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The Sources of Schiller's "Die Räuber."

The relation of the drama to its predecessors and its age.

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by

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I. Introduction.

a) Purpose of this paper.

Even before the military academy was moved to Stuttgart on November 18, 1775, Schiller seems to have received the first stimulus, which was to result in his drama, "Die Räuber". (1) The earliest beginnings of work on the play are usually placed in the year 1777 (2). It was put before the public in 1781, being finished in April (3) and appearing on the sixth of May of that year. (4)

Schiller was, then, a youth in his seventeenth year, when he began "Die Räuber". He was but twenty-one when the drama appeared. Hence we do not expect to find in this youthful play the work of a mature man, who produces a drama from his own experience, from his knowledge of the world and his acquaintance with men. Instead, we look for the drama of a youth who knows the world principally through the books which he has read. He may give to the cold and barren facts, which he finds there, a life which they never knew; he may enliven them with a youthful spirit which is his own; he may lend to them a telling

- (1) Düntzer, H; Erläuterungen. Leipzig 1876. 2.
- (2) Ibid. p 15. The authority for this date is the friend of Schiller's youth, Petersen not always trustworthy.
- (3) Ibid. p23. All dates will be made clearer by referring to Chronological Table Appendix.(a)
- (4) Ibid. p34. Düntzer places the time in June or July cf. Bellermann Schillers Werke II,5.

force, a fire which will not fail of its mark. That will be his original contribution to the subject in hand; a genius like Schiller does this and in no uncertain terms. But the work of a youth of 18, whether he be a genius or no, must of necessity depend largely on the reading he has done, must be strongly colored with the thoughts of the men of genius with whom he has come in contact. His contribution, original though it be, groups itself with earlier attempts in the same field and forms a continuation of them.

Schiller himself quite frankly corroborates this statement, when he says, (1) "Unbekannt mit Menschen und Menschenschicksal, musste mein Pinsel notwendig die mittlere Linie zwischen Engel und Teufel verfehlen, musste er ein Ungeheuer hervorbringen, das zum Glück nicht in der Welt vorhanden war. Wenn von den unzähligen Klagschriften ~~xgaxgx~~ gegen "Die Räuber" nur eine einzige mich trifft, so ist es diese, dass ich zwei Jahre vorher mir anmasste, Menschen zu schildern, ehe mir einer begegnete".

If he, as he himself states, was entirely unacquainted with man and human destiny and had had no

(1) Rheinische Thalia 1784- Schiller Sämtliche Schriften Ausgabe Goedeke Stuttgart 1867 - III, 529, 11ff.

This is the edition always referred to in this paper; thus: SSIII, 529, 11ff stands for volume III, page 529, line 11ff.

opportunity to observe men, before he wrote " Die Räuber", he must have created his characters from his own fancy-- a fancy influenced strongly by his reading. The question we ask is, what reading?

It becomes an interesting study for us, to determine the literary influences which affected Schiller's "Räuber". We shall consider what he may have taken up from the literature of the past, in what way he is connected with this literature and to what extent his fancy received from it a distinct influence.

After similarities between Schiller and his predecessors have been pointed out, and we have seen how he continues their work and receives direct influence from them , we shall consider wherein he departs from them, and what his original contribution is.

But in a study of the sources of Schiller's "Räuber", we ought not to devote ourselves to a study of the concrete literary influences which are so active, to the entire exclusion of the social influences which are as active and quite as potent. There breathes in Schiller's drama a spirit, which animates the whole, which changes

a collection of raw material into an organized whole, which transforms an otherwise dull account into a work revolutionary in effect. It is the spirit of the age, the Zeitgeist, the Storm and Stress, alive in the heart of the young Schiller, impatiently chafing at his confinement, a spirit which manifests itself clearly in his first drama. A study of sources, then, means for us a study of the literary and social influences on Schiller's drama; the relation of the drama to its predecessors and its age.

b) Influences prior to "Die Räuber". 1781.

Before we can enter upon a study of the sources, the literary and social conditions and their relation to "Die Räuber", it will be well to look briefly at the life of Schiller prior to 1781, to see what influences had been active, which have a direct bearing on the drama.

It is important to note that Schiller grew up in simple environment, in a small town, Marbach, in a simple family, living in a deeply religious atmosphere. The Bible was an important early impression. When young Schiller thinks of his future life, he thinks of himself as a clergyman. His parents, his early training, his environment would have it so.

In his early years at Lorch, whither the family went in Dec. 1763 (1), he received private instruction from Pastor Moser, whom he has immortalized in the "Räuber," a firm, earnest man of stern piety. The scene of the "Räuber" shows that there was in Schiller's soul something akin to this unrelenting puritanical religion.

