focus in “Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” on inner psychological struggles rather than outer adventures and events, Wolf’s end as an outlaw is precipitated by his own psyche rather than a culmination of external events. Unlike Rinaldo Rinaldini and many other outlaws, his end does not result primarily from external forces but more from internal turmoil. He is not betrayed by traitors, beaten by his enemies, or hunted down by the authorities but exposes himself due to his guilty conscience. After being stopped in town for looking suspicious, having just emerged from the wild space (“Der Aufzug dieses Mannes hatte etwas Possierliches und zugleich etwas Schreckliches und Wildes” [31]), Wolf quickly becomes paranoid. Traveling with counterfeit papers and a stolen horse, he is convinced he is being lured into a trap.<sup>142</sup> Because of his paranoia and bad conscience, he makes a break for it: “Böses Gewissen macht ihn zum Dummkopf, er gibt seinem Pferde die Sporen und rennt davon” (32). At this point we leave the psychological and proceed to the most action-filled part of the story, where Wolf flees, is chased, cornered, captured, and put in jail.<sup>143</sup>

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consistently discussed on the aesthetic level, which is the level appropriate to the discussion of art and theory of art” (Graham, *Schiller: A Master* 107).

<sup>142</sup> This is the only time we hear of that Wolf enters society in semi-disguise. Like Rinaldo Rinaldini, Wolf ironically refers to himself in third person, drawing on his notoriety and pretending to be worried about the outlaw “Sonnenwirt.”

<sup>143</sup> At the moment Wolf is captured, he is no longer strictly an outlaw, having lost his freedom. But, as Kaiser suggests, once captured, he is free in the sense of Schiller that we find also in *Maria Stuart*—not free in that he can do whatever he wants but free in that he accepts his fate (Kaiser 57). Whether this is true is difficult to tell. Wolf certainly does not seem to accept his fate as a condemned man to die. He wants to live to repent. His constant pleading proves that.

Schiller's ending is unique, but the overall structure of Schiller's narrative resembles criminal narratives of the early eighteenth century, such as those in The Newgate Calendar. Like these and the similar scaffold or execution tale, we learn at the beginning of the story the fate of the criminal—who repents but is also punished. We learn that Wolf is hanged, but instead of constituting a final tragic or gruesome scene, this punishment is sublimated into the narratorial preface. The emphasis in Schiller's narrative is on Wolf's repentance, but not in a religious sense. The emphasis is on his nature as a human being and on his vain attempts to reintegrate into society. The abrupt ending of the story breaks all of the reader's expectations for this kind of story—we expect to see the trial, or at least the judgment to be hanged.<sup>144</sup> Instead, Wolf interrupts the trial to put forth a desperate plea for mercy. He appeals to the magistrate as an “edler Mann,” implicitly asking him to view him as a human being rather than as a criminal and explicitly pleading for human, emotional sympathy: “...lassen Sie dann auf Ihren Bericht eine Träne fallen” (34-5). The story ends abruptly with Wolf's last words: “Ich bin der Sonnenwirt” (35). In revealing his true identity, Wolf exercises his free moral will, for he may yet have escaped had he not revealed who he was (Martinson 6). Wolf's declaration, coupled with his entreaty, thrusts us, the reader, into the judge's seat (Köpf 52 citing Oettinger). Although we have heard the alias before, the magistrate and audience at the trial have not, and the forcefulness of the utterance conveys their astonishment at being faced with the notorious outlaw. Although we have heard the whole story and already know the judgment Wolf receives, we ourselves must judge. Schiller implicitly challenges the judgment of the story and invites us to render one ourselves.

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<sup>144</sup> Jacobsen calls attention to a 1793 review of the story (one of the few critical reviews from that time), which complains that we do not see the full ending of this unfortunate outlaw. Jacobsen remarks that “offensichtlich also ist ein bestimmter Erwartungshorizont vorhanden, dem nicht entsprochen wird” (750).

#### 4. *Wilhelm Tell*

##### Three “Criminal” Deeds

Wilhelm Tell (1804) is Schiller’s last published outlaw text. The figure of “Wilhelm Tell was a ubiquitous image during the French Revolution and a Tell drama was among the republican plays the Convention ordered performed three times a week in 1793” (Sammons 84). Schiller’s Wilhelm Tell represents both approval and rejection of the French Revolution (Knoblauch 162), although it is difficult to know if Tell is referring to the Austrian rebellion or the French Revolution (Knoblauch 165). Although not normally thought of as an outlaw narrative, the drama is full of outlaws. In addition to Tell, who is an outlaw during Act 4, the drama portrays three other outlaw figures: Baumgarten, Melchtal, and Johannes Parricida. Rather than focusing particularly on the outlaw as in Die Räuber, where Karl Moor is an impulsive and melancholy outlaw, or “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre,” where Christian Wolf is an average outlaw, Wilhelm Tell features “a simple man” (Lamport 857) and a simple Swiss citizen who must confront crime. Tell does commit “crimes,” but rather than contrasting criminal deeds with the outlaw’s noble thoughts and actions, Schiller focuses on Tell’s engagement with crime and punishment *despite* his noble deeds. Furthermore, the outlaw theme is overshadowed by the subject of Swiss independence, a cause from which Tell—not a co-conspirator—remains personally distanced while symbolically at the center of it. The legendary proportions that he achieves, therefore, are not for being an outlaw. Nevertheless, although the play does not reflect very closely the Romantic outlaw narrative model, it is an important narrative for understanding Schiller’s problematization of the nature of crime.

Tell becomes an outlaw by breaking a law and then escaping from the establishment (i.e., Gessler). Tell’s legal alienation and criminal condition deviate from the standard pattern in being very short and not static. Unlike most outlaws, Tell actually succeeds in indirectly changing the society and thus his criminal condition: his

killing of Gessler dissolves the legal force of his criminality and serves as an impetus for a new, independent Switzerland. But his reasons for being an outlaw are not political but profoundly personal. His goal—unlike that of Karl Moor, Michael Kohlhaas, Christian Wolf, or Rinaldo Rinaldini—is not to fight for a cause and lead an *Ersatz*-society of outlaws but to maintain a peaceful lifestyle with his family. He must temporarily hide from society in order to take his revenge on Gessler, but he is never hunted. He retains his freedom—“Der Tell sei *frei*” (4.1.2298)—and never, as a free man or an outlaw, embraces his outlaw status, or even acknowledges it.

Any social alienation of Tell is self-imposed, resulting from the staunch individualism of his character and having nothing to do with his existence as an outlaw. This is not alienation but a societal standoffishness and distrust. Very individualistic and reluctant to integrate into any kind of formal social network, Tell’s basic inclination toward society seems to be isolationism, with a belief that living a peaceful life as an individual ensures a peaceful existence within society:

Ein jeder lebe still bei sich daheim,

Dem Friedlichen gewährt man gern den Frieden.

. . . Die Schlange sticht nicht ungereizt. (1.3. 427-9)

Implicit in this is Tell’s general mistrust of humanity. Similar sentiments are found throughout the drama, with “böse” being the actual or implied modifier of “Menschen”. In 1.1 he tells Baumgarten, “Doch besser ist’s, Ihr fällt in Gottes Hand [the storm] / Als in der Menschen” (157-8). He echoes these words in 3.3, though more sharply and with a greater emphasis on the contrast between nature and society:

Ja, wohl ist’s besser, Kind, die Gletschenberge

Im Rücken haben als die bösen Menschen. (1813-4)

Nature, which for Tell means the pure, rugged Swiss mountain landscape, stands in stark contrast to the duplicity of society. Although the wild space has its own dangers of storms and avalanches, Tell “describes the power of men as being potentially much more menacing than the power of the elements” (Benn 195): “So bin ich hier, gerettet aus des Sturms / Gewalt und aus der schlimmeren der Menschen” (4.1;

2270-2271). Schiller thematizes this contrast more subtly when portraying Tell's and Gessler's attitude to the wild space. In Act 4 when a storm erupts on the lake, Gessler and the accompanying Austrian guards fear for their lives and eventually unbind Tell so that he can rescue them from the sublime elements (Benn 195). As Benn points out, citing Gessler's display of fear in the face of the natural sublime, "the contrast between Tell's and Gessler's attitude to the sublime is not only used to characterize them and evaluate them morally but is also essential to the development of the action" as one of his motives in demanding that Tell shoot an apple from his son's head (194).<sup>145</sup> In every way, their relationship with and attitude towards nature reflects their contrastive characters. In Tell, unlike Die Räuber and "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre", the wild space is not portrayed simply as a refuge for outlaws but as a "Haus der Freiheit" consecrated by God: "Das Haus der Freiheit hat uns Gott gegründet" (1.3:388). In this, Schiller reflects Rousseau's depiction of the Swiss mountain wilderness in La Nouvelle Héloïse as "a retreat for sensitive and virtuous souls" and a milieu which represents "morality, sincerity, justice, liberty and equality" (Benn 8).

In his occupation of this wild space, Tell exhibits the freedom of the outlaw but not the transitory physical condition that normally accompanies it. In contrast to most outlaws, Tell has a clear geographical center, with his home lying in the wild space itself. The other outlaws, assuming the posture of the melancholy outlaw, long to return to this familial and peaceful existence but do little more than lament and long for their former life. They either lack the focus on the goal or are simply unable to return to this life due to external or internal circumstances (Static Condition). Tell lacks the Static Condition as well as the gulf between a past life of innocence and a present life of crime. In his mind and in the portrayal of the drama, there is no crime, only unjust laws.

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<sup>145</sup> Benn also suggests that "the landscape setting legitimises Tell's murder of Gessler, for Tell's deed springs from the independence, courage and concern for others which are associated with his being at home in his sublime environment" (200).

Unlike Schiller's Karl Moor and Christian Wolf, Wilhelm Tell does not make a career as an outlaw. The pattern in Die Räuber and "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre" portrays conflict in the pre-outlaw life of the protagonist (e.g., Karl's idealistic thoughts and mischievous deeds as student and Wolf's frustrations in love and tendency for poaching). With a conflict established, an impetus to crime is introduced—usually some kind of injustice (e.g., Franz's letter or Wolf's enemy Roger)—followed by a will to crime by the protagonist. These three divisions—pre-outlaw conflict, impetus, and will to crime—still exist in Tell but in an altered form.

Though sympathetic to the cause for Swiss independence and openly suspicious of society and the establishment, Tell is not a conspirator. Tell is both an outsider to the group and intimately connected with it. Stahl notes the moral and political necessity of this separation: "[Schiller] could not allow Tell to participate in the deliberations on the Rütli or figure in the organized revolt, since the revolt would have been prejudiced by being directly linked to the killing of the Landsvogt" (145).<sup>146</sup> Best also notes that "Tell's absence from the Rütli is thus crucial for the development of the play, for in his absence the political conspiracy is laid" (300). He does not take part in the meeting at Rütli, yet he finds himself bound to the group:

Ich war nicht mit dabei -- doch werd ich mich  
Dem Lande nicht entziehen, wenn es ruft. (3.1. 1520-1)

Despite his willingness to be summoned, Tell remains an outsider.

In contrast to Die Räuber and "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre," there is no stark contrast between the pre-outlaw life of the hero and the life of the hero as outlaw. One reason for this is Tell's short and undeveloped existence as outlaw, which lasts only one act, from his escape during the storm to his shooting of Gessler and the news of the Kaiser's death. Additionally, neither Tell nor the narrative itself acknowledges his status as outlaw. The crimes he commits all require interpretation, and no credible

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<sup>146</sup> Goethe considered the idea of Tell's separation from the group his: "I was satisfied with his [Schiller's] having used my main conception of a self-dependant 'Tell' (independent of the other conspirators)" (Goethe, Autobiography 131).

source in the play discusses Tell as an outlaw or a criminal. Nevertheless, Tell is, for a brief time (during Act 4) an outlaw, for he has broken a law and fled punishment. But the focus of the narrative is not on Tell as outlaw. What is important in his “pre-outlaw” life is not what leads him to crime, but what makes up his character. He possesses similar anti-social traits to Schiller’s other outlaws, but these traits do not lead to his becoming an outlaw. The only real important information we learn relating to his being criminalized is his rescue of Gessler, which serves as the foundation for Gessler’s hatred of him. Hedwig points out to Tell: “Daß du ihn schwach gesehn, vergibt er nie” (3.1.1572).

The crimes Tell commits are open to interpretation and form the kernel of Schiller’s play. Indeed, one of the main differences between the outlaw portrayal in Tell and that in Räuber and “Verbrecher” is the focus on the crimes rather than the criminal. Karl Moor and Christian Wolf are criminals, and Schiller explores their outlaw lives and criminal psychology. In Tell, Tell is made a criminal, but he is not portrayed as a criminal. The pattern of Tell’s etiology of crime resembles those in other outlaw narratives, but with a focus on the crimes rather than the impetus or will to crime. Although one can define the moment when Tell becomes an outlaw—his arrest and escape—this moment does not represent a defining moment of change in his societal standing or way of life.<sup>147</sup> The ridiculous law of the hat which leads to the apple shot and his eventual arrest may be seen as the narrative’s “impetus to crime.” Tell’s “will to crime” is his admitted desire to shoot Gessler if he had missed; but this,

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<sup>147</sup> Immediately prior to his killing of Gessler, Tell speaks of the change Gessler has wrought in him: “*Du hast aus meinem Frieden mich heraus / Geschreckt, in gärend Drachengift hast du / Die Milch der frommen Denkart mir verwandelt, / Zu Ungeheuren hast du mich gewöhnt.*” (4.3.2572-5). This loss of innocence, however, is a result not of Tell’s being made an outlaw but on the demands Gessler made of him. Both Best and Meulen imply a change in Tell as a result of his killing of Gessler: “Tell is seen to have acted from the best possible motives and he has apparently secured the best possible result for the community, but at the same time he has brought the worst upon himself. His is a personal tragedy which strikingly attests to the vulnerability of the ideal, the pure spirit, the ‘schöne Seele’ in an impure world” (Best 298). Meulen says that Mainland notes Tell’s abandonment of his crossbow as material evidence of the profound change the deed has wrought in him (Meulen 57). Meulen agrees, but says that it has become a holy object, and he cannot profane it by using it further for hunting (Meulen 60).

unlike Karl's or Wolf's declaration, is not about adopting crime but about retaliation for an evil command.

Tell's first crime is his failure to pay homage to the hat: "Er hat dem Hut nicht Reverenz bewiesen" (3.3.1835). Although a quintessential example of arbitrariness in law, the edict to pay homage to the hat is apparently known to Tell and the community. Neglecting it "aus Unbedacht" (3.3.1870),<sup>148</sup> Tell breaks a juristical law—clearly not a moral one in its arbitrariness—and receives a punishment that is equally arbitrary. Frießhart, the watchman, claims that the punishment is incarceration ("Verhaften wollt' ich ihn, wie du befahlst" [3.3.1863]), yet Gessler issues a completely arbitrary punishment and one that is unique to Tell. Gessler tells him: "Drum hab ich jetzt / Ein eigen Wagstück für dich ausgesucht" (3.3.1906-7).

Tell's punishment, to shoot an apple from his son's head ("einen Apfel von des Knaben Kopf zu schießen" [3.3.1886]), brings about Tell's second crime.<sup>149</sup> Tell succeeds in his shot and thus saves himself—and his son—from execution, but not without Gessler noticing the second arrow Tell had pulled out: "Du stecktest / Noch einen zweiten Pfeil zu dir – Ja, ja, / Ich sah es wohl – Was meintest du damit?" (3.3.2049-51). The crime here is of a different sort. Once again an arbitrary application of law, its arbitrariness is even more extreme since it was devised at that moment without societal knowledge of the crime or the punishment. Furthermore, Tell's crime here is not based on a deed (or an omission of a deed as in the hat offence) but in a thought. Gessler sentences Tell to prison based on Tell's motive alone—"weil ich deinen bösen Sinn erkannt" (3.3.2065). Ironically, of Tell's three "criminal" deeds, this non-deed, the crime of motive, is what causes him to be taken captive and leads to his outlaw status. Schiller problematizes the whole notion of crime and punishment,

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<sup>148</sup> Best points out Schiller's careful illustration of "how political and personal motivation can be confused, for Tell's 'political' crime is no more than an involuntary expression of his personal beliefs. Although he knows of the hat's presence and purpose, his mind has been on his discussion with Walter" (301).

<sup>149</sup> Ryder suggests that the shot itself is criminal and condemns Tell for having risked infanticide and not shot Gessler with the first arrow. He suggests that Tell's later murder of Gessler is an act of revenge by which he tries to purge the guilt incurred by his previous restraint (493).

exposing the sometimes arbitrary nature of law and the application of punishment. The crime is based purely on the arbitrary will of a single man. It is against this background that Schiller further problematizes the topic.

Tell's third crime is his killing of Gessler. Although a real potential crime—murder—it has no legal consequences and no real moral condemnation in the drama. Indeed, it is portrayed as an act of moral consequence. Meulen says “Tell is acting according to the dictates of his conscience, even though the act itself is abhorrent to him.... It accords completely with Kant's explanation of moral duty....Tell's act is dictated not by passion but by his sense of duty” (Meulen 59). Tell is justified in Gessler's killing not only because it is completely free from self-reward (*Eigennutz*) but also because it is identical with the holy nature (“heiligen Natur”) and strives to restore this holiness (Wiese, Friedrich Schiller 773).<sup>150</sup>

In his monologue in the *hohle Gasse*, Tell delineates the justification of his murder by citing his duty to family, to God, and to society. Frye calls attention to the “greater reasoning and self-awareness” of Tell at this point, indicated by the “formerly taciturn Tell” who now holds a “lengthy monologue” (78).<sup>151</sup> Foremost in his mind is his family: “Die armen Kindlein, die unschuldigen, / Das treue Weib muß ich vor deiner Wut / beschützen, Landvogt” (4.3.2578-80). He then refers to his oath to God (“mit furchtbarm Eidschwur, den nur Gott gehört” [4.3.2586]) as well as the societal aspect of his decision: ““Du bist mein Herr und meines Kaisers Vogt, / Doch nicht der Kaiser hätte sich erlaubt, / Was *du* --” (4.3.2590-2). These values which Tell cites at the *hohle Gasse*—family, God, and society—embody his character throughout the drama, and indeed, constitute his noble portrayal. Many commentaries of course condemn Tell's slaying of Gessler. Jamison expresses his surprise that so many critics have refused to believe Tell (565, n.17). Similarly, Frye remarks: “The reader-

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<sup>150</sup> Jamison makes the following statement: “Tell emphasizes the private character of his slaying of Gessler. He simply wants to protect his family from Gessler's wrath, but his deed also has a public significance” (561).

<sup>151</sup> Schweitzer makes the interesting and valid point that “it is not Tell's killing of Gessler that is the agonizing decision he has to make. It is rather his shooting at the apple on top of the head of his son Walter” (254).

spectator may find it difficult to accept Tell's easy justification of assassination, but no one in the drama does. Schiller, for his purposes, does not seem to either" (75).

Schiller, for instance, in his letter to Iffland says the slaying of Gessler is a moral act: "Tells Mordtat wird durch ihn allein moralisch und poetisch aufgelöst" (qtd. in Meulen 57).

### **Tell as Family Man, Rescuer, Respectful and Pious Citizen**

The three "criminal" deeds performed by Tell are, of course, counterbalanced on one hand by the villainy of Gessler and on the other by the virtues of Tell. The virtues of Tell clearly ennoble his character and provide an indispensable framework for the portrayal of his "crimes." Sharpe believes Schiller "intended to give sympathetic portrayal to Tell" and cites Schiller describing the role to actor Karl Schwarz: "Die Rolle erklärt sich selbst; eine edle Simplizität, eine ruhige gehaltene Kraft ist der Charakter...durchaus eine edle schlichte Manneswürde" (Schiller 148).<sup>152</sup> In the first scene of the play, Tell outlines three primary characteristics of a good man in his advice to Ruodi: he thinks of himself last, trusts in God, and rescues those in danger: "Der brave Mann denkt an sich selbst zuletzt, / Vertrau auf Gott und rette den Bedrängten" (1.1.139-40). When you combine this expression with Tell's values of family, authority, God, and society expressed in the *hohle Gasse*, we see the extent to which these values permeate his moral system and endow his character with nobility and sympathy. The nobleness of Tell is built up by showing his devotion to family, eagerness to rescue his fellow man, respect for authority, and finally his piety and faith in God.

Although portrayed as a simple man, "Tell is not a noble savage, but he is a potentially noble human being, and he becomes so by assuming his role as father and husband" (Jamison 563). Tell, unlike most literary outlaws, and despite his staunch individualism, is a family man. Karl Moor expresses love for his father; Rinaldo

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<sup>152</sup> J.G. Robertson does not see Tell as sympathetic, describing "Tell's self-satisfied sententiousness" which "creates a prejudice against him from the start."

Rinaldini expresses love for his new-found parents and passing lovers; and Michael Kohlhaas laments the loss of his wife. But these emotions are either desperate or short-lived, and family interaction is limited. In contrast, the family for Wilhelm Tell is central, underlining his exceptional nature as an outlaw. He is not the alienated wanderer who has willed his life of crime and outlaw existence, but a family man whose character is endowed with nobility and whose trials endear him to us.

We know Tell spends time with his family (takes walks with his son, for example) and holds his family foremost in his mind when he is away. During his heroic and life-endangering acts, he always sends his wife, Hedwig, a message. He does so in the Baumgarten rescue and again when he escapes from Gessler's boat in the storm. He bids the *Fischer*:

So eilt nach Bürglen . . .  
 Mein Weib verzagt um mich, verkündet ihr,  
 Daß ich gerettet sei und wohl geborgen. (4.1. 2291-3)

After he drops off Baumgarten at Stauffacher's, he seems to be in a hurry to depart, probably in order to get home to his family (1.2. 349-52). Similarly, at the preliminary meeting at Altdorf when Stauffacher asks where he is running off to, Tell replies, "Mein Haus entbehrt des Vaters. Lebet wohl" (1.3.416). Lastly, as Gessler's prisoner, Tell laments that he will never see the faces of his wife and children again (4.1.2222).<sup>153</sup>

During his two most traumatic events in the drama, Tell maintains thoughts of

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<sup>153</sup> Hedwig sometimes questions Tell's focus on the family, implying, for instance, that Tell as a hunter threatens the homelife established by Hedwig (3.1:1482-1512). She also complains: "Und an die Angst der Hausfrau denkst du nicht" (3.1: 1491). When Hedwig claims that Tell forgets his family to save Baumgarten (4.1: 2347-2348), he claims: "Lieb Weib, ich dacht' an euch, / Drum rettet' ich den Vater seinen Kindern" (3.1: 1525-1529).

his family. In the apple-shooting scene, he pleads with Gessler as a father to withdraw his demand: "Ich soll von Haupte meines Kindes -- ...das könnt Ihr / Im Ernst von einem Vater nicht begehren!" (1891-4). He continues:

Ich soll der Mörder werden meines Kinds  
Herr, Ihr habt keine Kinder -- wisset nicht,  
Was sich bewegt in eines Vaters Herzen. (1900-2)

After a lengthy pleading and once saying he would rather die than shoot at his own son (1898), Tell actually goes before Gessler and offers to sacrifice himself rather than risk the life of his son: "Erlasset mir den Schuß. Hier ist mein Herz! / Ruft Eure Reisigen und stoßt mich nieder" (3.3. 1984-5). Tell's desperation to save his family (his son in this case) from immediate potential harm parallels his will to protect his family from the more vaguely imminent threat of Gessler. During the "hohle Gasse" scene, with his family foremost in his mind, Tell addresses his children directly and grounds his act of killing Gessler on protecting them:

Am wilden Weg sitzt er mit Mordgedanken:  
Des Feindes Leben ist's, worauf er lautet.  
-- Und doch an *euch* nur denkt er, lieben Kinder,  
Auch jetzt -- Euch zu verteid'gen, eure holde Unschuld  
Zu schützen vor der Rache des Tyrannen. (4.3. 2630-4)

Tell realizes the terrible contrast between his murderous thoughts and the innocence of his children. Paradoxically, it is this very innocence which compels Tell to kill Gessler. In contrast to Tell, Karl Moor and Rinaldo Rinaldini juxtapose their innocent past with present bad deeds. Their contrast is a vehicle for lamentation, central to the melancholy outlaw. Here, with Tell, it is a motivation—an impetus—for action. Tell is not a melancholy outlaw but strictly a man of action. Protecting his family is a prime motivation for Tell's action:

Die armen Kindlein, die unschuldigen,  
Das treue Weib muß ich vor deiner Wut  
Beschützen, Landvogt. (4.3. 2578-80)

This notion of *Unschuld*, or innocence, serves not only to justify Tell's act with regard to his family but also casts his act in a larger symbolic light which reflects his relationship with society and his role as "Retter." As Lawrence Frye points out, the Swiss cantons in the drama are repeatedly called "the land of innocence." Therefore, Gessler's acts are against not only Tell's family but also "against the community-state and God as well (the Swiss homeland being the 'house of freedom founded by God' [1.3:388])" (Frye 78). Similarly, Robert Jamison places special emphasis on Tell's familial role and the significance of this role in Tell's actions and in the lives of others: "By defending his own family, Tell rescues the Swiss and becomes a new man, a true father and husband, one of many" (562).

Devotion to family is one noble trait that shapes our image of Tell. His selfless rescuing is another, which places him in the tradition of the noble outlaw. Although most of his acts of rescue have little to do with his being an outlaw, this trait endows his actions with legitimacy, not only for the inherent good in these actions but also for their heroic grandness. Tell is a strong hero who stands in isolation. Both Hedwig and Gessler refer to Tell's isolation from other men and his unique position of always being the subject (as savior) and never the object (as saved).<sup>154</sup> Hedwig says to Tell, "Und wenn du selbst in Not kommst, hilft dir keiner" (3.1.1534), echoed later by Gessler,

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<sup>154</sup> No where does he feel the isolation of the individual more potently than in the apple-shooting scene (3.3). As he prepares for the shot, we see others talking to him and around him, but he does not respond to any of them. When he actually makes the shot, Tell is completely alone. He makes the shot unseen by us and most of the crowd. Although Schiller's diversionary tactic here serves many dramatic effects, one of them is underlining Tell's isolation. Isolated from all on stage, Tell is also isolated from the action of the drama—from the audience. We do not and cannot participate in his solitary act—we can feel it before, we can feel it after, but at the moment, it is Tell's alone (2031). Nevertheless, despite its profoundly private nature, the shot will immediately become public property, passing through nations and centuries: "Das war ein Schuß! Davon / Wird man noch reden in den spätesten Zeiten" (2038-9). Why is this important?—It is similar to the isolation of other outlaws—but this is before he is an outlaw and shows only one moment, not an overall (static) state. For other outlaws, their isolation is a result of or integral to being an outlaw—not so in Tell. Tell becomes an outlaw just like Christ takes on the world's sins. It is necessary for the independence of the Swiss. Wittkowski suggests a comparison of Tell and Christ in his discussion of Kleist's Michael Kohlhaas: "As Schiller did especially with Tell, Kleist elevates his hero to the Christ-like, steadfast, innocent sufferer who also acts as the deadly avenger of justice violated" (Wittkowski 483).

who taunts Tell: “Jetzt, Retter, hilf dir selbst -- du rettetest alle!” (3.3.1990).<sup>155</sup> Tell himself, however, seems to encourage this one-sided relationship, refusing the offer of the three *Landleute* to help him: “Ich helfe mir schon selbst” (3.3.1846) and articulating his extreme individualism on many occasions, most clearly in 1.3:

Beim Schiffbruch hilft der einzelne sich leichter. (433)

Ein jeder zählt nur sicher auf sich selbst. (435)

Der Starke ist am mächtigsten allein. (437)

Tell is portrayed (and portrays himself) as the idealized individual—not just *a* individual but *the* individual. He realizes his importance to the group, whether real or symbolic, knowing that while he is strongest alone, he cannot stand aside (Best 299).

Politically and symbolically, Tell is hailed as the rescuer of the Swiss and instrumental in the independence of Switzerland. He is a rescuer of the few and the many. Also, his first utterance in the entire play illustrates his readiness to offer assistance: “Wer ist der Mann, der hier um Hilfe fleht?” (1.1.127)—followed by the daring rescue of Baumgarten. Tell’s first and last actions in the play involve helping individuals to escape: Baumgarten as he flees from the murder of an evil operative (1.1) and Parricida as he flees from the murder of a greedy father (5.2). When called to rescue the individual, his actions are immediate, for he feels compelled on a personal level. When called to rescue the many in a social or political way, where the means and the outcome are undefined, Tell becomes more detached and less prone to action. Nevertheless, or perhaps because of this detachment, as Kaiser suggests (185), he becomes symbolically significant as savior.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Schweitzer notes that this remark “echoes the people taunting the crucified Christ (“Er hat andern geholfen; er helfe ihm selber” [Luke 23:35])” (259).

<sup>156</sup> With no *one* person to rescue and no concentration of danger in one identifiable moment, Tell does not act. Instead of action, he suggests inaction (“Geduld and Schweigen” [420]), distancing himself from the group by not participating in the plans of his countrymen. He does not want to be part of the *Rat*, only the *Tat*:

Doch *was* ihr tut, laßt mich aus eurem *Rat*,  
 Ich kann nicht lange prüfen oder wählen;  
 Bedürft ihr meiner zu bestimmter *Tat*,  
 Dann ruft den Tell, es soll an mir nicht fehlen. (1.3. 442-5)



to pay homage to the hat, Tell denies this (3.3.1827), and Rösselmann asserts that Tell is an “Ehrenmann” and “guter Bürger” (3.3.1829). Tell’s behavior during the confrontation with Gessler reveals nothing but respect for authority. When Gessler asks Tell if he has contempt for the Kaiser and for himself, Tell apologizes in very deferential terms:

Verzeiht mir, lieber Herr! Aus Unbedacht,  
Nicht aus Verachtung Eurer ist’s geschehn. (1870-1)  
Ich bitt um Gnad’, es soll nicht mehr begegnen. (1873)

After being told to shoot the apple from his son’s head, Tell pleads with Gessler by referring to him again and again as “Herr” (1879, 1881, 1890, 1901) and “lieber Herr” (1878, 1892). Even after being required to shoot at his own son, Tell is still deferential: “Was befiehlt Ihr, Herr?” (2049).

The apple-shot itself may be viewed as a sign of Tell’s sublime obedience to authority. Lamport convincingly expresses this view, calling Tell’s “almost superhuman act of obedience” a symbolic act of supreme defiance (Lamport 864). Tell’s act of obedience, as Lamport argues, corresponds to Schiller’s definition in “Über das Pathetische” of a morally sublime act of the type in which the person “aus Achtung für irgendeine Pflicht [here, obedience to authority] das Leiden *erwählt*” [aims at his own child] (Erzählungen 528). Tell chooses to comply with Gessler’s request—not because it is a just request, but because it is a request from authority. Lamport cites Reiss’s summary of this Kantian position: “obedience to the powers that be, even if they are unjust, showed a greater respect for human dignity and freedom than disobedience” (Lamport 864). Although Tell respects authority as such, and at the “hohle Gasse,” even explicitly acknowledges Gessler’s authority, he finally negates it because Gessler oversteps it:

Du bist mein Herr und meines Kaisers Vogt,  
Doch nicht der Kaiser hätte sich erlaubt,  
Was du -- Er sandte dich in diese Lande,  
Um Recht zu sprechen -- strenges, denn er zürnet --

Doch nicht, um mit der mörderischen Lust

Dich jedes Greuels straflos zu erfrechen. (4.3. 2591-6)

Central to this passage is the notion of authority, and while Tell ultimately negates the authority of Gessler, he does so by *affirming* the authority of the Kaiser. Also later, when Tell condemns Parricida's murder of his own uncle, he does so not simply because it is his uncle, but also because it is his Kaiser. Tell's condemnation places equal gravity on the murder of father and of societal authority figure, as seen in the parallelism of the lines below:

“Ihr habt den Kaiser / Erschlagen” (5.2. 3163-4)

“Euern Ohm / Erschlagen, Euern Kaiser” (5.2. 3166-7)

“Vatermordes und Kaisermords” (5.2.3170)

The general deference Tell expresses for authority culminates in his deference to the ultimate authority of God. Tell's most important value, and one that differentiates him from Schiller's other outlaws, is his persistent devotion to God. His religious faith, humility, and reverence increase our sympathy for him as a character. Romantic outlaws, in their fight against a corrupt establishment or evil villain, often allude to their justification before God. In Tell, however, God is not merely a convenient source of justification for the outlaw but represents an affirming force of the play. Tell's relationship with God, for the most part unexplored in scholarly criticism,<sup>157</sup> circumscribes everything he does.

Early in the drama Tell demonstrates his reverence for and faith in God. In his proverbial statement “Was Hände bauten, können Hände stürzen” (1.3.387), Tell demonstrates his humility as a temporal being. When Baumgarten needs help in the storm, he calls on Ruodi to trust in God: “Vertrau auf Gott und rette den Bedrängten” (1.1.140). When Tell finally assumes the role of savior, he is careful to make the distinction between *his* assistance and the assistance of God:

Wohl aus des Vogts Gewalt errett ich Euch,

Aus Sturmes Nöten muß ein andrer helfen. (1.1. 155-6)

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<sup>157</sup> Meulen is a notable exception, as is Kaufmann.

Tell's relationship with God, like his relationship with his family, reveals itself most potently in his moments of crises. Meulen is one of the few critics who examines the role of God in the play. Although he limits his discussion to the idea of God generally, with only a few examples and occasional tabulation of the word "Gott" in various scenes (twelve times, for instance, in the very first scene) (57-8), he does make the significant observation that the word God appears most often in the critical scenes involving Tell (57). About to shoot the apple from Walter's head, Tell looks up to heaven and suddenly gains courage, saying "Es muß" (3.3.1991).<sup>158</sup> The scene, ending with the successful shot and Tell being taken prisoner, concludes with Tell's words of faith: "mir wird Gott helfen" (2098). This phrase is combined with the phrase "der Knab' ist unverletzt," suggesting that God was instrumental in making Tell's shot true. Tell had looked up to heaven right before the shot, and he had told Walter, when Walter addressed him as "Vater," that God was his father: "Dort droben ist dein Vater! den ruf an!" (2096). In these words Tell acknowledges his debt to God and, in effect, offers his child in an Abrahamic act of sacrifice. All that he has is God's.

As in the apple-shooting scene, Tell acknowledges God's role as "Retter" when he escapes from Gessler and the storm. Tell appears from the ship and looks to heaven, acknowledging God's hand in his rescue (between 2198-9). This act of reverence is also witnessed by the *Fischer* and the boy (2199-2201). Tell's first words—"Ich bin befreit"—accompanied by the stage directions "Tell (*steht auf*)" (2207) conjure up images of resurrection (*Auferstehung*), salvation, and divine intervention. He reiterates these first words later: "So bin ich hier, gerettet aus des Sturms / Gewalt und aus der schlimmeren der Menschen" (2270-1). Others seem to affirm Tell's belief in divine intervention. The *Fischer* declares the escape a "Wunder Gottes" (2208) and asks Tell how he was freed from his bounds and how he escaped the storm—language also with

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<sup>158</sup> Mettler and Lippuner see in Tell's acceptance of the shot a desire to play God and tempt God: "Mit dem perfiden Arrangement des Apfelschusses nötigt er den Retter Tell, gottgleich sein zu wollen und damit Gott zu versuchen" (68). However, I see the act as a Kierkegaardian leap of faith and a submission to him as supreme "Retter."

religious overtones (2210-1). Tell attributes the rescue to God: “Durch Gottes gnäd’ge Fürscheidung” (2212), acknowledging not himself, but God alone.

God also plays a central role in Tell’s shooting of Gessler. Just as Tell justifies the killing by explaining that he does it to defend his family, so too does God seem to sanctify the killing—according not only to Tell but to others and the dramatic perspective itself. As Meulen observes, the killing is not discussed in terms of self-defense or justifiable homicide, which are legal terms, but in terms of Tell’s conscience and God’s will (59). Tell’s conscience and God’s will are portrayed as synonymous by virtue of the private oath that Tell had made during the apple-shooting scene. Tell addresses Gessler during his monologue and recalls what he had promised, with God as his witness:

Mit furchtbarm Eidschwur, den nur Gott gehört,  
Daß meines nächsten Schusses erstes Ziel  
Dein Herz sein sollte (4.3. 2580-8)

He then calls his act “eine heil’ge Schuld” which he intends now to pay (4.3.2590). As further justification based on God’s will he adds “es lebt ein Gott zu strafen und zu rächen” (4.3.2597). Tell, therefore, characterizes himself as merely an instrument in God’s hands, much like the *Armbrust* is an instrument in his own hands. Like the *Armbrust*, he bears no guilt for the act.

Others seem to support Tell’s words, referring to Gessler’s death as a work of God, exclaiming: “Wir ihn berühren, welchen Gott geschlagen!” (4.3.2817). Furthermore, as with the shooting of the apple, we do not actually see Tell perform the act of shooting Gessler. The narrative distance employed here, similar to that in other outlaw narratives where we do not directly witness the outlaw committing crimes, is coupled with godly acquiescence. In the “hohle Gasse,” the arrow simply appears (“Ein Pfeil durchbohrt ihn” [after 2786]), as if sent from God. Tell’s role as an instrument of God asserts itself finally in the Parricida scene. Frye distinguishes between the “merely human aid” that Tell offers (directions and provisions) and the concluding directives for the pilgrimage to Rome, which come from God (80). Here, Tell’s role as

instrument of God is based on words rather than actions: “Hört, was mir Gott ins Herz gibt -- Ihr müßt fort / Ins Land Italien (5.2. 3233-4). Almost prophet-like, Tell becomes a mouthpiece of God.

### Constellation of Outlaws

The portrayal of Tell as instrument of God—as well as family man, rescuer, respectful and pious citizen—makes the contrast of Gessler particularly stark and Tell’s position very sympathetic. One of Schiller’s blackest villains, Gessler is the unambiguous villain of Wilhelm Tell. Gessler also represents the establishment, but Tell is not in conflict with the establishment as such, only with the villain Gessler.<sup>159</sup> Tell acts from spontaneous evil (Kaiser 177), representing “das radikal Böse...Naturlose, ja Naturwidrige,” and is more evil than Franz Moor (Wiese, Friedrich 775):

No where in the play does he show the slightest hint of human feeling, and in this respect he is unlike any of Schiller’s other villains, even Franz Moor, who in the end must passionately fight against his own awareness of the meaning of moral responsibility, who has a conscience, however he would wish it otherwise. But Gessler is conscienceless....He goes beyond the unnatural. (Meulen 60)

The contrast emerges between Gessler’s relentless application of arbitrary force and abuse of authority and Tell’s outward respect and deference to this authority. In addition, Gessler actually stands against the authority of the highest father—God (Kaufmann 138), while Tell, as we have seen, acts and speaks in affirmation of God’s authority and power. But because of the extremity of Gessler’s villainy, Schiller does not develop a literary contrast between Tell and Gessler as we see in other outlaw narratives. The more interesting contrasts emerge when viewing other outlaws in the play.

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<sup>159</sup> There is, of course, the underlying conflict of the Rütli group with the establishment, but this action, from which Tell remains aloof, does not provide an outlaw-establishment contrast.

In Wilhelm Tell no band of ignoble outlaws in the background highlights Tell's noble character, as in Die Räuber. Instead, a more diverse constellation of supporting contrastive characters—outlaw or semi-outlaw—constitutes the thematic core and the structural framework of the play. In addition to Tell, three outlaws appear in the play as well as the semi-outlaw Rütli confederates, who, though neither strictly outlaws nor ignoble, resemble the band members of Karl Moor and Rinaldo Rinaldini in their separation from their symbolic leader.<sup>160</sup> The contrast comes in the first and last acts of the play, when Tell assists outlaws to escape. Not only is this illustrative of Tell's selfless will to help others (as "Retter"), the structural position of Tell—between two outlaws at either edge of the play and surrounded by confederates—provides the framework for imparting the message, also prominent in "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre," to view the criminal as human being.

Both Baumgarten and Melchtal, who become outlaws as victims of oppressive establishment, are portrayed as parallel figures to Tell in their criminality. Melchtal becomes an outlaw—"würde flüchtig (1.4.568)"—after striking the "Landenberger." When asked the location of his son's location, Melchtal's father swears, truthfully, "Er habe von dem Flüchtling keine Kunde" (1.4.572). We become shocked at the cruelty of the establishment—"der Vogt [Wütrich]"—when he causes Melchtal's father's eyes to be burned out with irons. This event serves as an impetus for the confederates, foreshadows the cruelty Tell will face, and portrays Melchtal as very human—as we see his woe at hearing about his father. Schiller devotes several lines to this (1.4.575-620), introducing the idea in the drama that, though an outlaw (he did commit murder), the circumstances and the character of the outlaw lend themselves to our sympathy.

Baumgarten is the first outlaw and one of the first characters we meet in the drama. In flight for murdering the man who tried to take sexual advantage of his wife, Baumgarten declares his justification when asked what he did: "Was jeder freie Mann

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<sup>160</sup> Tell is only a symbolic head, with the real leaders being the representatives of the three cantons: Walter Fürst, Arnold vom Melchtal, and Stauffacher. Ockenden supports the comparison between the two bands: "The confederates consider themselves no less 'outsiders'" than the brigands in Schiller's Die Räuber (25).

an meinem Platz! / Mein gutes Hausrecht habe ich ausgeübt / Am Schänder meiner Ehr' und meines Weibes" (1.1.80-2). Werni and Kuoni affirm the justification of his act:

Werni: Ihr tatet wohl, kein Mensch kann Euch drum schelten.

Kuoni: Der Wüterich! Der hat nun seinen Lohn!

Hat's lang verdient ums Volk von Unterwalden (1.1.98-100)<sup>161</sup>

Seeing Baumgarten on a human level, Tell transports him across the river. "That Baumgarten has committed murder, that the man he murdered was a duly appointed imperial officer causes no one the slightest conflict or doubt. He acted rightly" (Meulen 58). He does break the law, but "his deed is neither the product of cold consideration (as is Tell's in the 'hohle Gasse') nor is it immediate self-defence. Though provoked, Baumgarten would be fortunate to escape with a verdict of justifiable homicide" (Best 299). Nevertheless, we are encouraged to see this first outlaw as Tell sees him—as a human being and not as a criminal.

While Baumgarten, an outlaw, is the first person Tell meets in the play, Johannes Parricida, also an outlaw, is the last. Baumgarten (and Melchtal), like Tell, is presented as justified and moral in his crime, while Parricida functions as an ignoble outlaw who contrasts with Tell. His appearance at the end is crucial in distinguishing his murder of King Albrecht from Tell's killing of Gessler. Both are murders, but both have a distinct set of motives and context. The contrastive dynamic in the Parricida scene is often discussed in terms of the deeds themselves, their motivation, and the manifestation of guilt in each. Parricida and Tell both commit murder, but their deeds are portrayed as diametrically opposed. Johannes Parricida "is presented only in counterpoint to Tell," for he "has what Parricida does not: the stature of an adulated hero and a loss of innocence (not a fall from innocence) in attaining even greater stature. Parricida has what Tell does not: despair, flight, persecution...for a crime hardly to be atoned for" (Frye 75). The manner of the deed and the deed itself is

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<sup>161</sup> Like Tell's deeds, Baumgarten's deed "is immediately invested by Werner and Kuoni with convenient political overtones" (Best 299).

contrasted. Parricida commits his deed cowardly in a group of three and then flees, while Tell performs his alone and afterward stands and declares his deed. Parricida kills kin (“der Ehrsucht blut’ge Schuld”) (3176-7), transgressing natural law (3182-5); and his slaying of King Albrecht is portrayed as murder inspired by greed and revenge, as we learn from Stauffacher in 2950-3010. Tell, however, kills an unambiguous villain to save kin (“die gerechte Notwehr eines Vaters”), which has the effect of avenging natural law. Thus, Tell’s slaying of Gessler is portrayed as defence—even tragic-heroic (3184-5).

In contrasting the two, Meulen calls attention to the stage direction in the play—“Wenn beide zu verschiedenen Seiten abgegangen” (60). This physical separation of the two leaving by separate exits, seen also in *Die Räuber*, punctuates the difference in their deeds and guilt (Meulen 60). A lot of attention is given to the contrasting manifestations of guilt in the two characters. Returning home openly after killing Gessler, Tell exhibits no guilt, only elation: “O Hedwig, Hedwig! Mutter meiner Kinder! / Gott hat geholfen – Uns trennt kein Tyrann mehr” (5.2.3131-2).<sup>162</sup> Parricida, however, is “a man distraught with guilt, whose monk disguise cannot hide the anguish within (Meulen 60). Tell sees Parricida’s guilt as so intense that it can disturb the sanctity of the home. When discovering Parricida’s identity and deed, he sends his family away: “Geh aus dem Hause – Weit hinweg – Du darfst / Nicht unter *einem* Dach mit diesem wohnen” (5.2.3162-3). But it is not just Tell who condemns him. As if his guilt were emanating from him, Hedwig is unsettled when she encounters him disguised as a monk: “Ihr seid kein Mönch! Ihr seid / Es nicht! Der Friede wohnt in diesem Kleide, / In Euren Zügen wohnt der Friede nicht” (5.2.3120-2). She also says: “Doch Euer Blick schnürt mir das Innre zu” (5.2.3125) and “mir graut in

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<sup>162</sup> Best would disagree, attributing an even greater weight of guilt to Tell: “For him, as for Parricida, there begins a journey through the wilderness, but Tell’s landscape is not Alpine, but the spiritual abyss of guilt and despair” (Best 305).

seiner Nähe" (5.2.3147).<sup>163</sup>

Ives attempts to answer the crucial question of the Tell-Parricida contrast, asking why Schiller includes

a string of gory details to evoke repugnance toward Parricida's crime, while giving Tell all the noble sentiments and few, if any, qualms of conscience? Obviously, because Tell is meant to be an improvement on Carlos, an adult and sober individual who can *in practice* distinguish between passionate impulses springing from the lower part of the self and moral intuitions conceived of as the *right* reactions to particular circumstances. (274-5)

Through his contrast with Gessler but especially through the contrast with Parricida, Tell is established as *the* moral individual. In his letter to Iffland, Schiller emphasizes the effect of this contrast: "Neben dem ruchlosen Mord aus Impietät und Ehrsucht steht nunmehr Tells nothgedrungene That, sie erscheint schuldlos in der Zusammenstellung mit einem so ganz unähnlichen Gegenstück" (qtd. in Best). But while the contrast in deed and motives are meant to differentiate Tell and Parricida, Schiller also brings home their commonality as human beings.

Tell's words to Parricida reflect the program of Schiller's earlier work which appeals to the universality of humanness. The narrator of "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre" asserts the humanity of the criminal, who, he declares, is a "Mensch...wie wir" (14). Similarly, Tell says to Parricida:

...Ihr seid ein Mensch -- Ich bin es auch --  
Vom Tell soll keiner ungetröstet scheiden --  
Was ich vermag, das will ich tun. (5.2. 3225-7)

Even though Tell is sickened by Parricida's deed, he shows mercy. Tell "shows the same compassion toward Parricida he had shown toward Baumgarten at the beginning

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<sup>163</sup> Lamport remarks that "Parricida no doubt thinks that it is mere irony of history that he and his deed are reviled while Tell and his are acclaimed; but Schiller surely does not.... Although Schiller vindicates Tell, and vindicates the Swiss in their acclamation of Tell as national saviour, he does not intend to vindicate rebellion in general"—so the Parricida scene has a dampening effect (Lamport 867).

of the drama. He condemns Parricida's murder of his uncle" and "allows no comparison of Parricida's deed with his own, but Parricida's fate also moves him to tears" (Jamison 562). It is structurally significant that Baumgarten is the first outlaw Tell rescues and Parricida is the last. Tell's engagement with Parricida represents a more sublime assistance than his rescue of Baumgarten. In rescuing Baumgarten, although he risks his life, he apparently identifies with the plight of Baumgarten and thus has no spiritual obstacle to overcome. The act is physical, requiring only a sense of timing and adrenalin to propel the hero into action. In the case of Parricida, Tell despises the deed and, with more time to deliberate, must overcome his loathing of the deed and view him as human being. Jamison recognizes the greater significance of Tell's assistance to Parricida:

In directing Parricida to Rome, he points him toward personal salvation. It is unfortunate that this scene has been viewed almost exclusively in the context of Tell's slaying of Gessler, for the more obvious parallel is to Tell's rescue of Baumgarten. Tell's last deed, when compared to the first, reveals the constancy but also the enhancement of his character. (Jamison 562)

Jamison continues, noting that previously Tell has saved men's lives, while now he helps men save their souls (562). Frye suggests that the significance of Tell's actions derive not only from his own moral growth but from a higher power: "The concluding directives for the pilgrimage to Rome come not from the simple human being but rather through him from above, from that higher Reason, God: "Hört, was mir Gott ins Herz gibt—Ihr müßt fort / Ins Land Italien" (3232-3) (80). Frye's comments illustrate the continuity of Tell's dependence on God and his role as instrument of God.

Although Wilhelm Tell offers in Tell less emotion than Karl Moor and less personal insight than Christian Wolf, his ethical portrayal is much more subtle and sophisticated, reflecting the greater maturity of Schiller's moral thought as well as artistic craft. Rather than portraying a criminal who *falls* from innocence, he portrays a

crime and how a man experiences a *loss* of innocence while remaining true to his moral sensibilities and maintaining complete harmony with society.

### III. *RINALDO RINALDINI* AND THE GERMAN ROBBER NOVEL

#### 1. The *Räuberroman* & Canonical Writers of the Non-Canonical

The importance of Schiller for German and European literature and philosophy is undisputed, and the power of his dramas and prose works is evident in his own time as well as ours. Everyone knows *Die Räuber* and “Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” as Schiller’s outlaw narratives, but I have attempted to not only add insight into these works but also demonstrate just how persistent and diverse Schiller’s interest in the criminal figure was. Because of the enormous popularity of *Die Räuber* and the overall stature of Schiller as a literary figure, his influence on other literary outlaw figures and on the German robber novel (*Räuberroman*) has often been cited. In this section, I will discuss *Rinaldo Rinaldini* in the context of the *Räuberroman*. I will be using the term *Räuberroman* primarily to mean popular novels featuring robbers and adventures written in German between 1795 and 1850 with few if any artistic pretensions. Determining what constitutes the *Räuberroman* genre or sub-genre (or if it is a genre) will not consume us here.<sup>164</sup> For my purposes, the *Räuberroman* is part of a wider generic concept that I am calling Romantic outlaw narrative. In this, I align myself with Lüsebrink in wanting to think of the genre as a European and not just a German phenomenon. I will be discussing A.C. Vulpius’s *Rinaldo Rinaldini* as a stark example

<sup>164</sup> Some have suggested that the *Räuberroman* is not a genre at all but rather a formula for a certain kind of novel (Dainat 105). Part of this formula can be seen in the titles of several novels, which, imitating the successful *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, arrived at a kind of phonetic mimicry. Examples include *Rolando Rolandini* (1825, by Schöpfer), *Sallo Sallini* (1828); *Concino Concini* (1831, by Friedrich Bartels), *Rocco Roccini* (by Bornschein), *Himlo Himlini* (1833); *Florens Florentini* (by Heidemann), *Don Cäsario Cäsarini* (by Frohreich), *Quorato Orsini* (by Leibrock) (Dainat 29; Paul 242). Dainat cites the following article as his source: Fedor von Zobelitz, “*Rinaldo Rinaldini* und seine Zeitgenossen” in Edmund Meyer, ed., *Der deutsche Roman um 1800: Familien-, Ritter- und Räuberromane*. Antiquariatskatalog 10. Berlin: 1908. Pp. 5-22. It is clear that the genre should not be determined by one central motif—in this case, the existence of robbers in the plot—or by what it is not, as is often the case (Dainat 32-9). A novel with a robber in it is not enough to define the genre, except in superficial treatments in encyclopedic articles (Dainat 26-7).

of the German *Räuberroman* and as a Romantic outlaw narrative alongside those of Schiller and Kleist.

Because *Räuberromane* flourished following the *Sturm und Drang* period of Schiller and Goethe, literary historians have found it convenient to use these two literary giants—representing *Dichtung*—as foils to the lowly and popular robber novels (*Unterhaltungsliteratur*) via the myth that *Räuberromane* are descendants (albeit degenerate) of Schiller’s Die Räuber (1781) and Goethe’s Götz von Berlichingen (1771). Appell sees all robber novels as degenerate derivations of Räuber or Götz, calling them “bloße Nachahmungen und grob verzerrte Wiederholungen eines mißverstandenen Urbildes” (69). Müller-Fraureuth echoes these sentiments, implying that the genre went downhill from Götz and Räuber (though he seems to have a favorable opinion of Vulpius, Cramer, and Spieß and Zschokke) (94). Citing the commonalities of these two early works by Goethe and Schiller (namely, their common tone, perspective, and portrayal of an individualistic hero fighting against society and placing himself “ausserhalb des Gesetzes” to fulfill the Rousseauesque ideal of nature), Müller-Fraureuth suggests that Goethe’s Götz represents the “Ritterideal” and Schiller’s Räuber the “Räuberideal.” From these two ideal examples, a degenerate mixture emerged from the pens of writers like Spieß and Cramer and onto the pages of robber novels (Müller-Fraureuth 35-8). An example given both by Appell and Müller-Fraureuth is Cramer’s Hasper a Spada, which Müller-Fraureuth considers nothing more than a transference of Götz “ins Grobe” (40), and which Appell cites as imitative of Götz and Karl Moor (containing, for instance, Götz’s famous words “Freiheit--Freiheit--Freiheit” and similar characters) (32-3). Ziolkowski is among the many modern scholars who associate heroes of the robber novel in terms of descent from the picaresque rogue and from “the titanic hero of *Sturm und Drang*” (specifically of Götz and Die Räuber) (“Portrait” 291).

Schiller, and particularly his Räuber, is most often cited as the symbolic fountainhead of this genre gone bad, sometimes in conjunction with Goethe and sometimes along with other writers. An 1846 encyclopedia article on “Räuberroman”

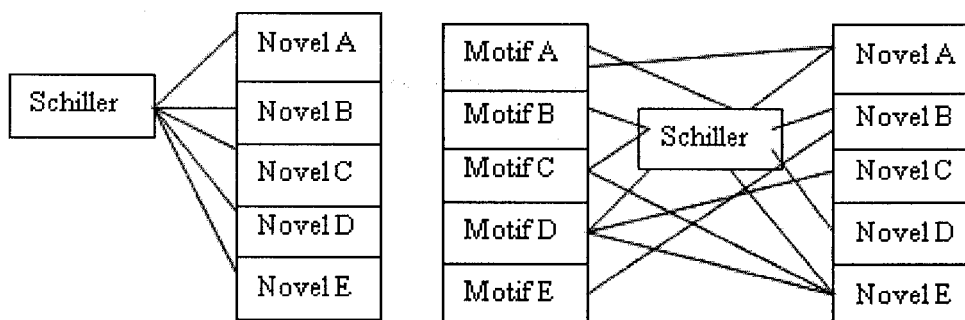
begins by referring to the origins of the genre in Schiller: “Diese eigenthümliche Abart der deutschen Romanliteratur lehnt sich in ihren ersten Anfängen an Schillers Räuber an” (qtd. in Dainat 14-5). Similarly, an afterward to a 1800s-version of Rinaldo Rinaldini credits Schiller’s Räuber with initiating *Räubergeschichten* (Vulpius, Nachwort). Müller-Fraureuth suggests that all heroes of the *Räuberromane* measured themselves against Karl Moor (38), and Hirn considers Karl Moor the prototype of the noble outlaw (17). Thorslev suggests a direct line from Goethe to Schiller and on to English Romanticism: “There can be no doubt of Goethe’s influence on the next Noble Outlaw, Schiller’s Karl Moor...nor of the influence of Karl Moor on English romanticism” (Thorslev 73). A 1978 literary history calls the *Räuberroman* “ein Abkömmling von Schillers “Räuber”, ein Enkel des Sturm und Drang, arg verspätet und schlimm vulgarisiert, aber doch wiederzuerkennen” (qtd. in Dainat 20).<sup>165</sup>

“Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” is also often invoked as the most seminal work: “Schiller schuf mit seinem dramatischen Erstling, wie mit der frühen Erzählung vom *Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre*, neue literarische Gattungen: Kriminaldrama und Kriminalnovelle fanden reichlich heimatische Nachahmung” (Michael Mann 112). Many works cite Schiller as the initiator of a genre and some of his works as the literal beginning (Haslinger 173). One study from 1941 claims that “Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” initiated the genre: “Die stolze Reihe der Kriminalerzählungen wird eröffnet durch Friedrich Schillers ‘Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre’” (qtd. in Haslinger 173). Haslinger himself claims that “Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” began the “Kriminalroman” (“Darin hat Schiller einen Entwicklungsstrang begonnen” and that this work proved the model for Kleist’s criminal works, while Schiller’s “Geisterseher” influenced the romantic criminal narrative in the vein of E.T.A. Hoffmann (Haslinger 186).

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<sup>165</sup> Liese makes a distinction between early criminals, like Herostrat, who committed crimes for fame, and the modern criminal, who does it to correct the order of society. He cites two outlaws that usher in this new period: Anton Reiser in Anton Reiser (1785) by Karl Philipp Moritz and Karl Moor (Liese 153). This, of course, is much too simplistic and is not backed up at all by Liese.

While it may certainly be true and not difficult to prove Schiller's influence on canonical writers such as Kleist in Germany as well as other writers in England, France, and Russia, it is not self-evident that this is the case with writers of popular robber novels. Despite the popularity of the myth in literary history, in actuality, Schiller's *Die Räuber* is rarely mentioned in connection with *Räuberromane* during the Romantic Period, and the idea that he stands as the fountainhead of this genre (as literary historians have said) finds little basis in the reviews of the period (Dainat 6). Dainat challenges the idea of robber novels deriving from *Räuber* and *Götz*, indicating that these works themselves drew on many sources (27). The first figure below represents the view of Schiller as fountainhead. The second figure represents Dainat's view of Schiller as merely one expression of the *Zeitgeist* that partook of outlaw motifs.



**Figure 6: Influence of Schiller on *Räuberromane***

Dainat cites a footnote from one edition of *Rinaldo Rinaldini* which supports this view: “Auch Schiller hat das Räubermotiv nicht aus dem eigenen Busen genommen, sondern aus einem Chaos von Vorstellungen, Beispielen und poetischen Überlieferungen griff er's heraus und verlieh ihm die größte und festeste Gestalt” (qtd. in Dainat 27). Touaillon supports this view in her book, *Der deutsche Frauenroman des 18. Jahrhunderts* (1919): “Nicht Götz, die Räuber und der Geisterseher haben, wie

gewöhnlich behauptet wird, den Ritter-, Räuber- und Gespensterroman des 18. Jahrhunderts hervorgerufen (432).”<sup>166</sup>

Robber novels (*Räuberromane*)—or, as they were more commonly called at the time of their emergence, *Räubergeschichten* (Dainat 4)—represent the popular burgeoning of the *Zeitgeist* which attached interest to stories about crime and criminals. As in England, this interest was not a new phenomenon. First appearing in the 1790s, *Räuberromane* existed in Germany as a cultural and literary phenomenon between 1795 and 1850, with approximately 320 robber novels published during this time (not including an additional 70 new editions and reprints) (Dainat 43).<sup>167</sup> The popularity of these robber novels is evidenced by this unprecedented mass production of outlaw narratives in Germany. Reporters in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had traveled Germany singing their *Zeitungslieder*, “which recounted the gory details of the latest crimes in seven-line strophes,” and had sold their songs as broadsheets (“fliegende Blätter”) (Ziolkowski, “Portrait” 289). Later, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the singers stood on benches at the local fairs singing ballads about criminals and robbers (Ziolkowski, “Portrait” 290).<sup>168</sup> Ziolkowski suggests that the *Räuberroman* carries on this popular tradition of telling tales about robbers and outlaws in a literary form and in an environment of mass production, marking a move from the marketplace to the salon (290). We might refine this statement, drawing on Holger Dainat’s work, to also include a movement from the marketplace to the loan library (*Leihbibliothek*). With one in nearly every German city and the total number ranging from 1500 to 2000, the loan library represented the most important distribution point of narrative prose during the first half of the nineteenth century (Dainat 137). In smaller loan libraries, robber novels and novels about knights (*Rittergeschichten*), ghosts,

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<sup>166</sup> Touaillon writes further: “Die überragenden Erscheinungen...machten nur durch ihr Beispiel den noch Zaghafte[n] Mut, öffentlich mit diesen Motiven des literarischen Unterbewußtseins in der Zeit des Rationalismus hervorzutreten: Der Motivenschatz selbst aber, mit dem sie operieren, geht auf die viel ältere literarische Überlieferung zurück, ist noch Eigentum der Nation, bevor Götze erscheint” (432).

<sup>167</sup> The market for robber novels experienced two major booms, one between 1800 and 1805 (on the heels of the success of Vulpius’s *Rinaldo Rinaldini*) and one again in the 1820s and 1830s (Dainat 43-5).

<sup>168</sup> These songs were called *Moritäten*, a corruption of *Mordtat* (Ziolkowski, “Portrait” 290).

murderers, and pirates were over-represented, exceeding the general library average by 3-5 times (Dainat 143-4).<sup>169</sup> Readers turned to loan libraries to read the latest robber novel; and, unlike the salons and reading societies (*Lesegesellschaften*), the loan libraries knew no literary hierarchy, with classics by Goethe arranged alphabetically on the shelf next to the latest sensational novel (Dainat 117-8). In the salon, the *Räuberroman* was rarely seen or spoken of, but in the loan library, such novels were found in abundance (Dainat 138-40).

Despite—and perhaps also partly because of—their popularity, robber novels have been scorned by literary critics and reviewers. The history of *Räuberromane* is simple but polemic. During the 1800s, they enjoyed tremendous popularity, while receiving a proportional amount of disdain from many of the literary elite. In Goethe's verse, "Den Vereinigten Staaten" (1831) he condemns the genre:

Benutzt die Gegenwart mit Glück!  
 Und wenn nun eure Kinder dichten,  
 Bewahre sie ein gut Geschick  
 Vor Ritter-, Räuber- und Gespenstergeschichten  
 (Goethe, "Vereinigten" 333)

Holger Dainat discusses the "negative Klassizität" of the genre which was both extremely popular and extremely despised, both sought after and ignored—or as he calls it, "berühmt-berüchtigt" (Dainat 113). Its very reception epitomizes the opposing contrasts that the genre itself dynamically creates. The disdain for this *Unterhaltungsliteratur* has continued, evident not only in the critical remarks of scholars and literary historians but also in the lack of serious critical attention given to them. During the Romantic era, the genre was condemned both on moral and aesthetic grounds.

The moral objections to these novels were raised, of course, due to their subject

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<sup>169</sup> Müller-Fraureuth cites a Leipzig loan library in 1836 as having 1700 *Ritter-* and *Räuberromane* out of 6100 novels—over 25% (103). The figures that Dainat quotes, however, are not near this high in percentages, though they are still substantial, ranging from 5% to 13% (Dainat 143).

matter. Portraying and often glorifying unlawful and sinful deeds of robbery, murder, and plunder, these novels were attacked for their “Scheußlichkeiten, Gräueln und Infamien aller Art” [“revolting, hideous, and perfidious content of all kinds”] (qtd. in Dainat 11)<sup>170</sup> and for failing to strive for the noble goals of making humanity “vollkommen” or “menschlicher”(Dainat 94).<sup>171</sup> As works that are, as one reviewer put it, often “full of atrocities” (“voll Abscheulichkeiten”) and “revolting from beginning to end” (“widrig vom Anfang bis zum Schluss” [qtd. in Dainat 9]), many *Räuberromane* were criticized for their lack of moral condemnation of such depravity.<sup>172</sup> When a *Räuberroman* did not portray such immorality, it was rare enough to catch the attention of reviewers, as one who noted that “readers are spared wading through moral filth” (“der Leser nicht durch moralischen Schmutz zu waten hat” (Review of Marmorino, 1828; qtd. in Dainat 9). Müller-Fraureuth cites the potential harm of the novels, attributing to them, as many today do to movies and music, the power to elicit copy cat criminals (96).<sup>173</sup> In the twentieth century, Karl May delivered harsh criticism of the genre, claiming it can lead to moral confusion and even criminal activity:

Die Rechtsbegriffe und Rechtsanschauungen verändern sich: die Lüge wird zur Wahrheit, die Wahrheit zur Lüge. Das Gewissen stirbt. Die Unterscheidung zwischen gut und böse wird immer unzuverlässiger! Das führt schließlich zur Bewunderung der verbotenen Tat, die scheinbar

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<sup>170</sup> From a review appearing in Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek 101 (1805): 165.

<sup>171</sup> During this period, many saw a dichotomy and contradiction between pleasure (*Vergnügen*) and morality (or instruction/*Bildung*) in the theater, but for some, such as Friedrich Schiller, they were a seamless unity (Biener 41).

<sup>172</sup> This review of Leben, Thaten, Liebschaften, Verbrechen und Ende Louis Mandrin's [ . . . ] appears in Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung, Issue 2, Feb. 28, 1829 (unpaginated). Dainat leads into the review thus: “...berücksichtige manche Räubergeschichte, so der Vorwurf, ‘nicht einmal das moralische Princip, durch Schilderung aller dieser Gräueln abzuschrecken’” (9).

<sup>173</sup> See this Web site for a compilation from articles about copycat crimes published by national journals and periodicals over the past several years.: “Copycat Crimes.” 6 March 2000. Mediascope, Universal City, California. 8 November 2003 <<http://www.mediascope.org/pubs/ibriefs/cc.htm>>. See also the video by Investigative Reports, “Investigative Reports: Copycat Crimes,” A&E Home Video, 2000.

Hilfe bringt....es geht noch tiefer, immer tiefer, bis zum äußersten  
Verbrechertum. (qtd. in Dainat 114-5)<sup>174</sup>

Even though works with moral integrity may have deflected criticism on moral grounds, they did not escape condemnation as works of poor quality and little, if any, artistic merit (Dainat 11). The aesthetic condemnation of *Räuberromane* has root in many aesthetic principles of the time. The Schlegels (and others) professed that what makes a good book is its ability to sustain many readings (Dainat 109-110).<sup>175</sup> In the eyes of many, the robber novel fails this basic test of good literature. As an object for mass consumption and superficial enjoyment, most robber novels were written quickly to be read quickly—and never to be read again.

One reviewer of a *Räuberroman* remarks with apparent irony that the form and the subject matter are “vollkommen eins” (Review of Marmorino, 1828; qtd. in Dainat 11), meaning, as another reviewer articulates, “eben so barbarisch in ihrem Vortrage als ihrem Inhalte” (qtd. in Dainat 11).<sup>176</sup> Evaluating many such novels, reviewers could always find one that was “schlechter erfunden, und viel schlechter erzählt” than the next (qtd. in Dainat 12).<sup>177</sup> Their novels were dismissed as badly written in both form and content, full of bad spelling and grammar and possessing no logical plot structure. One review sums up all these points, complaining that the author:

kann nicht orthographisch schreiben, verwechselt alle Augenblicke vor  
und für, den Dativ mit dem Accusativ u.s.w. und hat einen Stil, daß dem  
Leser übel werden muß....Die Personen sind sämtlich zu fratzenhaften

<sup>174</sup> Quoted in Dainat 114-5 from Karl May, Mein Leben und Streben, ed. Hainer Plaul, Hildesheim: 1975, p. 77.

<sup>175</sup> Friedrich Schlegel, for instance, says that “Classisch ist alles was cyclisch studirt werden muß” [sic] (Friedrich Schlegel, Literary Notebooks 1797-1801, ed. Hans Eichner (London: Athone, 1957), p. 81. No. 636.

<sup>176</sup> From a review of a novel by Karl Stein, Amöna, die Braut eines Verbrechers (1804), published in Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek 101 (1805), p. 165.

<sup>177</sup> From a review of Der Todten-Wirth, eine Räubergeschichte vom Bruder Alkuin (1806) and Anton und Mariane, oder die Räuberfamilie (1800), published in Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung, number 144 (1806), column 544.

Caricaturen verzerrt, und die Begebenheiten aufs Gerathewohl zusammengewürfel. (qtd. in Dainat 12)<sup>178</sup>

The illogical plot and string of unrelated and repetitious adventures in robber novels soon came to characterize the genre (Dainat 12), as descriptions in reviews of “unzusammenhängenden [“planloser”] Abenteueren”<sup>179</sup> or a plot that “verdrängt ein vernunftloses Abendtheuer das andere”<sup>180</sup> attest (qtd. in Dainat 12). In addition to outright attacks, the aesthetic condemnation of *Räuberroman* usually consists of either contrasting it with genuine poetry and art or simply ignoring it altogether as a genre unworthy of critical attention.

A favorite method of aesthetically condemning *Räuberromane* was to contrast it (as *Unterhaltungsliteratur*) with real poetry (*Dichtung*).<sup>181</sup> Heinrich von Kleist complains of the abundance of *Ritterromane* and the lack of works by Wieland, Goethe, and Schiller (Briefe 121).<sup>182</sup> Indeed, the *Räuberroman* earns its place in literary history as the opposite of real poetry (Dainat 17). *Räuberromane* were (and are) characterized as fodder for the uneducated and uncultured masses, as is documented in many reviews of robber novels of the period (Dainat 7-8). One reviewer in 1803 asks “Was für ein Interesse kann ein gebildeter und geschmackvoller Leser an ihnen nehmen?” (qtd in Dainat 7).<sup>183</sup> Others state that “Nur rohe Leser

<sup>178</sup> A review of Stephan Moloska, der Türkenfresser (1830) in Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung, Issue 158, June 7, 1830, p. 631.

<sup>179</sup> From a review of Thantos und Valdea (1828) by Giovanni Morani and Nikanor, der Alte von Fronteja (1828) by Moritz Richter, published in Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung, supplement 1, Jan. 30, 1829 (unpaginated).

<sup>180</sup> From a review of Karlo Orsino, Räuber und Zeitgenosse des Rinaldo Rinaldini (1803) in Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek 90 (1804): 328.

<sup>181</sup> See Hainer Plaul’s bibliography of works considered as “Unterhaltungsliteratur”: Bibliographie deutschsprachiger Veröffentlichungen über Unterhaltungs- und Trivilliteratur: Vom letzten Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart., Munich: Saur, 1980.

<sup>182</sup> In Kleist’s letter of 14 September 1800 to Wilhelmine von Zenge, Kleist writes a version of his dialogue at the local *Lesebibliothek*: “Wo in aller Welt sind denn die Schriften Wielands, Göthes, Schillers? – Halten zu Gnaden, diese Schriften werdeb hier gar nicht gelesen.... ‘Was stehn denn also eigentlich für Bücher hier an diesen Wänden?’ – *Rittergeschichte, lauter Rittergeschichten, rechts die Rittergeschichten mit Gespenstern, links ohne Gespenster, nach Belieben*” (Kleist, Briefe 121).

<sup>183</sup> From a review of Kaspar der Wildschützenhauptmann, oder die Brüder des grauen Bundes (1802) by Angelika in Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek 71 (1801): 83.

können Geschmack daran finden”<sup>184</sup> or characterize the readers of robber novels as “Menschen, die gewohnt sind, ohne Kopf und Herz zu lesen” (qtd. in Dainat 7).<sup>185</sup> Real literature consists of original works (often drama and poetry) that uplift, while robber novels are imitative formula novels meant simply to entertain (Dainat 16). This tendency continues. Ziolkowski speaks of the German literary market being “choked” with robber novels (291).

Many critics believed that *Räuberromane* were not even worthy of critical review—a review being viewed as a validation of its worth as a novel or art (Dainat 3-4). A.W. Schlegel speaks of engaging only literature that “einen integrierenden Teil der gesamten höheren Geistesbildung ausmacht” and adds that “die unbedeutende Schlechtheit betrachten wir als gar nicht vorhanden” (qtd. in Dainat 3).<sup>186</sup> J. G. Heinzmann poses the question in 1795, “Ist es eben nöthig alle elende Schriftsteller zu rezensiren? Sind sie nicht unter der Würde der Kritik” (qtd. in Dainat 3).<sup>187</sup> Another critic answers Heinzmann’s rhetorical query, calling on scholars, reviewers, and critics not to acknowledge works of poor quality so that they will remain unread. Such educated men “müssen sich also nur zum Grundsatz machen, schlechte Produkte zu ignoriren, so werden sie ungelesen bleiben” (qtd. in Dainat 3).<sup>188</sup>

Indeed, one does not find much critical attention in the nineteenth century given to *Räuberromane*. Two monographs stand out: one by J. W. Appell at mid-century (1859) and one by Carl Müller-Fraureuth at the end of the century (1894). But even though they each devote an entire book to the deceased and non-threatening genre, neither book offers more than a superficial and contemptuous look at these novels.

<sup>184</sup> From a review of *Katharina della Bandiera, die kühne Seeräuberkönigin* (1827) by Ewald Dietrich in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, Issue 5, May 31, 1828 (unpaginated).

<sup>185</sup> From a review of *Der Todten-Wirth, eine Räubergeschichte vom Bruder Alkuin* (1806) and *Anton und Mariane, oder die Räuberfamilie* (1800), published in *Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, 144 (1806), column 544.

<sup>186</sup> August Wilhelm Schlegel, “Entwurf zu einem kritischen Institut” [1800] in *Über Literatur, Kunst und Geist des Zeitalters*.

<sup>187</sup> Johann Georg Heinzmann, *Appell an meine Nation: Über die Pest der deutschen Literatur*, (Bern 1795), Reprint, Hildesheim: 1977, p. 199.

<sup>188</sup> Johann Rudolph Gottlieb Beyer, *Ueber das Bücherlesen, in so fern es zum Luxus unserer Zeiten gehört*, Erfurt: 1796, Reprint, Munich: 1981, p.27.

They are little more than plot summaries that are characterized, with some exceptions, by a general condemnation of the novels and a lack of concrete details about the novels they review. Holger Dainat, the foremost scholar on *Räuberromane*, describes their studies, somewhat cynically, as having precisely the goal to relieve others from actually having to read *Räuberromane* (Dainat 24-5). He also comments on their superficial knowledge of the novels themselves.<sup>189</sup>

Although I can offer little more than a superficial knowledge of the novels myself, it is worth mentioning four writers for their survival in literary histories as canonical writers of the non-canonical genre of the German Romantic *Räuberroman*: Karl Gottlob Cramer (also Kramer) (1758-1817); Christian Heinrich Spieß (1755-1799), Heinrich Daniel Zschokke (1771-1848), and finally Christian August Vulpius (1762-1827).<sup>190</sup> Discussion of these authors, especially the latter two, is problematic due to the morphing of names like Cramer and Spieß into generic types of the bestseller writer rather than concrete authors. As is now known, although they were credited with writing many robber novels, Spieß wrote none and Cramer wrote only one (Dainat

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<sup>189</sup> Beaujean is also critical of Appell's monograph, indicating that it does little to forward scholarship (5).

<sup>190</sup> Other writers, extremely popular in their day, though now largely forgotten, include Wächter, Bornschein, and Brückner. Leonhard Wächter (pseudonym Veit Weber) might be called the father of the true *Ritterroman* (Müller-Fraureuth 8) and published a play called *Wilhelm Tell* (1804) (Müller-Fraureuth 26). Johann Ernst Daniel Bornschein wrote about 39 novels (Müller-Fraureuth 83), with such titles as *Antonia della Rocini, die Seeräuberkönigin, eine romantische Geschichte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1801) and *Das Nordhäusische Wundermädchen, ein weiblicher Rinaldini; eine romantische Geschichte* (1803). Johann Jakob Brückner tried to imitate Spieß and Vulpius with about two dozen cheap novels between 1799-1803 (Appell 63-4). Titles include: *Die Höhle von Strozzi, oder das enthüllte Verbrechen, in der Geschichte des Antonio aus dem Hause Fiducci Cornaro, eines edlen Venetianers* (1799); *Dianora, Gräfin von Martagno, Rinaldo Rinaldini's Geliebte; Seitenstück zu Rinaldo* (1799); *Angelika, Tochter des großen Banditen Odvardo, Prinzen von Peschia, aus dem Hause Zanetti; Seitenstück zu Schiller's Geisterseher* (1801); and *Kaspar, der Wildschützenhauptmann, oder die Brüder des grauen Ordens; eine Räubergeschichte...* (1802). Next to Vulpius with his *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, the novels of Johann Ernst Daniel Bornschein were the most popular, republished in multiple editions (Dainat 47). Hirn cites Vulpius's *Rinaldo Rinaldini* and Zschokke's *Abällino* as the most most typical *Ritter- and Räuberromane* (54). He also mentions the writings of Spiess, Cramer, Meissner, and Buchholz but calls them depressing and less applicable to reality than romantic treatments of Cartouche and Mandrin (53).

19).<sup>191</sup> Similarly, from 1799 onwards, Vulpius's works—even those having nothing to do with robbers—were attributed to “der Verfasser des Rinaldini” rather than to Vulpius himself (Dainat 65). Works were either written anonymously or erroneously attributed to names such as Cramer and Spieß.

The best-known novel attributed to Cramer is Hasper a Spada, eine Sage aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhunderte (1792-1793) (Appell 30; Garland 145).<sup>192</sup> Hasper, after turning to robbing and arson after his wife is murdered, becomes a kind of Robin Hood figure. His actions of choking a proud monk with one hand and giving a poor widow his bread with the other (Appell 31) captures vividly the oxymoronic nature of the noble outlaw and the nearness of good and evil. About 20 novels and a total of some 40 works have been attributed to Spieß, but, like Cramer, many of these were not actually written by him. These works feature not only outlaw and criminal adventure stories but Gothic and ghost stories (Müller-Fraureuth 54). Like Schiller, he wrote a drama about the political outlaw Mary Stuart in Maria Stuart (1784) (Garland 850). He also complements his interest in criminal stories with scientific explorations of the dark side of the human mind and human experience, as some of his titles suggest:

Biographien der Selbstmörder (1785), Biographien der Wahnsinnigen (1795-6);  
Kriminalgeschichten voller Abenteuer und Wunder, und doch ganz der Wahrheit getreu

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<sup>191</sup> In 1859, Appell estimated that Cramer published at least 56 novels and stories in 93 volumes (21). Müller-Fraureuth in 1894 put the number at 68 novels in over 100 volumes (54). Determining the exact number of his works has proven difficult because many works attributed to him were actually written by other people. Benedikte Naubert (1756-1819), for instance, is the actual author of some novels attributed to Cramer. One concrete example is Hermann von Unna, which was originally published anonymously in 1788, but in later editions and translations (for instance a 1794 English translation in Dublin), Cramer is listed as the author. After Cramer's death, people continued writing stories under the name “Verfasser von Hasper a Spada” (Müller-Fraureuth 54).

<sup>192</sup> The first novel attributed to Cramer, Leben und Abenteuer Karls Saalfelds, eines relegirten Studenten (1782), and several novels afterwards, feature an expelled student in the vein of Schiller's student Karl Moor (Müller-Fraureuth 39). The listed author for Hasper was “Verfasser des Erasmus Schleicher.” Erasmus Schleicher (1789) was supposedly not only Cramer's favorite work but was the work which established his reputation (Appell 20; Müller-Fraureuth 39). Both Appell and Müller-Fraureuth criticize the novel (and the entire body of his work) as unoriginal, melodramatic, sentimental, and sensational (Appell 31-3; Müller-Fraureuth 40). Appell calls him a “Sudler” (21) and remarks that only the dumbest of the dumb (“der simpelste Dummkopf”) could possibly have liked his works (23-4). Müller-Fraureuth comments that only someone who does not know the real world can believe Cramer's images and characters, condemning his stories for being weak not only in believability but also in plot (46).

(1801); and Biographien der Kindermörder, aus gerichtlich Akten gezogen (1802) (Müller-Fraureuth 54; Garland 850).<sup>193</sup>

Beside Vulpius, Zschokke is the most famous robber novel writer.<sup>194</sup> His primary and very popular work, which Beaujean calls the first great *Räuberroman* (140), is Abällino, der große Bandit, published as a novel in 1793 and as a drama in 1795.<sup>195</sup> Abällino the drama contains many of the typical outlaw narrative motifs of the period, including an outlaw who is both melancholy and playful (disguises). As a nobleman named Floroardo who is forced to become an outlaw and assume the alias of “Abällino,” he compares himself to a wolf (1.2), laments his outlaw status (1.1; 1.2) and his loneliness: “Aber furchtbar ist der Mensch, / Welcher.../ Nicht der Welt, nicht dem Himmel, / Nur sich selbst noch angehört; / Welcher einsam, wie ein Satan, / Losgesprochen von der Schöpfung....” (1.7; p. 77). Both novel and play share a central message: “die verbrecherische Weltordnung ist nur mit gleich schändlichen Mitteln zu überwinden” (Beaujean 142). The play, in particular, thematizes the reversal of appearances and the closeness of the line between good and evil. In Abällino’s double identity as Flodoardo, he turns in other robbers, and as Abällino he pretends to put himself in the service of the enemies of Venice. The criminal/outlaw is actually the loyal citizen, while the citizen/official is really the villain/criminal. Like many other outlaw narratives, Abällino fights against a corrupt establishment and often compares

<sup>193</sup> According to Müller-Fraureuth, Spieß believed that an honest man could easily become a robber or murderer if external conditions got bad enough (55)—an attitude common for the day. A common formula in his stories is that the criminal keeps committing new crimes, believing he is redeeming the old, until at the end the massive weight of all his crimes crumbles (Müller-Fraureuth 55). Plaul, however, questions Spieß’s authorship of these titles (214).

<sup>194</sup> Ziolkowski suggests, without any evidence, that Zschokke’s Abällino in French translation helped to popularize the figure of the noble outlaw in France (292). Similarly, Praz credits Zschokke with playing “no little part...in making known in France the figure of the ‘noble brigand’” (via Lamartelière’s 1801 version).

<sup>195</sup> Beaujean claims that the play suffers in the adaptation from the novel [like movies made from novels today] by diluting motives and confusing motivation and connections that are plain in the novel (Beaujean 142). Zschokke wrote other outlaw stories as well, such as Coronata der Seeräuberkönig (1797). Abällino, which appeared on the Weimar stage in 1795 and received great applause (Appell 68), was so popular that it prompted many spin-offs, including his own Giulo degli Obizzi, oder Abällino unter den Calabresen (1805) (Appell 68). Perhaps the best known of these spin-offs is Die Heldin der Vendée: ein weibliche Abällino. Romantische Geschichte aus dem französischen Kriege (Hamburg, 1801) (Müller-Fraureuth 74).

the noble outlaw to a villainous citizen.<sup>196</sup> Abällino, whose portrayal is not very noble, admits he is bad but argues that the officials are worse (3.7; p.176-7). In 5.4, he accuses the officials of treason and murderous plots, calling them “Verbrecher” (253) and insisting that the officials are the *real* murderers of Canari and Dandola—not he.

Although one finds occasional mention of Cramer and Spieß in connection with *Räuberromane* and frequent discussion of Zschokke and his Abällino, Christian August Vulpius (1762-1827) stands apart from the others not only for his very popular robber novel Rinaldo Rinaldini (1799) but also for being the brother-in-law of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Rinaldo Rinaldini has long been viewed as the prototype of the German *Räuberroman*—as the fountainhead of a genre with great popularity and many imitations (Dainat 4, 28-9).<sup>197</sup> Beaujean remarks that Rinaldo Rinaldini is undoubtedly the pinnacle of the robber novel (144). One reviewer in 1804 claimed that no piece of modern literature, outside a few dramas of Schiller, had been read as much as Vulpius’s Rinaldo Rinaldini (qtd. in Dainat 13).<sup>198</sup> Indeed, it shared with Schiller its robber subject matter, which brought its success, and the similar coding of the asocial robber as negative and overall support for the establishment (Simanowski 351-2).<sup>199</sup> Appearing first in 1799, a second edition appeared the same year, with a third improved edition in 1800 and a fourth in 1802, which included three new parts (Dainat 43). It

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<sup>196</sup> In the novel, the Church, like in so many novels of the time, is seen as a prime enemy to morality (Beaujean 142-3). In the Preface to the 1823 edition, the church itself is blamed for the robber problems in Italy (Beaujean 143).

<sup>197</sup> Where Vulpius got his material for his novel is unclear. Johann Wilhelm Appell tells of Vulpius finding an Italian text about a historical Rinaldini, which shortly thereafter appeared in the Journal de l’Europa (44). Appell does not name his sources, and Wolfgang Vulpius does not come upon these sources in his research (Simanowski 337). One source that Wolfgang Vulpius mentions is Johann Heinrich Bartel’s Briefen über Kalabrien und Sizilien (1787), which features the Italian robber captain Angelo Duca (1734-84) (Simanowski 337). Elwenspoek too suggests, with questionable evidence, that Vulpius’s Rinaldini is based on the Italian robber Angelo Duca (108). Similarly suspect is an 1802 introduction to a Danish translation of the novel which refers to “the story of the real Rinaldini”—a man named Thommaso Rinaldini (Dainat 29). Dainat footnotes the following study, which discusses the problems of the novel’s origins: Alfred Bergmann, “Der historische Rinaldini” in Die Literatur 31 (1928/29): 379-80.

<sup>198</sup> Review of Lorenzo, der kluge Mann: “Außer einigen Schiller’schen Trauerspielen ist sicher kein poetische Werk der Neuern so oft gelesen worden als Rinaldini” (qtd. in Dainat 13).

<sup>199</sup> Despite this, the censor in Vienna banned Rinaldo Rinaldini and at least three other texts of Vulpius as dangerous, and the performance of a play version was banned in Leipzig (in 1800) (Simanowski 355).

was quickly translated into English (1800) and French (1800 and 1801), and then into other languages: Russian, Danish, Dutch, Spanish, Polish, Hungarian, and Italian (Appell 80).<sup>200</sup> The popularity of the novel continued through the nineteenth century, with a completely reworked edition (5<sup>th</sup>) in 1824 and a new edition in 1843 (Dainat 43). By 1872, some twelve editions had appeared (Müller-Fraureuth 80).