The removal to Ludwigsburg was a significant one. From the idyllic atmosphere of Lorch, Schiller was

(1) Chronological Table.

transplanted into the gay Versailles of Stuttgart, and was introduced to much that was new. Here the 10-12 year old Schiller heard the opera, received his first impression of the theatre. He straightway constructs a theatre of his own, makes his own puppets and produces tragedy--to a group of chairs for spectators. But this pastime is rudely interrupted. On the 16th of January 1773, Schiller goes to the military academy Solitude, the pet project and pride of the duke, Karl Eugen, of Württemberg.

Before this time he had attended the village school of Lorch, had received instruction from Pastor Moser, had attended the Lateinschule at Ludwigsburg; receiving strict religious training in all three places. Schiller's desire to go into the ministry never faltered. The hold of his home influence, his early religious environment had been a strong one.

His early attempts at tragedy were filled with this religious spirit and were a direct outgrowth of it. His father mentions(1) as his "erstes Trauerspiel", "Die Christen", which he had written in his thirteenth year; at a somewhat later date is mentioned another drama "Absalom"(2)

(1) Letter of March 6, 1790. SSI, 3, 25.

(2) SSI, 11, 6.

Of the content and treatment of these early attempts nothing is known. The significant fact for us is that the sources for them were the Bible and the religious writings of Klopstock. Schiller's fondness for religion, and his desire to enter the ministry were dealt a cruel blow by the order of the duke, Karl Eugen, that he enter Solitude.

The stay at the Solitude was an important influence on the impressionable youth. It had not a little to do with the character of "Die Räuber". The students of the military academy were subjected to the strictest discipline. Everything was done by command. "In two columns the nobles at the right, the civilians at the left, they entered the dining hall, executed right turn, left about face, folded their hands for grace at a given command, took their chairs, drew them back à tempo, to sit down. At the order of the duke, "Dinez Messieurs", they took up their spoons in military fashion, only to depart after their meal with similar military exactness".(1).

This monotonous routine continued day after day in all their activities. This painful military regularity dominated the spirit of the institution.

(1) Minor l.c.p.91.

~~THIS MILITARY REGULARITY DOMINATED THE SPIRIT OF~~
~~THE INSTITUTION.~~ The brain, itself, was but a mechanism.
The students were not individuals, but a crowd, which,
perforce, needed to be put through the educational machine
and turned out when completed with precise military atten-
tion to the regularity of the process. The institution
impresses us as a colossal machine to furnish study and
culture, to turn out machine-made men.

The individuality of the student was set at naught.
He was never allowed to be alone, a state necessary to
normal growth and development. The students were not only
restricted in all their acts, they were cut off entirely
from the outside world (1). They knew not the life without,
They could not keep up relations with their family. They
learned to know no men, save their immediate fellows;
they saw no women at all, except as Schiller states (2)
"Before they began to be interesting and after they had
ceased to be".

Thus Schiller was daily made to feel the severe
hand of authority. The restrictions placed upon the élèves,
the military atmosphere in which they lived may have

(1) "da ihn hier "eiserne Stabe von der wirklichen Welt
schieden".

(2) S S III, 529, 9.

tended to subdue an individuality never strong, by nipping it in the bud. But in the case of Schiller, in whom there lived an individuality, eager to assert itself, within whose breast the poetic fire was already smouldering, such suppression but served to accentuate an already existing love of freedom. This fire was easily fanned to flame. "Die Räuber" was the result.

So much for the impressions of family and home, school, external environment and atmosphere of the academy. To turn now to more concrete facts, to the direct sources with which Schiller came in contact, let us ask, "What literature did Schiller read while in the Solitude which served as models for his work?"

"Neigung für Poesie beleidigte die Geseze des Institutes, worin ich erzogen ward, und widersprach dem Plan seines Stifters." (1), Schiller informs us in the announcement of his Thalia. The reading of belles-lettres was prohibited; but the forbidden fruit was so much more sought after and enjoyed. Every investigation revealed piles of books in the dressers and under the beds, Schiller, too, thus enjoyed the books of the day; but not until

(1) SSIH, 528, 18.

some time after their appearance; he limited himself to a few favorites among them, but knew these thoroughly, reading those of which he approved a dozen times or more with much enthusiasm.

His favorite, however, is still Klopstock. His idea of studying theology is still predominant. The Bible of Luther fills him with delight. Klopstock's biblical epic, "Messias", appearing in 1773, inspires him; his early attempts, lyric, epic, dramatic all bear witness to the influence of these early models. Religion and poetry were to him one and the same.