Largely due to Rinaldo Rinaldini, but also because of his over 60 other novels and stories as well as 35 theater pieces (Müller-Fraureuth 77), Vulpius enjoyed a good reputation among the ever-growing reading public well into the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>201</sup> He was not, however, read much in the intellectual society of Weimar (Simanowski 185). The success of Rinaldo Rinaldini was likely a surprise not only to Vulpius, who had had little success in his fifteen-year writing career, but also to his publisher, who was compelled to publish a second edition the very same year as the first (Dainat 65).<sup>202</sup> The novel also elicited numerous spin-offs within the first year of its original publication (Dainat 66).<sup>203</sup> Although generally held to be of superior

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<sup>200</sup> Vulpius writes to Winkler on December 6, 1823 about the success of his novel: “Es giebt 2 Pariser u 2 Englische Übersetzungen davon, die ich selbst habe. Ausserdem, (weiss ich auch von Leuten die ich ihn gesehen und gelesen haben,) existieren davon Italienische, Spanische, Russische, Holländische, Dänische, Polnische, Ungarische Übersetzungen” (Simanowski 334). The German publication of Henry Fielding’s Jonathan Wild, appearing with the subtitle “Rinaldo Rinaldini’s Antipode. Eine Räubergeschichte,” further attests to the international popularity of Vulpius’s novel (Dainat 44). The “Ausgabe letzter Hand” is 1824 (Simanowski 341).

<sup>201</sup> Appell writes in 1859 that Vulpius, though undeservedly, still enjoys this good reputation (52). There are several reckonings of his works. Hans-Friedrich Foltin counts 77 prose pieces, 43 theater pieces, and 24 stories or collections of songs (Simanowski 237; n.1). Holger Dainat cites over 150 titles (Dainat 80). One way that Vulpius produced so many robber works was by converting his novels into plays and by writing his own sequels and spin-offs to preempt his competitive copycats (Müller-Fraureuth 80). Rinaldini continues his adventures under the name Ferrandino in the sequel Ferrandino: Fortsetzung der Geschichte des Räuber-Hauptmanns Rinaldini von dem Verfasser derselben, published 1800. By this time, however, Rinaldini repeats himself in thought and action, as Vulpius had exhausted the formula (Heiderich 133). Vulpius’s Glorioso der große Teufel (1800) also follows the pattern in Rinaldo Rinaldini (Heiderich 138).

<sup>202</sup> Dainat outlines *how* the novel was a success without attempting to answer why it was a success. For further information on the first edition of Rinaldo Rinaldini, see Siegfried Scheibe, “Zur ersten Ausgabe des Rinaldo Rinaldini” in Goethe Jahrbuch 21 (1960): 298-300.

<sup>203</sup> Several “spin-offs” from Rinaldo Rinaldini use Vulpius’s title to promote themselves: Dianora, Gräfin von Martagno, Rinaldo Rinaldini’s Geliebte; Seitenstück zu Rinaldo (1799); Jonathan Wild, Rinaldo Rinaldini’s Antipode (1800), Dolko, der Bandit, ein Zeitgenosse Rinaldini’s (1801); Das Nordhäuser Wundermädchen, ein weiblicher Rinaldini (1804); Der Sohn des Waldes oder Bastard und Kronräuber in einer Person: Der Vater des berühmten Rinaldo (1811); and Nikonor, der Alte von Fronteja: Fortsetzung der Geschichte des Rinaldo Rinaldini (1828) (Plaul 242).

quality than its peers or imitators (Dainat 12), Rinaldo Rinaldini, like other robber novels, fails in gaining respect or even critical attention as serious literature. It has repetition with no purpose, sudden and unlikely appearances of characters, and what can only be described as cheesy and hokey situations.<sup>204</sup> Its excessive adventures stacked one upon the other is one weakness often cited by reviewers (Dainat 12). One reviewer in 1800, while conceding that Vulpius understood art and was good at portraying characters and events, pointed out that the excessive adventures make the plot unrealistic: that the adventures “besonders in der Folge der Handlung, zu sehr gehäuft, und eben dadurch unwahrscheinlich werden” (Rev. of Rinaldo Rinaldini 36; qtd. in Dainat 12). In addition, a lack of character and thematic development as well as artistic originality of expression characterizes the work. Appell calls the plot “baarer Unsinn” (46) and calls the novel shapeless (“unförmlich”), bulky (“massig”), and misshapen (“missgestaltet”) (42). Nevertheless, he indicates that it is probably the most distinguished of German *Banditenromane* (42). Thus, Rinaldo Rinaldini finds itself with the distinction of being the best of an inherently bad genre. It won this distinction not only due to its relatively higher quality in comparison to other robber novels but also because of the connection of Vulpius to his brother-in-law, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. This relationship provided literary critics and historians with a concrete representative for *Räuberromantik* and with a way to concretize the divide between *Unterhaltungsliteratur* and *Dichtung*, isolating it and localizing it to a single family at a single time in a single location—Weimar (30).<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Larkin remarks on the weaknesses of the novel: “Rinaldo Rinaldini and Ferrandino are admittedly not works of substantial reflection and artistic intricacy. One should exercise caution in articulating and assessing their message, for they contain a great deal of inconsequential, perhaps contradictory, and certainly trivial material. True feeling is often sentimentalized, and the plot develops too predictably and occasionally too illogically” (Larkin 473).

<sup>205</sup> Dainat points out that Rinaldo Rinaldini’s place in the canon as the representative of *Unterhaltungsliteratur* often causes the work to be decontextualized or placed in the wrong context. Critics draw unwarranted parallels between it and canonical texts by, for instance, Goethe or Tieck. Rinaldo Rinaldini, Dainat reminds us, is not like other canonical works (31). I agree. Its complexity, depth, and artisticness fall short of Goethe and Tieck—and Schiller and Kleist—but, as a Romantic outlaw narrative, its basic motivation and subject is the same.

Vulpius turned to writing *Ritterromane* in 1784 (Müller-Fraureuth 77) and exhibited interest in the outcast figure. The protagonists in his novels “are asocial heroes in the discourse of bourgeois morality—be they the dominant, openly sexual, intellectually emancipated woman as the nymph, Amazon or feminist philosopher, or the outlaw male as the highwayman or the Don Juan” (Simanowski 386).<sup>206</sup> Examples of some of his works include: Beschreibung der Bastille (1789), Zauberromane (1790-1), Sebastiano der Verkannte (1801), and Die Zigeuner (1802)—to name just a few (Simanowski 238).<sup>207</sup> In 1798, Vulpius wrote and published anonymously the picaresque (*Schelmen*) novel entitled Abentheuer und Fahrten des Bürgers und Barbiers Sebastian Schnapps (Simanowski 222-3). This novel portrays the robber Hans-Nickel, a Robin-Hood-like outlaw who, in some ways, may be viewed as a precursor to Rinaldini (Simanowski 224). The plot of Rinaldo Rinaldini is simple and repetitive, focusing entirely on Rinaldini, who, already in the midst of a career as robber captain, is unhappy as an outlaw and longs for a peaceful life. The story follows him and a cast of recurring characters through a series of amorous, action-packed, and mysterious scenes. Despite his desire to abandon his outlaw existence, he cannot escape and meets a tragic end.

Simanowski admits the many faults of the novel (no plot, repetition of adventures, characters coming in and out, sudden changing of scenes, poor language) but he advocates looking deeper to see a specific structure and intention (356). He insists that Vulpius’s texts are much more complicated and socially conscious works than they are normally given credit in literary history (12). Unlike other works in this study, Rinaldo Rinaldini’s sole *raison d’etre* seems to be the portrayal of the outlaw life of Rinaldo Rinaldini. Although less complex and perhaps less artistic, the novel, like a skeleton, allows us to view clearly the structure and all the constitute pieces

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<sup>206</sup> Although Vulpius preliminary depicts such figures’ violation of bourgeois convention in affirmative terms, he ultimately exaggerates their behavior into an untenable *reductio ad absurdum*, so that his texts end with the re-established perspective of bourgeois morality” (Simanowski 386).

<sup>207</sup> Notably, in a time when vagrants and gypsies were despised, Vulpius exhibited sympathy for them (Simanowski 382).

without additional layers of tissue (i.e., literary sophistication, additional themes, subplots, etc.). Rinaldo Rinaldini reflects the outlaw novel in its basic form, and thus is a useful reference point for examining other outlaw works, which contain the same elements but perhaps with more subtlety and complexity.

## 2. Ghostly & Lonely Transience of the Legendary Outlaw

Although the novel lacks certain structural elements common to Romantic outlaw narratives (e.g., etiology of crime), Rinaldo Rinaldini embodies all of the typical elements of a noble outlaw hero. The lack of structural linearity combined with Rinaldini's association with music—his "Gitarre" (20) and singing of ballads—and his role as lover and womanizer (or "Weiberfreund," as Luigino calls him) causes Rinaldini to resemble the typical adventure hero more than a Romantic outlaw.<sup>208</sup> Love adventures abound in the novel, from his infatuation with Aurelia on the first page to his secret meetings with Diana near the end, from casual ones with Dianora or Margalisa to more serious ones with Rosa, Serena, and Fortunata.<sup>209</sup>

While Rinaldini's transient, Don-Juan-like love affairs clearly fulfill nineteenth-century reader expectations and appetite for romance, the frequency and transience of Rinaldini's affairs also reflect Rinaldini's identity as an outlaw. He, like many other outlaws, is unable to form any lasting female relationships (Dainat 246). Christian Wolf cannot win Johanne's affection, Karl Moor is separated from Amalia, and Michael Kohlhaas's wife is killed in the course of pursuing his case. But the thematic pervasiveness of this alienation from women is most pronounced in Rinaldini. The

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<sup>208</sup> All citations from Rinaldo Rinaldini refer to the page numbers, but for the benefit of those using different editions, I offer here a key to the page numbers and corresponding chapters: p.9–58 (ch.1); p.59-100 (ch.2); p.101-132 (ch.3); p.133-173 (ch.4); p.174-214 (ch.5); p.215-256 (ch.6); p.257-352 (ch.7); p.353-376 (ch.8); p. 377-400 (ch.9); p. 401-26 (ch.10); p. 427-450 (ch.11); p. 451-498 (ch.12); p. 499-522 (ch.13); p. 523-550 (ch.14); p. 551-575 (ch.15).

<sup>209</sup> Amid a minor love triangle conflict between Rinaldini, Rosa, and Olimpia, Luigino discourages Rinaldini's in his role as "Weiberfreund": "Ich sehe, Hauptmann, daß das Gerücht wahr ist, das dich als einen erklärten Weiberfreund schilderte....ich denke, daß es sich nicht für dich schickt, deine Zeit mit Weibern zu vertändeln" (236-41).

frequency of the affairs renders these potentially intimate relationships meaningless due to their sheer repetitive volume. With each additional affair, the previous relationships lose more and more significance until, like his robbing activities or his daily outlaw existence, they become monotonous and meaningless.

The transience of Rinaldini's relationships also underlines his lonely and unbound state as outlaw, for not only is he unbound to any one woman, he is unbound to society. The transience implies the impossibility of having a family or any tangible vested interest in society. Luigino, as fellow outlaw, laments his and Rinaldini's alienation from women and from family life:

Aber meine Freundschaft gehört ihnen [women] nur für einzelne Augenblicke, in denen mich die Leidenschaft überrascht, die uns angeboren ist. Damit ist alles abgetan. Wir beide leben nun einmal in einer Welt, in der wir einer Frau weder Haus noch Herd geben können. Unsere Kinder können wir nicht groß ziehen. (237)

This passage illustrates not only the outlaw's displacement from society but also from time. The frequency of his affairs renders them monotonous, thus dulling a sense of time passing. The transience of his involvement with women punctuates this timelessness, particularly in his (and Luigino's) inability to raise his children. Not only is the outlaw an outsider from society but also from the process of life, and thus time.

Despite the fact that most of what Rinaldini does in the novel's framework actually occurs within the bounds of society, these moments in society are always ephemeral. He appears in society disguised as a member of their community but is inevitably revealed as an outsider by either outside forces or dramatic self-revelation. Even from friends he must eventually separate, as he realizes when leaving Laura and her father: "der geächtete Räuberhauptmann darf nicht mehr ein Glied eurer Familie...sein" (220). Luigino points out his alienation to him explicitly: "Hauptmann! Du siehst, daß du nicht für die Menschen außer unserm Zirkel taugst; die Welt ist kein Aufenthalt mehr für dich" (231). But Rinaldini knows this himself: "Ich darf ja nicht in den Schoß der Welt zurückkehren" (234). Interestingly, Luigino speaks in terms of an

existence centered on the band—“unserm Zirkel” while Rinaldini speaks in terms of an existence centered on society—“den Schoß der Welt.” This subtle difference underlines the self-consciousness of Rinaldini as one who stands on the outside looking in, in contrast to Luigino, who is conscious only of the here-and-now of his present group—not the relationship of this group to the rest of the world. Rinaldini’s metaphor “Schoß der Welt” also reveals his orientation, expressed elsewhere in melancholic reflection, to an innocent past that is now lost.

Alienation partly leads to and partly results from a transitory existence. Rinaldini is always on the move, oscillating either between figurative spaces of the wild and society or transferring himself to various locales to escape his current situation. The action of the novel, and Rinaldini as the focus of this action, bounces back and forth between the clearly defined spaces of the wild and the civilized. The narrator calls out the jarring contrast of Rinaldini’s spatial movement from a criminal (or wild) sphere to a sphere of the highest society: “Wie sehr war jetzt die Szene verändert! Sonst unter Mördern und Räubern, auf dem Rücken irgendeines unwirklichen Felsens, noch vor kurzem in einem stinkenden Kerker, und jetzt in einer der vornehmsten Gesellschaften Siziliens, in glänzenden Zimmern eines prachtvollen Hauses” (157). As an outlaw, Rinaldini occupies virtually all of the (stereo)typical robber hideouts—underground den, forest, lonely island, deserted castle. Doomed to retreat “in den unwirtlichen Tälern, in Wäldern und Einöden” (231) and in “Tälern und zwischen Felsen” (234), he must live in those spaces where society cares not or dares not to enter, such as a deserted castle believed by the villagers to be haunted:

Auf der Spitze eines von den Bergen...standen, von hohen Fichten  
beinahe ganz bedeckt, die Ruinen einer kleinen Raubfeste....und weil der  
Platz leer war, bevölkerte ihn die Furcht der Dorfbewohner mit  
Geistern....Jedermann sprach von diesen Ruinen, aber keiner wagte es,  
sie zu besuchen. (484)

Becoming a product or reflection of his ghostly environment, Rinaldini is, like a ghost, without sound temporal space and able to haunt a place—any place. His lack of

belonging to any physical space, like the ghost's lack of a physical body, allows for a lonely freedom: "Rinaldini schien hier ebensogut als dort zu Hause zu sein" (157). Of course, the reality and tragedy is that an outlaw cannot really be "zu Hause" either here or there. His spatial oscillation between the wild and societal space betrays the fact that for an outlaw such as Rinaldini, there is no home, no resting place to which he can belong. His transitory physical condition is summed up by the comments of the herdsman:

Er ist, wie Herr Niemand, überall. Gar oft spaziert er als Kavalier in den Städten....Kommt man ihm auf die Spur, so ist er fort, und kein Teufel weiß, wohin er ging. Er zieht beständig verkleidet im Lande umher und nimmt allerlei Gestalten an. Heute ist er da, morgen dort.... (289)

While Rinaldini's spatial movement is transitory, the condition of his outlaw status is not. We follow Rinaldini through various spaces, but neither he nor we really journey through time. Time in the plot is purely chronological, with hardly any gaps or jumps in time. Yet despite the natural unfolding of time (i.e., lack of narratorial manipulation of time), there is little sense in the narrative of time actually passing—a phenomenon we witness in Schiller's "Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre" in the timeless society of the robber band. This idea of time and the problem of timelessness are mentioned in Schiller's tale but are much more pronounced in Rinaldo Rinaldini. As mentioned, the monotony of transcendent relationships contributes to the sense of timelessness. Similarly, the use of repeated scenarios and recurring characters dulls our sense of progression. In addition, there is no development of Rinaldini's character. Although Rinaldini assumes many different names and appears under different guises, the role he plays is basically the same. The reader does not get a jarring sense of a dichotomy between Rinaldini the robber and Rinaldini the impostor courtier because his personality remains the same in each sphere. He is flatly noble in each—a supposed duke or baron in one context, the noblest robber among an often noble band of robbers in the other. Rinaldini's character does not change when moving from sphere to sphere, nor does it show development during the course of the novel. When we first

meet him, he is already weary of robber life and laments his outlaw status. His basic inactivity as a robber and lamentation define his outlaw persona throughout the book—in addition to his noble traits of giving, defending, and offering aid, and his amorous traits as womanizer.<sup>210</sup> The effect of this static time is to reinforce the finality of Rinaldini's criminal condition. His status as outlaw will not end. In contrast to Wolf in Schiller's "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre," who rejects the timeless existence as robber, Rinaldini does not seem conscious of this timelessness.

Perhaps because of Rinaldini's timeless existence—with little change and no development, seemingly able to go on indefinitely—or perhaps due to the finality of his situation, Rinaldini is able to enter the world of myth. Noble traits and action built into Rinaldini's character facilitate our viewing of him sympathetically. Such sympathy is conducive to legend, but it is not only these characteristics but also an active propagation of the legendary proportions of Rinaldo Rinaldini by both narrator and Rinaldini himself. Positioning himself as a singer bringing the folk entertainment and enjoyment, Vulpius's narrator compares his work to the popular songs about Rinaldini that supposedly flourished in Italy.<sup>211</sup> Vulpius endows his folk hero with awe-inspiring, legendary status. Before his robber tale even begins, in the first words and the entire first page of the Preface, Vulpius firmly establishes Rinaldini as *a* hero and as *the* hero of this work:

Ganz Italien spricht von ihm: die Alpenninen und die Täler Siziliens  
hallen wider von den Namen Rinaldini. Er lebt in den Liedern der  
Florentiner, in den Gesängen der Kalabresen und in den Romanzen der  
Sizilianer. Er ist der Held der Erzählungen in Kalabrien und Sizilien.

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<sup>210</sup> Only once, near the end of the novel, does Rinaldini seem to make a change—a life choice—when he decides to return to robber life. But this is not a real change, only an act of desperation which does not change his situation or his character. We still rarely see him rob. He retains all his previous traits and continues to go in and out of the social sphere as before.

<sup>211</sup> For an example of a legendary version of Rinaldo Rinaldini outside of the novel, see Arnim and Brentano's *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1808), in which is found a 72-line folk poem entitled "Rinaldo Rinaldini." In this folk song, Rinaldo Rinaldini outsmarts the devil—a common folktale motif. See L. J. von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Alte deutsche Lieder*, vol. 2, (Heidelberg: Rohr & Zimmer, 1808). See also Alfred Bergmann, "Der historische Rinaldini" in *Die Literatur* 31 (1928/29): 379-80.

Am Vesuv und am Ätna unterhält man sich von Rinaldinis Taten. (5,  
Preface)

Almost a part of the Italian landscape (“die Alpenninen und die Täler Siziliens”), Rinaldini, while in disguise, often augments the myth of his own noble character, thus increasing his legendary proportions. Speaking to the *Gräfin*, Rinaldini pretends to have met Rinaldini (himself), claiming “Mich...hat er sehr gut behandelt” and saying he looks “edler, als es ihm sein Handwerk sonst erlauben würde” (167). With dramatic irony, this motif repeats as the disguised Rinaldini praises his outlaw persona, notes his noble treatment, and states that he cannot fight against him: “Denn als ich einst in Rinaldinis Händen war und er mich sehr edel behandelte, mußte ich ihm versprechen, nie gegen ihn zu handeln” (200). Abällino, from Heinrich Zschokke’s play *Abällino, der große Bandit* (1794), tells how he worked in a similar way to build up his image, becoming a bandit by spreading rumors about himself (5.4; p. 259-62).

In the view of characters in the novel, Rinaldini is usually either purely a criminal or purely a courtier or nobleman. In most of these cases, the assessments of Rinaldini’s character are based on the Rinaldini of the narrative reality, derived from actual deeds or words of Rinaldini (whether he is assuming a disguised role or not). But a fictional Rinaldini within the fiction of the novel also emerges—a legendary Rinaldini who coexists with his narratively real counterpart.

One manifestation of the legendary image of Rinaldini is his treatment in stories and songs within the narrative. Rinaldini spends one evening in high society with Reali, Oriane, and others, spinning and recounting tales about Rinaldini (500-5). He is the subject of many ballads and broadsheets, often with exaggerated characteristics. One is a song—discussed below—which depicts a penitent and pious Rinaldini that does not exist (65). A long ballad about a Rinaldini who fights fiercely and loves passionately comes closer to his actual character, but the sea captain’s remarks

afterwards are tinged with a legendary endowment of Rinaldini: “Beim Teufel! Das war ein Kerl, von dem man noch lange singen und sagen wird” (363).<sup>212</sup>

In the captain’s exclamation “Das war ein Kerl,” we see the common scenario of characters believing that Rinaldini is dead (while he is in fact almost always in their presence). Rinaldini is believed dead in Olimpia’s letter—“Rinaldini selbst sei in Stücken zerhauen” (165)—and at an inn, where a *Wirtin* says: “Der [Rinaldini] soll doch aber schon längst tot sein” (387). In one scene, Rinaldini encounters a painter who, by painting the supposed location of Rinaldini’s death, hopes to make a profit, as though this site were a hallowed location: “Hier ist ja Rinaldini gefallen. Unter jenem Baume hat er mit gespaltenem Haupte seinen Geist aufgegeben” (70).<sup>213</sup> Thus, Rinaldini is constantly believed to be dead, yet because he appears again and again, the portrayal of him resembles one who is undying and immortal. As one who seems to defy death, he further resembles the ghosts which haunt the hideouts he too must sometimes occupy, and the fact that he never seems to go away underlines his static condition as criminal. We see this static condition in Adelbert Chamisso’s shadowless outlaw, Peter Schlemihl, who also acts like a kind of ghost as he follows Fanny around, careful not to expose his secret. At one point in *Rinaldini*, when the Prinz della Rocella comes upon Rinaldini, he cries out: “Mein Gott!...Seid Ihr es wirklich? Seid Ihr vom Tode auferstanden” (67). The whole mystery among the folk (not the reader) of whether Rinaldini is dead (“Er soll in einem Gefecht gefallen sein” [80]) or alive (“Indessen behaupten einige doch, dieser Schurke lebe noch” [80]), shrouds our protagonist with mystery. Simanowski notes the power a famous and legendary character can have when he points out the eleven scenes in the first edition in which men fall to their knees or women faint at the hearing of Rinaldini’s name (225). One peasant recounts the legendary supernatural powers of Rinaldini, who is supposedly able to elude all captors and even make himself invisible: “Ihm schadet weder Hieb

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<sup>212</sup> The actual ballad runs from pages 361 to 363. Another ditty spins off from this one a moment later on page 364.

<sup>213</sup> We see this idea of hallowed objects reaffirmed at the end of the novel when the objects associated with Rinaldini’s death are given a special relevance.

noch Stich. Und einige sagen gar, er könne sich unsichtbar machen.” (287). As we have mentioned, invisibility is a common attribute of the legendary outlaw figure.

### 3. Disguise and Entertainment

Contributing to his legendary and mysterious persona is Rinaldini’s skill in eluding capture but also his skill in using disguise. The peasant who says Rinaldini can make himself invisible is not far from the truth. In a practical sense, Rinaldini can make himself invisible through the use of disguise. Throughout *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, Rinaldini assumes many different roles, in many different guises, and under many different names. In fact, the most dominant trait of his characterization may be said to be his assumption of various roles and switching from one identity to another. As one monk says (unaware that he is speaking to Rinaldini himself), Rinaldini is a Proteus: “Ein wahrer Proteus soll er sein und in tausenderlei Gestalten umherwandeln” (80). To a traveling party he appears as “der Förster aus Sorsina” (39); to gypsies as “der Förster des nächsten Grenzorts” (49). To a farmer he appears “als Käufer” (45); to a beggar “als Jäger gekleidet” (516); and when planning to prevent Ermina’s abduction, he wears “Kavalierskleider” (520). Often he changes his name—and social station—by traveling “als Graf Dalbrogo” (65, 83) or as Graf Marliani (“Rinaldo war als Graf Marliani vorgestellt worden” [493]); or by introducing himself with various other titles and names: “Er...kam unter dem Namen Graf Mandochini” (108); “Ich bin ein Reisender, ein Römer. Baron Tegnano ist mein Name” (300). Many of the roles that Rinaldini assumes arise out of his deployment of disguise to hide his true identity as Rinaldo Rinaldini, the robber captain. In addition to being a common literary device in many genres, disguise is almost always part of outlaw narratives, where the outlaw must hide from lawful society. Dianoro articulates the nature of this universal motif: “Der Schein trägt!....Die Räuber verkleiden sich, geben sich Titel und Namen” (276-7).

Karl Moor and Christian Wolf both use disguise, as do many other outlaws, including the Robin Hood of the medieval ballad, Scott’s Rob Roy, Defoe’s Moll

Flanders, and Kleist's Michael Kohlhaas. Disguise is a defensive measure, necessary (and possible) due to the outlaw's alienation and transitory condition. But it also becomes a way to temporarily re-integrate into society. For the noble outlaw, the disguise is not used to hide robbing activities but to allow the robber temporary access to and inclusion in society (Dainat 243). When attempting to integrate into high society, Rinaldini must disguise himself as a duke or noble; while in the marketplace or countryside, he typically becomes a beggar or peddler.

Although employing disguise is a typical outlaw trick born out of necessity, Rinaldini uses disguise with gusto, extending beyond pragmatics and exploiting the theatrical potential of disguise by intertwining disguise and his robber identity in a way that serves no other purpose than to entertain. Vulpius the author makes use of disguise in an attempt to heighten the suspense and dramatic irony of the novel by withholding the revelation of Rinaldini's identity in a given scene until the last possible moment (much as Walter Scott does). The artistry with which Vulpius employs this technique is debatable (indeed, questionable), for the timing of his revelations often makes no logical or narrative sense—with no pressure being brought to bear on Rinaldini to reveal himself and nothing to gain by casting off his false identity.<sup>214</sup> More than suspense for the reader, Rinaldini's grandiose use of disguise provides some insight into the relationship between entertainment and criminality.

Entertainment and criminality in narrative share an intimate relationship on two levels. The first level concerns the entertainment of the criminal himself. Crime, for the criminal, becomes a form of entertainment—a diversion from the problems or monotony of one's life. For the true villain and evil criminal, violent crimes provide a

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<sup>214</sup> Commonly, Rinaldini reveals himself gratuitously—and theatrically—ending his performance with the utterance “Ich bin Rinaldini!” and then simply exiting the scene. His common utterance of “Ich bin Rinaldini!” can also serve to assert his authority. The real-life Italian robber, Angelo Duca, or Angiolillo, utters the same phrase, perhaps not coincidentally, in a taunting challenge. In one account, a room of soldiers boast about how they would soon capture and kill Angelo Duca when he jumps to his feet and cries out “I am Angiolillo! Take me now if you have the courage” (Angiolillo 170). Godwin may be employing this device when he has Caleb Williams say, similarly, “I am Caleb” (272; vol. 3; ch. 10).

demented sense of entertainment. For the wealthy movie star or CEO, non-violent and white-collar crimes like shoplifting provide diversion.<sup>215</sup> Godwin's Caleb Williams articulates this enjoyment of crime thus: "To do what is forbidden always has its charms, because we have an indistinct apprehension of something arbitrary and tyrannical in the prohibition" (107; vol. 2; ch. 1). For Rinaldini, and perhaps other literary outlaws, the entertainment value is derived not only from committing Robin-Hood-like acts of robbery but from using disguise. The purpose of disguise moves from necessity to self-diversion, with a sense of Rinaldini needing to continually and dramatically re-invent himself.<sup>216</sup> One explanation for this behavior could be the compensation this variety in appearances and identities offers the normally static existence of his life. For example, in one scene, he conceals his identity and pretends to warn a traveling party of Rinaldini. He then acts out an imaginary (from the audience's view point) scenario of Rinaldini robbing them, but intrudes into the fiction at the last minute: "'Ich bitte Eure Ringe, Eure Uhr und hundert Zechinen aus: ich bin Rinaldini ...' Was er hier als Gleichnis sagte, tat er wirklich" (41). He actively takes on and successfully plays multiple roles in high society and displays a vibrant enthusiasm, or one might say, a psychological obsession, to play these roles. He is as active in the unmasking of his false identities as in the creation of them. Rinaldini's penchant for role-playing, drama, and performance can be seen in his desire to produce a play in order to keep his men occupied: "Es soll ein Schauspiel geben....Ich will die Rollen verteilen" (73-4). But he does not just produce drama, he self-consciously lives drama as a performer. Although entertaining reading in itself, Rinaldini's propensity to act also seems to underscore his yearning to penetrate society while being an outcast from it. The unmasking of his identities seems almost a protest against society and his outlaw status.

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<sup>215</sup> Cf. the 2001-2002 case of actress Winona Ryder's thefts at Saks Fifth Avenue.

<sup>216</sup> One can contrast the playful use of disguise by Rinaldini with the serious attitude Caleb Williams takes in Godwin's Caleb Williams "to manufacture a veil of concealment more impenetrable than ever" (253; vol. 3; ch. 8)

The second level of the relationship between entertainment and criminality in narrative concerns the witness, audience, or reader of crime. Human beings are fascinated by crime, particularly when the actual crime remains safely distant from us, as in criminal narratives. Entertainment is core to the popularity of criminal narratives, which exist to satisfy the popular interest in crime. The goal of entertainment is made clear in Rinaldo Rinaldini. Unlike many Romantic outlaw narratives, Rinaldo Rinaldini makes no claims of *Bildung*, no claims of instruction—whether moral or spiritual, psychological or sociological. This may explain why the origins of Rinaldini as outlaw are not explored. Moll Flanders, Jonathan Wild, Karl Moor, and Christian Wolf all begin with the etiology of crime. In contrast, it is not until slightly more than half way through Rinaldo Rinaldini (in Chapter 7) that we are given an account of Rinaldini's pre-outlaw life. The account is brief: As a child, Rinaldini (like Karl Moor) had read Plutarch and had an imagination full of heroic deeds (337-8).<sup>217</sup> As an adult, he was dismissed from the military and outlawed after stabbing a superior officer in revenge (337-8). Simanowski also notes the unusually sparse account of Rinaldini's pre-outlaw period: "Die Vorgeschichte Rinaldos sehr spät und eher beiläufig im Roman erzählt wird" (345). The belated and short "Vorgeschichte" reveals Vulpius's primary emphasis in the novel. Although he does develop the subject of crime on a thematic level, he is not interested in undertaking a psychological or sociological study. He is not interested (as Kleist is in Michael Kohlhaas) in chronicling the move of an honest citizen to a life of crime. He is not interested (as Schiller is in "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre") in exploring the motivations and thoughts of the outlaw. And he is not interested in creating a strong sense of pathos for the hero in his struggle against a

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<sup>217</sup> In Die Räuber, Karl Moor speaks of reading in Plutarch "von großen Menschen" (1.2). In 1779, two years before the publication of Die Räuber, Helfrich Peter Sturz published Denkwürdigkeiten von Johann Jakob Rousseau, which had this to say about Plutarch: "Plutarch hat darum so herrliche Biographien geschrieben, weil er keine halb große Menschen wählte...sondern große Tugendhafte, und erhabene Verbrecher."

cruel tyrant or villain, such as Gessler in Wilhelm Tell or Franz Moor in Die Räuber.<sup>218</sup>

The novel's purpose, he makes clear, is to entertain:

Wenn sie [die Geschichte] meinen Lesern nur halb soviel Vergnügen machen, nur halb soviel Unterhaltung gewähren, als das bei Kalabriens und Siziliens Bewohnern, als es bei Florentinern und Römern der Fall ist, so wird man das Buch nicht unbefriedigt aus den Händen legen. Das ist es, was ich wünsche!. (7, Preface)<sup>219</sup>

The Preface does not indicate any goal to instruct, as do many Romantic outlaw narratives and Enlightenment criminal narratives, and the entire structure of the novel—beginning *in medias res* with Rinaldini already an outlaw—reflects its primary goal of *Unterhaltung*. Entertainment is what is important, thus the outlaw's fall into crime is deemphasized, added in briefly as an afterthought or to appease the reader's curiosity. One effect of this omission is the reduced level of sympathy the reader is able to feel for the character. We do not see Rinaldini develop or decline; we do not see his history, but instead are presented only with a flat figure through whom we can vicariously experience some adventures.

#### 4. Sympathetic Condemnation of Rinaldini the Noble Outlaw

The focus in the novel on plot and entertainment rather than on Rinaldini's character tends to diminish potential emotional attachment to Rinaldini and thus to the story as a whole. And despite the fact that the entire novel is about Rinaldini and the entire plot centered on him, the focus on Rinaldini remains fixed only on the external Rinaldini, comprising his words and actions, rather than an internal Rinaldini, comprising his thoughts. When we do learn his thoughts, they are always externalized

<sup>218</sup> Rinaldini does not become an outlaw due to bad circumstances [or, impetus] like Karl Moor or Abaellino but due to lack of self-control (Simanowski 344).

<sup>219</sup> One reviewer in 1800 affirms the novel's entertainment value, saying that Rinaldo Rinaldini "eine angenehme Unterhaltung gewährt" and that the novel will bring the reader "Vergnügen" (Rev. of Rinaldo Rinaldini 35).

through conversations—and a few times via dramatic monologue or asides. This contrasts with, for instance, the portrayal of Karl Moor, where much attention is focused upon his thoughts (though also externalized because of the dramatic form). The limited access into Rinaldini diminishes the opportunity for developing sympathy for him.

The psychology of the character is not the focus, as it is with Karl Moor and Christian Wolf (and Michael Kohlhaas in a different way). But the lack of opportunity for sympathy in some modes of portrayal is compensated for in others. For instance, the constant focus on Rinaldini does tend to make us want to identify with him. We do not get an inside view of his psyche, but we do see him alone and accompany him in his travels: “the sustained inside view leads the reader to hope for good fortune for the character with whom he travels, quite independently of the qualities revealed” (Booth 246). Furthermore, it is clear that we are encouraged by the narrative to feel sympathy for Rinaldini. Rinaldini is immediately presented as a character worthy of our attention and our sympathy. Vulpius presents a mournful ballad, sung by Rinaldini’s beloved: “Ja, ich find’ ihn, meinen Lieben; / Seine Stimme hör’ ich schon” (7, Preface). The novel becomes an invitation to hear Rinaldini’s voice, to hear his story and view him as a human being rather than simply as a criminal—“Wollen wir sie [seine Stimme] nicht auch hören?”, the narrator asks (7, Preface). We see this same orientation, beginning early in the 1700s, in other criminal narratives. Early English criminal accounts were essentially gallows speeches, spoken by the convicted themselves in their own voice. Schiller’s poem “Die Kindsmörderin” (1782), portraying a woman telling her story, draws on this tradition, and his “Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” gives us much of Christian Wolf’s story in first person—in his own voice. This was important in the *Newgate Calendar* as well, which, as a mixed genre, included, if not an autobiographical narrative, at least bits of the narrative that did represent the criminal’s voice, such as letters or speeches by the criminal.

Sympathy is also created for Rinaldini, to a small degree, by both an explicit narrator and by the implicit narrator who fixes the narrative structure. As in Kleist’s

Michael Kohlhaas, the narrator does not normally inject himself into the narrative by sharing opinions of events or entering into reflective or subjective digressions. However, in the few times that his voice does emerge, the narrator is sympathetic to his subject matter. Of the robbers in general, he speaks highly of their fighting skill in battle, suggesting them as heroes: “Wären sie keine Räuber gewesen, man hätte sie, wie sie kämpften, Helden nennen müssen” (152). Also, like most of the other outlaws in this study, the portrayal of Rinaldini maintains a narrative distance which keeps the reader from actually seeing him commit violent acts or perform criminal deeds. Like Pushkin’s *Dubrovsky*, we do not see him commit violent acts until the very end, and even these are not crimes but usually self-defense. We follow Rinaldini through non-violent acts and, significantly, through his disguises. The reader always knows that Rinaldini is Rinaldini and thus participates in each of Rinaldini’s roles—never falls victim to them. This is important in aligning the reader with the protagonist, for by showing most of the story through a character’s eyes, the author ensures we shall travel with the character and not stand against him (Booth 245). The foundation of sympathy that is enabled in the narrative makes the portrayal of Rinaldini as noble outlaw possible.

Simanowski states that Christian August Vulpius does not construct Rinaldini as the prototype of the noble outlaw (343, 349), but Wolfgang Vulpius describes him as a noble outlaw and also compares him to a milder Karl Moor (Simanowski 343). The noble character of Rinaldini is emphasized from the very beginning and reiterated throughout the novel. In the very first scene of the novel, Altaverda insists that Rinaldini, though an outlaw, has performed noble deeds that exceed those performed by the noblest of men (non-outlaws): “Du hast Dinge getan, um die dich die edelsten Menschen beneiden müssen” (11). But while Rinaldini performs deeds worthy of admiration, the idea of a noble outlaw also implies the performance of illegal and ignoble deeds. Central to any outlaw narrative that deals with the ironic and oxymoronic concept of the noble outlaw (or *edler Räuber*) is the relationship of the “noble” and the “outlaw” components which can exist simultaneously in a single

human being. Altaverda and Rinaldini discuss whether the worth of a man can be determined by these individual components or if the whole of a man's deeds must be taken into account. Altaverda argues the former, claiming that even an evil being—the devil—can act nobly: “Der Teufel selbst kann edel handeln” (11). Rinaldini expresses a more Kantian view. Kant, in Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft betrachtet (1793), implies, with his either-or perspective—that either a good principle or a bad principle must exist—that it is not an individual action which is evil but the entire human being. Rinaldini, in a lamentful and self-deprecating tone, insists that his bad deeds overshadow any good deeds and that noble and ignoble acts cannot be divorced from each other: “Wer ein unedles Gewerbe treibt, kann nebenbei kein edles treiben” (11). The novel does not explore this issue further but seems to adopt Altaverda's perspective by highlighting the “noble” and de-emphasizing the “outlaw” aspects of Rinaldini's character.

It is precisely this tension between these good and bad aspects which caused one reviewer of Rinaldo Rinaldini to describe Rinaldini thus: “Sein Charakter ist ein Gewebe von Großmuth und Schande, Edelthaten und Verbrechen, Menschlichkeit und Unmenschlichkeit” (Rev. of Rinaldo Rinaldini 36; qtd. in Dainat 10-1). Like the “good fellow” discussed in the context of Robin Hood games, who was at once a taker and a giver, a threat and a vessel of charity, the character of Rinaldini consists of contradictions and ambiguities. He pretends to rob people, then really does rob them, then promises them safe passage to Florence (39-41).

One of these contradictions, usually found in the noble outlaw captain, such as Rinaldini, Karl Moor, and briefly in Michael Kohlhaas, is the insistence on laws within his band while disregarding the laws of society at large. In a societal role reversal, the outlaw becomes the law. As leader of the robber band, Rinaldini also serves as the executive, legislative, and judiciary head of the outlaw society, performing duties such as swearing individuals into the society and pronouncing judgment according to their laws. Vulpius thematizes in several places the role of law in this sub-society.

The apprehension and trial of Paolo illustrates the robber band system of rough justice. When six of Rinaldini's men attempt to rob the old Donato, Rinaldini intercedes and condemns the act. Playing the role of inquisitor, he demands to know who instigated the attack: "Wer war der Schurke? Nennt ihn mir, oder ich schieße den ersten nieder, der vor mir steht" (20). Paolo is named, and Rinaldini punishes him on the spot with a gunshot to the arm: "Ohne ein Wort zu sprechen, schoß Rinaldo" (27). He then cites their laws and appoints a time for trial: "Ihr kennt unsere Gesetze; ihr wißt, was ihr getan und verdient habt....Erwartet mich und eure Strafe morgen" (27). The laws that Rinaldini refers to are not only well-known, but codified in a written and numbered form: "Lies den fünften und sechsten Punkt unserer Gesetze laut vor" (31). This kind of codification indicates the importance of law within the band and the clarity with which Rinaldini views the role of law in maintaining his society. These laws occur as formal declarations of allegiance, codified written precepts with swift and specific punishments, or *ad hoc* edicts against robbing the poor: "Gegen arme Wanderer und Klausner aber empfehle ich euch nochmals Schonung. Jede Plünderung dieser Art bestrafe ich mit dem Leben, wie ihr wißt" (75). By following these codes of conduct, Rinaldini states explicitly his desire to endow his inherently ignoble profession as robber with some semblance of nobility: "Der Arme ist ohnehin unglücklich. Auch empfehle ich euch Schonung der Weiber, Kinder und Greise. Als Männer laßt uns auftreten und gebt eurem Handwerk so viel Edles, als es ihm zu geben möglich ist" (483). Showing concern for the lowly of society, the code of Rinaldini's band calls for beneficent measures in the context of criminal acts. When such internal noble laws are broken, the punishment is harsh. Law, in the band and in society at large, is the only method to maintain order.<sup>220</sup> The very existence of these formalized

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<sup>220</sup> Rinaldini is initially an enforcer of these laws but still subject to the laws himself. However, during this scene, early in the novel, the band members motion for Rinaldini to become the law-maker as well, empowering him with the authority to grant mercy to Paolo. The initial cries of the band for mercy—"Gnade! Gnade!! –Gnade für Paolo" (31)—are met by Rinaldini first with silence and then an insistence on the law: "Ich stehe, wie ihr, unter dem Gesetz...und kann ihn nicht begnadigen" (31). Illustrating the significance of the law for Rinaldini and the band, this scene also demonstrates shortcomings in the strict application of law. The band calls for an exception to Rinaldini's status as equal among them under the law: "Du sollst nicht mehr unter dem Gesetze stehen.... Du sollst Gesetzgeber sein und Gnade erteilen

laws add to Rinaldini's character, if not noble legitimacy to his actions, then at least evidence of his basically civilized nature and noble desire for an orderly (sub)society.

Paired with the noble desire to protect the disadvantaged of society and the noble requirement for the institution of law is the harsh application of this law. Rinaldini's role as judge in the novel is ambiguous and not always consistent. In addition to harshness, his role as judge can also be characterized by arbitrariness and emotion. In the Paolo scene, he formally assigns an hour of judgment and refers to an outlaw code of law, but only after he has shot Paolo in the arm—an act driven apparently by anger, not by “law”. He grants Paolo mercy, but makes the exceptional nature of the pardon clear: “Daß dieser Fall der erste und letzte ist, in welchem ich bei solchen Betragen begnadige” (32). We witness temperate moments in Rinaldini's role as judge, such as when he forgives the confessed traitor Lodovico (145) and when he asks Luigino for the release of Olimpia and the Captain (232-3). But we also see very swift and uncompromising punishment. His punishment of Baron Rovezzo, including the plundering of his castle and his castration—portrays Rinaldini in a not-so-noble light as judge. Baron Rovezzo is a villain and deserving of punishment, but the harshness of Rinaldini's sentence departs from the realm of nobleness. His sentence echoes thus:

“Diesen Burschen...züchtigt bis aufs Blut mit den schärfsten Geißelhieben. Diesen Franzosen und den Sizilianer jagt ein paarmal Spießbruten auf und ab. . . . Aber diesen zweiten Franzosen geschehe es grausam.” Der zum Eunuch bestimmte Franzose lamentierte schrecklich; es blieb aber bei dem Befehl. (91-2)

This episode illustrates that the harshness Rinaldini exhibits as judge cannot be predicted based on a set of moral or other codes. It does not seem to matter whether the

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können” (31). Rinaldini's appointment as “Gesetzgeber” introduces mercy into the robbers' quasi-legal proceedings. Although not developed in the novel, this appointment not only enables him to grant mercy, it further isolates him, the leader, from his band. By placing him in a separate sphere, law becomes a separator of men, mimicking, perhaps, the divide in larger society between the ruled and the rulers. Rinaldini can no longer say, “Ich stehe, wie ihr, unter dem Gesetz.”

law consists of codified precepts or implicit expectations of noble behavior. It does not seem to matter if one is inside or outside the band. He punishes Rovezzo, who is outside the band, without reference to codified law but only by a questionable application of natural law.

Rinaldini exhibits this same harshness when punishing two new recruits to the band who are caught attempting to rob Rosa.<sup>221</sup> Actively participating and delegating, Rinaldini shows vigor for the pseudo-legal process but regret for the outcome. In his discussion with Cintio, Rinaldini actively ensures that the law remains a focal point of the trial:

“Kennen [die Neulinge] aber doch unsere Gesetze?”

“Die sind ihnen vorgelesen worden.”

“Und sie haben sie beschworen, Cintio?”

“Das haben sie, Hauptmann!” (72)

Having broken the band’s laws, the new recruits are immediately executed: “Sie [Die Räuber] packten die Unglücklichen, führten sie hinaus, stellten sie an den Baum und bliesen ihnen mit acht Kugeln das Lebenlicht aus” (73). While it is in fact Cintio who carries out the execution order (“Stellt diese Nichtswürdigen an den Baum dort und schießt sie nieder” [73]), Rinaldini is not only present but signifies the presiding authority. Dutifully fulfilling his role as judge, he is the one who ensures that the robbers had been read the laws and had sworn to uphold them. When the application of the laws rolls unmercifully forward, he retreats, apparently with distaste and sublime regret: “Dieser Vorfall bewog Rinaldo, die Klause zu verlassen” (73). Though in a harsh environment, the final and overall impression is of Rinaldini’s noble character and moral sense.

Just as the reader’s view of Rinaldini is split between the harsh Rinaldini and the sensitive Rinaldini, so too is the reaction of characters in the story to Rinaldini the

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<sup>221</sup> Dainat outlines three reasons for the difficulty of the noble captain reforming the ignoble band members: (1) some can only get so far past their wildness; (2) new members don’t know the rules; (3) increased codification makes rules harder to remember (Abaellino, 225-7).

robber. Unlike many outlaw narratives, the portrayal of Rinaldini does not benefit from the sympathetic support of common folk. He is feared, verbally condemned, and abused—and nearly all references to him by peasants, common townspeople, and ordinary citizens are negative:

“Oh, der schlechte Kerl!” seufzte die Wirtin.

“Den Gott züchtigen und verdammen möge!” sagte feierlich der Kapuziner.

“Der seinen Lohn gewiß noch bekommen wird!” fiel Annetta ein. (389)

The dominant sentiment favors punishing and capturing this criminal—keeping him far removed from society, either by imprisonment or death. One woman states her desire to have Rinaldini captured: “Man sollte Truppen gegen den Beutelschneider ausschicken” (40). Later, another citizen, a lawyer, shows no sympathy in his apparent desire for the same: “...Nur Geduld!....[Truppen] werden ihn umringen, von allen Seiten angreifen und ganz gewiß vernichten” (97). And a farmer expresses satisfaction when believing Rinaldini to be dead: “Freilich ist’s gut. Der Spitzbube hatte schon längst den Galgen verdient....Aber zum Teufel wird der Lumpenkerl doch gefahren sein.... Er ist ja ohne Absolution in seinen verfluchten Sünden gestorben” (46).

A monk, appropriately, verbalizes the harshest moral condemnation of Rinaldini.<sup>222</sup> Disguised, Rinaldini suggests to the monk that Rinaldini and his band could be pardoned and welcomed back into society. Rejecting this idea outright, the monk declares that such criminals are not fit to be *buried* next to good Christians, much less to *live* next to them:

Wer wollte mit solchen Spitzbubenvolke in einer Gesellschaft leben?

Man kann ja einen frommen Christen mit gutem Gewissen nicht einmal neben einen solchen Galgenstrick begraben, geschweige denn, daß man ihm sollte zumuten können, neben und mit ihm zu leben. – Nein! damit ist es nichts. – Ihre Sünden kann man diesen Verworfenen allenfalls in

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<sup>222</sup> Similarly, religious figures in *Die Räuber* (the priest) and *Michael Kohlhaas* (Luther) are the most vehement in their condemnation.

der Todesstunde vergeben, wenn sie sich zu Gott bekehren, aber hängen müssen sie ohne Gnade. Sterben sie in ihren Sünden und ohne Absolution, so mag sie der Teufel holen. - Gemeinschaft aber kann man mit solchen Gesindel nicht haben.... [sic]" (81-2)

Here, the monk emphasizes the imperative of the outlaw's alienation, and his condemnation of Rinaldini is charged with hard-line morals focusing on the religious aspects of crime—sin. Ironically, the harshness of the monk toward Rinaldini resembles Rinaldini's harshness in condemning the two new recruits to his band. Rinaldini displays no consciousness of this, and the text does not call attention to it, but the monk's insistence on law enforcement and the necessity of inevitable punishment for the good of society reflects Rinaldini's insistence on enforcement and punishment for transgression within the band.

Rejection of Rinaldini's deeds is also voiced by non-clergy when the disguised Rinaldini tries to defend his criminal existence by indicating that Rinaldini does not actually do the robbing himself ("Er selbst soll aber nicht stehlen")—an argument suggested in *Die Räuber*. A herdsman ("Maultiertreiber") meets this suggestion with moral tenacity: "Aber er läßt stehlen. Das ist gleich" (288). Likewise, Rinaldini's Robin-Hood-like beneficence is rejected with moral condemnation:

"Er soll aber wohltätig sein," meinte Rinaldo.

"Mitunter. Aber, hol ihn der Teufel mit seiner Wohltätigkeit! Erst stiehlt er es, hernach verschenkt er's....Segne mir Gott mein redlich erworbenes Stückchen Brot." (288)

The herdsman's hard line works to dispel the myth of the noble outlaw. Thus, while Vulpius evokes noble outlaw themes and motifs, he problematizes some of these themes as well. The herdsman rejects any good consequences resulting from a criminal life and praises the virtue of the honest act itself, even if the reward is more modest.

In keeping with Vulpius's tendency to provide two sides, the herdsman, while asserting his own honest ways, also seems to feel sadness in Rinaldini's sinful ways: "Redlich gelebt und selig gestorben, das ist das beste. Bei Rinaldini heißt es aber:

fröhlich gelebt und traurig gestorben” (288). Also, with a tinge of pity, he speaks of Rinaldini not as a criminal but as a human being: “Er hat ganz sicher einen Pakt mit dem Bösen....Aber er ist doch ein unglücklicher Mensch” (288).

One villager is moved to say: “Schade, ewig schade! daß er seine Verstandeskräfte und seine Tapferkeit nicht besser anwandte!” (67). Celebratory sympathy for the outlaw is not expressed—his criminal deeds are denounced with as much fervor as the monk’s—but religious sympathy for the human soul emerges. Rinaldini, hearkening back to the moralistic outlaw narratives earlier in the eighteenth century, is portrayed in these moments not as a noble outlaw but as a wretched creature to be pitied. This pity and religious sympathy swells to purely subjective proportions during the song of a “Bänkelsänger,” who, in the disguised Rinaldini’s presence, sings about a dying, repentant Rinaldini. He interrupts his song with the Christian admonition: “Laßt uns, o laßt uns, gute Christen, ein Vaterunser beten für den armen beichtenden Rinaldini” (65). What proves most interesting in this scene is not that the folk feels this sympathy for Rinaldini but that they construct a repentant Rinaldini not found in the narrative. This song depicts a devoted Rinaldini uttering expressions such as “Ach! wär’ doch hier ein Priester!” (65) and “Ach! Jungfrau, reine, / Du unbefleckte Magd!” (66). Although Rinaldini never expresses publicly such devotion, the folk—without knowing him—seems to intuit his similar, though less religiously charged, feelings and project them in exaggerated form. Rinaldini does in fact exhibit a melancholy penitence and piety—even a desire for prayer—but only in a few isolated references. (For example, after hearing Rosa pray, he sighs: “Gott, lehre mich wieder so herzlich beten, wie ich es in meiner Jugend konnte” [189]).<sup>223</sup> But this is not a dominant or publicly visible aspect of his character.

The mix of condemnation and sympathy is even more prevalent among members of the upper class, with whom Rinaldini spends most of his time. Whereas the sympathy of the lower class for Rinaldini is based on religious sensibilities for a

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<sup>223</sup> He also mentions prayer after paying the debt of a poor man: “Lebe denkbar gegen Gott und bete für mich” (517).

fellow soul, the sympathy expressed by Rinaldini's upper class acquaintances is based on a humanistic—not religious—sympathy for a fellow human being. Those in the upper class experience Rinaldini with even greater ambivalence than their plebian and clerical counterparts. Like them, they condemn the robber captain who threatens their safety. Laura's father, for instance, fears Rinaldini's presence and sees no good in him (ironically, while speaking to him): "Es wäre verzweifelt schlimm, wenn dieser ungebetene Gast in unsern Tälern hausen sollte. Ich werde alle meine Leute bewaffnen" (199). Almost all the upper-class citizens he meets have no sympathy when he is a distant abstract figure defined by his deeds alone. However, they like the disguised Rinaldini that they actually meet, inviting him to parties and social functions, but often without knowing his true identity. Even when they do learn his identity, he retains their loyalty. Olimpia's friend knows Rinaldini's identity but will not reveal it, for she is glad to be in his company (158-9).

Whether or not they meet him (or know that they do), Vulpius presents the ambivalence, often in the context of the salon, with someone representing one opinion—that Rinaldini is a terrible figure—and others mollifying this image with a more humanistically sympathetic view. During a party discussion about Rinaldini, Laura represents the anti-Rinaldini position, believing that he, a common criminal, is celebrated more than he deserves: "Laura meinte, der Straßenräuber sei viel zu ehrenvoll gestorben, er hätte sein Leben auf dem Rade beschließen müssen" (167). The *Gräfin* represents the pro-Rinaldini position, asserting his greatness and suggesting that only circumstances were against him: "Die Gräfin dagegen sagte, Rinaldini sei doch ein großer Mann gewesen, der nur an der Spitze eines Heeres hätte stehen müssen, um sich eines ewigen Nachruhms zu versichern" (167).

This polemic is also found in a single person—the herdsman once again. In addition to his pity, the herdsman also oscillates between condemnation and fascination: "Kurz, es ist kein gutes Haar an ihm. Aber ein toller Kerl ist und bleibt er doch" (288-9). Like the monk, he condemns the bad aspects of Rinaldini, yet, like the *Gräfin*, he is also intrigued by the outlaw's "greatness"—his ability to elude capture,

for instance. In one breath he condemns him; in the other, he wants to see him with his own eyes: “Reif für die Galgen ist er schon längst gewesen. Sehen möchte ich ihn gern einmal” (289). In a similar way, Donato, while expressing fright and abhorrence in Rinaldini’s presence<sup>224</sup> and forbidding him from seeing Aurelia, simultaneously harbors an unexpressed pity or sympathy for the outlaw. We find out later not only that Donato himself is a kind of outlaw—an exile from Rome (61-3)—but that he has apparently spoken favorably about Rinaldini to Ermina’s father (538).

One of the most sympathetic opinions of Rinaldini is expressed by the Baron, Ermina’s father: “Ich habe...Mitleid mit Rinaldini. Er hat, wie man erzählt, auch eine sehr großmütige Seite gehabt und ist gegen Arme freundlich gewesen. Das ist es, was mir an ihm gefallen hat!” (537). It is also significant that Rinaldini breaks from the typical pattern in Romantic outlaw narratives, which usually has the common folk express the most sympathy. The upper class houses the sympathy, and because of this, there is also no anti-establishment tendency or ignoble citizen figure to create a tension of class. Instead, the sympathetic focus is at a very human and spiritual level, without any political or social overtones.

The variety of ambivalences towards Rinaldini is fascinating for their portrayal of many possible reactions to the outlaw. Simanowski points out that the inclination of the salon characters to desire the dangerous without actually being in danger reflects the very act of reading the novel: the reader of Rinaldo Rinaldini finds himself in exactly the same position (305). Rinaldini’s state as an outlaw is clear, but we see here an emphasis on this outlaw as “noble” in his behavior, his acts, and his sensibility. In the following paragraphs we will see examples of these elements which render Rinaldini a fascinating and sympathetic figure.

Rinaldini possesses that greatness necessary of a protagonist leader in an outlaw narrative. Lodovico explains his unique greatness thus, identifying Rinaldini’s ability to seize the moment: “Hauptmann! Du hast eine Geistesgegenwart, die dir ganz allein

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<sup>224</sup> “Dein Name allein ist schon furchtbar, und du selbst bist schrecklich. Deine Tat hier vor meinen Augen füllt mein Herz mit Schrecken und Entsetzen” (27-8).

eigen ist....Glück hast du auch, wie keiner es hat, das ist nicht zu leugnen, aber die Augenblicke kannst du nutzen, wie keiner sie faßt! Das ist es eben, was dich so groß macht!” (406). Rinaldini’s leadership shines in non-robber activities such as organizing his troops for battle, looking for lost band members, and boosting band morale. In a scene where he deploys the band in the area, we see his ability to lead men:

“Girolamo! Hier gebe ich dir einen Befehl.... Dich, Fiorilla, schicke ich nach Bibliena....Nikolo und Sebastiano durchstreifen die Waldungen zu Bosina. Dir, Amadeo, empfehle ich die Wälder bei Anghiarto.

Altaverda nimmt sechs bis acht Mann zu sich.... (32)

Rinaldini displays his leadership when, as unrest and lack of food and money plague the band, he distributes money to pacify the men and plans a play to keep them occupied: “Hier sind zweihundert Zechinen. Diese will ich den Burschen schenken. Beschäftigung sollen sie auch bekommen” (73). His leadership is based on a mutual arrangement of respect and loyalty. Willing to take risks to rescue his comrades, Rinaldini sets out at least twice to find (60-1) or to rescue other band members from capture or jail (94). Likewise, his band members are devoted to their leader: “Für einen solchen Mann läßt man sich mit Vergnügen totschiagen!” (406).<sup>225</sup>

Another aspect of Rinaldini’s noble character is his manners. Throughout the novel, his existence toggles between the wild space of the robber and this high society of upstanding (and not so upstanding) citizens. Despite his real identity as a robber captain and his association with the wild space of robbery and killing, Rinaldini masters this high society of Messina, Cagliari, and elsewhere, conducting himself with courtesy and politeness. In Messina he is introduced to a society of “Prinzen, Grafen,

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<sup>225</sup> The oath of loyalty the robbers make to Rinaldini—“Blut und Leben für dich, Hauptmann! Treue bis in den Tod” (19)—is strongly reminiscent of Schiller’s *Die Räuber*: “Wir schwören dir Treu und Gehorsam bis in den Tod” (1.2; p.33) (“We swear loyalty and obedience to you till death!” [49]). This ritual of allegiance swearing is repeated near the end of the novel when Rinaldini assumes leadership of a band of robbers whose captain has been imprisoned: “Ich nehme euch hiermit alle zu Kameraden an und ihr schwört mir, als eurem Hauptmann, Treue, Folgsamkeit und Gehorsam meinen Gesetzen, die ich von mir erhalten werdet....Wer mit mir leben will, muß mit mir fechten, muß mit mir sterben können” (482-3).

Gräfinnen und Baroninnen” and impresses people with his appearance and his manners: “Man gestand sich, der Ritter [Rinaldini in disguise] sei ein schöner Mann, und die Herren fanden einen sehr artigen, weitgereisten Kavalier in ihm” (157). He is able to answer their many inquiries “zu allgemeiner Zufriedenheit,” so that the guests have no inkling of Rinaldini’s true identity: “sich nicht träumen ließen, einen so verrufenen Räuberhauptmann in ihrem illustren Zirkel zu sehen” (157). Violanta, not knowing his identity, describes Rinaldini as having “nichts Räubermäßiges an sich” (276). And Laura tells of Rinaldini’s nobleness to the disguised Rinaldini—“schilderte Rinaldos großmütige Aufopferung, ohne zu ahnen, wem sie diese erzählte” (392).

Rinaldini displays not only good manners and courtesy throughout the novel, he performs small acts of kindness as well as heroic rescues and interventions. He gives money to those in need, nurses people back to health, and serves as caregiver. Drawing on the Robin Hood motif of stealing from the rich and giving to the poor, Rinaldini occasionally engages in the redistribution of wealth by passing his stolen proceeds from the wealthy to the deserving poor. For instance, Rinaldini offers money to the poor Donato: “Ich möchte gern eine gute Tat tun...Nimm diese Börse” (16). Evoking the Robin Hood motif more explicitly, Rinaldini suggests robbing some wealthy monks whom he sees ignoring a surrounding throng of peasants:

Die armen Kalabresen drängten sich an diese Mönche...Und so groß der heilige Warenvorrat dieser Herren auch war, so wenig schien er doch hinreichend zu sein, die herbeiströmende Menge zu befriedigen.

“Dieses Geld,” murmelte Rinaldo, “sollen die fetten Herren nicht mit nach Hause nehmen!” (147-8)

In addition to giving the poor money, Rinaldini’s altruism extends to performing acts of genuine kindness. After Donato is almost robbed, Rinaldini stays with the old man during the night and stands ready to serve him in the morning: “Kann ich dir nützlich sein?” (28). Rinaldini performs such acts not only with a sense of inner ethics but, occasionally, with religious overtones. For instance, recalling the teachings of Christ and portraying himself as an instrument of God, he offers a poor old man

money to pay his debts: “Er [Gott] will dir helfen. Durch mich. Hier sind dreißig Dukaten” (517). Rinaldini performs other noble deeds of self-sacrifice, uncharacteristic of one leading a robber’s life. When Rinaldini discovers that Prinz Roccella and Aurelia are accused of conspiracy with him, he offers to turn himself in to save them: “So will ich mich der Obrigkeit selbst überliefern” (98).

The noble intentions of Rinaldini the outlaw are often highlighted by showing him intervene during robbery attacks or rescue innocent victims. When Rinaldini overhears plans to abduct the girl Erminia, he disguises himself and his robber companions, escorts Erminia and her parents, and thwarts the plan by fending off the potential abductors (529-31). He rescues Donato from robbers of his own band (26) and halts Luigino’s robber-band attack of the castle outside Messina by declaring—“Ich bin Rinaldini!”—and by offering the robbers money to go in peace (215-20). With dramatic, compelling authority, Rinaldini emerges as a savior figure with a voice of thunder (“mit donnernder Stimme”). When rescuing Donato, his entrance is thus described: Er zog eine Pistole und rief mit donnernder Stimme: “Was wollt ihr hier?” (26). Similarly, when he interrupts Luigino’s band, he calls out: “‘Haltet an!’ schrie ihnen mit donnernder Stimme entgegen. ‘Wer seid ihr und was wollt ihr?’” (217). In his various rescues of women, Rinaldini possesses a noble sense of knightly duty, or “Ritterpflicht”. Taking his own personal honor for granted, he articulates this noble imperative when explaining the risking of his life to save Erminia: “Jeder Mann von Ehre würde getan haben, was ich tat....Für eine Dame zu kämpfen, ist Ritterpflicht” (532). Rinaldini rescues Erminia from robbers, Violanta from a dungeon (189-91), and other women from unwanted, arranged marriages. He asks Laura’s father to forego an arranged marriage and let Laura marry whom she wants: “Gebt Laura den Mann, den sie liebt” (221). Similarly, he bids the Marquis Reali to allow Maria to marry according to her will: “Maria Aldonza wünscht ihren Nicolo heiraten zu dürfen” (490). Perhaps as a result of his own inability to marry and form meaningful enduring relationships with women, Rinaldini feels the need to assist others in fulfillment of this desire.

### Noble Outlaw vs. Ignoble Outlaw and Citizen

As mentioned, part of Rinaldo Rinaldini's flatness is its lack of an arch-villain and thematic development of an oppressive establishment, political system or dominating lord. There is no Franz Moor or Gessler. Unlike many of the other works portraying a noble outlaw, the sympathetic image of Rinaldini is not accentuated by contrasting him with a villainous opponent, despite the few incidental bad guys that enter the narrative and then recede. For instance, a few jabs are made at the religious establishment, but these do not emerge as themes or play a role in Rinaldini's consciousness. We also have the thread running through the novel of the Corsica rebellion, but this thread is thin indeed and is not really developed as a theme of freedom or liberation. Some discussion of law (the band's *Gesetze*) emerges but no allusion to society's laws needing reforming or to class oppression. The outlaw protagonist does not fall victim to injustice or battle against any real or imagined entity that helps cast him in a more positive light. With no central opponent or ideal to fight for, the image of Rinaldini cannot be built up via a series of contrasts with his opponents as in other outlaw texts. Nevertheless, his nobleness is highlighted by contrasting him with those around him. Although the most emphasis in his depiction is placed on his courtesy, his reluctance for gratuitous violence, and his constant rendering of aid in stereo-typical Robin-Hood fashion, the common contrastive elements between noble outlaw and both ignoble outlaw and ignoble citizen do exist.

The contrast with the ignoble outlaw serves mainly to broaden the concept of outlaw by presenting a moral spectrum of outlaws. Rinaldini stands at the high moral end of this spectrum. Rinaldini's band members as a whole—especially those robbers that are named, such as Cintio and Lodovico—are portrayed as noble in their loyalty and adherence to the band's moral code. The ignoble outlaws—those outside Rinaldini's band or those who break the band's laws—are the exception. Outside his band, Batistello, another bandit chieftain, duels unfairly and dishonorably with Rinaldini, fighting and—we assume—murdering everyone in the castle. Rinaldini

decries his ignoble nature as he finally shoots him in a duel, calling out “Nichtswürdiger!” (57). Often, the contrast of Rinaldini and other outlaws takes the form of intervention or rescue—resulting in the nullification of the robber acts. For instance, when leaving a castle with Lodovico, Rinaldini rescues a carriage from a band of brigands (195-8), and when the castle is attacked by robbers (Luigino’s band), he intercedes, warning them with “Ich bin Rinaldini” and pacifying them with money (217). He even finds himself fending off his own band, as when he overpowers two new recruits in their attempt to rob his companion Rosa (71). Such undoing or nullifying of the work of his own men is not uncommon. When they steal Prinz della Rocella’s animals, Rinaldini rectifies his band’s ignoble deeds by offering him a ring (68); and when six of his men try to rob Donato, he intercedes and condemns the act: “Sind das eure Heldentaten?...Schändet ihr meinen Namen mit solchen Handlungen?” (26).

Although many of Rinaldini’s robbers are portrayed as sharing some degree of Rinaldini’s nobility, the sympathetic image of Rinaldini is further highlighted by the implicit assumption that other outlaws are ignoble by nature and must constantly be guided by Rinaldini, their noble leader. When sending them off on a robbing mission, Rinaldini stands out from them not only in his non-participation but also in his admonitions to avoid spilling blood (“Und—wenn ihr Blut schonen könnt...” [14]) and robbing the poor: “Gegen arme Wanderer und Klausner aber empfehle ich euch nochmals Schonung” (75).<sup>226</sup> After the mission, unlike his robber comrades, he shows no interest in the booty and asks “mit ernster Stimme” if any blood was shed: “Sind Menschen dabei umgekommen?” (18). In contrast, the band members answer affirmatively without emotion or feeling: “‘Alle drei Treiber,’ sagte Girolamo ungerührt” (18). Karl Moor is portrayed similarly, as when he recoils in 2.3 at Schweitzer’s and Schufterle’s bragging about plunderous deeds such as ransacking a

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<sup>226</sup> Another example of Rinaldini’s mercy toward the poor is the following: “Ich bin nicht gesonnen...euch auf die Straßen zu schicken, um armen Wanderer ihre paar Zehrfennige abzupressen” (146).

church and killing babies. In the captain-band contrast, Rinaldini is portrayed as the noblest outlaw of this often noble band of outlaws and is set apart from all other outlaws in his level of ethical awareness, manners, and consciousness of guilt.

The theme of the noble outlaw is further underlined several times in the novel by contrasting the outlaw Rinaldini with his non-outlaw counterparts—citizens belonging to society and recognized by society as noble in station and birth. The contrast of noble outlaw and ignoble citizen is important for exposing the weaknesses and superstitions of society with regard to class, morality, and legal status. Through this contrast, the concept of “noble” is broadened and the myth of hereditary nobility is debunked. This contrastive potential is not exploited as in other outlaw narratives but only hinted at on a few occasions, such as in allusions to the idea that one’s thoughts and behavior, not one’s birth or social station, are what makes one “noble” (“edel”) and what determines a true *Edelmann* (207).

The ignoble citizen figure surfaces briefly (covering about ten pages) during Rinaldini’s conflict with Baron Rovezzo. Baron Rovezzo—the closest thing to a villain in the novel—is a cruel, dominating husband who cheats on his wife and mocks her lowly birth (84-6). Rinaldini, enraged at her treatment, challenges Rovezzo to a duel, who then threatens him with his men rather than face him himself. This highlights the noble courage of Rinaldini, an outlaw, with the cowardice of Rovezzo, a baron and noble member of society. The narrator, using the voice of Aurelia as she describes her husband and his companions, underscores the fact that nobility at the turn of the eighteenth century is no longer a birthright but must be earned by noble behavior: “Sie nennen sich Edelleute, aber das sind sie gewiß nicht” (86). In the conflict that ensues, we see the dual nature of the outlaw—Rinaldini is unquestionably noble in wanting to rescue the woman, but his nobility falters in his means—much like Michael Kohlhaas’s—which consist of revenge and killing. After taking the Baron’s castle by stealth with 61 of his men, Rinaldini plays a not-so-noble role as judge and has the Baron castrated while the castle is plundered (92). Thereafter, again assuming the noble role, he gallantly escorts Aurelia to Kloster bei Montamara.

In addition to the villain Baron Rovezzo, Rinaldini also encounters a handful of other “noble” citizens whose underhandedness and greed cast Rinaldini in a more positive light. In their attempts to blackmail Rinaldini by threatening to expose his identity, both Olimpia and the Captain display ignoble greed:

“Auch habt Ihr den Kapitän zu fürchten. Ihr seid sein sicherstes Kapital in Neapel. Weiß er sich einmal gar nicht mehr zu retten, so greift er Euch wie einen Sparpfennig an und macht Euch zu Geld. Auf dieser Spekulation des Kapitäns allein beruht Eure bisherige Sicherheit. Ihr seid sein Notpfennig. – Jetzt komme ich ihm zuvor. Ich greife den Schatz an....” (136)

As he himself states at the beginning of the novel, Rinaldini is an outlaw with a price on his head: “Ein hoher Preis steht auf meinem Kopfe” (19). He is viewed by many, both wealthy citizen and lowly gypsy, as a financial commodity—a “Notpfennig,” as Olimpia says (136). When gypsies show their desire to collect the reward money by turning Rinaldini in—“Mir geht er viel an! Wenigstens ein paar tausend Zechinen!” (49)—our expectations are not challenged, for the gypsies, like Rinaldini, are outcasts; and any outcast, peasant, or even poor citizen can be expected to desire the reward money. However, when we see the greed and treachery of esteemed and supposedly noble citizens exposed, the reader experiences a reversal of the concept of “nobility”. In their attempts to extort money from Rinaldini, Olimpia and “der Kapitän” take advantage of their position and circumvent the accepted societal process of collecting the reward money—a predetermined sum for everyone—and instead demand a sum of money dictated by their own greed: “tausend Dukaten” (135); “zweitausend Dukaten” (137). In their subversion of the law, they, as citizens, come to represent the antithesis of law and render Rinaldini, the victim, a more sympathetic character.

This human weakness of greed as well as the social necessity for money rises to thematic importance when Olimpia draws a comparison between herself and Rinaldini, and thus between the noble outlaw and the ignoble citizen: “Wozu kann Geldmangel nicht zuweilen die besten Menschen verleiten! Mich zur Verräterei und Euch zum

Stehlen" (136). With this utterance, two things happen to the portrayal of Rinaldini as outlaw. First, his status as a human being, despite the fact that he is an outlaw, is elevated to one of the finest of men—"die besten Menschen." One can be among the best of men whether one is a hunted criminal or a respected "Signora." Second, the power of money to lead the best people astray blurs the line between outlaw and citizen. Citizen and outlaw share the same motivation and are driven by the same needs, but they simply employ different means—the citizen, treachery; and the outlaw, robbery. Consequently, one is accepted in society while the other is not. Many writers of criminal narratives highlight such similarities between citizen villain and noble outlaw in order to make a commentary on class. For instance, most of Defoe's narratives contrast the upper-class crime of the citizen and the lower-class crime of the criminal (Novak, "Appearances" 36). Rinaldini reinforces Olimpia's comparison by placing himself and her on the same moral ground: "Wir beide, Signora, tun wohl am besten, uns keine moralischen Vorlesungen zu halten" (136). Rinaldini tries elsewhere to level the distinction between outlaw and sinner: "Sind wir nicht alle sündige Menschen? Gott mag richten" (389). This theme is central to Schiller's "Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre" and to many other criminal narratives of the period.

Viewing the criminal as human being generates sympathy and often leads citizens to suspend their civic duties. In addition to his attempts to profit from his knowledge of Rinaldini's identity, the captain selfishly delivers Rinaldini to the authorities. Robert does the same thing to Christian Wolf in Schiller's "Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre," but the Captain's act increases our contempt for him, thus heightening the contrast. The Captain's acts introduce the theme of good citizenship as he claims that any good citizen would have done as he: "Was ich gegen Rinaldini tat, würde jeder gute Staatsbürger getan haben" (232). The novel shows us other citizens who share the same secret knowledge of Rinaldini's identity and who echo the Captain's words. Marquis Reali claims he feels bound by duty to turn Rinaldini in—"Ich habe Pflichten gegen den Staat" (539), and the Baron describes his ethical dilemma thus: "Meine Dankbarkeit kämpft mit der Pflicht" (541). But these two good

citizens are contrasted with the Captain. Not only do they not turn in Rinaldini in the end, but Rinaldini points out that the Captain's actions were based on money and not "Pflicht," since, had it been a matter of principle, he could have turned him in sooner: "Du bist strafbar...daß du diese Pflicht nicht schon eher erfüllt hast" (233). The ignoble deeds of the Captain are contrasted with not only fellow citizens but also with Rinaldini himself. When the Captain asks how he would have acted differently, Rinaldini says, "Nicht so wie du" and proves his superior and noble character by granting mercy and causing the Captain to be released from Luigino's custody: "So gehe, du mein ewiger Verfolger, und lerne mich kennen" (233). The idea of "Pflicht gegen den Staat" is validated as an ideal since Rinaldini does not deny the ideal, only the Captain's motivation. Marquis Reali temporarily suspends "Pflicht" to let Rinaldini go and identifies the conflicting force as "Dankbarkeit."

Rinaldini's noble characteristics are based on acts that he performs and sensibilities that he exhibits. In the end, duty, while validated, is temporarily suspended to allow for the expression of gratitude and reward for noble behavior and to appease human sympathy. Implicit in such an act is the unstated recognition of the inability of human legal systems, to which this duty feels bound, to adequately mete out justice. The suspension of duty for gratitude does not change Rinaldini's outlaw status, and it does not excuse his crimes, but it lends him—a fellow human being—mercy. By showing mercy, the noble citizens recognize the noble characteristics within this outlaw Rinaldini—noble characteristics so often absent from their citizen peers.

### **The Melancholy Outlaw**

Rinaldini is a two-sided character. Although Rinaldini—as a leader of men and a man of action—often lives up to the greatness of his role as robber captain, he also represents an inactive and impotent leader when robbing—instead of fighting or rescuing—is the task at hand. He refuses to take leadership of other robbers, as when

Luigino asks him to lead his band,<sup>227</sup> and he refuses the persistent call in the novel to lead the Corsica rebellion.<sup>228</sup> Rinaldini clearly prefers peace: “Seine Seele wurde heiterer, genoß die Schönheit der Natur mit herzlicher Empfänglichkeit, und sanfte Ruhe schwebte über seine so glücklich gelebten Tage” (146). His band members notice his inactivity and do not share his enjoyment of peace: “Aber diese Ruhe war seinen wilden Gesellen nicht so willkommen als ihm selbst (146). Rinaldini is further contrasted with his band, who are characterized here as “wild,” when his fitness for leadership as robber captain is challenged. One robber acts as spokesmen for the rest: “Bist du der berühmte und tapfere Rinaldini – und liegst hier in schwärmerischer Untätigkeit nur deinem Mädchen im Schoße? Willst du unser Hauptmann sein, so gib uns Beschäftigung” (146). Instead of leading the band, Rinaldini appeals to them for ideas: “Wenn ihr mir aber ein Unternehmen nennen könnt...” (146), which elicits further complaints from the band: “Sollen wir deshalb den berühmten Rinaldini zum Anführer haben, damit wir uns zwischen Felsen verstecken können? Das könnten wir auch ohne dein Kommando” (147). In short, Rinaldini, to his credit, prefers not to undertake robbing activities. His inactivity is filled with melancholic reflection. Both his inactivity and his reflection add a Romantic nobleness to his character.

We know Rinaldini is a reflective outlaw with deep feelings. We see him occasionally weep with sadness (as when Rosa dies)<sup>229</sup> and with joy. When he meets his real mother, Isotte, he weeps first for sadness upon hearing her troubles, crying, “Mein Herz! Mein Herz!” (546) and then for joy when he finds out she is his mother:

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<sup>227</sup> Luigino asks Rinaldini to lead his band: “Übernimm das Kommando über meine Leute” (231).

<sup>228</sup> Throughout the novel, there persists a vague sense of Rinaldini’s destiny to lead the Corsica rebellion, which the reader and Rinaldini himself never really fully understand. But Rinaldini does not accept this destiny. When messengers from the black judges call on him to be their leader in their fight against Corsica, he refuses, saying that he is “kein Rebell” (299). Olimpia asks him to join, and he refuses (306). Even when he sees all of his robber comrades (Lodovico, Cintio, Luigino) united in the Corsica rebellion, and is asked twice by Fronteja, he refuses (315-6; 340-1). Dainat makes the interesting point that the decision of bandits to engage in causes threatens the existence of the robber novel by disrupting the structure of the outlaw narrative (261). While Dainat does not go into detail about what he means by the structure of the outlaw narrative, the assertion rings true. Political causes are very different than personal causes. For one, political causes involve a whole range of other characters. The Romantic outlaw narrative tends to be focused on one individual.

<sup>229</sup> At Rosa’s death, we read: “Er drehte sich gegen die Wand und weinte” (307).

“Rinaldo weinte laut” (548). This image of the sentimental outlaw—seen also in Karl Moor and Christian Wolf—with empathetic sadness and familial joys softens our image of him as an outlaw. The most common exhibition of emotion is the melancholic lamentation of outlaw status. Isolated and alone, the melancholy outlaw reveals his deepest humanity.

Dainat claims that the classic romantic robber novel begins at the point when the outlaw begins to philosophize (148). In this sense, Schiller’s Karl Moor may indeed be viewed as the forerunner to the German robber novels—such as Rinaldo Rinaldini—25 years later. Outlaw narratives of this period are characterized not only by the often passionate, impulsive, violent action of their outlaws but also by the inaction of their outlaws—the philosophizing, the brooding reflection, and the withdrawal from their own band’s activities.

While philosophizing in the strict sense does not constitute part of Rinaldini’s character nor enter into the discourse of the novel, Rinaldini shares Karl Moor’s inactivity in the form of melancholic reflection and lamenting of his outlaw status. Recalling what Larkin calls “the presocial innocence of his youth as herdsman” (Larkin 466), Rinaldini’s song in the first scene of the novel encapsulates the elements of the melancholy outlaw:

Ach! wie war ich sonst so fröhlich  
 In der Unschuld Blumenthal!  
 Kannte keine bangen Sorgen,  
 Kannte weder Leid noch Qual.  
 Frohe Unschuld scherzte traulich,  
 Scherzte hold und sanft mit mir,  
 Und umgeben mit Verbrechen,  
 Sitz’ ich jetzo klagend hier. (12)

The melancholy tone and contrast between a blissful, innocent past and the crime-ridden present are typical. Verbalizations such as these are present throughout the course of the novel, from the first scene to near the end of the novel, when Rinaldini

laments his life's origins and life's path: "Wäre ich edler geboren gewesen, wer weiß, welche glänzende Rolle ich gespielt hätte..." (545). As in Schiller's *Die Räuber*, the laments of the outlaw are often either reflected in the external surroundings or arise out of them.<sup>230</sup> In the opening paragraph of *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, Rinaldini sits with a companion by a fire on a stormy evening:

Stürmisch brauste der Wind über den Nacken der hohen Apenninen,  
schüttelte die Wipfel hundertjähriger Eichen und beugte das  
schwankende Gesträuch der Flamme des Feuers zu....Die Nacht war  
dunkel, dichte Wolken verschleierten den Mond, und kein lächelnder  
Stern funkelte am Himmel. (9)

Quintessentially romantic, this scene places our outlaw firmly in the wild space and reflects his existence as an outcast from society. Not only does he exist in this wild space, he is part of it: "Ich habe das Wetter gern, so wie es jetzt ist. Es stürmt auch in mir!" (9). In this sublime fusion of the outside world and the inner soul, Rinaldini laments his outlaw status by mourning the loss of childhood innocence: "Einst war ich ein unschuldiger Knabe, und jetzt..." (9). As is common in Romantic robber novels, the spatial displacement from society finds expression as a temporal conflict between the past (innocence of youth) and the present (as an outlaw) (Dainat, *Abaellino* 248).

Pastoral surroundings, in addition to the stormy and sublime, also trigger the melancholy outlaw, eliciting thoughts of innocence and a bygone peaceful existence. The narrator preludes Rinaldini's reflection with a verbal painting—lengthy and elevated in style—of an idyllic and pastoral scene, which includes a sunrise in a beautiful valley amid the sounds of waterfall and shepherds. Rinaldini sighs: "Ach!...daß auch ich noch hinter Herden einherginge, wie ehemals auf meinen väterlichen Fluren!" (168). He goes on to contrast present life with his former

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<sup>230</sup> I must disagree with Benn, who claims that "the rôle of the wild forest setting in *Die Räuber*...differs from that in trivial literature of the period, where the haunted forests of bandits are exploited purely to arouse terror, as in Christian August Vulpius' *Rinaldo Rinaldini*" (134). The wild, sublime aspects of nature are used in *Rinaldini* to powerful effect in supporting the themes of wildness, fear, loneliness, and alienation, which are central to outlaw narratives and found in Schiller's outlaw narratives as well.

existence, which was “froh und munter” and “schuldlos und unbefangen” (168). The power of nature is able to invoke contradictory emotions: “The comfort derived from the presence in nature can also lead to greater self-reflection and subsequent further disquiet” (Larkin 467).

Often the monologue is spoken with more despair than melancholy and with greater emphasis on the outlaw’s status as outlaw than on a contrast between an innocent past and a forlorn present. Again viewing a majestic sunrise (“In majestätischer Pracht stieg die Sonne im Feuerglanze über die Berge empor” [257]) and following the narrator’s paragraph-long description of the scene, Rinaldini lowers his head, and with a sigh and tears, utters his lament:

“Unglücklicher! Hier liegst du in Wildnissen und Einöden, mußst die Menschen fürchten und fliehen das Licht der Sonne. Alle deine Träume sind dahin, und die schrecklichste Wirklichkeit hält dich in ehernen Banden. Oh, Rinaldo! Wie wirst du enden?” (258)

Of central importance to the image of the melancholy and philosophizing outlaw is the theme of love—common in robber novels, but not necessarily developed as a theme. As discussed, because the robber cannot form lasting love relationships, he must confront the problematic nature of his paradoxical existence (Dainat, *Abaellino* 248). Thus, love, like setting, drives and surrounds the philosophical monologues of the melancholy outlaw. In the opening scene of the novel (already discussed), Rinaldini is smitten with love for Aurelia, and later he laments his outlaw status when in love with Laura, pained at her believing him to be a knight when only a robber (202). Another lament, prefaced with a sunrise scene and mention of Rinaldini’s love for Laura, calls out Rinaldini’s melancholy disposition and his tendency for monologue: “Rinaldo seufzte tief auf und sprach, wie er zu tun pflegte, wenn sein Herz voll war, mit sich selbst....‘Ich bin gebannt, geächtet, ich werde verfolgt und habe doch so manches Unglück schon verhütet’” (221). Rinaldini continues by outlining his crimes and lamenting his luckless life, referencing his earlier innocence: “Was riß mich aus meinem stillen Tale, von dem Quell, der mich labte und der meine Ziegen in friedlicher

Einöde kränkte?“ (221-2). Love, and the consciousness it brings of the outlaw’s acute alienation from society, causes the outlaw to lament his outlaw status in the form of a monologue. As Dainat notes, novels without this theme of love, also tend to lack the melancholy monologues of the robber (252, n.332).

The portrayal of the melancholy outlaw serves many functions, including engaging our sympathies and providing a philosophical depth in an otherwise action-driven plot. Seeing the human suffering of the robber may elicit our sympathy for his character. We can witness his emotional struggles, sense his remorse and guilt, and empathize with the pangs of innocence lost, which encapsulates the universal human condition. The outlaw’s reflections may engage us philosophically with questions of fate, morality, guilt, and eternal life—or they may simply offer a repose from the narrative action of the story. Such reactions and purposes for the outlaw monologue might apply to any outlaw protagonist, whether captain of a band of robbers or not. But the fact that it is so often the captain who is the outlaw protagonist and whom we see wrestling with his thoughts and emotions is significant.

Being an outlaw cuts one off from society and leaves one isolated. Larkin witnesses “Rinaldini’s repeated inclination toward an ethic of melancholic withdrawal” (466). This isolation is intensified in the figure of the outlaw captain, and particularly in an outlaw captain plagued by melancholy and characterized by philosophical introspection and monologue. The robber captain’s melancholy divides him from his band, for it is precisely this melancholy which adds the dimension to his character usually absent in the portrayal of the other band members. One added dimension of character is the captain’s temporal orientation. The narratively-flat band members live in the present, robbing and plundering. For purposes of the narrative, their orientation is purely in the present—no planning, no contemplation, no regrets. The melancholy outlaw captain, however, returns often to the past (his state of innocence) and to lost dreams—“Träume sind dahin”—and sometimes to the future in contemplation, though the future often holds little for the outlaw except loneliness, heartache, and death. This orientation gap between captain and band is illustrated well by a line from an 1806

robber novel by Gottlieb Bertrand called Der furchtbare Abenteurer Nickel List, in which the band members reprimand their leader for his introspection: “Du hast genug mit der Gegenwart zu thun. Laß Vergangenheit und Zukunft aus dem Spiele” (qtd. in Dainat 249).<sup>231</sup> In Rinaldo Rinaldini, Rinaldini, like Karl Moor, is contrasted with his band by his reflective disposition and melancholy. After a robbing mission in which Rinaldini did not participate, Girolamo’s remarks illustrate that the band too is cognizant of Rinaldini’s separation from them: “Hauptmann - deine Leute bemerken, daß dir etwas fehlt” (18).