But early in the year 1774 (1), Schiller's attention was called to Gerstenbergs "Ugolino". This was for him the first powerful impression of secular poetry of modern times. In addition, it was a drama; a drama full of the fire of Sturm und Drang. It did not fail of its result. Klopstock's odes and epics lose their hold. It is the drama which henceforth inspires the young poet.

In the outer world, raged the violence of Sturm und Drang. Now and then a representative work found its

(1) Possibly late in 1773 cf Minor 1.c.

way into the academy and was devoured with avidity by the élèves who tried their hand at imitation. It was in this way that Schiller learned to know "Götz von Berlichingen." He read also a little later Goethe's "Werther". Through this reading he became acquainted with Ossian and Young. Schiller was inspired to imitation by "Werther". As his friend Streicher puts it:- er brauchte "von einem dramatischen Gedanken nur angehaucht zu werden, um sogleich in Flammen der Begeisterung aufzulodern". HE reads in the paper of the suicide of a student in Nassau. This unhappy student becomes Schiller's Werther. He begins a drama, "Student von Nassau."

But his interest wanes. The drama remains a fragment and is destroyed. Enthusiasm for Goethe gives way to admiration for two dramas of the day. In 1775, a prize was offered for the best Trauerspiel. Two dramas, very important as sources for "Die Räuber", were submitted: Klinger's "Zwillinge"; a second drama by Leisewitz, "Julius von Tarent".

Schiller owes to both, powerful youthful impressions. Klinger's dramas had important influence, more

important still is the influence of Leisewitz in his "Julius von Tarent". Schiller takes the same subject matter for a new drama, "Cosmus von Medicis". The drama is destroyed ; but for us in a study of the sources of "Die Räuber" it has significance; for Petersen (1) informs us:- "Auch verwarf und vernichtete Schiller das Ganze; nur einzelne Bilder, Züge, Gedanken und Einfälle nahm er daraus später in seine Räuber auf."

This was about 1776 or 1777. At about this time Schiller became acquainted with a dramatist who served as a model throughout his whole life, Shakespeare. We shall later point out (2) direct influence of Shakespeare on "Die Räuber" an influence which is as distinctly marked as the influence of the Bible and Klopstock. "Ugolino", "Gotz", "Julius von Tarent", "Zwillinge" are all important sources. They all point to another source of outstanding interest and importance, Shakespeare.

We know exactly how Schiller was introduced to Shakespeare--by his favorite teacher, Abel. The latter illustrated his psychological lectures with examples from the poets; in a lecture on the struggle between duty

(1) Düntzer Erläuterungen, 12. quotes the evidence but is of the opinion that Petersen is not absolutely trustworthy.

(2) Chapter V.

and passion, he cited a passage of Othello- probably in 1776 or 1777. Schiller asked his instructor for the book and began his study of Shakespeare.

He used the Wieland-Eschenburg translation, which had appeared in 1775, which was in prose interspersed with occasional verse. We know from his citations that he also knew Shakespeare in the original. From this time on, Shakespeare was his favorite and together with Plutarch his constant companion.

The mention of Plutarch calls to our attention another valuable source for "Die Räuber". His attention was called to Plutarch by another instructor, Drück; at about this same time. Schiller's attitude toward Plutarch seems much like that of his Karl Moor; for we find Schiller later, 1788, recommending(1) Plutarch because he lifts us out of the commonplace present generation and makes us contemporaries of a better and more rugged kind of men,

Such ideas were closely akin to the teaching of Rousseau, which affected "Die Räuber". We have no definite information that Schiller knew Rousseau in his academic years; but he could not well escape his ideas in an age

(1) Just as does Karl Moor.

in which Rousseau ruled the thought-life. The spirit of Rousseau was in the air. The Zeitgeist was full of his revolutionary doctrine. Schiller quite unconsciously, perhaps, absorbed it and gave it expression in his first dramatic production.

Other literary influences worthy of comment because of their affect on "Die Räuber" are Schiller's acquaintance with Homer, in 1780 through the lectures of Nast; less important, his reading of Virgil.

Aside from these literary influences of the years at the academy; it is important for our purpose to mention two other influences; his study of philosophy, his study of medicine.

We can see clearly in the "Räuber", the philosophic mind of the young poet, moulded by his favorite teacher, Abel, whose influence is an important one. We can point to definite passages which are the direct outgrowth of Schiller's study and interest on medical lines.

c) The Genesis of "Die Räuber".