In addition to displaying lamentful emotion, Rinaldini occasionally articulates remorse and a desire to retire from outlaw life. His expression of guilt is problematic, much in the same way that Karl Moor’s is. Undeniably present, the guilt is only half expressed, and often half denied with an attitude of fateful resignation. Rinaldini speaks of the remorse he feels—“Ich öffne der Reue mein Herz” (238)—and of the inner pain his circumstances cause him: “Wenn auch die Justiz noch keine Folter für mich hat, so habe ich sie selbst für mich” (99). Like Karl Moor, Rinaldini considers suicide as a resolution to guilt resulting from his criminal life. Rinaldini’s attempt, lacking the philosophical level of Karl Moor’s, is sudden. Following Laura’s remark—“Wie unglücklich machst du alle, die dich kennen!”—Rinaldini makes a quick attempt: “Durch mich soll niemand wieder in Verlegenheit kommen’, sagte Rinaldini und zog eine Pistole aus der Tasche. Er fuhr rasch damit nach dem Munde” (415). The attempt, however, is quickly prevented by Leonore: “Leonore sprang auf, entriß ihm die Pistole...” (415).

Also indicative of his remorse is his desire to retire from outlaw life and live a peaceful existence. This is a common motif in Romantic outlaw narrative. Walter Scott’s Clement Cleveland in The Pirate (1822) declares: “I tell thee, I will leave this trade....I am determined to turn honest man and use this life no longer” (Pirate 333; Ch.31). Simanowski cites Rinaldini’s “Unzufriedenheit” and his attempt in almost

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<sup>231</sup> Gottlieb Bertrand, Der furchtbare Abenteurer Nickel List, genannt: von der Mosel, Romantisch dargestellt, (Braunschweig: Schröder, 1806). 15.

every one of the first eight chapters to retire from robber life (339). Rinaldini plans early on in the novel to leave Italy with Rosa and sail away to live in peace: “Wir werden...in ein anderes Land segeln und miteinander in Ruhe leben” (54). The expression of this desire becomes more persistent later in the novel. Rinaldini says he wants to take a wife and retire to the Canary Islands (238) and speaks to Violanta about retiring to Spain: “Dort, Violanta, wollen wir in stiller Einsamkeit leben, dort wollen wir froh und glücklich sein” (378). Although his constant desire to remove himself from his outlaw existence softens his criminal image, Rinaldini eventually acknowledges his desperate existence as an outlaw and, embracing his fate, decides to assume leadership of a group of robbers: “Zu meinem alten Handwerk will ich wieder greifen und enden will ich, wie ich enden muß. Fahrt hin, ihr schönen Träume!” (482). Although he no longer speaks of retiring, no change occurs in his actual behavior or his portrayal. Rinaldini is a man of both noble action and noble inaction, recalling Altaverda’s statement that Rinaldini has performed noble deeds that exceed those performed by the noblest of men (“Du hast Dinge getan, um die dich die edelsten Menschen beneiden müssen” [11]). Rinaldini performs noble actions of leadership and rescue, guides his outlaw society with laws, and circulates in high society with a noble and courteous manner.

### **Elegy to an Outlaw**

Usually only two ends are possible for the outlaw and an outlaw narrative—the rebirth of the outlaw through repentance or the death of the outlaw. The outlaw dies by execution as an object of the state’s assertion of justice, in battle with the enemy, by treacherous hands, or through simple fate—quietly, ignominiously. With Rinaldini’s fatalistic return to an active robber life near the end, Rinaldo Rinaldini concludes predictably with the death of its hero. The novel winds its way to a conclusion in a

series of unlikely and melo-dramatic events,<sup>232</sup> but the end itself is poignant. Rinaldini, having decided to embrace his fate as a doomed outlaw, finally loses the loyalty of his companions (who plan to turn him in) and is forced to flee (537). After an undignified escape through underground tunnels at a castle, Rinaldini is killed (574-5).<sup>233</sup>

Breaking dramatically with the narrative style of the rest of the novel, the end of Rinaldini is not told to us directly. As we read about Rinaldini being chased, the dramatic narrative of the present suddenly ends, and the narrative shift propels us forward in time—to a tour guide telling what happened next. Objects and places associated with Rinaldini are given particular attention and relevance:

“Sehen Sie! dieses ist das Schloß der Gräfin Martagno, die so unglücklich war, den Räuberhauptmann Rinaldini zu lieben.—Hier steht die Warte, an der er sich hinabließ, als man ihn suchte. – Hinter diesem Dornenbusche...fiel er und gab seinen Geist auf. – Er wollte den Berg hinab. Die Soldaten am Fuße des Berges sahen bei Mondenlicht sich etwas hier bewegen, sie schossen herauf, er sank und verblutete hier sein Leben. Da sich weiter nichts regte, glaubten sie vermutlich nach einem Berghöhrentier geschossen zu haben und suchten nicht nach...” (574-5)

Shot and killed like an animal, Rinaldini’s death is recounted by a stranger to strangers. Yet the narrative shift in this final scene enhances the sympathetic attention on Rinaldini and fulfills his role as a legendary figure. This group of strangers feels sympathy for the fallen noble outlaw who is buried at a ruined castle, with an unmarked grave, in unsanctified earth. The tour guide whispers a prayer for Rinaldini, and as he continues his tour, the others express their sympathetic pity for the outlaw:

Der Führer zieht den Hut, faltet die Hände und bewegt die Lippen.  
Dieses Gebet gilt der Seele des Verschiedenen....

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<sup>232</sup> Among these “unlikely and melo-dramatic events” are the reunion of Rinaldini with his lost father and mother and Rinaldini’s Odysseus-like encounter with his son, who believes him to be a beggar and gives him money (562-5).

<sup>233</sup> Vulpius’s readers were not satisfied with Rinaldini being killed off, so Vulpius was forced to make his death seem only like an appearance to come alive again two years later in two sequels (Beaujean 147).

“Hier an dieser Seite des Turmes bemerken Sie ein Kreuz in diesen Stein gebauen, und hier, wo wir stehen, unter uns, liegt Rinaldini. Der Boden ist gleichgemacht, kein Grabeshügel erhebt sich über seinen Gebeinen, und sein Leichnam ruht nicht in geweihter Erde.”

“Unglücklicher!”

“Jawohl, unglücklich!” (576)

The tour guide ends his tour—and the novel—hopeful and prayerful for Rinaldini’s salvation: “Dieses Schloß bleibt unbewohnt, wird verfallen und endlich zum Steinhaufen werden; dieser Turm wird zusammenstürzen und endlich des Unglücklichen Grabhügel werden. – Ruhig modere sein Gebein, und Friede sei mit seiner Seele!” (575).

Like most Romantic writers, Vulpius renders his outlaw with sympathy but also shows the tragedy and an implicit affirmation of law and society. Simanowski cites Rinaldini’s melancholy and dissatisfaction, his longing to retire, and the weak legitimization of his role as robber [no “impetus to crime”] as support for this reading (350). The story begins *in medias res*, with Rinaldini already weary of outlaw life. Thus, the novel shows not at the end but at the very beginning the unsustainability of the robber life (Simanowski 350).

In one of the most dramatic exits of the novel, Rinaldini expresses his heartfelt gratitude to friends and, encapsulating the outlaw’s plight of alienation, laments his outlaw status while pleading for compassion:

“Der Räuberhauptmann hat ein Herz und weiß dankbar zu sein. Lebt wohl! Mein unglückliches Schicksal treibt mich von allen schönen Plätzen, aus allen Wohnungen des Friedens. Ach! Wo schöne edle Seelen weilen, darf ich nur im Geiste sein. So bin ich stets bei Euch. Beklaget mich, verdammt mich aber nicht. Schenkt Euer Mitleid einem Unglücklichen, der nirgends sicher ist, der nie sich zeigen darf, ohne Schrecken und Verwirrung zu verbreiten. Diese Gefühle drücken mich zu Boden.” (542)

Rinaldo Rinaldini, like none of the other outlaw narratives in this study, embraces the fascination and affection for the noble outlaw. This passage, with its encapsulation of so many outlaw themes—sentimentality, impetus, transitoriness, alienation, mercy, compassion (*Mitleid*)—is indicative of the concentration in the novel on these themes. While not great literature or particularly complex, the novel has many poignant moments and images, offering important insights into the problem of the literary noble outlaw.

## IV. HEINRICH VON KLEIST: *MICHAEL KOHLHAAS*

### 1. Fallibility of Legal Systems and the Complexity of Guilt

Heinrich von Kleist (1777-1811), primarily a dramatist and novella writer, is considered by many to be the greatest of all German writers in both genres. His career ranged from being a lieutenant in a military academy in Potsdam; a student of philosophy, mathematics and physics in Frankfurt; a government official in Königsberg; a newspaper founder and editor in Dresden and Berlin;<sup>234</sup> and, of course, a writer wherever he went. He had a propensity for being arrested as a spy and spent at least five months in French prison war camps in Fort de Joux and later in Chalons sur Marne.<sup>235</sup> Although many writers of the Romantic Period concerned themselves with legal themes and issues, few incorporated them as compulsively as Kleist. Law in Kleist's works occurs in a variety of times and places: Germany in the late Middle Ages, sixteenth century, and seventeenth century; Italy in the Renaissance and eighteenth century; South America in the seventeenth century; and Haiti in the early nineteenth century (Ziolkowski, German Romanticism 115). He deals with Roman law, Germanic common law, military law, trial by ordeal, and secular and ecclesiastical courts (115).

One manifestation of his interest in law and crime is found in the reports he

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<sup>234</sup> Kleist founded the periodical Phöbus in 1808 with his friend Adam Müller. This periodical contained Michael Kohlhaas. In 1810, he and Müller began editing the Berliner Abendblätter, which was the first daily newspaper in Berlin (Baker 2). This periodical regularly contained police reports, and some of his works (including "Das Bettelweib von Locarno") appeared in this context.

<sup>235</sup> In 1803 in France, when he wanted to help the French against the English, he was arrested as a spy for Prussia (Baker 26). After Prussia fell to Napoleon in 1806, he was arrested again as a spy for the Prussian state (Baker 21). On his way to Dresden, he stopped in occupied Berlin to have his documents checked, where he fell under suspicion of French military bureaucrats, who could not believe that an ex-Prussian officer, coming from where the leaders of the State had fled, was not a spy. Then again, in Austria, he and Dahlmann were arrested as French spies because of their curious inquiries and distinctly non-Austrian accents. His name was not recognized as an author but he was linked to another Kleist—an officer who had recently surrendered Magdeburg to the French (Baker 27).

published in his daily newspaper, the Berliner Abendblätter. In Kleist's introduction to the Abendblätter (the "Extrablatt" to the first issue), he states his desire to initiate a "Chronik" of police stories. Beginning in the second issue with daily reports submitted by the police chief himself, these police reports became an integrated feature of the Berliner Abendblätter. Although he initially cites their "Merkwürdiges und Interessantes" nature as reason for their inclusion (Kleist, Abendblätter 5), Kleist expounds on the purpose of these "Polizeilichen Notizen" in Issue 5 (4 Oct. 1810). Not only are they for entertainment ("das Publikum zu unterhalten") but also for instructing the public. With this instruction, Kleist expresses the hope that the public will be united with the police in order to apprehend dangerous criminals ("um gefährlichen Verbrechern auf die Spur zu kommen") (Kleist, Abendblätter 18).<sup>236</sup>

Most of the reports are sketchy but reveal an interest in day-by-day continuity, following the crime as it develops. A variety of crimes are represented, including arson, burglary, robbery, smoking (too close to coal), suicide, swindling (falsifying scales), and hit-and-run driving (in a coach). Occasionally a crime story warrants an "Extrablatt," as in Issue 7 (8 Oct. 1810), which tells of the outlaw Schwarz and his band. This account is expository, told from the point of view of the establishment rather than that of the criminal.

In the beginning of January 1811, the short daily reports stopped appearing, but stories about crime continued to appear regularly through 1811 in the form of "Tragischer-Vorfälle" or longer stories from correspondents, such as "Beispiel einer unerhörten Mordbrennerei" (8 Jan. 1811) (Kleist, Abendblätter 23). This story of a pyromaniac, introduced by Kleist, portrays a criminal who had been an exemplary citizen up to when he just started burning buildings. It is an illustrative example of Kleist's interest, seen in Michael Kohlhaas, of the good man gone bad.

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<sup>236</sup> Kleist was not above mixing rumors with matters of record, "even though the paper explicitly professed its aim to present authentic reports" (Theisen 97). These reports appeared regularly, but not always in every issue. They were variously titled: "Polizei-Rapport", "Polizei-Ereigniß", and "Polizeiliche Tages-Mittheilungen."

The interest Kleist displayed for crime in the Berliner Abendblätter is symptomatic of his provocative and pervasive treatment of crime, law, and the outlaw figure throughout his career. Kleist's eight plays and eight stories reveal an interest in the human experience with divine law, civil (or human) law, moral law, physical law (or causality), and aesthetical law. After a brief discussion of the most relevant of these works to the outlaw theme, we will turn our attention to Michael Kohlhaas, Kleist's well-known outlaw tale.

Moral law is at the center of Kleist's stories "Die Marquise von O" and "Der Findling." The former is centered on "die einzige unwürdige Tat" and the moral implications for this deed in the social context of the Marquise. "Der Findling" concentrates on moral issues of revenge, as Piachi eventually kills Nicolo.<sup>237</sup> Several of Kleist's other works deal with the law and legal themes. The protagonist of "Die Verlobung in St. Domingo," Gustav von der Reid, is not only an outlaw in France, he becomes a fugitive in Santa Domingo. Jeronimo and Josephe, in "Das Erdbeben in Chili," are religious outlaws, condemned by society for their fornication. Kleist probes the question of moral guilt and fate, offering vacillating interpretations of divine intervention and sin. After the earthquake allows for their escape, they, like outlaws, find themselves on the run. Although Jeronimo and Josephe want to reintegrate into society, their crime, based on an ethic of romantic love, conflicts with the moral imperative of the crowd.

In Prinz Friedrich von Homburg, Homburg's crime of disobeying the order of the *Kurfürst* in 2.2 hinges on timing. His arrest and the *Kurfürst*'s declaration that the offender should die according to the law ("Der ist des Todes schuldig" [2.9.720]), focuses on the problem of criminality defined by context—in this case temporal context, or timing—not the deed in itself: "Wars denn ein todeswürdiges Verbrechen, / Zwei Augenblicke früher, als befohlen, / Die schwedsche Macht in Staub gelegt zu haben?" (3.1.848-50). Although pardoned in the end, Homburg accepts death in order

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<sup>237</sup> Revenge as a theme is central in Kleist's first published work, Die Familie Schroffenstein (1803), and "Die Verlobung in St. Domingo"—as well as, of course, Michael Kohlhaas.

to honor the law: “Ich will das heilige Gesetz des Krieges. / ...Durch einen freien Tod verherrlichen” (5.8.1750-2). Even though he is sentenced to die (not his choice), he is able to make an autonomous exercise of will—even before the petition—that he will die for the sake of the law. The Prince is doomed to transgress the law and incur guilt: “Since the order simultaneously enjoins and prohibits, Homburg will transgress precisely by obeying one aspect of the law over its other, contradictory, aspect” (Nobile 183).

Thematically, Der zerbrochene Krug and “Der Zweikampf” align themselves most closely to Michael Kohlhaas—Kleist’s primary outlaw narrative—with their portrayal of dysfunctional legal systems in conjunction with human frailty.<sup>238</sup> In both, “the prime object of the legal investigation has been forgotten” in favor of “personal honour and sexual irregularity” (Hilda Brown 143). Resembling detective stories, neither narrative is an outlaw narrative, but each illustrates Kleist’s preoccupation with the themes of crime, law, and guilt (or the perception of guilt). The case of Der zerbrochene Krug (1811)<sup>239</sup> begins with a small-town judge presiding over small-town folks. Kleist depicts a trial that stumbles into a beginning, strays off course, starts and restarts, and is continuously interrupted by all participants—plaintiff, defendant, Eve, Walter, and even Adam, the judge himself (Act 7). Walter struggles to keep the trial from straying off into irrelevant details and must constantly remind Adam of his judicial duties and of courtroom procedures. During the trial, Adam insists on a binary assignment of guilt, claiming the culprit is either Ruprecht or Lebrecht (Act 9). As in

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<sup>238</sup> Both works were published in 1811, but Der zerbrochene Krug was completed much earlier.

<sup>239</sup> The genesis of the drama is as follows: while at the home of Heinrich Zschokke (author of the robber story Abällino), Kleist viewed a copper etching by J. H. Le Veaus of a painting by J. Ph. Debucourt. It depicted a scene in a small town courtroom with a judge looking sternly and gesticulating vehemently towards a young farm boy who is feebly trying to defend himself. An older woman, standing close, is holding pieces from a broken jug and is apparently bringing charges against the boy. Between her and the defendant stands an embarrassed maiden who obviously knows more than she has testified. Finally there is a court recorder who looks askance at the judge in questioning disbelief of what he must be hearing. Kleist, Zschokke, and their two literary friends Heinrich Geßner and Ludwig Wieland then made a wager to see who could produce the most successful literary work based on the characters in this scene. Geßner wrote a ballad, Zschokke a narrative short story, Wieland a comic playlet (Baker 48-9), and Kleist his well-known drama. Kleist finished this work in 1803, although it was not published until after his death in 1811.

Michael Kohlhaas, Kleist highlights in this play the complexity of guilt. This binary paradigm of guilt is challenged by Eve, who denies Ruprecht's guilt but introduces the common outlaw narrative motif of role reversal by calling Adam—the judge—a sinner. Adam, like Oedipus, is forced to preside at the trial that ultimately uncovers his own guilt, brought about by the cunning intervention of Walter to draw the truth out of Eve (Act 12). Adam, “like many other Kleistian characters of a roguish disposition, is playing a role of dissemblance,” or more accurately, two roles: that of a judge “pretending to carry out an impartial procedure” and that of the accused trying to maintain his innocence (Hilda Brown 264). Although Adam is not a foil to any noble outlaw in this narrative, he represents the type common in outlaw narratives of the ignoble citizen.

Like Der zerbrochene Krug, “Der Zweikampf” (1811) delivers us a mystery in a dysfunctional legal context. The fundamental theme is the conflict between the corrupt, privileged, ruling classes of society and the virtuous but powerless individual. Kleist's sympathies are with the individual (Freund 25). Like the complicated legal procedures in Michael Kohlhaas, Kleist exposes a legal system flawed by the human weaknesses of all those involved.<sup>240</sup> Count Rotbart, after submitting himself to the court on suspicion of murdering his half-brother, offers as an alibi the scandalous suggestion that he was with the Lady Littegarde. Lady Littegarde enlists the legal assistance of Herr Friedrich von Trota, who eventually challenges Count Rotbart to a duel. Herr Friedrich loses the duel, and by verdict of the duel, Count Rotbart is proclaimed innocent. Herr Friedrich and Littegarde are put in jail and are sentenced to death for “sinful invocation of divine judgement by ordeal” (313). Three problems emerge in this situation. First, in trying to solve a murder, people are side-tracked by a sexual scandal. A legal investigation gives way to a virtue investigation. As seen in

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<sup>240</sup> Hilda Brown notes the similarities of Michael Kohlhaas and “Der Zweikampf” but also two important differences: First, in “Der Zweikampf,” “the legal system as such very soon peters out and is supplanted by the even more imprecise method of trial by ordeal” (129); and second, the case, in contrast to Kohlhaas's, proceeds rapidly from the local court to the highest authority of the Holy Roman Empire (130).

other Kleist stories, such as “Die Marquise von O,” the two are blurred together when they should be handled separately. Second, justice and the legal process are exercised arbitrarily, seen also in Michael Kohlhaas. But although the existing law is challenged by the Chamberlain—who exclaims: “was kümmern mich diese willkürlichen Gesetze der Menschen?” (What do I care for these arbitrary human laws?” [308])—his mother warns him:

Nevertheless,...these laws which you claim to disregard are the established and prevailing laws; whether rational or not, they have the authority of divine commandments, and by them you and she, as a pair of abominable criminals, are consigned to the utmost rigour of penal jurisdiction! (308)

The third problem is that everyone’s assumptions of reality and guilt turn out to be completely wrong. This theme of the complexity of guilt and problematic nature of assigning blame occurs centrally in both Michael Kohlhaas and Der zerbrochene Krug, illustrating the continuity of Kleist’s interest in this legal problem. We find out that both Littegarde and Count Rotbart were telling the truth because Rotbart was deceived by a third party—Littegarde’s jealous maid, Rosalie. With his knowledge of the deception, Rotbart, now dying from the wounds of the duel, proclaims Herr Friedrich’s and Littegarde’s innocence. At the same time, he proclaims his own guilt in hiring killers to murder his brother. The medieval trial, Kleist shows us, is too simple to handle the complexity of guilt that exists in the real world.

## 2. Kohlhaas's Etiology of Crime

Kleist's interest in law and in themes about the fallibility of legal systems and the complexity of guilt culminates in Michael Kohlhaas (1808).<sup>241</sup> As a narrative longer than his others and focusing on a single outlaw, Michael Kohlhaas certainly represents an outlaw narrative. Hirn suggests that Michael Kohlhaas, with Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen, forms one vein of the ideal robber type (50).<sup>242</sup> In many ways, Kohlhaas represents the typical Romantic outlaw robber captain. He begins with a small band of seven in his initial attack, which grows as he continues his burning rampage in various locations: the band is 10 at Erlabrunn, 30 in Wittenberg, and 109 strong in Leipzig. Like Karl Moor, Christian Wolf, and Rinaldo Rinaldini, Kohlhaas finds himself a leader of a band of ruffians. He started the band for purposes of obtaining justice but attracts those interested only in plunder—"von der Aussicht auf Beute gereizt" (33). Kohlhaas initiates the attacks but always moves to another activity while his men plunder: "während die Knechte in der Vorstadt plünderten" (36) ("as his men plundered the outskirts" [143]). At one point, we are told that Kohlhaas, fulfilling the roll of judge and enforcer or moderation seen in Karl Moor and Rinaldo Rinaldini, "was about to hang two men who had been out plundering in the district in violation of his orders" (150). Like other outlaw captains, Kohlhaas remains distanced from his

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<sup>241</sup> Like Friedrich Schiller, Walter Scott, Alexander Pushkin and others, Kleist used historical and literary sources for his outlaw narrative. The bulk of the narrative is based on a sixteenth-century chronicle called the Maerckische Chronic (1525-1602) (Fischer-Lichte 16-20). The gypsy episode at the end is derived from a forgotten novel Kleist read in 1801: Friedrich Klinger's Der Kettenträger (Miller 320). On the whole, Kleist's changes serve to further imbue his character with paradox and his subject matter with ambiguity. Some concrete examples of changes include the following: Hans Kohlhase of the chronicle becomes Michael Kohlhaas, suggesting an analogy to the apocalyptic battle of Michael the Archangel; and Kleist's Martin Luther becomes much harsher in his condemnation of Kohlhaas (Fischer-Lichte 16-20).

<sup>242</sup> Whiting also suggests a connection between Michael Kohlhaas and Goethe in the comment that Kleist's tale contains many echoes to Goethe's Faust, which attempts to "rehabilitate... another 'criminal' of the Luther era (174). Whiting calls attention to the scant attention critics have accorded the novella's evocations of Goethe, particularly with regard to Faust: "Like his idealistic precursors, Kleist reevaluates his 'rasender Mordbrenner,' yet in so doing he places, relative to Goethe's treatment of Faust and Schiller's treatment of Wallenstein, greater emphasis both on the flaws and passions bound up with the quest portrayed and on the artful manipulation and invention needed to secure the heroic image" (179).

band, and like Karl Moor, he initiates a campaign which he cannot completely control. This is most clearly evident when Nagelschmidt rises up, breaks the amnesty, and implicates Kohlhaas. Similar to Spiegelberg of Die Räuber in his opposition to the outlaw captain, Nagelschmidt, an ignoble outlaw, is described by the narrator as “Dieser nichtsnutzige Kerl” (71) (“scoundrel” [173]). Kohlhaas has promised peace, but Nagelschmidt’s letter to Kohlhaas offering him aid fuels suspicions against him. And because Kohlhaas, like many literary outlaw captains, represents a kind of legendary persona, he is particularly susceptible to implication—there is no boundary to what his persona can entail.<sup>243</sup>

Despite its outlaw protagonists, Kleist’s work differs from Schiller’s narratives and certainly Rinaldo Rinaldini in its focus on the law and the legal system more than the outlaw hero himself. As mentioned in the Introduction, Michael Kohlhaas, like Henry Fielding’s Jonathan Wild, is more about “Roguary” than “a rogue.” This is not to say that Schiller and Vulpius are not equally interested in the law and the legal system or devote as much attention to them in their works. The difference is in narrative focus. Schiller’s focus is on his heroes, with many themes and ideas, including law and society, germinating from this focus. Likewise, the focus in Rinaldo Rinaldini is squarely on Rinaldini—all else is secondary. In contrast, Kleist’s objective style keeps Kohlhaas at a distance, and the outlaw becomes the vehicle for exploring themes of law, justice, and human weakness. Even in “Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre,” the most objective of Schiller’s outlaw narratives, the focus is clearly on understanding the plight of Christian Wolf and how, from him, we can better understand humanity. In Kleist’s story, the focus is not on a character but a situation.

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<sup>243</sup> Nagelschmidt’s letter elicits divergent interpretations and is symbolic of the confusion and ambiguous nature of conveying information. For Nagelschmidt, the letter represents a means to regain Kohlhaas’s skilled leadership for the band (Dietrick 150). For the Tronkas, it represents proof of a prior agreement between the Kohlhaas and Nagelschmidt (150). For the Elector it is simply a means of acquiring proof of a criminal association (150). And for Kohlhaas, who has discovered he is definitely a prisoner, it is a way to escape and emigrate (150). As a result of Nagelschmidt’s letter and his realization that he is a prisoner, Kohlhaas writes a letter to Nagelschmidt expressing his desire to escape, sealing his fate to be sentenced to death. Kohlhaas is thus effectively criminalized by this text—one of his own making (Hammer 119).

Wiese goes as far as to say that “Kleist in erster Linie gar nicht einen Character, sondern...eine Begebenheit gestalten wollte” (Deutsche Novelle 48). Although the narrative begins with a focus on Kohlhaas in traditional outlaw narrative style, similar to “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre,” it widens its focus so that Kohlhaas becomes but one, albeit the central, representative of a host of characters, who together illustrate the fallibility of justice, law, and interpretation.

In its first half, Michael Kohlhaas follows closely the typical outlaw narrative pattern, focusing on a good man who, through an external impetus, has turned to crime. Ziolkowski makes the statement that Michael Kohlhaas repeats the formula of Schiller’s “Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” almost exactly (“Portrait” 300). While this statement is too simplistic and not really true of the narrative as a whole, Kohlhaas certainly has more in common with “Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” than any other narrative in this study and possesses some remarkable similarities in the treatment of this outlaw.<sup>244</sup> Kleist employs the same formula as Schiller—and the Newgate Calendar before Schiller—in prefacing the narrative proper with a biographical synopsis of the criminal: “*Michael Kohlhaas...einer der rechtschaffensten zugleich und entsetzlichsten Menschen seiner Zeit*” (3). This oft-cited first sentence of Michael Kohlhaas embodies the paradoxical nature of the noble outlaw, as does the entire first paragraph, which portrays Kohlhaas as a combination of good and evil, citizen and outlaw. Several criminal biographies some 25 years before the publishing of Kohlhaas contained this same paradoxical formula for describing the criminal protagonist, highlighting the mixture of both good and bad. In 1778, August Gottlieb Meißner wrote the biography entitled “Blutschänder, Mordbrenner und Mörder zugleich, den Gesetzen nach, und doch ein Jüngling von edler Seele” (Dainat, Abaellino 174-5). Other examples include: “Johann Herrmann Simmen, ein braver Soldat, ein zärtlicher Vater, liebevoller Gatte, ehrbarer, ordentlicher, stiller Bürger und—kaltblütiger Mörder seiner Anverwandten” (1789) and “Mörderin, Unkeusche, Mordbrennerin, und doch

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<sup>244</sup> Whitinger suggests that Kleist’s tale also evokes the ending of Schiller’s “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” (176).

ein gutes, nur Mitleid werthes Mädchen” (1785) (Dainat, Abaellino 286-7). Like Schiller’s Christian Wolf, Kohlhaas begins as an average, ordinary man. But in hindsight his character takes on superlative significance, as the opening passage attests—“einer der rechtschaffensten zugleich und entsetzlichsten Menschen.” Gall places special importance on the word “zugleich” in Kleist’s opening, pointing out that, without it, this sentence might be applied to many criminals; but this narrative is different (172). Bogdal places special emphasis on the word “entsetzlich,” asserting that, instead of meaning simply “terrible,” it can be interpreted without negative connotations as being beside oneself in unfamiliar circumstances (47). At the heart of these unfamiliar circumstances, of course, is the state of being estranged and removed from the familiar order of justice and society. Apparently for the first time, Kohlhaas is not only a victim of injustice but also must stand against the society to which he belongs. Allan cites as one of the most important aspects of the story the fact that “Kohlhaas is indeed a typical representative of a large class of well-educated, well-balanced, and resourceful individuals, distinguished only by the fact that...he becomes caught up in a prolonged—but eventually successful—struggle against corruption” (Allan 77, n.5). This observation emphasizes Kohlhaas as firmly grounded in society, making his break from society all the more significant.

Like Christian Wolf in Schiller’s “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre,” Kohlhaas’s break from society is gradual and symmetrical, and occurs in identifiable stages. Kohlhaas begins as a humble businessman with no known anti-social tendencies. The first quarter of the narrative painfully illustrates the deterioration of this citizen until he eventually becomes an outlaw. I call this the pre-outlaw stage. The next quarter of the narrative features his career as an outlaw until he turns himself in.

The second half of the story shifts the spotlight from Kohlhaas—now a prisoner, not an outlaw—to other characters and events.<sup>245</sup>

Romantic outlaw narratives, with exceptions, occur in two basic structural types: those that emphasize the “pre-outlaw” and trace the etiology of crime, and those that do not. Schiller’s outlaw narratives belong to the former type, as does Kleist’s *Kohlhaas*. The “pre-outlaw” portion of Kleist’s tale seems in many ways to be the most developed and that which holds the most interest. In fact, the Phoebus fragment of 1808 breaks off at the point after Kohlhaas has buried his wife and rides off to attack Tronka Castle (Luke 23), possibly indicating that Kleist was initially most interested in the genesis of a good citizen turned criminal.

As we have seen, the impetus to crime is a common structural element in Romantic outlaw narratives. The gradual genesis of Kohlhaas as outlaw allows for an expansion of this element into two discrete impetuses, each bringing Kohlhaas closer to his will to crime. Each impetus is centered on something Kohlhaas values, and each impetus mirrors the other, lending symmetry to his etiology of crime. The first impetus, centered on Kohlhaas’s horses, launches an initial move to outlawry and is followed by the second impetus, which both represents an echo and an escalation of the first. It ends with Kohlhaas’s will to crime and becoming a full criminal.

The first impetus is centered on Kohlhaas’s horses. The unexpected demand for a “Paßschein” sets the events of the entire story into motion. This original provocation forces Kohlhaas to leave his two horses as collateral for the toll. Even though the demand for a toll is illegal, Kohlhaas maintains a forgiving attitude, laughing over “den Witz des dürren Junkers” and returning to collect his horses “ohne irgend weiter ein bitteres Gefühl” (8).<sup>246</sup> The series of scenes that follow represents Kohlhaas’s effort to

<sup>245</sup> Many studies have analyzed the story structurally and asserted a three-, four-, or five-part structure. For instance, Stephens, who, like me, proposes a three-part structure, sectors out these three parts differently. For him, the first part ends and the second part begins with Kohlhaas’s *Rechtschluss* (Stephens 247). Part two ends and part three begins after Nagelschmidt’s letter and Kohlhaas’s condemnation to death (Stephens 250). Mehigan also breaks the story up into three “sequences,” the second one beginning at the onset of the “Geschäft der Rache” (273).

<sup>246</sup> Brand suggests that the smile after realizing the Junker’s joke is “a gesture which in this context intimates covert *shame* (he certainly does not smile because he finds the Junker’s joke humorous)” (205).

master his emotions and resolve the dispute by legal means. When Kohlhaas returns to find his horses in terrible shape, his anger fans a desire for violence: “Es drängte ihn, den nichtswürdigen Dickwanst in den Kot zu werfen, und den Fuß auf sein kupfernes Antlitz zu setzen” (9). However, partly because he is unable to determine whom to hold accountable, he remains patient: “Doch sein Rechtgefühl, das einer Goldwaage gleich, wankte noch; er war noch nicht gewiß,...ob eine Schuld seinen Gegner drücke” (9). Nevertheless, Kohlhaas, in defiance, does not acknowledge that the dilapidated horses are his own, and departs. At this point, though still unsure of the guilt to be assigned, he begins to entertain feelings of revenge—“Genugtuung für die erlittene Kränkung”—and begins to endow this revenge with the nobility of a cause: “Sicherheit für zukünftige seinen Mitbürgern zu verschaffen” (11).<sup>247</sup> The account of Herse, Kohlhaas’s servant, of the abuses he and the horses suffered at Tronkenburg increases Kohlhaas’s frustration and anger (12-16). He tries legal means to resolve his dispute with the Junker Wenzel von Tronka but is unable to receive justice either by his own efforts or through the help of others and is deemed “ein unnützer Querulant” “nach dem Bericht des Tribunals in Dresden” (21). These series of events—which represent the first impetus—culminate in the news that not only is Kohlhaas denied justice through standard legal channels, but the injustices against his horses continue. Kohlhaas’s horses continue to be used to work the field, re-igniting the original cause of Kohlhaas’s anger. This outrage causes a change in Kohlhaas: “Mitten durch den Schmerz, die Welt in einer so ungeheueren Unordnung zu erblicken, zuckte die innerliche Zufriedenheit empor, seine eigne Brust nunmehr in Ordnung zu sehen” (22). As Wittkowski sums up, “the authorities not only deny Kohlhaas due process three times, which amounts to condoning the criminal acts by their crony Wenzel von Tronka and his cousins at the two courts, but they also intensify the impertinence of their insults” with threats of imprisonment (476-7). Sharing in Kohlhaas’s frustration at the

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<sup>247</sup> Kohlhaas’s wife later reinforces this notion, giving Kohlhaas a sense of fulfilling God’s work: “Denn sie sagte, ... daß es ein Werk Gottes ware, Unordnung, gleich diesen, Einhalt zu tun” (17).

legal bureaucracy and corruption, we the readers are prepared to feel sympathetic to his subsequent actions.

This crisis in Kohlhaas's worldview causes Kohlhaas to make his first move to becoming an outlaw. Although he does not yet break the law, he begins to distance himself from society. First, he gives up his property, arranging for the sale of his home at Kohlhaasenbrück in a symbolic act of protest against the laws of the land. He tells Lisbeth plainly why he wishes to sell his home: "Weil ich in einem Lande,...in welchem man mich, in meinen Rechten, nicht schützen will, nicht bleiben mag" (25). By giving up his land in the society, he thus begins to distance himself from society—and even from humanity. Kohlhaas suggests it is better to be a dog than suffer injustice as a human being: "Lieber ein Hund sein, wenn ich von Füßen getreten werden soll, als ein Mensch" (25). We see also in the reaction of those around him that he is distancing himself from society. The *Amtsmann*; "der seinen Sinnen nicht traute," upon hearing Kohlhaas's plans, thinks he is crazy, asking him, "ob es sein Ernst war?" Similarly, his wife is astounded: "'Warum willst du dein Haus verkaufen?' rief sie" (25). Kohlhaas's actions, though not yet illegal, are beginning to deviate from the expected and accepted societal patterns.

In addition to giving up his property, Kohlhaas's also decides to send his wife and child away "Über die Grenze." This elicits the same reaction as his decision to sell his home: "'Wie?' rief die Hausfrau" (26). Kohlhaas also lets his wife go to Berlin to plead his case (27). This separation from his wife, resembling his earlier separation from his two horses, marks the beginning of the second impetus, which centers around Lisbeth as well as the horses. Like Kohlhaas earlier, Lisbeth is unable to obtain legal assistance. Lisbeth returns mysteriously wounded from Berlin just as Kohlhaas's horses had been mysteriously dilapidated. This second impetus, like the first impetus, concludes in two strokes—first, in the death of Lisbeth, and second, in the official pronouncement from the establishment telling Kohlhaas to give up his case. Lisbeth's death firmly plants the desire for revenge in Kohlhaas. The moment Lisbeth is buried, Kohlhaas receives a proclamation from Berlin telling him to pick up his horses and

drop the matter: “er solle die Pferde von der Tronkenburg abholen, und bei Strafe, in das Gefängnis geworfen zu werden, nicht weiter in dieser Sache einkommen” (29). Despite the threat of incarceration, Kohlhaas defies the words of Berlin, just as he defies Lisbeth’s words to forgive his enemies—words, we are to believe, that are from God. Kohlhaas’s will to crime emerges as he puts the letter away (“steckte den Brief ein”) and buries his wife (“Sobald der Hügel geworfen”) (29). Lisbeth’s “ritualized interment,” as Mehigan suggests, can be seen as “the burial of all bourgeois forms” (286). Having reached the end of his legal options, Kohlhaas “übernahm sodann das Geschäft der Rache” (29). Nevertheless, Kohlhaas, still striving to be a good citizen, makes one last attempt in demanding that Junker Wenzel deliver his horses. Failing that, he sells his house, sends his children away, and becomes an outlaw in an open attack on Tronkenburg (30).

The symmetry and superficial order of the world suggested by the narrative structure crumbles with Kohlhaas’s outbreak of violence. There are two impetuses, each centered on something Kohlhaas values and each ending with a double stroke—one that damages that thing of value (horses, Lisbeth) and one that represents a roadblock to justice (being deemed an “unnützer Querulant” and the pronouncement for him to give up the case). This long and structured road that Kohlhaas takes in search of justice is ironic. In its order and symmetry, it suggests a logical world that is easy to navigate and in which justice is straightforward to find. But within this superficial structure of the narrative we see the chaos of random accidents (Lisbeth’s injury) and inexplicable events (the damaging of the horses). It is perhaps precisely because of this structure, and the bureaucratic system which it represents, that justice is so elusive. This chaos within a façade of order, which we the reader recognize and experience in our lives, helps us to sympathize with Kohlhaas and his quest.

The text offers both ample support for Kohlhaas’s cause as well as reason for sympathy for the injustices and tragedies he has experienced. The seemingly objective narrator encourages sympathy for Kohlhaas by often referring to him as “unglücklich Kohlhaas” (33, 71) or “den armen Kohlhaas” (71, 85). Count Wrede describes

Kohlhaas as a “billigen und bescheidenen Mann” (70), and his case is held by many to be just, as expressed both by the narrator—his “Sache, wie bekannt, sehr gerecht sei” (54)—and Martin Luther (“was du forderst,...wie die öffentliche Stimme hören läßt, ist gerecht” [49]).

Kohlhaas’s cause is endowed with nobleness because it is grounded in principle. The state that does not protect property loses its legal rational legitimization. It is clear from many statements in the first quarter of the story (such as, “Kohlhaas, dem es nicht um die Pferde zu tun war” [21]) that Kohlhaas is fighting for the principle of personal property in general, not just for two horses: “er hätte gleichen Schmerz empfunden, wenn es ein Paar Hunde gegolten hätte” (21). His quest for justice is not selfish or egotistical, neither is it a spontaneous reaction to his emotions. Although Kohlhaas is not motivated by “noble, virtuous ideals alone” but also by “personal impulse and passion” (Whitinger 171), this personal impulse and passion is not a knee-jerk reaction to injustice but a firmly rooted, rational part of his character (Gall 174). Furthermore, it obeys not external law, but an inner sense of justice (Miller 311).<sup>248</sup> This inner sense of justice, Whitinger argues, is based on Christian principles. Despite the fact that Kohlhaas seems to openly fight against the Christian morality of forgiveness, Whitinger interprets Kohlhaas’s silent response to Lisbeth’s admonition for forgiveness and his thoughts—“so möge mir Gott nie vergeben, wie ich dem Junker vergebe” (Kohlhaas 29)—as a clear indication of “his personal conviction that his quest for justice is in harmony with his Christian principles and faith” (Whitinger 175). Kohlhaas’s “argument is that God himself must judge the nature of his lawlessness, not society” (Mehigan 290).

Kohlhaas’s attack on Tronkenburg commences his outlaw career, which lasts for about one-quarter of the narrative, from the moment he takes up arms against Tronkenburg to when he surrenders in Dresden. The narrative adopts the formula of

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<sup>248</sup> Dietrick questions the paradigm of Kohlhaas’s quest, remarking that his search for justice is beyond the limitations of fallible human beings (110). In addition, justice is not to be found at the end of a quest, although that is the way one conceptualizes it. It is a relationship of balance realized in approximations through human interpretation and action—a dialectical process of balancing (172).

many other outlaw narratives in its portrayal of Kohlhaas the outlaw. Like other outlaws, Kohlhaas represents both a reversal and paradox. With his “mandate,” Kohlhaas assumes the authority of the law, telling others not to aid and abet the Junker Wenzel and promising punishment. Through these mandates, Kohlhaas attempts to establish a “structure of authority that can substitute for existing power structures within society” (Mehigan 287). In this role reversal, like Karl Moor’s call to capture Franz alive in 4.5, Kohlhaas plays the role of enforcer—or as Mehigan calls it, a “parody of a ruler” (289)—while the the Junker becomes the outlaw on the run. Furthermore, already at the outset, we are presented with a dichotomous character who appears both noble and not noble in his pursuit of both justice and revenge. He is noble in his desire for justice, and we sympathize with the tragedies he has met and empathize with his vain attempts to obtain retribution from the establishment. However, at the same time, we cannot condone his violence. His complex motivations, with both a patient and reasonable attitude toward justice and one that is vengeful and indiscriminately violent, causes dramatic ambivalence in the reader, as Thomas Mann describes: “unser Gefühl hin und her reiend zwischen Sympathie und Grauen” (313).

Like Karl Moor, Kohlhaas is blind to the consequences of his actions and suffers from self-aggrandizement. Without distinguishing between various voices or irony in the narrative, Wittkowski remarks that “Kleist elevates his hero to the Christ-like, steadfast, innocent sufferer who also acts as the deadly avenger of justice violated” (483). As deadly avenger, innocent victims die under his hand, such as the women and children who plummet to their deaths from the windows at Tronkenburg (31). Kohlhaas elevates himself into an avenging angel: “Er nannte sich... ‘einen Statthalter Michaels, des Erzengels, der gekommen sei,...mit Feuer und Schwert,...die Arglist...zu bestrafen’” (42). Not only does this self-aggrandizement fail to consider the complexity of guilt, it also highlights Kohlhaas’s lack of omniscience. The narrator, with apparent irony, adopts this same kind of language when discussing Kohlhaas’s attack on Tronkenburg, referring to “Der Engel des Gerichts” (30). Kohlhaas irrationally makes the Erlabrunn convent the objective grounds of his revenge, even

though the Junker has already escaped from there (Lucas 135-6). Likewise, when he blindly assaults the walls of Wittenberg (when the Junker is in Leipzig), we see the futility and danger of human beings trying to mete out justice, for, unlike the angels of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 19:1-14), he lacks the absolute perspective for distinguishing the just from the unjust and sees only undifferentiated evil (Dietrick 138). Wiese makes a similar point when suggesting that Kohlhaas divides the world into two categories of human beings—the good and the evil (Deutsche Novelle 51). Kohlhaas's concentration of blame on the Junker is also imprecise, for the responsibility is clearly divided. Justice would demand not only the restoration of the horses by the Junker but also some action toward the corrupt officials in Dresden. Revenge, however, is a passion that demands to be fixed on one person at a time (Lucas 128). In addition to that, Mehigan makes the convincing point that Kohlhaas had little other course to follow. When Kohlhaas's pursuit of justice becomes extra-legal, he establishes a feud with the Junker Wenzel von Tronka:

In a state of nature this feud would have lasted as long as would have been necessary for one party to destroy the other.... Yet the state of nature never fully embraces the Junker, since he continues to exist as a citizen of the state and to enjoy its protection. It is for this reason that Kohlhaas's revenge is transformed from a private feud into an attack on society as well, for Kohlhaas is forced to oppose those communities and institutions which give the Junker sanctuary. (Mehigan 284)

Although we realize that Kohlhaas is imprecise in his assignment of blame and execution of justice, we also realize the genuineness of his motives. Wiese insists that Kohlhaas is not a fanatic: “In keiner Weise tritt er als ein Fanatiker der Rechtsidee auf” (Deutsche Novelle 48). Despite his violent reaction to thwarted justice, we have followed him through a difficult quest for justice, have seen his rational and careful attempts to arrive at justice, and share his frustration in fighting against the establishment. Indeed, Kohlhaas is “willing to abandon revenge once the prospect of legal redress is restored” by this establishment (Mehigan 288).

The notion of Establishment as opponent plays an important role in Romantic outlaw narrative. Generally, such interaction among Romantic outlaw narratives is limited to reciprocal condemnation (as in Die Räuber), distant or sometimes directly violent enmity (as in Rinaldo Rinaldini), or intense rivalry (as in Wilhelm Tell). Kohlhaas's interaction with the establishment is particularly lengthy and complex for Romantic outlaw narratives. The reciprocal condemnation certainly exists. Kohlhaas condemns the establishment, and members of the establishment condemn him. Kohlhaas is called a "ferocious ruffian" ("grimmigen...Kerls" [94]); a "dragon" ("Drachen" [37]), and a "terrible man" ("entsetzlichen Menschen" [93]) and "savage monster" ("entsetzlichen Wüterich" [37])—recalling the opening of the novella labeling Kohlhaas as "einer der...entsetzlichsten Menschen seiner Zeit." The narrator conveys condemnation as well, but he does so "impressionistically and not in an authoritative way that might provide a secure point of orientation for the reader" (Ellis 69). Furthermore, it is ambiguous whether words of the narrator—describing Kohlhaas's mandate as "eine Schwärmerei krankhafter und mißgeschaffener Art" (36) and his deeds as "mörderischen Anstalten" (37)—represent the narrator's perspective or the perspective of the folk.

The harshest condemnation comes from Martin Luther. In a written proclamation, Luther condemns Kohlhaas in the strongest of secular and religious terms. He condemns him politically and socially as a "Rebell" (44) and "Wolf der Wüste" (43-4). He condemns him religiously as sinner and enemy to God with epithets such as "Vermessener," "Heilloser," "Sünder," and "Gottvergessener" (43-4). In addition, disputing any noble motives of justice Kohlhaas might have, he attributes his motives to base and selfish passions and accuses him of acting "in the insanity of...blind passion" (149) ("im Wahnsinn stockblinder Leidenschaft" [43]), "lusting for base personal vengeance" (143) ("vom Kitzel schnöder Selbstrache gereizt" [44]), and of being "the very embodiment of injustice" (149) ("den Ungerechtigkeit selbst vom Wirbel bis zur Sohle erfüllt" [43]). But, despite these harsh words, Luther is not posed

as an opponent to Kohlhaas but as a figure who forces Kohlhaas to confront his actions as an outlaw.

### 3. The Luther Legend and End of an Outlaw

The scene with Luther is pivotal for our interpretation of the narrative as a whole and for transforming the otherwise fairly typical outlaw narrative into an altogether new kind of narrative.<sup>249</sup> Stephens describes Kleist's Luther as representing the facts (248). This is certainly true on one level; however, having been witness to Kohlhaas's break from society, we realize the hyperbole of Luther's condemnation. But, because he is Martin Luther, we must take his condemnation seriously, thus beginning an ironic dialectic between our knowledge of the historical Martin Luther and Kleist's version of Luther. Kohlhaas takes Luther's condemnation seriously as well, seen in his shock at the condemnation from one of "dem teuersten und verehrungswürdigsten Namen, den er kannte" (45). The severity of the condemnation combined with the source of the condemnation drives Kohlhaas to force an audience with Luther. Indicating the value for Kohlhaas of obtaining Luther's approval and assistance, Kohlhaas threatens to shoot himself to get Luther's attention. This brush with suicide, unlike those of other Romantic outlaws such as Karl Moor or Rinaldo Rinaldini, is not contemplated in a state of melancholic withdrawal but invoked suddenly and pragmatically. Kohlhaas states that his sole purpose is "Eure Meinung von mir, daß ich ein ungerechter Mann sei, widerlegen!" (46) ("To prove that you are wrong in thinking me an unjust man!" [152]). He needs validation from an authority figure, particularly from a rebel who has gained legitimacy. As a former citizen who feels himself abused by the establishment, he desires to legitimize his claim for justice.

Echoing his written proclamation, Luther greets Kohlhaas with condemnation:

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<sup>249</sup> Wiese argues that the meeting with Luther is not the most important turning point of the story: "Aber es ist nicht, wie die meisten Interpreten annehmen, die entscheidende Wende in der Erzählung, sondern eher eine Art Ruhepunkt in der Handlung, der es möglich macht, den ganzen Vorgang unter neue Perspektiven zu rücken" (*Deutsche Novelle* 52).

“dein Odem ist Pest und deine Nähe Verderben!” (46) (“Your breath is pestilent and your presence perdition!” [152]) and later calls him “rasender, unbegreiflicher und entsetzlicher Mensch! (48)” (“You insane, incomprehensible, terrible man!” [153])—echoing the novella’s opening description of Kohlhaas as “entsetzlich.” Unlike the conversation in Die Räuber between Karl Moor and the priest, their discussion extends beyond mutual accusation and condemnation. The scene between Luther and Kohlhaas is much more substantive in its portrayal of Kohlhaas and in the shaping of our attitude toward him. Although Kohlhaas is equally as stubborn with Luther as Karl Moor is with the priest, Kohlhaas’s stubbornness becomes, through contrast, much starker. The priest in Die Räuber is thoroughly unsympathetic and irrational in his raving against Karl, whereas Luther, though stern, annoyed, and angered, attempts to reason with Kohlhaas, shows some sympathy for his cause, and even offers to help him.

Luther challenges Kohlhaas’s claims of suffering injustice, exposing two misunderstandings that had influenced Kohlhaas. First, Kohlhaas had received misinformation about the location of the Junker. Kohlhaas explains: “Eine Nachricht...hat mich getäuscht, mich verführt” (47) (“Information I received...deceived me and led me astray!” [152]). Second, Luther informs Kohlhaas that the state sovereign had not in fact cast Kohlhaas out as Kohlhaas believed because he had not yet seen his petition: “Schrieb ich dir nicht, daß die Klage, die du eingereicht, dem Landesherrn, dem du sie eingereicht, fremd ist?” (47) (“Did I not write to you that the petition you delivered has not been seen by the sovereign to whom you delivered it?” [153]). Such misunderstandings and misinformation, as we shall see, develop into a major thematic thrust of the story. Because Kohlhaas’s rebellion and his existence as an outlaw are based on a faulty assumption—that he was cast out—he realizes for the first time the fallibility of his paradigm of justice: “Der Krieg, den ich mit der Gemeinheit der Menschen führe, ist eine Missetat, sobald ich aus ihr nicht, wie Ihr mir die Versicherung gegeben habt, verstoßen war!” (47) (“The war I am waging against human society becomes a crime if this assurance you give me is true and society had not cast me out!” [152]).

Kohlhaas's realization of the fallibility of his pursuit of justice introduces an emotion common in Romanic outlaw narratives but verbalized by Kohlhaas only in this scene—regret. Regret and Kohlhaas as a melancholy outlaw are not thematically developed and not embellished in the way they are with Karl Moor or Rinaldo Rinaldini. We view Kohlhaas as melancholy outlaw once before, immediately preceding his reading of Luther's proclamation and condemnation of his acts when he is: "finster und in sich gekehrt" (45) ("He was gloomy and turned in upon himself" [150]) and "in Gedanken vertieft" (45) ("deep in thought" [151]). However, this is the first time it gains more than a passing mention.

When Luther asks him if he would not have been better off to simply forgive the Junker at the outset, Kohlhaas answers contemplatively, "kann sein...kann sein, auch nicht!" (49) ("maybe...maybe, or maybe not!" [154]). Like the conversation between Karl Moor and the priest in *Die Räuber*, Kohlhaas's audience with the religious establishment is a means for the outlaw to face his guilt. And like Karl Moor, Kohlhaas approaches an admission of guilt but never reaches it. He expresses some regret, though not for moral reasons but mainly for the loss of his wife. As Hilda Brown suggests, "his adoption of Christian charity and forgiveness would not have been for its intrinsic merit, but for the practical outcome and the avoidance of the tremendous personal loss" (114).

The scene with Kohlhaas and Luther provides a forum for the discussion of legal themes central to this and any outlaw narrative. Kohlhaas bases his status as outlaw on the refusal or inability of the state to protect him. Luther suggests there are no real outcasts or outlaws in an established state: "Wo ist, so lange Staaten bestehen, ein Fall daß jemand, wer er auch sei, daraus verstoßen worden wäre" (47) ("Has there ever, so long as states have existed, been a case of anyone, no matter who, becoming an outcast from society" [152]). The issue of what makes an outlaw thus comes to the fore. Luther is talking about a physical casting out, but Kohlhaas defines the outcast in legal terms: "Verstoßen...nenne ich den, dem der Schutz der Gesetze versagt ist!....und wer mich ihn versagt, der stößt mich zu den Wilden der Einöde hinaus" (47) ("I call

that man an outcast...who is denied the protection of the law!...Whoever withholds it from me drives me out into the wilderness among savages" [152]). Kohlhaas argues that the state drove him out, but we know that there was no state sovereign that actively cast him out. Thus, his outlaw status must also be seen as a choice—an exercise of free will.

When Kohlhaas realizes his mistake—that he was not cast out—he agrees to return to society. However, he retains his demands for justice and compensation. The dynamic between Kohlhaas and Luther shows them approaching a consensus but never fully reaching it. Luther agrees that Kohlhaas's cause is just, but he still condemns him for his means. Kohlhaas agrees that it may have been better to act differently, but he still insists on his demands. The result is the introduction of a persistent theme in Kleist: the distinction between human law and divine law—found, for example, in "Das Erdbeben von Chili" and "Der Zweikampf." Luther makes this distinction clear in his parting statement to Kohlhaas, but it actually underlines the entire narrative, beginning with Lisbeth's dying words to Kohlhaas to forgive his enemies. Luther echoes Lisbeth's words when Kohlhaas asks Luther to accept his confession: "Der Herr, aber, dessen Leib du begehrst, vergab seinem Feind" (50) ("But the Lord, of whose body you wish to partake, forgave his enemy" [155]). Kohlhaas agrees only to forgive several officials and others involved in the dispute but refuses to forgive the Junker, insisting that he be forced to restore his horses. In applying selective forgiveness and harboring vengeance and retribution, Kohlhaas misses the mark completely. Thus, in Kohlhaas's desire for perfect justice, he is unable to accept the higher morality of forgiveness, for, by definition, the Christian concept of forgiveness is not fair or just. Lucas sums up Kohlhaas's character in a damning indictment, citing his obsession with revenge to the detriment of his family and soul. Although he does not consciously decide against his children or wife or religion, he is exposed as a bad husband, a bad son of the Church, and a bad father (Lucas 137).

But Lucas's indictment presupposes the stability of institutions that Kleist begins to call into question precisely in this scene with Luther. Luther challenges

Kohlhaas's assumptions and exposes the weakness in his paradigm of justice. This weakness becomes clearer as the story continues, but here it really begins. Kohlhaas is forced to face not only the import of his actions, but he must also make a decision for the future—whether to forgive or not forgive the Junker. But a larger theme also develops which goes beyond the status of Kohlhaas as outlaw. Up to this point in the narrative, we have followed a fairly typical noble outlaw fighting a battle for justice against a corrupt establishment. In the confrontation with Luther, the construct of Kohlhaas as noble outlaw is weakened. Assaults on this construct will continue from this point on, but the narrative is no longer about Kohlhaas and his status as outlaw. It is about any such construct, whether heroic or authoritative. Raleigh Whiting, as we shall see, calls attention to many details in the Luther scene which signal Kleist's subtle disclosure of such fissure in construct.

It is significant that Martin Luther is the establishment figure whom Kohlhaas confronts. Scholars have called attention to Luther as a kind of former Kohlhaas who led rebellion against the Church on principle but is now impatient and resentful to any change in the status quo (Ellis 85; Dietrick 139-40). Ironically, as a successful rebel, Luther and his rebellion against the system has now become the system. On one level, Luther's status as reformer makes him optimal for exposing the problem of divine law and forgiveness. As a leader known outside the narrative, he may also function as an authoritative voice for the reader. The well-known historical Martin Luther, unlike the little-known historical Hans Kohlhase, informs the reader and serves Kleist's juxtaposition to his fictional Kohlhaas in the narrative.

Luther is known as the translator of the Bible, a holy scripture which is alluded to in the narrative. Calling attention to a detail that is usually overlooked, Whiting discusses the misquoted Biblical passage in Lisbeth's dying words (175). Forgiveness emerges as a major theme, with echoes or direct reference to Lisbeth's misquoted reference to Matthew 5:44 in appealing to Kohlhaas to "Forgive thy enemies" ("Vergib deinen Feinden"). As Whiting calls out, the passage does not mention *forgiving* one's enemies but instead says to *love* one's enemies: "Liebet eure Feinde," according

to Luther's translation (175). While the spirit of the verse remains little altered by the discrepancy, the discrepancy still exists. Whiting concludes: "With such flaws and contradictions evident but unexplained, the entire sequence shakes the faith that readers might place in Lisbeth, Kohlhaas, the narrator, the Bible itself, and perhaps even the author as reliable authorities" (176).

In addition, Luther himself also becomes problematic. When Luther tells Kohlhaas "Der Herr... vergab seinem Feind" (50), Kohlhaas refutes him, saying "Der Herr auch vergab allen seinen Feinden nicht" (50). It is significant not only that "Kohlhaas's repudiation of Luther's claim that Christ forgave his enemies goes unanswered" but also that "Kohlhaas is in fact correct" (Whiting 177): "Besides forming the symmetrical endpoint of a sequence of episodes that introduce and subvert biblical authority, the sequences involving Luther intensifies the text's dismantling evocation of other legendary heroes" (Whiting 177). Luther is one of these legendary heroes, but the implications reach beyond a specific persona. In many ways, Kleist's Luther deviates from the historical image of Luther. He is present in the story, not as the fearless revolutionary and reformer, but as a bygone rebel now working to preserve the status quo of his patron" (Whiting 177). Furthermore, in contrast to the extra-textual image of Luther, Kleist's "Luther misuses Biblical discourse, his status as a popular hero, and his pastoral office to extort compliance from Kohlhaas in his case against Saxon corruption" (Whiting 177-8).<sup>250</sup> As Whiting points out, for a Prussian protestant in Kleist's time, it is very daring to dismantle "the heroic father of the state church" (Whiting 178). However, "it follows Kleist's practice... of offering his readers a popularly reversed embodiment of national greatness in such works as Prinz Friedrich von Homburg and Die Hermannschlacht only to reveal the illusory aspects of that image" (Whiting 178).

In discussing the significance of Luther in Kohlhaas, Whiting calls attention to the many echoes within Kohlhaas's struggle to the "Luther legend" (178). The fact that he calls the history of Luther a "legend" is indicative not only of the

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<sup>250</sup> Hammer also discusses the image of Luther, referring to "Luther's Machiavellianism" (145).

demythification of Luther but also of the more general skepticism of any account or written record of any person. The similarities of Kohlhaas's struggle to the Luther legend mimic the overall strategy of Kleist in Kohlhaas that we have seen with the outlaw image. Kleist employs a formula, or draws similarities, only to undercut these. Whitinger summarizes several elements that link the two heroes: "the daring church-door visit in the night..., the popular hero disguised and in need of protective custody, the devilish intrusion into the theologian's quiet study..., the granting of free passage, the promise of amnesty..." (Whitinger 178). But there are conspicuous breaks in Kohlhaas's link to Luther:

The fact that Kohlhaas at no time offers any statement resembling Luther's famous but probably fictional 'Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise' is a conspicuous gap in this chain of Luther echoes. It renders Kohlhaas's repeated substitute 'statement'—arms crossed in silence...—an eloquent signal of his distance from the illusions and purple passages of legend. (Whitinger 178)

Brand suggests that the two important points in the Luther episode are that it shows Kohlhaas's "subjective point of view" and also the objective world around him, represented by Luther (Brand 215-6). While valid that it reveals Kohlhaas's subjectivity, the narrative offers many hints of this before his meeting with Luther. Of greater significance, and in contradiction to Brand's observations, is the fact that Luther is shown to be subjective as well. After this scene, the narrative will shift gears suddenly, and Kohlhaas will cease to be an outlaw, but Kleist will continue to explore the problems we have seen in the meeting with Luther.

Luther terminates the meeting with Kohlhaas when Kohlhaas, in breach of divine law, refuses to forgive the Junker. Because he believes the basis of his cause to be just and because he had already agreed to intervene with the government officials, Luther says he will help him with his "sovereign" (155) ("Landesherrn" [51]) but cannot help him with his "Saviour" (155) ("Heiland" [51]). Though not demonstrative of Christian virtue, some critics see in Kohlhaas's refusal to forgive as an indication of

noble traits. Although, all else in the story seems to point to a Christian indictment, Allan makes the point that “Kohlhaas’s refusal to pretend that he is prepared to forgive his enemy in order to obtain absolution is a mark of his integrity and of the sincerity of his religious allegiance” (64). Similarly, Wittkowski describes him sympathetically: “This good-natured man humbly and gratefully trusts Luther and the word of the Saxon Elector, head of an administration which has treated him badly” (480). I think Mehigan offers the most compelling argument in also mentioning the antithesis of forgiveness, or revenge. As a central theme of the story, revenge and whether revenge is a positive or negative force has been a source of disagreement. Seeing it as a positive force, Mehigan describes it as “the rational and just man’s response to a disordered world which denies him redress for a suffered wrong” (285). In contrast, forgiveness, because it confirms the status quo, is bound to confirm the confusion of the world,” despite its status as a noble virtue (Mehigan 286). Only revenge “has instructive power by drawing attention to iniquities and seeking...to restore them” (286).

#### 4. Deflated Opponent and a Christian Burial

Following his meeting with Martin Luther, Kohlhaas, for all practical purposes, ceases to be an outlaw—although this is not made official until amnesty is offered to Kohlhaas. Kohlhaas then dissolves the band and submits himself to officials in Dresden (56-7). In contrast to most Romantic outlaw narratives, Michael Kohlhaas transforms his outlaw hero half way through the narrative into a non-outlaw and focuses on the legal resolution of his actions. With this new focus, “the actions that the narrator depicts surrounding the Kohlhaas case cease to have anything to do with the protagonist. The novella now scrutinizes struggles for power” (Hammer 146). In doing so, Hammer suggests, “the novella gradually ceases to be a story at all and becomes instead a series of technical descriptions—a taxonomy of a structure of power” (150). Thus, the meeting with Luther not only alters Kohlhaas’s criminal status

and the structure of the narrative but also the image of the outlaw and his quest for justice that has been constructed in the first half of the narrative.

In the second half of the novella, we not only begin to see Kohlhaas, and Luther, from “neue Perspektiven,” as Wiese puts it (Deutsche Novelle 52), but the entire first half continues Kleist’s exploration of outlaw themes of justice, revenge, and one’s status in society. Kleist continues his demythification of legend and heroic structure and deepens his look at the reality of Kohlhaas’s struggle, the reality of his opponent, and the nature of justice. Many readers of Michael Kohlhaas have disparaged the second half of the story. Ludwig Tieck did not like the ending of Kohlhaas, saying that the gypsy part “gar nicht vereinbaren will” with the first part. (565). It also reminds him of “so manches schwache Produkt unserer Tage” (Goldammer 565). Theodor Fontane writes that the story is complete up until the middle—“Bis zur Mitte ist sie vollendet”—but that “in ihrer zweiten Hälfte sinkt die Kohlhaas-Erzählung zu etwas relativ Unbedeutendem herab” (Goldammer 566). Despite any weakness of the second half in itself, or in the narrative as a whole, the second half is important for the overall goal. There is no doubt that the reader can tend to lose interest in the second half once Kohlhaas is no longer an outlaw. Fontane articulates this beautifully, comparing our sympathy for Kohlhaas with that which we feel for Wilhelm Tell:

Die Schilderung der äußerlichen wie der innerlichen Vorgänge interessiert uns auf höchste; wir stehen ganz auf Kohlhaas’ Seite und freuen uns der Rache, die er nimmt. Sein Mut, sein Geschick, sein Verstand entzücken uns, seine Liebe zu Frau und Kind rührt uns, sein Rechtsgefühl und sein frommer Sinn erfüllen uns mit Bewunderung. Wie wir an Tell und dem Schweizer-Aufstand unsre Herzensfreude haben, so auch an diesem Kohlhaas. In der zweiten Hälfte erlischt dieses Interesse nahezu. (Goldammer 566)

We lose interest, just as the folk does, in Kohlhaas and the quest for justice since we may not be entertained or the narrative may not meet our expectations. Our reaction

might be: If we are not entertained or if the image is not great—deflated—then who cares if justice is served?—Do we care anymore? The folk in the narrative does not care anymore. But Kleist takes it to the very end—beyond the Romantic outlaw narrative, beyond what is comfortable or interesting or aesthetically complete. Justice is serious business—not just something to be read, or today—to be watched on television. Part of the power of Michael Kohlhaas is not only the persistence of Kohlhaas in pursuing justice but also the persistence of Kleist in recounting this persistence—no matter what the form.

One purpose of the second half is the further exploration of the relationship between criminal and society. Luther's offer to obtain amnesty for Kohlhaas effectively nullifies the power of the state during the time Kohlhaas committed his crimes by not punishing Kohlhaas according to the law. The state, in effect, fails to acknowledge Kohlhaas's legal existence (Gall 209). Although Kohlhaas ceases to be an outlaw, his social status is ambiguous. Kohlhaas "passes from being the source of utterances of power to being once more their object. By accepting an ambivalent amnesty, he re-enters a world in which documents about his case multiply and he steadily loses the autonomy" (Stephens 249). When Kohlhaas turns himself in, the Prince insists that Kohlhaas keep a guard with him, ostensibly for his own protection: "Du wirst auf die ersten Tage eine Wache aufnehmen müssen, die dich...schütze" (58) ("For the first few days you will have to accept a bodyguard to protect you...!" [162]). For several pages (75-81) we and Kohlhaas are faced with the ambiguity of whether Kohlhaas is a prisoner or not. Although the Prince initially assures Kohlhaas that he "is free" (162) ("frei wäre" [59]), it is purposefully ambiguous whether Kohlhaas's state of being "guarded" means that he is physically inside of a desired enclosure or still metaphorically on the outside of society, through imprisonment. A Saxon official is forced to resolve the ambiguity (Dietrick 145). Although Kohlhaas is already quite sure he is a prisoner, it is precisely the ambiguity which he finds troubling:

Denn nichts mißgönnte er der Regierung...mehr, als den Schein der Gerechtigkeit, während sie in der Tat die Amnestie...an ihm brach; und

falls er wirklich ein Gefangener sein sollte, wie es keinem Zweifel mehr unterworfen war, wollte er derselben auch die bestimmte und unumwundene Erklärung, daß es so sei, abnötigen. (78)

(For what he resented above all was that the government...should keep up a pretence of justice when in fact they were violating his promised amnesty. If he was really a prisoner, of which there could be no more doubt, he intended to force them to declare clearly and unequivocally that this was so. [179])

The lines between outlaw and citizen and prisoner are blurred, especially as Kohlhaas is implicated by Nagelschmidt. Kleist creates a highly interesting and potent situation in making the state of being a prisoner ambiguous, which, as a highly physical and tactical state of being, is usually very unambiguous. Eventually, Kohlhaas receives the candor he demands from the Baron, who answers his question unequivocally: “ja! ja! ja!” (81).

After Kohlhaas abandons his outlaw life, the narrative not only explores such themes as social and criminal status, it also continues the reevaluation of the core themes introduced in the beginning, such as the construct of an opponent to provide a justification of Kohlhaas’s actions. It is worth discussing the construct of opponent in some detail. A villainous opponent constitutes an important plot element in many narrative forms and, as we have seen, is often a crucial means in outlaw narratives for shaping the image of the outlaw. Persistent villainous opponents such as Franz Moor or Gessler as well as incidental villains such as Baron Rovezzo (from Rinaldini) make us forget our outlaw-hero’s criminal actions by highlighting a greater evil. We see a hint of this tendency in the beginning of Kohlhaas with the construction of the Junker Wenzel von Tronka as opponent and then later with the construction of the Establishment as opponent. The difference we see in Kohlhaas, which adds a dimension of sophistication not seen in some of the other outlaw narratives, is that this construction is not a narrative construction but a psychological construction in Kohlhaas’s mind. The Junker receives the focus of Kohlhaas’s irrational antagonism in

the first half of the narrative, the Elector of Saxony in the second half; and both governments which deny him justice carry blame and coalesce for him into a corrupt monolith (Dietrick 154). What emerges as unique in Kleist's outlaw narrative is a dismantling of the very narrative constructs which pervade the outlaw narrative. Just as authority is dismantled, the notion of a villainous opponent and the lofty abstraction of the individual versus the Establishment is deconstructed so that the notion of a concrete opponent evaporates (Ellis 148). However, as Allan insightfully asserts, "the story makes plain that an accumulation of small-scale acts of administrative corruption can bring about the deaths of innocent human beings and the destruction of property on a large scale" (79, n.19).

One of the most engaging aspects of Kohlhaas as a narrative and especially as a criminal narrative is its thematization and problematization of identifying an opponent and obtaining justice from that opponent. Like other of Kleist's works, which challenge and topple simple constructs of assigning blame and guilt (e.g., "Der Zweikampf," "Die Marquise von O," Der zerbrochene Krug, and Prinz Friedrich von Homburg), Michael Kohlhaas upsets the construct of villain. Kleist does this in a suspenseful way which anticipates the dynamics of the detective novel in its concealment of a truth. The protagonists drive to find this truth, resulting in the mysterious or sensational revelation of this truth. In Kohlhaas, the dynamics of the detective novel are inverted, for it is not the Establishment or detective pursuing Kohlhaas in search of truth but Kohlhaas pursuing the Establishment. This inversion, anticipating Kafka a century later,<sup>251</sup> casts Kohlhaas as the detective trying to solve a crime (against himself) and finding the perpetrator of that crime.

There are two ways the deconstruction of opponent happens. First, the opponents themselves are deflated. Neither the Junker nor the Elector is an evil villain. Both know of their corrupt subordinates' acts, and both are guilty more through

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<sup>251</sup> Many have noted the similarities between Kleist and Kafka. Kohlhaas is often compared with Kafka's novels. One example is Smith, David E., Gesture as a Stylistic Device in Kleist's Michael Kohlhaas and Kafka's Der Prozeß, (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1976); another is Lindsay, J.M., "Kohlhaas and K.: Two Men in Search of Justice," German Life and Letters 13 (1959/60): 190-94.

omission that commission (Ellis 84). The Elector, who displays no political judgment and no concern for justice, knows of misdeeds committed in his name but does nothing (Ellis 83-4). The inaction of both men is reflected in their physical weakness, or fainting spells, and propensity to blush or go pale (Ellis 84).<sup>252</sup> In parallel to the crumbling of the construction of the Junker and Elector as opponents, the construction of Kohlhaas as outlaw hero and “social bandit” continues the erosion begun during the scene with Luther.

When Kunz attempts to return the horses to Kohlhaas, Kohlhaas is trivialized as just some guy squabbling over horses. The attempt gives rise to violent conflict between the nobility and the folk, resulting in Kunz being beaten (68-9). Equivalency is set up between Kunz and Kohlhaas, and both men are trivialized when Kunz is referred to as “den unglücklichen” (68)—a modifier often attributed to Kohlhaas (for example, “dem unglücklichen Kohlhaas” [33]). After this equivalency is set up and violence erupts, the folk loses sympathy for Kohlhaas, for not only is Kohlhaas now aligned with the evils of nobility, but his grand image is dispelled:

Man fand das Verhältnis desselben [Kohlhaas] zum Staat ganz unerträglich, und...erhob sich die Meinung, daß es besser sei, ein offenbares Unrecht an ihm zu verüben, und die ganze Sache von neuem niederzuschlagen, als ihm Gerechtigkeit, durch Gewalttaten ertrotzt, in einer so nichtigen Sache, zur bloßen Befriedigung seines rasenden Starrsinns, zukommen zu lassen. (69)

The grand view of Kohlhaas’s cause (a heroic challenge to a corrupt system) is further deflated with the introduction of Heloise, who, we learn, is the wife of Kunz, sister of Count Kallheim of the Saxon court, and the first love of the Elector’s youth. The first truth that is revealed is that the link between the Tronkas and the Kallheims is not another greedy establishment broker but a flirtatious woman. The second truth that becomes evident is that rather than an organized conspiracy for power and wealth, only

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<sup>252</sup> For instance, we read of the Junker “der aus einer Ohnmacht in die andere fiel” (39) and the Elector “mit bleichen, bebenden Lippen” (64).

the vague affection which the Elector feels for his first love had led to a breakdown in justice (Ellis 79). These two bits of information about Heloise continue the retrospective interpretation of the value of Kohlhaas's cause, which began at the meeting with Luther. The scale of the offence—bad treatment in the courts—is minimalized. What was once thought to be a grand pursuit of justice is now excessive vengefulness over a couple horses, resulting not from willful oppression but from human weakness. The disparity between the construct which Kohlhaas creates and the real situation expels any sympathetic consideration of his actions and instead invites only a realization of profound absurdity. An avenging angel must have a good opponent. Here, we see the negation of that opponent. The Elector is not guiltless, but the thematic point, as Ellis articulates it, is that he operates on too trivial a level to be an appropriate target for Kohlhaas's righteous fury. The "tragedy of Kohlhaas's end is not that he falls short of a perfect model of justice or that he is sacrificed in the name of justice"—but that "the world is too inconsistent, too disorganized, and influenced too much by whims and foolishness" to make room for his grandiose mission (Ellis 81). Kohlhaas had always behaved as if the world were rational and consistent: if it misbehaves, it can be called to account. The earlier, realistic world is the "unreal one that does not exist, and the second one, with all its surface oddities, is the real world" in which Kohlhaas—and we—live (Ellis 82).

In addition to the deflation of both Kohlhaas and his opponents, the notion of a concrete opponent disintegrates with the thematic emphasis on the overall problem of interpretation and assigning blame. In contrast to many other outlaw narratives which ask the "reader to measure the alleged criminal's guilt against that of another person," such as an ignoble citizen or outlaw, "Kleist's narrator demands that we gauge Michael's innocence against a whole network of personal relations that become so intertwined that it becomes virtually impossible to assess and place blame" (Hammer 147-8). In a world of intermediaries as well as textual interpretation, guilt becomes problematic and law loses its firm grounding. The conflict in the first quarter of the narrative is focused on well-meaning intermediaries—Herse, in one case, Lisbeth and

the overzealous guard in the other—whose actions or words must be interpreted. Kleist's writings are "about the *process* of coming to terms with the world, of interpreting and then reinterpreting it" (Ellis 120). This theme of interpretation spans Kleist's entire corpus, often in the form of the reader's sense of the nature of the text shifting radically at a late stage (Ellis 118). Ellis cites three ways this occurs—all of which occur in Kohlhaas: First, by a break in tone and narrative convention in beginning and end (Kohlhaas, "Marquise von O"); second by a transformation of the plot and the issues with which it seems concerned ("Zweikampf," "Findling," Kohlhaas); and third, by the introduction of new major characters and/or shift in importance of existing characters ("Erdbeben," Kohlhaas) (118). Because interpretation is core to law, the law is fallible and imperfect, for, as Dietrick remarks, the law still consists of man-made words, and the power to make legal judgments and enforce them still resides in persons (Dietrick 124).

With his development of the theme of interpretation, Kleist not only blurs the question of guilt, he demonstrates how interpretation of guilt remains dependent on a social context. Kohlhaas learns how his wife is injured the same way he learned about his horses and Herse—in retrospect and through the witness of his servant. This is, unfortunately, the only medium by which judgments are possible (Dietrick 128-9). The entire narrative revolves around such second-hand communication as well as private and public texts. Kohlhaas spends his time trying to deliver texts to the right people, but these are almost always misdirected, so that his tragedy lies in his role as producer, transmitter, and recipient of these texts (Hammer 119).<sup>253</sup> During the scene with the Luther, we saw the problem of interpretation of religious texts. Secular texts, particularly legal texts, are also implied in this narrative about an outlaw.

Ziolkowski contrasts Kleist's dramas with Goethe's and Schiller's in that they cannot end with an affirmation of the moral order but with a feeling of emptiness and

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<sup>253</sup> Stephens points out that some 90 documents are mentioned on the thematic level (Stephens 244-5).

chance (“Ontology” 133).<sup>254</sup> Having no clear structure of moral principles on which to base their actions, Kleist’s characters are plagued with spiritual anxiety, whereas Schiller’s are characterized by moral anxiety (Ziolkowski, “Ontology” 139). The configuration in Kleist’s moral world differs from that of Schiller (and Goethe) in that there is no longer a center upon which one can depend for value, either to cling to or to rebel against. In other words, in Kleist, one is faced not with a choice between right or wrong but with the problem of how even to decide what *is* right and wrong.

Despite the underpinnings of anxiety and skepticism, the narrative ends on a positive note as it turns to the execution of Kohlhaas. In sentencing Kohlhaas, the Brandenburg Elector acts with sense of pure justice, realizing this necessary end (Ellis 85; Fischer-Lichte 30).<sup>255</sup> Kohlhaas too realizes this, for

in surrendering his life, he demonstrates before the assembled crowd that he behaved in an altruistic fashion, that what he did was not for the sake of the horses, nor for the sake of personal enrichment, but for the sake of justice for all. At the same time, his acceptance that he deserves the death sentence passed on him by the Emperor as the just punishment for a man who, in attempting to overturn the state, has attacked the very principle of law and order, signals that far from seeking the destruction of the state, he wants to have some of its more glaring deficiencies put right. (Allan 72)

The ending seems to indicate that, at least to some degree, some of these deficiencies

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<sup>254</sup> Ziolkowski attributes this difference to Kleist’s Kant crisis (*Kantkrise*), which occurred in 1800-1801 after reading critical philosophy of Kant (and Fichte) (“Ontology” 134). His faith in the perfectability of knowledge was shattered. If Kant was right, Kleist thought, man’s progress towards complete possession of truth was impossible, nothing was predictable, and there was no ascertainable right thing or right way; everything that had seemed straightforward was ambiguous and a riddle.

<sup>255</sup> Jacobs, in contrast, does not see “the reversal by means of which Brandenburg suddenly takes up Kohlhaas’s cause” as a “reason for celebrating the well-being of the law. This reversal is muted, if not indeed once again reversed, when the charges against Kohlhaas are shifted to the aegis of the Holy Roman Empire. Saxony...also performs an about-face,...wishing to save Kohlhaas, almost immediately after charging him for his crimes through the Emperor. The reversal of the positions of the two Electors is symptomatic of the rupture that is there at the center of power to begin with.” In a sense, this is the subject matter of the second half of the narrative—the undoing of the authority of both (Jacobs 221n).

have been made right. Wittkowski draws attention to the fact that “the Elector avoids announcing publicly something that satisfied the hero more than anything else...: the culprit Tronka, member of a powerful noble family, is being lawfully imprisoned—on behalf of a nonaristocrat!” (476).

Despite his death sentence, Kohlhaas seems to die on good terms with society and God. “Kleist goes to some lengths to emphasise that Kohlhaas’s crusade has not been in vain; in the state of Brandenburg, he leaves behind him an institution which, though be no means perfect, at least attempts to promote honesty and punish corruption” (Allan 75). Whereas earlier Martin Luther had denied Kohlhaas his confession, now Jakob Freising offers the condemned Kohlhaas Holy Communion before his hanging on behalf of Luther. After his death, he receives a Christian burial, despite the custom prohibiting this last rite to criminals.

Kohlhaas is a typical outlaw in the first half with a fearsome rampage against society. But he is “fearsome because he is fair and just,” and “Kohlhaas’s ‘Selbstrache’ is merely the ‘Rache des Gesetzes’ transposed from its civilian environment” (Mehigan 289). Michael Kohlhaas differs from Schiller’s narratives and certainly Rinaldo Rinaldini in the way it thematizes the law and the legal system more than the outlaw hero himself. In addition, it problematizes constructions of heroism, villainry, good and evil. Hammer’s summation of literature of criminality after Sade’s Justine and Schiller’s The Robbers is relevant for Kohlhaas: “The criminal’s actual criminality may have little if anything to do with actual law breaking and even less to do with ‘good’ versus ‘evil’” and more to do with vague suspicions and complex allegations” (Hammer 110). Thus, the criminal’s deviance from the norm becomes harder to articulate (Hammer 110). As we see in Michael Kohlhaas, this is also partly due to the “norm” being a moving target.

## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

### 1. Romantic Hero, Gothic Fiction, and the Romantic Outlaw

Many different paradigms and typologies try to capture the meaning of the Romantic hero, to define the Romantic type, and to trace a development of influences. Most of these are redundant or overlap. I would like to spend a short time discussing these in an attempt to locate where the Romantic outlaw fits in, without, however, taking the classifications too seriously. Different scholars divide the literature of crime during the pre-Romantic and Romantic era in different ways. Part of my purpose in this study has been to show the uniqueness of the Romantic outlaw narrative—not in the sense of it being a completely distinct genre or brand new portrayal of crime, but unique in its combining of themes, types, and narrative structures in new ways. Even as it borrows from and even belongs to other genres, it is in fact unique.

Classifications of Romantic heroes or *the* Romantic hero abound. Jack Zipes and Peter Thorslev are two thorough and illustrative examples of scholars who have undertaken such classification. Robert Le Tellier's classification of the Gothic hero is also interesting and relevant. Some scholars break up the Romantic hero into discrete types and sub-types, while others lump them all together. As an example, Thorslev discusses separately the Faust type, the Cain type, the Wandering Jew (Ahasuerus) type, and the Satan-Prometheus type. Many of his descriptions of these Romantic types match the characteristics that I have outlined in the Romantic outlaw. The Wandering Jew, like the outlaw, is a wanderer not due to wanderlust but because he is an outcast from society and accused of God (Thorslev 104). In some ways the most typical of Romantic heroes, he combines elements of the others—by definition, he is an outlaw, he is something of a Faust—and he possesses characteristics that represent the very essence of the Romantic: wanderer, social outcast, cursed of God (Thorslev 107). Le Tellier discusses this type—"The Accursed Wanderer"—as a sub-type of the Villain

Hero, who is one of the six main character types of the Gothic novel (36). Le Tellier describes the Accursed Wanderer as having no crime of usurpation or lust but possession of men's souls (Le Tellier 36). The motivation for evil found in this type—Le Tellier cites Melmoth and Cain as prototypes (36)—is lacking in the Romantic outlaw. The Romantic outlaw shares with this type the transitory physical state and the static criminality, but the nature of the criminal is quite different. In the Satan-Prometheus type, Thorslev says, the Romantic hero reaches the ultimate in sublimity, dignity, and rebellion (Thorslev 108). In contrast to the classification of Thorslev, Bishop lumps Prometheus, Satan, Faust, Don Juan as simply “variants of the same type: the noble outlaw, who made his first appearance” with “Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen*... and Schiller's *Karl Moor*” (Bishop 20).

Another example of classification is Zipes's division of the Romantic hero and the noble outlaw, which contrasts Kleist's *Michael Kohlhaas* as the rebellious Romantic hero—who wants to separate himself totally in action and feeling from society—and Schiller's *Karl Moor* or Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen* as the noble outlaws, who rebel against injustice, and commit crimes, but respect the society they defy (28). In addition to being too broadly defined, I find this contrast unconvincing—one reason being *Kohlhaas*'s clear display of respect for society and desire to be part of it. Thorslev also identifies several pre-Romantic types which are relevant to the Romantic outlaw (21). The “Child of Nature,” as already discussed, is related to the idea of the noble savage and the natural morality of the Romantic outlaw. The melancholy Romantic outlaw shares with the pre-Romantic Hero of Sensibility, or Man of Feeling, a “pervasive melancholy” (Thorslev 35).

The most relevant of Thorslev's types is the Gothic villain, which Thorslev actually calls a pre-Romantic type. I see it as a type overlapping with rather than preceding the more general Romantic hero (or our specific Romantic outlaw), but the distinction is not terribly important for my discussion here. Thorslev's discussion is useful because, in addition to arguing for the noble outlaw as an important Romantic type, he talks about the Gothic hero specifically in terms of the noble outlaw and

Romantic hero. Making his first appearance in Walpole's Castle of Otranto, the "pre-Byronic Gothic villain (of the novel, at least) is never sympathetic; if anything, his crimes are made to appear even more monstrous and grotesque" (Thorslev 22). He is thus not a Romantic rebel-hero but a villain, who "fits into the morality of the age; unlike the Romantic hero, he acknowledges the moral codes of society and his own wickedness in violating these codes, and he therefore never engages our sympathies" (Thorslev 53). Sometimes Thorslev pushes the comparison of Gothic villain and noble outlaw too far, as when he suggests a comparison between Mrs. Radcliffe's Montoni (from The Mysteries of Udolpho) and Schiller's Karl Moor based only on their leadership of a robber band: "one could almost go as far as to say that he *is* a 'noble' outlaw, since like Karl Moor...he is a renegade aristocrat who leads a group of banditti...to prey on the villas of the neighboring rich" (56). His comments of contrast are more helpful: "But she [Radcliffe] had no intention of associating her villain with Robin Hood, and Montoni's band are all villainous. Montoni maintains leadership of the band by pure force." There is no "'organic' relationship between the leader and his faithful followers which is so indispensable a part of the picture of the Noble Outlaw." Although I think Thorslev overvalues the relationship of leader and followers in the portrayal of the noble outlaw, he does make the point that such a leader never fails to engage the reader's sympathies (Thorslev 56).

Le Tellier also discusses Radcliffe's Montoni. In his analysis of the Gothic novel, Le Tellier discusses six types of characters in the Gothic novel. The most relevant type to the Romantic outlaw is "The Villain Hero," which has three sub-types. One sub-type is "The Inscrutable Tyrant," of which Montoni is an example and which Le Tellier describes as having harsh and imperious ways, an overriding passion for power, a nagging remorse for secret crime, an arrogance that scorns norms of society, and a defiance with sexual overtones (16). Although the Romantic outlaw shares with "The Inscrutable Tyrant" the potential for harshness, remorse, defiance, arrogance, and passion for power, he usually represents the antithesis of the "The Inscrutable Tyrant" type in motivation. He is not typically harsh but may exhibit harshness in meting out

justice. He does not typically defy the norms of society but will, due to external circumstances more than arrogance from within, violate the laws of society and actively fight against society. And, although passion for power may provide some motivation for Romantic outlaws, their motivation tends to be more reactive to events in society (injustices) rather than deriving from within. His defiance, unlike that of the “Inscrutable Tyrant,” almost never includes sexual overtones. Instead, the Romantic outlaw more likely possesses noble qualities, sympathy for women and the poor, and a reflective disposition.

A description of Montoni, who embodies violence and lawlessness as a leader of his own band of soldiers, illustrates this contrast between the “The Inscrutable Tyrant” and the Romantic outlaw: “His very courage was a sort of animal ferocity; not the noble impulse of a principle such as inspirits the mind against the oppressor in the cause of the oppressed; but a constitutional hardness of nerve that cannot feel, and that, therefore, cannot fear” (qtd. in Le Tellier 18).<sup>256</sup> Two elements in this passage illustrate the contrast with the Romantic noble outlaw. First, this passage makes the explicit reference to the hero as *not* noble. Second, the passage describes Montoni’s inability to feel. As mentioned, Thorslev proposes that the noble outlaw shares characteristics with the pre-Romantic Hero of Sensibility, or Man of Feeling: “To become a Romantic hero he must take on some of the characteristics of the Hero of Sensibility, and he must be able to enlist” some sympathy from us (Thorslev 57). Feeling is an important attribute of the noble outlaw, for if the outlaw cannot feel sympathy for others or exhibit consciousness of his own emotions, then we the readers cannot feel empathy or sympathy for him and his plight. In “Über das Pathetische,” Friedrich Schiller stresses the importance of establishing the tragic hero as an “empfindendes Wesen” (Erzählungen 513). Establishing this is critical for our sympathy of the outlaw—not as a criminal, but as a fellow human being. The ability to

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<sup>256</sup> According to Le Tellier, the first example and archetype of the inscrutable tyrant is Manfred in The Castle of Otranto. Radcliffe’s Montoni in The Mysteries of Udolpho marks a fuller representation (18).

“feel” is, according to Schiller, the essence of what it means to be human: “Der Mensch ist—ehe er etwas anders ist—ein empfindendes Wesen” (Erzählungen 515).

Le Tellier’s third subtype of the Villain Hero is “The Criminal Monk.” In The Monk (1795), for instance, Matthew Lewis writes about a man of the Church who is revealed as a fornicator, a sadistic rapist, and a murderer (Butler 95).<sup>257</sup> Except for its explicit reference to “monk,” the Criminal Monk type captures much of the oxymoronic essence of the Romantic noble outlaw. Both embody opposites in virtue and vice. The criminal monk represents good infected by evil, while the noble outlaw represents the bad or dangerous mollified by good. However, in Romantic outlaw narratives, although religious figures are often portrayed as harsh and unsympathetic members of the establishment, they are usually not infected with criminality. Like the Romantic outlaw, the Criminal Monk achieves legendary proportions and sympathy from the folk. He has a mysterious power and charisma and is adulated like a saint (Le Tellier 21). In addition, like the noble outlaw, he maintains a clear distinction between moral alternatives, which causes him to constantly evaluate his behavior (Le Tellier 24).<sup>258</sup> However, like Kleist’s fiction, Lewis’s The Monk, which signaled a major turning point in Gothic fiction (Wittmann 67), lacks a “stable place from which moral judgements might be made” (Miall 351).

Thorslev sees a close relationship between the remorseful Gothic villain and the noble outlaw, with the noble outlaw actually deriving directly from Milton’s Satan or second hand from the Gothic villain (Thorslev 70). The noble outlaw, according to Thorslev, is “dogged eternally by secret sins”; “high-souled and hidden remorse which flashes forth in occasional quick bursts of temper, or of kindness”; “sublimity, the air of the fallen angel, or of the noble and generous nature coarsened by rough pirate life”

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<sup>257</sup> Matthew Lewis is one writer who showed great interest in the outlaw figure. Following the example of Schiller’s Robbers, he wrote Bravo of Venice (1805), a translation of Zschokke’s Abällino, der grosse Bandit (Praz 61). He also wrote a drama called Adelmorn, the Outlaw (1801), in which the eponymous hero believes himself guilty of the murder of his uncle, although he is really innocent (Thorslev 59).

<sup>258</sup> Le Tellier quotes The Monk as an example: “He was not unconscious that his attempts were highly criminal: He saw clearly the baseness in seducing the innocent Girl: But his passion was too violent. . . .” (qtd. in Le Tellier 24).

(Thorslev 70). Some of these attributes fit the noble outlaw well, but I disagree with Thorslev's emphasis on the noble outlaw having "secret sins." The notion of secrecy is too Gothic and in opposition to the disposition of the noble outlaw as well as the structure of the Romantic outlaw narrative. The Romantic outlaw is characterized by his openness and by the contrast between his openness and the secrecy of the villainous citizen. Furthermore, through the explanation of the etiology of crime, the Romantic outlaw reveals his crimes. While narratively distanced, the crimes of the Romantic outlaw are rarely secret. If they are secret, it is most often situational and playful, not dark and guilt-ridden.

I have drawn on Thorslev, Zipes, and Le Tellier for linking the Romantic outlaw with other perceived Romantic or Gothic types. Thorslev's book is particularly helpful in supporting the idea of the noble outlaw being central to Romanticism. Zipes is less relevant, and Le Tellier is useful for his detailed, if sometimes too granular, classifications. I find Porter's broad classification a happy medium and the most useful for my particular topic of the Romantic noble outlaw. Porter suggests three kinds of crime that are represented in the "serious literature of the romantic period" (13). First, there is sacred crime, which, continuing the representation of crime from the centuries before the modern era, reevaluates mythic rebels such as Cain and Prometheus (Porter 13).<sup>259</sup> As we have mentioned, these types have many similarities to the Romantic noble outlaw. Peyrache sees the rise of the criminal hero resulting precisely from the combination of the hero figure with the satanic figure ("les figures de l'héroïsme et celles du satanisme") (277). Works precipitating the creation of this hero include the English Gothic novel, Diderot's Les Deux Amis de Bourbonne (1770) and Le Neveu de Rameau (1772), which are direct ancestors of the Romantic hero of Scott's The Pirate (1822), Vautrin, and Hernani (Peyrache 277).

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<sup>259</sup> In his book The Prestige of Evil (p.366), Laurence Senelick remarks that "Satan, Faust, Ahasuerus were all very well as mythical prototypes, but their discrepancy with modern society led to effects that were more often grotesque or comic than sublime" (qtd. in Black 30). Black adds: "The figure of the criminal is all that remains in the modern age of sacred and demonic characters of the age of myth" (Black 30).

Porter's second kind of crime is demonic crime of the Gothic tradition (13), which, as we have begun to delineate, exhibits many similarities to the Romantic outlaw narrative. Because of its relevance and similarities to Romantic outlaw narrative, I would like to dwell on Gothic fiction a bit longer. Like the picaresque, Romantic, and *Räuberroman*, defining the Gothic is fraught with difficulties that will not consume us here. In scholarship, it may or may not be tied to a particular time period, may be subdivided into sub-genres, or may be considered a general mood or outlook.<sup>260</sup> I will be discussing Gothic fiction as a historical phenomenon running roughly from Walpole's The Castle of Otranto in 1765—generally recognized as the first Gothic novel—to Maturin's Melmoth the Wanderer in 1820, bearing in mind, however, that critics of Gothic have argued for a more active relationship between Romantic and Gothic writers and for Gothic as a “mediator of high art and mass culture.” Thus, they banish the traditional Walpole-to-Maturin, 1764-1820 account of Gothic, no longer speaking of the Gothic simply as a genre but as an aesthetic, a great repressed of romanticism, a poetics, a narrative technique, and an expression of changing consciousness (Gamer 28).<sup>261</sup>

The Gothic novel is a sister genre of the Romantic outlaw narrative, covering roughly the same time period and dealing with many of the same kinds of characters, themes, and motifs. Evidence for this can be found in scholarship, such as Gamer, who includes as Gothic-influenced works the same works that I associate with outlaw narratives, such as Wordsworth's Borderers and Byron's Giaour (11). Similarly, Appell's study combines genres together in his monograph, Die Ritter-, Räuber- und Schauerromantik (Chivalric, Bandit, and Horror Novels), prompting Wittmann, and others, to ask “whether this nomenclature is apt, whether the three subgroups are

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<sup>260</sup> Punter refers to “Gothic writers” very liberally, including Defoe and those beyond the Romantic period. Miall breaks up Gothic fiction into the “Radical Gothic”, from Godwin to Hogg, and “Conservative Gothic,” from Walpole to Austin, and including Radcliffe (351). Sutherland divides Gothic into Terror Gothic, which includes Lewis's The Monk, Intellectual (or Jacobin) Gothic, which includes Godwin, and Sentimental Gothic, which includes Radcliffe (336).

<sup>261</sup> Like German robber novels, the reception of Gothic produced a “stigma” which contributed “to romantic ideology's privileging of...established poetic forms like ode, lyric, and epic, and of traditional (and therefore legitimate) popular forms” (Gamer 24).

indeed distinct, and whether they provide a typological equivalent to the English Gothic novel” (Wittmann 68). An example demonstrating this mixed-genre phenomenon is K. F. Kahlert’s Der Geisterbanner, eine Wundergeschichte aus mündlichen und schriftlichen Traditionen gesammelt von L. Flammenberg (Breslau, 1790), which was published anonymously and apparently only available in its original English translation, The Necromancer, or the Tale of the Black Forest (London, 1794). It is a remarkable work due to its inclusion in volume two of a plagiarized translation of Schiller’s “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” embedded within it. This version, by Peter Teuthold, alters Schiller’s version “by adding sensational detail; by omitting analytical commentary; and by fabricating a revolutionary message” (Conger 220).<sup>262</sup> It thus combines outlaw narrative with the fantastic and the element at the center of Gothic—terror. Wittmann also mentions that Rinaldo Rinaldini contains many Gothic elements, but that the hero remains at the center (72), thus illustrating a crucial distinction between Gothic fiction and the Romantic outlaw narrative. Terror is at the center of Gothic (Wittmann 63), while the hero is at the center of the outlaw narrative.

There are other significant points of contrast as well. Although they share the same fascination with evil, crime, insanity, and the alienated hero, the Gothic novel employs these in different combinations and with a different focus. The Gothic novel also traditionally engages elements that are not common in Romantic outlaw narratives, such as crimes with a sexual overtone, the preoccupation with the fantastic, and, as mentioned, the secrecy of the criminal.

After sacred crime and demonic (or Gothic) crime, Porter discusses his last category of crime in Romantic literature, which he calls “profane crime.” This corresponds most closely to the Romantic outlaw narrative. Porter describes such narratives as “quasi-political,” which feature social bandits who are “neither rogues nor sadistic monsters nor common criminals but nobles or noble souls who are victims of

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<sup>262</sup> Conger’s essay outlines several other contrasts between Schiller’s work and Teuthold’s “translation.” Her argument is that Schiller tale in Teuthold’s altered form was able to influence Gothic writers, including Mary Shelley in her Frankenstein (1818).

usurpation or other acts of injustice. Their purpose is the overthrow of tyranny” (Porter 13). He offers Schiller’s The Robbers and Hugo’s Hernani as examples (13). We have already discussed this category in depth in the context of German Romantic outlaw narrative; but this is a good time to sum up the portrayal of the Romantic outlaw in these texts and posit some key elements that make the Romantic outlaw narrative stand apart. Following this, I will discuss briefly the outlaw figure in literatures beyond German to suggest the application and relevance to European literature generally. I will focus on English, French, and Russian.

In the Introduction, I discussed the structure and elements of an outlaw narrative, such as wild space, transitoriness, freedom, alienation, static criminal condition, and a public and legendary persona. These concepts are integral to Romantic outlaw narrative but are not unique to it, as the many of examples given in the Introduction (from Shakespeare to eighteenth-century historical chronicles) attest. I also presented some concepts regarding characteristics of the noble outlaw, specifically, what makes him “noble.” Again, integral but not unique to Romanticism, these traits include moderation, a natural sense of morality, a desire to rescue the unfortunate, and many more. The concept of the noble outlaw also includes the narrative elements of contrasts with villains, a corrupt establishment, and ignoble outlaws. How Romanticism takes these outlaw and noble outlaw elements and injects its own to create its own flavor of outlaw narrative will be the focus of this section. In other words, I will address the question of what is a *Romantic* outlaw narrative.

In addition to the general outlaw elements, three tendencies are found in Romantic outlaw narrative which set it apart from most other kinds of outlaw narratives. These three will all be familiar from the in-depth discussions of Schiller, Vulpius, and Kleist, but it is worth emphasizing their distinctness as Romantic elements.

Nature is the first element. Nature in Romantic outlaw narrative consists of two aspects—one being the reflection of nature by the (melancholy) outlaw and the other consisting of the representation of the wild space as setting. Hirn cites nature as one of

the essential differences between the Romantic robber (from Karl Moor on) and those who came before (54-5). He cites particularly the reflective potential of nature, such as Karl's reflection of a beautiful sunset, which contrasts with nature as purely a place of refuge or religious sanctuary for spiritual repentance (55). Similarly, one of Hammer's three main conclusions from his book on criminal literature is that in Romanticism, the landscape of the story changes radically, shifting away from an urban center to a more varied, provincial geography (154-5). In other words, the setting changes from the cities—such as the London of Defoe and Fielding—and areas of the social sphere to the wild space. In nineteenth-century criminal literature we then see a return to the urban center in writers such as Dostoevsky, Hugo, Balzac, and Dickens.

Zipes suggests that the romantic hero turns to nature because he believes it holds the secrets of creation (26), and Heiderich discusses nature in Ferrandino (1800) (the sequel to Rinaldo Rinaldini) as “the recipient of man's penance and universal witness of his moral condition” (137). Nature symbolizes in Romantic outlaw narrative a place of refuge, where one's innocence can be invoked and where one can live a more moral life. Many during the period saw in nature the antithesis of a corrupt, immoral civilization. While perhaps not always an insurer of virtue, nature does allow the contemplative reflection of the outlaw, which, in addition to distracting us from his criminal deeds, tends to strengthen our sympathy for him through the revelation of his thoughts, feelings and human suffering from within.

In addition to nature, which facilitates this contemplative reflection, this reflection, or melancholy, is the second major factor distinguishing Romantic outlaw narrative from outlaw and criminal narratives of other periods. That which I am calling “melancholy” has many different names in Romantic scholarship, and includes remorse, regret, and simple reflection. In the context of French literature, Bishop breaks Romantic melancholy into four kinds (6-7). These include *Le mal de René* (“anxious and eager expectancy” and “adolescent anguish”) (Bishop 6-8); *Le vague des passions* (“disillusionment”) (Bishop 8); *Le mal du siècle* (“One is adrift in History without a guide. There is no consecrated authority. One feels utterly alone”) (Bishop

11); and *Weltschmerz* (“cosmic despair” and “nihilistic denial of absolutes”) (Bishop 12). Furst, on the other hand, speaking of European Romanticism in general, suggests that such varieties—she calls them Wertherism, *Weltschmerz*, *mal du siècle*, and Byronism—are “all related, if not identical syndromes” (Furst, *Romanticism* 97). I am using the term “melancholy” as an overarching syndrome to indicate an outlaw who is essentially self-absorbed, semi-active in criminal activities, and prone to introspection, gloominess, remorse, and reflection of his past.<sup>263</sup> The spatial displacement from society in nature often finds expression as a temporal conflict between the past (innocence of youth) and the present (as an outlaw). The melancholy outlaw is particularly focused on the state of being an outlaw, lamenting his past, his present, and sometimes his future. An example from Walter Scott’s *The Pirate* illustrates this aspect of the melancholy outlaw: “Here walked Cleveland, musing over the events of a misspent life, which, it seemed probable, might be brought to a violent and shameful close, while he was yet in the prime of youth” (399; ch. 37). A paragraph of Cleveland’s melancholic musings follows this description.

Praz cites “melancholy habits” as one of the four qualities of “the Fatal Men of the Romantics” (59).<sup>264</sup> As I have mentioned, the Romantic outlaw is a child of the Enlightenment hero of sensibility. Marshall Brown, in his discussion of Schiller’s *Räuber*, suggests that the outlaw figure may be ideally suited as a culmination of this sensibility:

Thus the robber seems fated to have been the culminating representation of sensibility. The man of sensibility dwells in a border region....Whether or not the robber was a strictly inevitable figure, it is

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<sup>263</sup> Interestingly, Rousseau in his *Discours...sur l’inégalité* of 1755 claims that “a state of reflection is a state contrary to nature—the man who meditates is corrupt” (Thacker 153). This disproves the idea of the Romantic outlaw being a true noble savage, for, as one who meditates, he cannot be a true noble savage.

<sup>264</sup> The other three qualities of “the Fatal Men of the Romantics” are more characteristic of Gothic heroes: “Mysterious (but conjectured to be exalted) origin,” “traces of burnt-out passions” and “suspicion of a ghastly guilt” (Praz 59).

certain that Karl Moor captured the imagination of Europe as the distillation of the mood of the day. (Marshall Brown 111)

Similarly, Thorslev cites melancholy—he uses the terms “remorseful repentance”—as one factor leading to the Romantic outlaw type: “The dramatic villain’s remorseful repentance was increasingly emphasized at the expense of his villainy” until he became sufficiently sympathetic at the end of the eighteenth century to appear as the hybrid type: “hero-villain” or villainous hero (Thorslev 6).

Furst discusses the melancholy disposition of the Romantic hero in general, who “withdraws into himself to nurse a sense of grievance” and who “tends increasingly to lose a sense of perspective, through constant self-observation, self-analysis and self-pity, so that he sinks deeper and deeper into the quagmire of his egocentricity” (Romanticism 98). Furst considers this egocentricism, which causes all the Romantic hero’s feelings to focus on himself, the “crux of the Romantic hero’s tragedy” (Romanticism 99). The Romantic outlaw, however, despite the centrality of melancholy in his portryal, is less inwardly focused than the more general Romantic hero. He is somewhere between this Romantic hero and the adventure hero. The outlaw hero reflects inwardly more than the adventure hero but is defined more by his external context (e.g., wild space, a physical alienation, flight) than the general Romantic hero, who, fleeing from self and society more than from law or physical harm, is even more inwardly oriented than the outlaw hero. For instance, the picaresque hero or the criminal of eighteenth-century criminal biographies is much more oriented by external events and not prone to melancholic reflections. In other words, although melancholy is central to the Romantic outlaw, in the larger context of the general Romantic hero, the Romantic outlaw tends to lie at the fringes of this central Romantic tendency. Karl Moor and Rinaldo Rinaldini are typically Romantic in their melancholy. In contrast, Tell is *not* idle (man of action) and *not* self-absorbed. He is the anti-Romantic.

The third distinguishing feature of Romantic outlaw narrative is the inner representation, emotion, and tendency to view the criminal as human. The portrayal of

psychology and emotion is very much related to the portrayal of the melancholy outlaw and very much facilitated or embellished by the portrayal of nature. We have seen several examples, particularly in Die Räuber and Rinaldo Rinaldini of the interplay of nature and emotion. Similarly, we have seen many implicit messages and many explicit exhortations (particular in Schiller) to view the criminal as human being. This portrayal of the inner and of the human rises as an aesthetic and moral imperative in the eighteenth century to become central to Romantic outlaw narrative, but it is a movement we see continue in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries beyond the somewhat limited and sometimes sanitized view of what portrayal of emotion, the psyche and the human condition meant. Internal monologue, stream of consciousness, and the portrayal of the meanness (not just commonness) of humanity represent the continuation of this trend. Dostoevsky's Crime and Punishment is a fine example of the portrayal of the criminal taken to this level.

The figures below are meant to visually represent the intensity of Romantic outlaw narrative elements that we have discussed as they occur in individual works. The first figure (Figure 7) is a legend to all the elements and includes a graded scale of shades to reflect intensity of the element. The subsequent figures reflect the composition of elements for each narrative. The first set (Figure 8) includes the five major works discussed in detail in this dissertation. The second set (Figure 9) includes other outlaw narratives that have been mentioned in this study. The third set (Figure 10) includes other criminal narratives which do not fall within the Romantic Period. These works illustrate the similarity in outlaw elements but the lack of the Romantic elements.

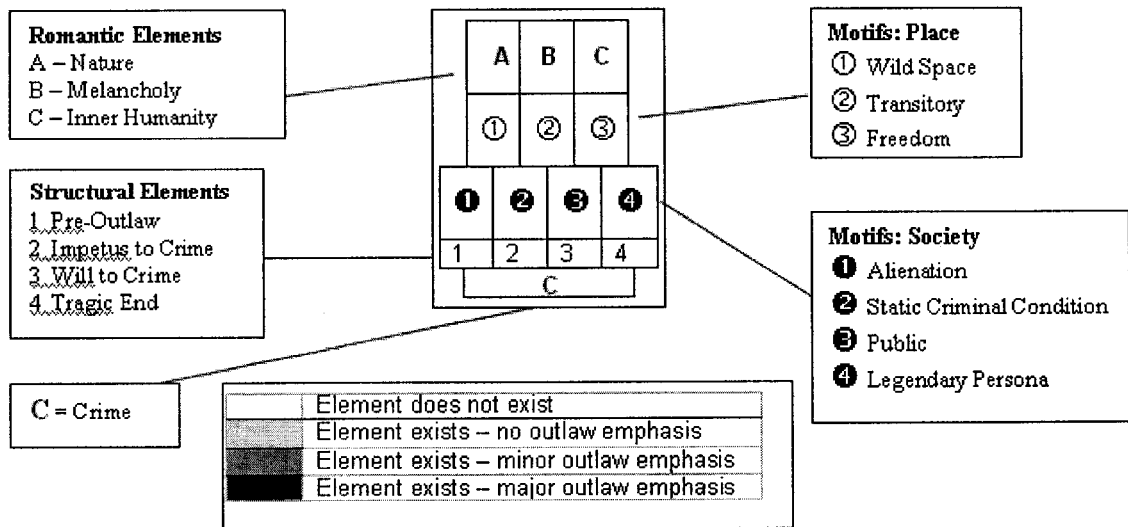


Figure 7: Romantic Outlaw Elements

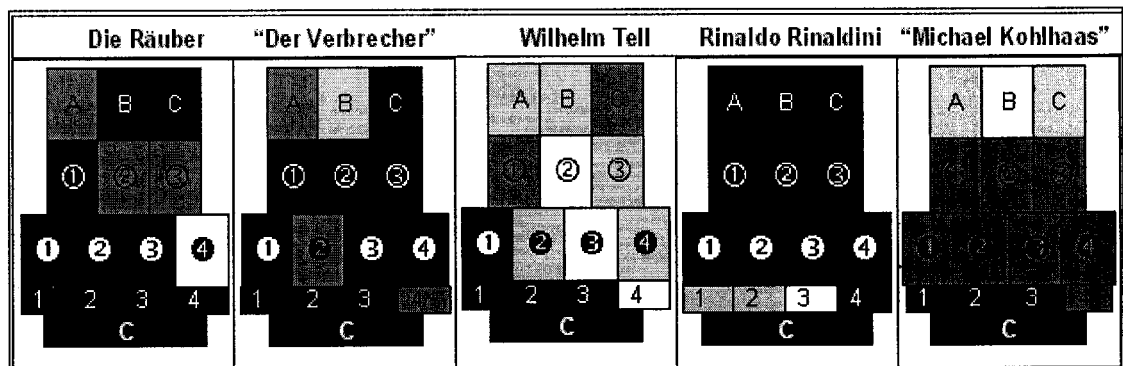


Figure 8: Romantic Outlaw Elements in Dissertation Works

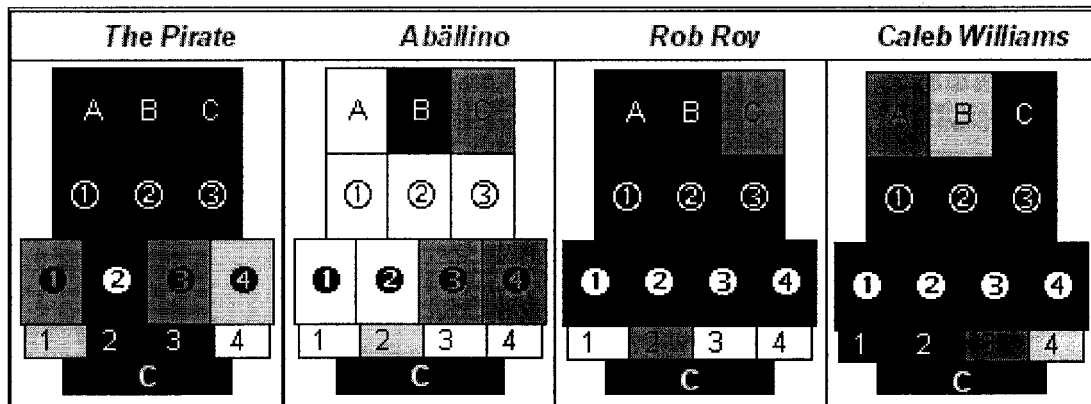


Figure 9: Romantic Outlaw Elements in Other Works

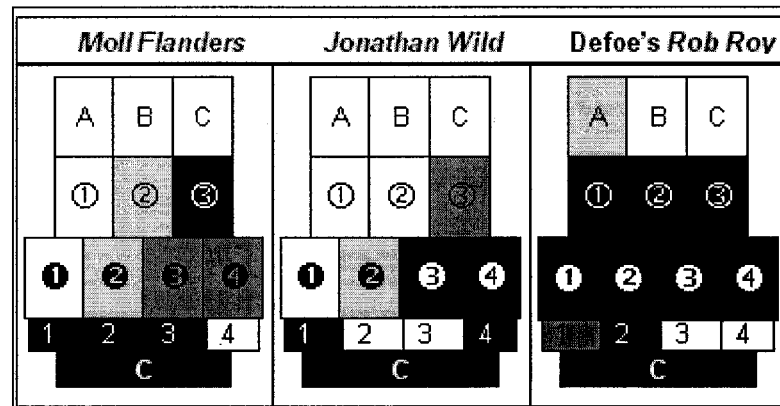


Figure 10: Outlaw Elements in Enlightenment Works

## 2. Romantic Outlaw Narrative in English, French, and Russian

This study has focused on the portrayal of the outlaw in German Romantic literature, but, as I have suggested, the issues and framework are relevant to other European literatures as well. In this section, I will offer a brief sketch of outlaw narrative in the English, French, and Russian literary traditions. Many of these

traditions experienced a vibrant exchange during the Romantic Period.<sup>265</sup> Implied in this section is the argument for application and relevance of my topic beyond German and suggestions for further study.

In the Introduction we discussed the many German canonical writers who engaged themselves in some way with criminal writing. English canonical writers also exhibit profound interest in the outlaw theme, either through the direct portrayal of outlaws or by treating themes of law and criminality. William Blake uses mythological and indirect treatments, as in his The Marriage of Heaven and Hell (1790-2), which Marilyn Butler calls a “dramaticized conflict between null, hypocritical, law-abiding Angels and energizing revolutionary Devils” (45). William Wordsworth treats the famous Scottish outlaw in “Rob Roy’s Grave” (1805-6). He also wrote The Borderers (1795-6)<sup>266</sup> under the influence of Schiller’s The Robbers (Thorslev 76; Stilz 118), which portrays Marmaduke, who has collected a band of “outlaws” for the noble purpose of protecting the innocent “along the confines of the Esk and Tweed” [= wild space] (Thorslev 76-7). The Borderers is more about the philosophy of moral conduct than character or plot (Thorslev 77).

Samuel Coleridge, who read Schiller’s The Robbers more than once, did not mimic Schiller by writing an outlaw narrative; but he did treat the topics of crime and guilt in his own way. His “The Ancient Mariner” (1798) depicts a man, like Karl Moor, “in whom moral isolation is inseparable from a sense of guilt” (Butler 83). He also recognizes the evil of Franz and, presumably, the potency of his effect on Karl. After reading The Robbers the first time, he wrote to Southey (3 Nov. 1794): “Why have we ever called Milton sublime? That Count de Moor—horrible Wielder of heart-withering Virtues--! Satan is scarcely qualified to attend his Execution as Gallows chaplain” (Coleridge 122). Mortensen sees in Coleridge’s play Remorse (1813) a

<sup>265</sup> Heiderich, among others, has noted the considerable literary exchange between Germany and England in the 1790s. He cites Jane Austen’s mention in Northanger Abbey (1798) of two translations of German Gothic novels, the translation of Rinaldo Rinaldini, and Matthew Gregory Lewis’s translation of Zschokke’s Abällino, der große Bandit (1794) as The Bravo of Venice (1804) (38-9).

<sup>266</sup> Written 1795-6 while Wordsworth was disillusioned with the French Revolution, this blank verse drama was kept a secret until published in 1842 (Thorslev 76). There was also a 1797-99 version.

“response to,” “assimilation” (131), and “anti-Jacobin rewriting” of Schiller’s Die Räuber” (133).

In a Gothic vein, Mary Shelley’s Frankenstein (1818) portrays an outlaw-like figure and, like Chamisso’s Peter Schlemihl, depicts the outcast and his socio-legal relationship to society *and* to humanity. Frankenstein does not usually register as a legal story, but Grossman makes the case that its central story “bears the marks of an unofficial legal custody trial” (68) and that legal issues constitute much of the novel’s underlying structure (62).<sup>267</sup> The connection of Frankenstein and the human creature to the law “at first seems to be obvious: there is none; the law is irrelevant. On the surface there is nothing but a series of brief interactions with criminal justice resulting from the human creature’s murders” (Grossman 75). Yet, as Grossman argues, it is “precisely the irrelevance of a legal framework for their relationship and the inappropriateness of the criminal justice system” to Frankenstein and the human creature’s predicament which is the point (75). Conger argues for the influence of Schiller’s “Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre” on Frankenstein, found in its “genre, purpose, central situation and precipitating event, plot sequence and theme” (225).

The authors above dabbled in the outlaw narrative, experimenting with this popular genre of the day, but William Godwin (1756-1836) actually engaged the criminal narrative tradition more directly. Things as They Are; or the Adventures of Caleb Williams (1794) is an important criminal novel for its imaginative use of eighteenth-century criminal biography and for its portrayal of the outlaw figure. The novel not only alludes to the criminal biography, such as in the reenactment of two celebrated prison escapes by Jack Sheppard but, in places, conforms to the criminal biography (Grossman 38).<sup>268</sup> But rather than simply appropriating episodes, Godwin

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<sup>267</sup> Similarly, Gladfelder points out that Mary Wollstonecraft incorporates fragments and pastiches of criminal narratives in her own texts (214).

<sup>268</sup> With its highly imaginative use of the Newgate Calendar stories, the novel takes ideas from a number of lives in the Newgate Calendar. For instance, like so many readers, Godwin was attracted to the story of Eugene Aram and the notion of a person pursued by a past crime. The episode in which Caleb establishes himself in a Welsh village as a watchmaker, devoting himself to the study of the etymology of languages, is taken directly from the life of Aram (Novak, Realism 141).

subtly adapts his subject matter. By most accounts, Caleb Williams (1794) ushered in a new epoch in the history of law and literature and “produced a newly juridical conception of character and narrative form” in its portrayal (Grossman 37). Not unlike what Defoe did in Roxana and parts of Moll Flanders and Colonel Jack, Godwin creates a whole new psychological fiction. But instead of transforming the criminal biography into a different narrative form, as previous eighteenth-century novels, Godwin “took up the genre of criminal biography to repudiate it” (Grossman 48), desiring to differentiate Caleb’s narrative from the gallows literature from which it draws (Grossman 42).<sup>269</sup>

With its eponymous hero who has been wrongly accused and imprisoned, Caleb Williams is a powerful treatment of the outlaw. This story has all the elements of Romantic outlaw narrative, but they unfold slowly and in unconventional ways. After Caleb escapes from jail at the end of volume two, he becomes an outlaw. Meeting a band of thieves at the beginning of volume three, Caleb’s expectations of an amiable band of noble outlaws are upset when, instead of offering sympathy to a fellow outcast and criminal, they beat and rob him (211; vol. 3; ch.1). But their leader, Mr. Raymond, who rescues Caleb and casts out the bad thief (Gines), revives the noble outlaw myth. Like other noble outlaw captains, Mr. Raymond condemns evil in his own band, expresses respect for the law (221; vol. 3; ch. 3), and believes his work to be noble—“Our profession is the profession of justice” (216; vol. 3; ch. 2)—yet laments his outlaw status (227; vol. 3; ch. 3).<sup>270</sup> But the reader’s expectations are upset when Caleb does not rise as captain of the band or even remain with the outlaws. Although initially seeming to adopt the outlaw life, with its sense of timelessness, where Caleb learns to “to be indifferent to the regular return of the different parts of the day, and in some degree to turn day into night, and night into day” (229; vol. 3; ch. 4), he does not join Mr. Raymond’s band, breaking the formula of becoming captain and passing

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<sup>269</sup> Grossman suggests that Godwin does for English literature what Stendhal’s Le Rouge et le noir (1830) did for the French—he crystallized a new narrative form (Grossman 143).

<sup>270</sup> Mr. Raymond also invokes the noble outlaw vs establishment contrast: “We, who are thieves without a license, are at open war with another set of men, who are thieves according to the law” (216).

through the thieves's timeless world. Indeed, there are many examples in the novel of Caleb's thinking about the future or of planning, indicating his time-bound orientation. Similarly, there is little sense of a static criminal condition because of this attitude and orientation. However, one of the most poignant aspects of the novel is Caleb's realization by the end of the novel that his criminal condition *is* static and that he is a "prisoner at large"—"And so there is never to be an end of my misfortunes" (286; vol. 3; ch. 12)—despite his implicit insistence throughout the novel that it is not.

In addition to a static criminal condition, Caleb shares other elements with Romantic outlaws, but always with a unique twist. He verbalizes on many occasions his will, but it is never exactly a will to crime. First, it is an obstinate will to proclaim his innocence (vol. 3; ch. 1), followed by his will to elude capture: "I determined that I would not voluntarily resign the field" (238; vol. 3; ch. 5). Finally, he expresses his will to expose Mr. Falkland: "I lost all regard to his intellectual greatness, and all pity for the agonies of his soul....I would show myself bitter and inflexible as he had done" (274; vol. 3; ch. 11). Like Kleist's Michael Kohlhaas, Caleb is frustrated in his inability to move the system and the power of wealth to affect law and justice (particularly in volume three, chapter eleven). Recalling scenes in Rinaldo Rinaldini, Caleb is discussed at an inn as a noble, legendary figure. Like Rinaldini, Caleb, disguised, inquires about himself and receives the answer that Caleb "was as handsome, likely a lad, as any in four counties round; and that she loved him for his cleverness" in prison escapes. "She hoped he was far enough away by this time, but, if not, she wished the curse of God might light on them that betrayed so noble a fellow to an ignominious end!" (237; vol. 3; ch. 5). What is unique in Caleb Williams is the degree to which Caleb reflects on his status as a legend:

I had gained fame indeed, the miserable fame to have my story bawled forth by hawkers and ballad-mongers, to have my praises as an active

and enterprising villain celebrated among footmen and chambermaids.  
(274; vol. 3; ch. 11).<sup>271</sup>

As author of his own adventures, Caleb objects to the appropriation of his life's events into mass media. His entire writing endeavour is partly based on wanting to let his own voice be heard to gain some sympathy. He asked: "Can you think of condemning a man, when you have heard only one side of his story?" (299; vol. 3; ch. 13). It serves the further selfish purpose, as he explains, to "console myself in my insupportable distress" and to draw attention away "for a short interval from the hopeless misfortune in which I am at present involved" (123-4; vol. 2; ch. 4).

In his later life, Caleb approaches melancholy, which is the last outlaw element I will mention. In the beginning, Caleb suffers but is not melancholy. In fact, he rejects melancholy as unproductive: "I had learned this lesson from my sufferings, not to indulge in the luxury of discontent" (235; vol. 3; ch. 5). He approaches the lament of the melancholy outlaw, yet his lament lacks real emotion. Instead, it is matter-of-fact: "I found myself subjected, undeservedly on my part, to all the disadvantages which mankind... would hesitate to impose on acknowledged guilt... I was shut up a deserted, solitary wretch in the midst of my species" (255; vol. 3; ch. 8). However, as his situation continues, he begins to grow melancholy: "My mind was bursting with depression and anguish. I muttered imprecations and murmuring, as I passed along." (251; vol. 3; ch. 7) and "My fits of despondence were deeper, and of more frequent occurrence" (268; vol. 3; ch. 10). Unlike many portrayals of the Romantic outlaw, melancholy is a process for most of the novel until, at the end as narrator in his timelessness, he is immersed in it and becomes the impetus for writing his narrative: "I derive a melancholy pleasure from dwelling upon the circumstances which imperceptibly paved the way to my ruin" (123-4; vol. 2; ch. 4).

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<sup>271</sup> The actual texts and rogue biographies of Caleb that are floating around are, we are to assume, a counterfeit history—only one side of the story (301; vol. 3, ch. 13), but, they remind us that in the novel we are only receiving Caleb's version of events and that there may be other interpretations (Kenneth Graham 71).

In addition to Godwin, the two British writers most obviously engaged with the outlaw as literary figure were Sir Walter Scott and Lord Byron, who, like Schiller and Kleist in Germany, produced multiple works treating outlaws. Walter Scott (1771-1832), a man of both letters and law, injects legal themes in almost all his novels and features major outlaws in two well-known novels: Ivanhoe (1819) and Rob Roy (1817). Even early in his literary career, Scott exhibited interest in outlaws. In Lay of the Last Minstrel (1805), Sir William of Deloraine is “Five times outlawed.../ By England’s king and Scotland’s Queen” and is portrayed as a ballad outlaw rather than the romanticized outlaw of the later Scott or Byron (Thorslev 77-8). But his next verse romance, Marmion (1808), features for the first time the noble outlaw in center stage, and Rokeby (1813) follows with a focus on not one but two outlaws: Mortham and Bertram (Thorslev 80).

The greatest of all outlaws, Robin Hood, is featured in Ivanhoe. Robin Hood was not a figure of prose fiction before the nineteenth century (Knight, Complete 172), but Scott’s Robin Hood, rather than possessing the playful elements usually associated with him, is ominous and portrayed unconventionally. His mere existence in the narrative, even if not active in the plot, introduces expectations of the typical Robin Hood and of many noble outlaw elements that we have discussed, such as the association of the nobility—or lawful establishment—with the criminal. The message that the nobles are as bad as outlaws is voiced by Isaac to Front-de-Boeuf (“Robber and villain!” [ch.22; p.233]) and by Rowena to De Bracy, who also expresses the theme of openness (i.e., lack of secrecy): “More it were for your honour to have retained the dress and language of an outlaw than to veil the deeds of one under an affectation of gentle language and demeanour” (ch.23; p.238). Likewise, outlaws are portrayed as equal to citizens, as when, near the close of the novel, outlaws become part of King Richard’s court and guard. Although Robin Hood represents a thematic center of gravity, the whole structure of Ivanhoe is a displaced Robin Hood text. Central elements of the outlaw myth have been retained but are located in a different leading character because Robin Hood carries a message inherently hostile to the producing and

consuming context (Knight, Complete 173). Though Locksley is sidelined in plot, whenever he appears he has great impact. King Richard is his only equal authority in the text. Scott exhibits a kind of approach-avoidance relationship with Locksley's character, his power being too great to be handled too much (Knight, Complete 176). Knight summarizes the impact of Scott's portrayal in Ivanhoe on the Robin Hood tradition as relocating "Robin Hood within a historical and particularly a national frame of reference" (Mythic 110).

Like Ivanhoe, Rob Roy represents another novelistic treatment of a famous outlaw. Although entitled "Rob Roy," the main protagonist of the novel is Frank Osbaldistone, who serves as the first-person narrator through whom we experience most of the narrative. Rob Roy, similar to Robin Hood in Ivanhoe, remains thematically powerful but, though more involved in the plot than Robin Hood, narratively distanced. Waverley, Scott's first novel, also deals with the Scot rebellion and other similar themes. Most agree that Waverley is the superior novel as a literary work, whose "magnetic pull" causes Rob Roy to suffer (Cockshut 153); but despite any artistic weakness the novel may have, Rob Roy is a fascinating study of the outlaw figure. One of the most interesting aspects of this novel is the thematic tension between the outlaw Rob Roy and the citizen Frank, who flirts with the outlaw realm.

The phenomenon of telling stories about robbers is an underlining theme of Rob Roy, expressed in the opening chapters: "Robbers, a fertile and alarming theme, filled up every vacancy; and the names of the Golden Farmer, the Flying Highwayman, Jack Needham, and other Beggar's Opera heroes, were familiar in our mouths as household words" (33; ch. 3). The most pervasive message in the novel conveyed by these robber tales is the blurring of the distinction between lawful citizen and outlaw, between good and evil. This blurring of the distinction is central to Romantic outlaw narratives and to the concept of the noble outlaw. Frank contemplates this state of affairs, observing that, "A man in those days might have all the external appearance of a gentleman, and yet turn out to be a highwayman" (35; ch. 3). This highwaymen "carried on their trade with something like courtesy" and "piqued themselves on being the best behaved men

on the road, and on conducting themselves with all appropriate civility in the exercise of their vocation” (36; ch. 3).

In this context, it is quite easy for our sympathies to lie with Rob Roy. As in other outlaw narratives, we see the outlaw on a human level. In an intimate conversation between Frank and Rob Roy, Rob laments his outlaw status. He begins: “MacGregor first broke silence, in the tone of one who takes up his determination, to enter on a painful subject” (437). He, the outlaw, is able to open up with Frank, the non-outlaw, because they, as human beings, share the same feelings, “each...wrapt in his own painful reverie” (437). Rob Roy shares many other characteristics with Romantic outlaw narratives—too many to mention here.

Despite these similarities, Scott’s scope in his novels is usually much broader than the Romantic outlaw. Although he writes other outlaw narratives, such as The Pirate (mentioned several times in the Introduction), Scott tends to be more interested in portraying nations and groups (Jews, Anglo-Saxons, Highlanders, etc.) than the individual, as many outlaw narratives do. Nowhere is this more evident than in Ivanhoe and Rob Roy, with their sidelining of the outlaw hero. Knight, in his discussion of Ivanhoe, strongly asserts that “Scott’s main thematic impact on the outlaw tradition was to make it a matter of race” (Mythic 115). But his most important contribution was the exposure he gave to Robin Hood, taking him “out of marginal theater, antiquarian anthologies..., and the private thoughts of poets” and inserting him “into the middle of the dominant and massively developing genre or the period, the novel” (Knight, Mythic 116). This exposure, Sutherland suggests, spilled over to the American novel and the outlaw narrative of the American West:

The nautical tale...can plausibly be said to begin with Scott’s The Pirate (1822), and James Fenimore Cooper’s corrective response (drawing on his authentic experience at sea), The Pilot (1824). Via Cooper’s leatherstocking tales which begin with the Pioneers (1823), and are frankly derived from Rob Roy (1817), Scott can claim to be the father of the ‘Western’. (Sutherland 342)

Succeeding Scott as the most fashionable author of the day was Lord Byron (1788-1824), whose appeal was superficially rebellious but really bi-partisan at a deeper level (Butler 118). Byron showed a consistent interest in the outcast figure in general and an early interest in the outlaw figure in particular. In 1806 he wrote Fugitive Pieces, and he wrote a drama about the proto-criminal, Cain (1821). His Manfred represents the villain turned remorseful hero who can gain our sympathy (Thorslev 57), and his Childe Harold (1812) celebrates the efforts of the freedom fighters and portrays tyranny as the enemy (Butler 118). Thorslev categorizes Childe Harold as belonging to the wanderer type, who wanders not due to wanderlust but because he is an outcast from society and accused of God (104).

Thorslev claims that Byron was influenced either directly or indirectly by the first of the Romantic outlaw narratives, such as Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen (1771), Schiller's The Robbers, and Scott's first verse romances—The Lay of the Last Minstrel (1805); Marmion (1808); Rokeby (1813) (Thorslev 70). Similarly, Butler speaks of Byron's link to Scott (in his translation of heroes from Scott's historical setting to a present-day theater of war) and his development of the Byronic hero from prototypes such as Karl Moor and Scott's Marmion in such works as The Bride of Abydos, Lara, The Corsair, and The Giaour (Butler 118). In fact, Byron notes that he read Schiller's The Robbers in translation in 1814 after writing Giaour and Corsair and while writing Lara (Thorslev 75-6).

The Giaour (1813) is the first in the very successful series of a genre which Byron called the "Eastern tale". Its eponymous hero is one of the first delineations, after Child Harold, of the "Byronic hero" (Wolfson 790). The crime of this tale—the Giaour's murder of Hassan—is not the focus of the narrative, for like Christian Wolf's and Wilhelm Tell's murders, the narrative does not actually show or describe the act itself but only the emotions before and after the act. This strong psychological focus retards the actual action, giving insight into the murderer's motives and state of mind. We learn that this is not rash action "of transient Anger's hasty blush" (line 237) but, again like Tell's murder of Gessler, a premeditated act. His "Anger" is "pale as marble

o'er the tomb, / Whose ghastly whiteness aids its gloom" (238-239). The Giaour is a typically melancholy outlaw. We see him later in life as a Caloyer (a monk). His face "was so mark'd with inward pain" (794), and "It breathes the same dark spirit now, / As death were stamp'd upon his brow." (796-7). He will not go to confession or partake of the holy sacrament "But broods within his cell alone" (806). In addition to being melancholy, he is also portrayed as a noble outlaw: "The common crowd but see the gloom / Of wayward deeds, and fitting doom; / The close observer can espy / A noble soul, and lineage high" (866-869). Like Schiller's narrator in "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre", the poet calls on the reader to go beyond a view that is common and to see the soul—in this case a noble soul.

The *Corsair* (1814) was a popular poem but also criticized for elevating "the Corsair, a criminal and outlaw, to heroic status" (Wolfson 793). It opens in the same vein as Vulpius's *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, with a focused portrait of the melancholy outlaw reigning in the transitory loneliness of the wild space. The opening lines seem to extol the freedom of the pirate's life: "O'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea, / Our thoughts as boundless, and our souls as free" (1:1-2). Yet this is a "wild life in tumult," which, though boundless, holds the outlaw captive. Conrad, "that man of loneliness and mystery" (1:173), remains distant from his fellow outlaws, like other Romantic outlaw captains —"Ne'er seasons he with mirth their jovial mess" (1:65). The description of Conrad in Canto 1, lines 171-308 "emerged as a canonical portrait of the Byronic hero: a dark, brooding, mysterious outlaw, whose 'one virtue' midst his 'thousand crimes' is his devotion to his wife and, in general, an ethic of chivalry with regard to women" (Wolfson 793).<sup>272</sup>

As with Gothic fiction and the *Räuberroman*, even Scott's and Byron's outlaw narratives met with criticism for their subject matter. Writing in his "The Four Ages of Poetry" (1820), Thomas Love Peacock complains that poetry once fulfilled a civilizing

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<sup>272</sup> Richetti reminds us that most pirates, in narratives before Byron and the Romantic Period, are presented as the greatest of sinners, who exhibit a total revolt from law and morality but also an independence which is encompassed by "attractive satanic suggestions." The narrator is often careful to stress the blasphemy of their acts (Richetti 75-6).

function but is now irrelevant to “the progress of useful art and science, and of moral and political knowledge.” He cites the two major canonical writers of outlaw narratives in English literature: “Mr. Scott digs up the poachers and cattle-stealers [Rob Roy] of the ancient border. Lord Byron cruises for thieves and pirates...among the Greek Islands” (Peacock 761-5). In addition, like Fielding almost a century earlier, Peacock adopts a mocking attitude in his parody novel about Robin Hood, Maid Marian (1818).

Like English and German, French literature shows a great interest in criminal literature during the the eighteenth and nineteenth century, both in popular fiction as well as in established writers of the French canon. The four great criminal figures in French eighteenth-century literature are Cartouche, Mandrin, Damiens, and Desrues. Unlike the figures in Germany and England, these criminal figures do not occur in canonized texts (Lüsebrink, Kriminalität 98), but they do occur in five main forms, which Lüsebrink classifies as:

- 1- Pragmatic texts – accounts of verdicts
- 2- Epideictic texts – texts arising to protest or highlight new laws
- 3- Official “relations” – the official version of the trial in narrative form
- 4- Colportage literature – “dime novels”, cheap biographies, folk literature, songs
- 5- Pamphlets (which includes 9 genres, such as philosophical dialogue, comedy, ode, epic poetry, etc.) (Lüsebrink, Kriminalität 99-100)

The literature of the 1720s about Cartouche featured what Lipnick calls the Godfather type—a criminal hated and often depicted as less than human. However, as a gang leader, he is admired for his ability to impose order. Readers also enjoyed his ability to “outwit or elude the authorities” (Lipnick 353). When accompanied by glamour (mistresses, expensive clothes, etc.), this type “embodies both a longing for an ideal order and an impatience with the frustrations of daily life” and serves as “both the model of what must be eliminated from society and the kind of leader needed to purify it” (Lipnick 354). The literature about Mandrin of the 1750s features the “Freedom

Fighter type”, remaking Mandrin into a “humanitarian and idealist mold” far removed from the “rough and tough original” (Lipnick 354).

Lüsebrink notes that some of the official fictitious texts (e.g., Histoire de Cartouche, Histoire de Mandrin, Vie Privée et Criminelle de Desrues) were forced to include the positive aspects of the criminals (Lüsebrink, Kriminalität 100). As in German and English Romantic literature, a noble outlaw persona is often created. French robber literature possesses elements and familiar patterns we have already discussed, such as the contrast between noble and ignoble outlaw: Mandrin vs. Brok and Cartouche vs. band member Duchâtelet. French robber literature does, however, differ from German robber literature in being more embedded in the political framework, more intertextually layered with folk criminal stories, and in possessing a social consensus for the social bandits Cartouche, Mandrin, Guillery—particularly in light of the legal and social order of the *Ancien Régime*, which was seen as obsolete (Lüsebrink, “Französische Brigantenliteratur” 179-80, 183). In addition to the less literary biographical treatments of French outlaws, canonical writers also often took up the subject of crime, criminals, and the outlaw, though usually not the real-life robbers such as Cartouche and Mandrin.

As elsewhere in Europe, Schiller’s Robbers was influential, seen in the very popular adaptation by La Martellière: Robert chef de brigands (1793) (Lüsebrink, “Französische Brigantenliteratur” 184). Writers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau accustomed the reading public to the shocking and intimate details of guilt (in Confessions [1782]) (Ziolkowski, “Portrait” 291) and wrote much about politics, society, law, and the relationship of the individual to society (or noble outlaw to society).

The big names of French criminal or outlaw narrative are Diderot, Sade, and Hugo. Other canonical writers treating the subject include Dumas (Crime célèbres, 1839-41; El Salteador [The Brigand], 1854);, Le Prince des voleurs, 1872; Robin Hood le proscrit (1873), Stendhal (Le Rouge et le Noir, 1830), and Balzac in his novel Annette et le criminel (1824)—later given the title of Argow le Pirate (Murch 51)—and

his outlaw genius Vautrin, who figures prominently in Old Goriot (1834-35).<sup>273</sup> There are, of course, less-known writers and works such as Ducray-Duminil's Victor ou l'enfant de la forêt (1796), which Peyrache groups with Caleb Williams and the Gothic (Peyrache 279) and whose bandit hero elicits both "fascination" and "repulsion" (Peyrache 286). In Charles Nodier's novel Jean Sbogar (1818), the eponymous hero, a robber captain, roams the Dalmatian coast. Both Hirn and Praz compare the novel to Byron's narratives and his imitators (Hirn 62; Praz 61), and Praz relates it to Zschokke (61).

Denis Diderot (1713-84), who wrote novels that indulged the more refined public taste for crime, might be thought of and is often referred to as a harbinger of the French Romantic outlaw narrative. His Neveu de Rameau (1762) is one of the earliest examples of a literary preoccupation with the criminal (Ziolkowski, "Portrait" 296).<sup>274</sup> A French literary historian (A. DuPouy) called another one of Diderot's works, "Les deux amis de Bourbonne" ("The Two Friends from Bourbonne" (1773),<sup>275</sup> the starting point of German Robber Romanticism (Hirn 48). Similarly, Furbank suggests that the "romanticism of the outlaw" and the "impetuous abruptness of style" of this story "helped to set Schiller on a new path as a writer" (1). The importance of "Les deux amis de Bourbonne" for German Romanticism is supported by Goethe's mention in Dichtung und Wahrheit of Diderot's thieves delighting the Germans (11<sup>th</sup> Book) (Hirn

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<sup>273</sup> Balzac represents more the realistic treatment of the criminal than Romantic outlaw narrative. Hammer says that Balzac is "perhaps the most important innovator of literary criminality in the nineteenth century" (158-9). Inspired by the ex-convict Vidocq, Balzac's Vautrin appears in Le Père Goriot (1834-35), Les Splendeurs et Misères des Courtisanes (1843-47), and Le Dernière Incarnation de Vautrin (1847) (Murch 52). "Throughout his *Comédie Humaine* Balzac introduced outstandingly clever criminal or reprobate heroes and presented them as character to be admired, not because they were criminals, but because they were clever" (Murch 52).

<sup>274</sup> This work has an interesting history. There are many opinions of when it was written, but most agree it was sometime in the early 1760s, yet it was not published until Goethe's German translation in 1805. After Diderot's death in 1784, his books went to Catherine the Great of Russia, among which was a copy of Rameau's Nephew (Barzun 3). A smuggled copy found its way to Germany at the turn of the century. It reached Schiller and then Goethe, who translated it in 1805 (Barzun 3). Goethe's translation was then retranslated into French in 1821 from Goethe's German version. Diderot's manuscript was not recovered until 1891 (Ziolkowski n.2; Furbank 1-2; Barzun 3).

<sup>275</sup> This work appeared first in a 1772 German translation by Salomon Gessner before it appeared a year later in French.

48-9): “His children of nature...pleased us very much; his brave poachers and smugglers enchanted us” (Goethe, Autobiography 106). He apparently also said elsewhere that the story reminded him of Schiller’s Die Räuber (Müller-Fraureuth 36). Many of these literary and public texts about brigands in France were translated into German (Lüsebrink, “Französische Brigantenliteratur” 187).

Marquis de Sade’s novel Aline et Valcour (1793) portrays the robber captain Brigando as a philosophe and wise judge (Lüsebrink, “Französische Brigantenliteratur 178), but Sade writes less about the outlaw hero and more about the problemization of the criminal hero, or anti-hero. His fiction is very provocative, laden with issues of crime (often sexual) and guilt. Hammer compares him with Schiller, but I see him closer to Kleist. One example of the flavor of his writing is found in his short story “Dorgeville ou le criminel par vertu” (“Dorgeville, or The Criminal through Virtue”). Part of Les Crimes de l’Amour (The Crimes of Love), the story was written after 1784 and published in 1800. Dorgeville is portrayed as extremely honorable and beneficent (if somewhat self-serving), but also very human, as seen in his utterance, when angered: “I could have killed that cruel man...if humanity had not restrained me...” (Sade 54). His crime of incest results precisely because of his overbearing virtue. Dorgeville discusses the dangers of small crimes escalating to big crimes, particularly in regards to women; and we see in the story the theme of incest found in many of the stories in this collection.

Sade’s major work on criminality, of course, is Justine (1797). Like Dorgeville, and similar to Fielding’s Jonathan Wild, Justine emerges as a criminal within the inverted framework of a criminal society, being punished when committing a virtuous or lawful deed in the same way that her sister is rewarded for her vicious, illegal behavior (Hammer 100). There are multiple criminals in the novel: “Sade’s characters collectively construct a seemingly impenetrable edifice of arguments that defend crime as practical, potentially pleasurable, and therefore irresistible, since it serves all individuals’ primary interests” (Hammer 100). Sade’s criminals seem to constitute an “odd utopia ...where women as well as men freely practice criminality regardless of

class distinctions” (Hammer 100). Justine, a literary descendant of Moll Flanders, is in many ways the culmination of the criminal feminine during the Enlightenment (along with Schiller’s work), but it marks the end of “significant female presence in the literary text of crime” for a long time to come (Hammer 110). One reason for this, Hammer suggests, is that every character is potentially feminine, thus alleviating the need for an actual woman in the text. But, while female criminals all but disappear from literature, their role as marginal figures in outlaw narratives increase (Hammer 113).

The last French literary figure I will mention is Victor Hugo. His works treat the criminal, crime, and punishment in many ways and often on a large scale, as in Les Misérables. Hammer draws many parallels in Les Misérables (1862) to other outlaw narratives we have discussed, stating that the novel seems at first to “glorify criminality through the depiction of an impressive pantheon of outlaw characters” (156). Like many Romantic outlaws, Jean Valjean is a man of feeling, “a rebel against society” (like Karl Moor), “a loving father” (like Michael Kohlhaas), “and a wily ex-con on the lam from a relentless police” (like Caleb Williams) (Hammer 157). Through this relentless pursuit of Jean Valjean by Javert, Hugo, like Godwin in Caleb Williams, problematizes the idea of the outlaw’s freedom (Hammer 157).<sup>276</sup> His famous example of the French noble outlaw is Hernani (Bishop 62), a robber captain in Hugo’s Hernani (1830), and his Le Dernier Jour d’un Condamné [The Last Day of a Condemned Man] (1829) is a long monologue describing the feelings of a condemned man from pronouncement of the death sentence to the moment, some weeks later, when he is about to mount the scaffold. As other writers of outlaw narrative, Hugo chooses in Le Dernier Jour d’un Condamné “a criminal hero who in all other respects appears to be the essence of bourgeois respectability” (Porter 20). In addition, as we have seen in other outlaw narratives, the actual crime or crimes of the criminal hero are narratively

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<sup>276</sup> Hammer elaborates on this limitation of freedom thus: “Les Misérables gives us a criminal hero of epic proportions, but the epic space that holds him (in both literal and penal senses of the word) is a place where all rebellions fail and where even the most socially deviant can be ‘normalized’ by the diminutive power of realistic portraiture” (158).

distanced. Porter notes this deliberate omission: “Apparently in order to enhance the reader’s sympathy for his condemned man, Hugo never discloses the nature of the murder beyond implying it was somehow justifiable homicide” (Porter 20). Similar to Charles Dickens in Oliver Twist, Hugo confronts his reader with the evils of capital punishment: “Wretched man! what a crime I have committed and what a crime I cause society to commit” (Porter 20). Interestingly, this represents a reversal of the outlaw element of impetus, for it is no longer the society causing the criminal to crime but actually the criminal bringing the society to crime.

Russian Romanticism has a rich tradition of outlaw narratives that would warrant a completely separate study. Like Germany, England, and France, Russia produced plenty of outlaws and plenty of literature about these outlaws.<sup>277</sup> In the late eighteenth century, Russia’s interest in criminal narrative from Western Europe is evident in its translations of the most famous criminal narratives of Germany, England, and France. A Russian translation of the life of Louis Dominique Cartouche appeared in 1771 and of Fielding’s Jonathan Wild the Great in 1772 (Striedter 121). Interestingly, none of Defoe’s picaresque novels involving crime or criminals (Moll Flanders, Colonel Jack, Roxana) were published in Russian before 1830, while, in contrast, Fielding’s Jonathan Wild was translated into Russian more than once in the eighteenth century (Striedter 29). Schiller’s Die Räuber was not translated until 1793 by N.N. Sandunov, but thereafter, Schiller’s influence grew in Russia (Neuhäuser 107).

Van’ka Kain, about whom many narratives were written, was Russia’s own Jonathan Wild, or Cartouche. Like Cartouche, Ivan Osipov-Kain made the capital city of his country unsafe through his deeds and those of his band (Striedter 133). Like Jonathan Wild, he was a thief himself who then turned informant by submitting lists of criminals to the authorities (Striedter 121). The first and shortest narrative on him

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<sup>277</sup> A beginning point for studying both the history and the literature include: Paul Avrich, Russian Rebels: 1600-1800 (New York: Schocken Books, 1972) and Marcia A. Morris, The Literature of Roguery in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Russia, (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern UP, 2000). See also Patricia Ann Krafcik, “Stenka Razin in Russian Historical Folksongs: A Robin Hood of the Volga,” (Ph.D. diss. Columbia University, 1980) and Natalie O. Kononenko, “Clothes Unmake the Social Bandit: Sten’ka Razin and the Golyt’ba”, in Potter, Playing 111-35.

(about thirty pages) was published in 1775 under the title (here translated) “Short Narrative About the Famous Thief and Rogue Van’ka Kain” (Striedter 122). A longer account appeared two years later, called Life and Adventures of the Russian Cartouche, called Kain, the Famous Swindler and Persecutor of People in This Occupation (1777) (Striedter 122). In 1779, Komarov produced another Kain narrative which was published in combination with a Russian translation of the story of Cartouche (Striedter 123). Interestingly, and in contrast to many outlaw narratives, upon comparison of the Kain literary treatments with the historical records, one sees a tendency not only to refrain from romanticizing and noblizing Kain but an attempt to make him actually appear more banal. For instance, acts of bravery found in the historical chronicles will be omitted in the literary version, and Kain’s role as leader of a band, established in the historical record, is deemphasized (Striedter 136). The terrible criminal is transformed into a harmless picaro (Striedter 279).<sup>278</sup>

Russian pre-Romantic and Romantic writers, like their English, German, and French counterparts, regularly treated the outlaw subject in their works. Küchelbecker writes about a murderer in his “Svyatopolk” (1823), in which “Svyatopolk the Accursed” murders his sainted brothers (William Brown 31). D.V. Grigorovich’s Anton the Unfortunate [Anton-goremyka] (1847) is about an unlucky outlaw. Bestuzhev (Marlinsky), famous for his historical tales, grafts the externals of Scott’s method (costumes and scenery, etc.) onto Karamzin’s imaginative and sentimental reconstruction of the past. His Caucasian Tales contain portrayals, mostly incidental, of various outlaws. Roman and Olga features the noble brigand Berkut (William Brown 161), and Mulla-Nur (1836) portrays the legendary highwayman whose career of crime had begun with the murder of his own uncle (William Brown 216-7). Narezheny also wrote narratives, reflective of the age, that treat law and legal themes, such as the outlaw. His Two Ivans, or The Passion for Litigation (1825) tells of the two Ivans, whose destructive behavior brings catastrophic consequences. They burn

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<sup>278</sup> This is particularly true in the 1777 version. The 1779 version is more historically accurate, showing the terribleness of Kain (Striedter 282).

down each other's property (barn, windmills, etc.), and every time there is a lawsuit, the court seizes most of the damages for "costs" (William Brown 197-8). His Bursak (The Bursary Student) (1824) contains brief pictures of brigand life, utilizing the conventionalized trope of the traveler through the Ukraine being captured by robbers (William Brown 196). Garkusha, Brigand of Little Russia is a work more focused on the outlaw, but, like many other outlaw works of the period, remained unfinished (William Brown 200). According to Neuhäuser, Narezheny was influenced by Schiller's Die Räuber when writing Dmitrii, the Pretender (1800) (Neuhäuser 109).

The two giants of Russian Romanticism, Lermontov and Pushkin, also showed great interest in the subject of criminal narrative. Both had been exiled themselves and understood the plight of the outlaw as well as the literary potential of the subject. Both wrote about the historical outlaw Pugachev and his rebellion. Lermontov's unfinished romance Vadim, is about the Pugachev Rebellion of 1773-4 (Mirsky 162); and Pushkin, evidently very interested in the subject matter, wrote both a historical treatment about the outlaw Pugachev, The History of the Pugachev Rebellion (1834), and a romantic, fictional treatment in The Captain's Daughter (1836).<sup>279</sup> The latter exhibits many similarities to Walter Scott's outlaw novel, Rob Roy (1817). Lermontov also wrote The Criminal (1829) and The Spaniards (1830). Kostka draws many parallels between the criminal Fernando and Schiller's Karl Moor (54-7). In "The Fugitive" (1841), written during or after Lermontov's first Caucasian exile, a young warrior flees the battlefield without avenging the death of his father and brothers and, after failed attempts to find refuge, eventually commits suicide (Mersereau 67). Pushkin's other narratives which feature outlaws include "Prisoner of the Caucasus"; "The Gypsies" (1824) with the outlaw Aleko; the prose work "Kirdjali" (1834); and the fragment "The Robber Brothers" (written 1821-2, published 1825).<sup>280</sup> His work that most closely resembles an outlaw narrative in the sense we discuss in this study is a

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<sup>279</sup> For an excellent discussion of the genesis of the latter two works, see Debreczeny, Other Pushkin 237-72.

<sup>280</sup> Debreczeny claims that "The Robber Brothers" inspired five notable Russian imitations (Social Functions 84).

little-known prose work, also a fragment, called “Dubrovsky” (1833).<sup>281</sup> Although very different in form and style, “Dubrovsky” has many points of comparison with Schiller’s Die Räuber, not only in the similarities between their outlaw-heroes, Karl Moor and Vladimir Dubrovsky, but also in their similar plot and thematic elements.<sup>282</sup> Both experience an impetus to crime. Karl suffers injustice through the lies and manipulation of his brother Franz, while the injustice which Dubrovsky perceives is a legal maneuver by Troyekurov which indirectly causes his father’s death and leads to the loss of the estate.<sup>283</sup> Thus, both narratives possess ignoble citizen opponents which uphold the letter of the law, the juridical law, while violating the spirit of the law, or the moral law. Dubrovsky, like many Romantic outlaws, assumes a legendary and Robin-Hood-like image: “I have always heard that Dubrovsky doesn’t simply attack anybody, but only those who are known to be rich, and that even then he only takes his share, so as not to leave them destitute” (229). As in Kleist’s Michael Kohlhaas, the representatives of the establishment—lawyers, judges, even the district surgeon—are portrayed as ignorant, vain, or malicious. As in Schiller’s “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre,” the law is portrayed as lacking compassion and moral sense. Breitenfellner compares Dubrovsky not only to Schiller’s heroes, calling Pushkin’s

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<sup>281</sup> Pushkin began “Dubrovsky” in October 1832 (Debreczeny, Other Pushkin, 152) and, losing interest, quit in February 1833 with a hastily written ending (156). The story was first published, albeit in censored form, in 1841 (319n).

<sup>282</sup> Many have pointed to the influence of Schiller on Pushkin. Pushkin knew Schiller’s plays and actively sought out to read them, but there is some disagreement about how influenced he was by them. Bayley maintains Pushkin had no great proclivity for them (170) and disputes the comparison of Dubrovsky with not only Robin Hood but also with Karl Moor, saying Dubrovsky “is not a Robin Hood figure, or even a Karl Moor, but more like Kleist’s Michael Kohlhaas, whose acceptance of the social order is transformed into violent rejection” (341). Dostoevsky said of Schiller and Pushkin that “There is not the slightest resemblance between the two” (qtd. in Kostka, Schiller 216). Many, however, have noted similarities. Kostka asserts that Pushkin drew substantially on Schiller in all genres (“Pushkin’s Debt”), yet does not include a chapter on him in his book, Schiller in Russian Literature, which includes chapters on other Russians figures such as Lermontov, Bakunin, Herzen, and Dostoevsky. Brody outlines Schiller’s and Pushkin’s creative adaptation of the same historical material without making strong claims of influence, and Debreczeny cites Die Räuber as one of the more influential works for Pushkin’s “Dubrovsky” (Other Pushkin 161).

<sup>283</sup> The injustice is of course in many ways a question of perception. As some have noted (for instance Debreczeny 166) many share guilt in the matter and the blame does not rest solely on Troyekurov.

narrative “eine der Räubergeschichten in der Nachfolge Schillers” (205), but also to Vulpius’s Rinaldo Rinaldini (206).

Much more could be said about outlaw narrative in Russian, as well as British and French, literature. These examples of criminal and outlaw narratives from British, French, and Russian literature serve only as a tickler for further study and as an indication of the ubiquitous interest in the subject. There are many more examples and many more issues in these works that could be discussed.

### 3. Beyond Romantic Outlaw Narrative

The interest in the criminal, of course, continued as the Romantic Period gave way to new aesthetics, attitudes, and modes of portrayal. I will discuss three developments of criminal narrative after Romanticism, all of which have continued and flourish to this day in some form. The first development is a continuation of the Romantic outlaw narrative tradition but with increased sentimentality. It includes the German *Räuberroman* and the English Newgate novel, and its descendant genres such as the Westerns of the twentieth century. The second development is the realistic, of which writers such as Dostoevsky, Dickens, Balzac and Hauptmann are representative. The third is detective fiction.

Having already discussed the German *Räuberroman*, I will discuss the Newgate novel as a representative type of this first development. The Newgate novel, developing in the 1830s and 1840s, derived its name from reviewers and satirists who accused novelists of unhealthily elaborating on criminals in the *Newgate Calendar* (Grossman 137). Reminiscent of opponents to the German *Räuberroman*, critics of the Newgate novel such as William Makepeace Thackeray—particularly in his parodies *Catherine* (1839) and *Barry Lyndon* (1844) (Hirn 93)—shuddered “for the public, whom its literary providers have gorged with blood, and foul Newgate garbage” (qtd. in Grossman 137). Depiction of crime and lack of morals was the cause for much of the condemnation. In particular, many criticized the obliteration of distinction between

good and evil, citizen and criminal. John Forster in 1841 wrote about Bulwer: “the limits between good and evil are scarcely marked throughout with sufficient clearness and precision” (qtd. in Grossman 140). Similarly, Thackeray calls for moral clarity: “Let your rogues in novels act like rogues, and your honest men like honest men; don’t let us have any juggling and thimblerrigging with virtue and vice, so that, at the end of three volumes, the bewildered reader shall not know which is which” (qtd. in Grossman 137).

This tendency to blur or reverse distinctions was seen, of course, one hundred years earlier in Defoe and Fielding and was prominent in the Romantic outlaw narrative as well. We see this element in Edward Bulwer-Lytton, one of the major Newgate novelists. In the Preface to his Paul Clifford (1830), considered the first Newgate novel, he writes: “Compare...the hunted son and the honoured father, the outcast of the law, the dispenser of the law—the felon, and the judge...who can say, that the Paul Clifford is a worse man than the William Brandon?” (qtd. in Grossman 139). Clifford underscores that there is no absolute divide between criminal characters and virtuous ones (Grossman 139).

Bulwer takes up many problems in his novels, though less seriously and more sentimentally than some of his Romantic precursors. Again, hearkening back to Defoe, Bulwer treats the element of an impetus of external circumstances, illustrating that Clifford and other criminals are produced by circumstances (meaning society in general and the criminal justice system in particular) (Grossman 139). In his Eugene Aram (1832), another major Newgate novel, he portrays the problem of past guilt—seen often in Gothic fiction—by using the Newgate figure, who is arrested 13 years after committing a murder. The novel, with its omniscient narrator, aligns us with Aram, in contrast to the accounts in the Newgate Calendar, which, at best sanction “a reader’s horrified fascination” (Grossman 143). With Eugene Aram, Bulwer “unveiled a criminal character psychologically” (Grossman 144). However, although Newgate novels in general offered more psychological interpretation than the criminal biography source material, “Bulwer gave them easy stereotypical motivation in place of insight”

(Novak, “Appearances” 44). Representing a move from the realistic rendering of crime, as in Defoe, to a more genteel type of novel, Bulwer sentimentalizes the story, giving Aram altruistic motives and turning Daniel into terrible villain, whose murder becomes a noble act. Novak continues his criticism of the novel: “That the story of Eugene Aram was not turned into a novel before Bulwer’s effort in 1831 is almost as surprising as the weakness of his rendering of such rich material” (Novak, “Appearances” 44). William Ainsworth, with his novels Rookwood (about Richard Turpin) (1834) and Jack Sheppard (1839) was another Newgate novelist, his two major Newgate fictions being less sophisticated than Bulwer in their use of Newgate criminals as popular heroes (Grossman 143). In short, the Newgate novel may be viewed as a mixture of the Romantic tendencies (but more sentimental) and the Defoe tradition, with its urban and social emphasis—an emphasis shared also with the realistic and detective.

Some associate Charles Dickens with the Newgate novel, particularly his Oliver Twist (1837), but I see Dickens more as part of the second, or realistic, development of criminal fiction. Oliver Twist, with its portrayal of various murders, arrests, and manhunts, is “above all a crime novel to the extent that it represents the milieu and institutions of criminal society in ways recognizable” in real life accounts (Porter 18). Dickens treats crime directly or indirectly through various criminal characters in many of his novels, which, in their realism and urban setting, are reminiscent of Defoe and Fielding. The realistic development of criminal portrayal is characterized by an abandonment of the sentimental and, instead of the narrative distance found in Romantic outlaw narrative, a focus on the hard and dirty details of criminal life. There is a continuation in realism on focusing on the inner rather than the outer, but emotion is replaced by the inner thoughts of the criminal. We see this tendency strongly already in Caleb Williams, but it reaches a pinnacle in Raskolnikov of Dostoevsky’s Crime and Punishment—a great example of the realistic development of criminal fiction. A comparison of Crime and Punishment with Defoe’s Moll Flanders may illustrate the cyclical return to realism after Romanticism.

Raskolnikov, like Moll Flanders is not an outlaw in the sense of being an outcast forced to wander and rebel against society. Rather, he is a creature of the city, pushed to crime partly by circumstances—poverty—and partly due to his own sense of superiority as an extraordinary man. In realistic criminal narrative, the impetus to crime that leads a good citizen to crime degenerates to no impetus at all, meaning that the hero is in fact not a particularly good citizen driven to crime but is a lowly creature that is perhaps predisposed to crime. In both Moll Flanders and Crime and Punishment, the criminal protagonist is not alienated but dwells and operates in the city, or “amidst the crowds of metropolis”—as Caleb Williams’s flight into London is described (250; vol. 3; ch. 7). The only wild space is the wild, poverty-stricken chaos of the city. No longer a free outlaw in the wild space, the realistic criminal is a creature bound to the society that begat him. Like Moll Flanders, Crime and Punishment shows in great detail the working of the criminal mind, spends a lot of time on the initial act of crime, dwells on issues of guilt and getting caught, and finally ends with repentance. These two novels also represent other similarities between the two eras in their portrayal of criminals. Compared to Romantic outlaw narrative, they are less sympathetic toward the criminal, who tends to possess fewer noble characteristics and more psychotic tendencies. Despite this (or perhaps because of this) the narrative voice tends to be nearer to the protagonist. For instance, in Moll Flanders we have first-person narrative and in Crime and Punishment internal monologue. Although Defoe and other writers of criminal narrative in the eighteenth century have been considered realistic in their mode of portrayal, the realism of Dostoevsky and of the nineteenth century in general is much more poignant and deliberate, with greater elaboration both of psychological portrayal as well as actual physical detail and description of the world.

In addition to the drastic change in setting and portrayal that we see in realist narrative of crime, we also see a continuation of what we saw in Kleist’s Michael Kohlhaas, namely the toppling of structures of good and evil, hero and villain. The development of the anti-hero, which began already in Romantic works, continues in realistic works, which turn more and more from the noble and extraordinary to the

mundane—or, as in the case of Raskolnikov, the pseudo-extraordinary. Corresponding to the ever broadening interest in individual psychology, it comes as no surprise that many works of the period bear as their title simply the name of the main character (Furst, “Romantic Hero” 42). Portraying character and using character to develop theme was a central practice in Romantic works, particularly Gothic and criminal works.<sup>284</sup> The chief character, or hero, of many works of the period were thus of prime interest. The hero was the chief protagonist of many works, and thus, Furst points out that “in their preoccupation with heroism, the Romantics were heirs to the eighteenth century.... But from the outset there were signs of a certain unease with the heroic ideal” (Furst, “Romantic Hero” 40). We saw this in several works we have discussed, such as in the marginalization of Robin Hood in Scott’s *Ivanhoe*, the deflation of Michael Kohlhaas, and what Ockenden calls in Schiller’s *Wilhelm Tell* the “outmoded individual heroism of a bygone age” (Ockenden 41). *Götz* and *Karl Moor* too are “already at some remove from the customary norms of prescriptive heroism in their moral equivocalness” (Furst, “Romantic Hero” 40).

As we have discussed, the Romantic outlaw possesses many characteristics of the traditional hero, which include an essentially outward-looking orientation, propensity for leadership, and a readiness to sacrifice self (Furst, “Romantic Hero” 44). *Wilhelm Tell* fits this description most completely, but other outlaws exhibit these characteristics as well. But while the Romantic outlaw is a hero figure, he also begins to take on the characteristics of the anti-hero. As melancholy outlaw, the Romantic outlaw reflects the self-absorption which Furst cites as one of the primary characteristics of the modern anti-hero (“Romantic Hero” 44).

Furst talks about the European tradition in general, but her argument is supported by the major thesis of Bishop’s book that there is a direct line from René to the contemporary anti-hero. Bishop sees a progression from René as a “melancholy but

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<sup>284</sup> Le Tellier remarks that character in the Gothic novel, as in many Romantic outlaw narratives, is the most important ingredient of the genre, being of prime concern for the novelists and the chief means of developing theme (15). Similarly, Biener calls the analysis of individual drama figures one of the most predominant modes of literary criticism during the period (83).

proud hero” to Musset’s Frank and Octave, who represent the “melancholy but guilty hero” (Bishop 89). By the time we get to the Romantic irony of Stendhal’s Julien, the hero is still admired but also the object of authorial or narrative ambivalence (Bishop 89). His dignity, like that of Michael Kohlhaas, is constantly deflated. Bishop then argues for a progression to first the decadent hero and then the anti-hero of the twentieth century (Bishop 90).

The third development of criminal narrative after Romanticism is detective fiction, born in the nineteenth century and tightly linked to post-Romantic and realistic development of the criminal narrative.<sup>285</sup> Murch cites all manner of criminal narratives—such as Robin Hood, picaresque, Defoe, the Newgate Calendar, and Gothic—as early origins of detective fiction (19). In Romantic outlaw narrative, we have seen the detective figure already, such as Gines in Caleb Williams and Javert in Les Misérables.<sup>286</sup> Detective fiction represents a natural but, in some ways, radical departure from the Romantic outlaw narrative. In some ways, “the focus of the new detective genre actually remained much the same as it had been in works with the romantic rebel or noble bandit as hero—namely, the extraordinary abilities, and often extralegal activities, of the protagonist, whether he was a criminal or detective” (Black 42). But in many other ways, the genre exhibits radical changes. Grossman remarks that the detective novel contrasts with the Newgate calendar because it is centrally concerned with “unseating the narrator’s omniscient alignment with the criminal’s perspective” (157). This, of course, distinguishes detective fiction not only from the Newgate calendar but from many criminal narratives and especially Romantic outlaw

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<sup>285</sup> Sutherland, for instance, suggests that Bulwer influenced the detective novel (339).

<sup>286</sup> Caleb Williams “came closer to a detective story than any earlier fiction had done. He invented a new technique of plot construction, he based part of his story upon a searching and successful enquiry into a murder mystery, and he created two central characters foreshadowing the amateur detective and the official police agent” (Murch 32). Murch, however, does not entirely accept the novel as a detective novel “because these similarities are counterbalanced by essential differences,” such as Godwin not visualizing “the detective pursuing the criminal” (32). Kenneth Graham speaks of Caleb Williams as containing “two patterns of detective novel” (59). What I find most interesting about Caleb Williams as detective novel is that the story, like Crime and Punishment, is actually being told by the pursued rather than the pursuer.

narratives. In their shift away from the mind of the criminal to the mind of the detective pursuing the criminal, “tales of crime in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are told primarily from the standpoint of the law” (Vaver 305). Thus, the reader becomes distanced, even alienated. Edgar Allen Poe’s “The Murders in the Rue Morgue” (1841), the first classic detective story in English, captures this alienation of the criminal by having the murderer turn out to be an orangutan. This criminal is archetypically alienated from humanity, for we cannot get into the mind of this criminal (Grossman 158).

Richard Alewyn outlines the difference between the detective novel and the crime novel thus: “Der Kriminalroman erzählt die Geschichte eines Verbrechens, der Detektivroman die der Aufdeckung eines Verbrechens“ (qtd. in Haslinger 174). The crime novel, defined broadly as a story of crime, is close enough to Romantic outlaw narrative to make the contrast with detective fiction, which is the story of the discovery of a crime. The difference has profound structural implications. The structural elements of the outlaw narrative that we discussed in the Introduction, such as the importance of the etiology of crime, come into play here, for

Im Kriminalroman wird der Verbrecher dem Leser früher bekannt als die Tat und der Hergang der Tat früher als ihr Ausgang. Im Detektivroman dagegen ist die Reihenfolge umgekehrt. Wenn dem Leser der Täter bekannt wird, ist unweigerlich der Roman zu Ende, und auch den Ausgang der Tat erfährt er früher als ihren Hergang, und diesen Hergang nicht als Augenzeuge sondern durch nachträgliche Rekonstruktion. (qtd. in Haslinger 174)<sup>287</sup>

In this, the Romantic outlaw narrative asserts itself as even farther removed from detective fiction than the crime novel in its focus not on a crime but on the criminal. The Romantic outlaw narrative is very focused on the criminal, his background, his motives, his will to crime, and his humanity. The crime, in contrast, which is central in

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<sup>287</sup> For more on the difference between the detective novel and the criminal novel, with direct criticism and revision of Alewyn’s paradigm, see Gerber.

detective fiction, is in Romantic outlaw narrative often not precisely known, revealed only cursorarily later, or blurred by narrative distance.

All these developments that I have mentioned—post-Romantic, realistic, and detective—can be seen today in print and film. They share attributes with the Romantic outlaw narrative as they branch out into new directions or re-hash old formulas.

All of the texts discussed and mentioned in this study were written by members of society with a deep respect for law and society—despite the fact that some (such as Kleist, Pushkin, and Hugo) may have been arrested or exiled at one time or another. In other words, no writer was a criminal aiming to destroy or attack law in general, although criticism of specific regimes and legal practices can certainly be inferred. In fact, many of the writers (Defoe, Fielding, Scott) were active practitioners and supporters of the law. Most of the works discussed support law, society, and morals, despite the fact that they often glorify or romanticize the criminal.

This is true of the readers of these outlaw and criminal narratives as well, who largely consisted and consist of upstanding, bourgeois citizens. The subject of criminality, however, always harbors some danger and, as we have seen, draws moral criticism, despite the moral declarations of their authors:

Even when intended to shore up the authority of the law and the social order it sustains, the various forms of criminal writing always provide...the grounds for a challenge to that authority, precisely because they are structured by social conflict. In order to present their political and moral warnings efficaciously, the authors of criminal texts needed to make the case of the transgressor compelling, soliciting the reader's identification with the outlaw's position. (Gladfelder 8)

However, as Gladfelder warns, "Once readers are drawn into imaginative complicity with deviance, they may not recoil when called on" (9). The danger results in large measure to the sympathy granted the outlaw and also the artistic drive to portray the

Other. Hazlitt, in his essay “On Reason and Imagination” (1826), asserts that “‘the object and end’ of literature is ‘to enable us to feel for others as for ourselves’” (McCarthy 39). Imagination makes the bridging of the gulf between self and Other possible. The gulf can be formidable, and only through our own senses combined with imagination do we approach sympathy. In his The Theory of Moral Sentiments, (1759), Adam Smith, discusses this:

Though our brother is upon the rack, as long as we ourselves are at our ease, our senses will never inform us of what he suffers.... It is the impressions of our own senses only, not those of his, which our imaginations copy. By the imagination we place ourselves in his situation, we conceive ourselves enduring all the same torments, we enter as it were into his own body, and become in some measure the same person with him. (qtd. in Bender 220)

As we saw in Schiller, particularly in the prefatory section of “Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre,” achieving sympathy presupposes that a common bond of humanity exists which facilitates the process of sympathy—if not makes it inevitable (McCarthy 33). This element of sympathy is achieved in Romantic outlaw narrative through nature, melancholy, and inner portrayal of humanity. The collaboration of these elements can be seen near the end of Caleb Williams, when Caleb hastens to conclude his “melancholy story” (302; vol. 13, ch.14), lamenting that “Sympathy, the magnetic virtue, the hidden essence of our life, was extinct” (308; vol. 13, ch.14). Caleb compares this lack of sympathy from society to the wild space of nature: “To me the whole world was as unhearing as the tempest” (308; vol. 13, ch.14).

The portrayal and the elicitation of sympathy is a hallmark of Romantic outlaw narrative. Throughout this dissertation, I have discussed the literary outlaw in general and laid out distinctions between the outlaw and other types of literary criminals. In so doing, I have identified the tendency of many outlaw narratives to portray their hero as a noble outlaw, a tendency not unique to Romanticism or to European literature. The uniqueness of Romanticism is found in the degree and manner of introducing and

shaping our sympathies. The portrayal of inner humanity of the criminal, the tribute given to the melancholy outlaw, and the importance of nature and the wild space in both the inner and outer existence of the outlaw distinguish the Romantic outlaw narrative. The works by Schiller, Vulpius, and Kleist discussed in this dissertation each offer a different perspective of the Romantic outlaw narrative, which, as I have demonstrated using structural and thematic elements, is a specialized kind of narrative. There is no one Romantic outlaw narrative, only outlaw narratives, each with its own approach to the problem of criminality and law. The formula of the Romantic outlaw narrative, in addition to leading to new kinds of criminal fiction, found new life in such genres as the American western and has remained a staple of Western culture in other forms to this day, raising many of the same relevant questions about society and the individual.

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## VITA

Eric Schaad earned a Bachelor of Arts in English at Brigham Young University with a heavy concentration in foreign languages. Continuing his study of German, Finnish, Russian, and Old Norse, he earned a Master of Arts in comparative literature, also at Brigham Young University. Moving to Seattle with his wife, who graduated in elementary education, Eric continued his studies at the University of Washington in the comparative literature program. His studies included summer courses at the University of Helsinki and University of Reykjavik, and at the University of Washington he taught courses in writing, literature, film, and folklore, adding to his teaching experience in foreign language. His interest in the portrayal of outlaws began during a graduate course at Brigham Young University on medieval Icelandic sagas. At the University of Washington, Eric developed this interest by teaching courses on the outlaw, which included Icelandic sagas, Robin Hood ballads, novels by Dostoevsky and Kafka, and works discussed in this dissertation. In 1998, Eric finished his Ph.D. coursework and began writing his dissertation on the portrayal of outlaws in Romantic literature. Simultaneously, he began working at Microsoft Corporation. After over five years at Microsoft (two of which in London, England) and a year working for Internet search engine companies (now part of Yahoo!), Eric earned a Doctor of Philosophy in comparative literature at the University of Washington in the spring of 2004. He is the proud father of three beautiful children and has been an active contributor of reviews to the journal, *Scandinavian Studies*. He currently works at AT&T Wireless (soon to be part of Cingular) and plans to keep his academic interests alive with articles, reviews, and perhaps a book at some point. With the completion of his dissertation, he looks forward to reviving some neglected interests such as oil painting, reading non-outlaw-related literature, and studying foreign languages—perhaps French or Italian. He was once told he needed more Romance language in his life.