But a few words suffice to give the genesis of "Die Räuber". Before the military academy had been moved to Stuttgart Nov. 18, 1775 Schiller had received the first stimulus for the work. His friend Fr. W. von Hoven (1) called his attention to the story of Schubart, which appeared January 1775 in Haugs schwäbischem Magazin with the title: "Zur Geschichte des menschlichen Herzens". It seems ~~highly~~ highly probable that Schiller read it soon after its appearance.

As we have seen, however, plans for other dramas, "Student von Nassau", "Cosmus von Medicis" crowded out thought of "Die Räuber". In 1777, if we are to believe Petersen, he turned to "Die Räuber"; only to postpone it again, this time for his medical studies. In order to be released as early as possible from the academy, Schiller devoted himself in the two years 1777-1779 (2) exclusively to the profession of medicine, which had been forced upon him. In the autumn of 1779, his first dissertation "Philosophie der Physiologie" was not accepted.

(1) Hoven, Biographie 1840, gives the evidence. The testimony of Hoven is far more trustworthy and more to be relied upon than that of Schiller's other friend Petersen.

(2) cf Schiller's letter to Körner Feb. 2, 1789.

On the thirteenth of Nov. 1779, he was sentenced to another year at the academy, "wo inmittelst sein Feur noch ein wenig gedämpft werden könne", as the duke put it. This was really the call which brought forth "Die Räuber". The year, 1780, Schiller's twenty first, was the year of the drama's birth.

He began to work diligently; but all work was necessarily secret. During the day, there was not time available; work at night was prohibited. So Schiller fled to the sick-ward to enjoy the especial favor of a lamp. If perchance, the duke unexpectedly appeared, the manuscript disappeared under the table and the élève Schiller appeared deeply engrossed in a ponderous medical volume, which convinced the duke of the industry of his protégé. Schiller read the completed scenes to his friends in his characteristic violent manner, when opportunity offered (1) to get their approval and criticism.

And so the drama drew to completion in the middle of the year 1780. It was published at his own cost, appearing at the Jubilatemesse May 6, 1781 without the name of the author and with false place of publication

"
(1) as a still extant sketch by Heideloff shows. cf
Könnecke G; Schiller, Eine Biographie in Bildern. Marburg
1905, 5.

"Die Räuber", Ein Schauspiel. Frankfurt und Leipzig 1781
A version for the stage followed; it was given its pre-
mière at the Mannheim theatre Jan, 13, 1782.

II Schubarts' Erzählung.

The first stimulus to "Die Räuber" was the Erzählung of Schubart, to which we referred above. As early as 1805 (1), the story has been cited as a source of the "Räuber". Opinion differs as to the extent of the influence which it has exerted. Some, as did an early critic, in the article, entitled "Die Quelle zu Schiller's Räubern" (2) hail it boldly as the source of the drama; others (3) would have us think the influence quite incidental, holding that any other story would have served as well. (4). Let us examine the evidence.

The story as Schubart tells it, is in substance this:---

A nobleman has two sons, very dissimilar in character. Wilhelm is pious, (at least he prayed as often as one wished), obedient, industrious, orderly and saving, a seemingly model boy, but in his heart a hypocrite; Karl, on the other hand, quite the contrary, warm, open, full of life, easily led, often thoughtless, but good hearted and bright. Both attend the University; Wilhelm remains what

(1) Schubart's story was first given as source of "Die Räuber" in Freimüthigen 1805 No. 221. It was confirmed by the appearance of Hovens Biographie 1840.

(2) Karl Grünert, "Die Karlschule und die Quelle zu Schiller's "Räubern", printed in the journal Europa, 1856.

(3) Kühnenann, Schiller l.c., 68 "Nichts als ein erster Rohstoff ist die Erzählung für ihn gewesen".

(4) Boyesen H, Goethe and Schiller, New York 1904, 301.

he is; Karl also; that is, he is led into an irregular life through his love of freedom, succumbs to temptation, all of which Wilhelm faithfully makes known at home. Karl, heavy in debt and involved in a duel, admonished and criticized, becomes a soldier; he follows the flag of Frederick the Great and is wounded at Freiberg. In the hospital, he repents of his frivolity, writes his father a touching letter of repentance, which Wilhelm suppresses. When peace had been declared, and his regiment dismissed; Karl, filled with a longing for home, becomes a servant near his father's manor. One day he hears a noise, sees his venerable father attacked by robbers and frees him. One of the captive murderers confesses to his father that his son, Wilhelm, has hired them to murder him. "Keinen Sohn mehr", laments the nobleman in despair, accusing himself for having cast off his better son. Karl then discloses his identity and is generous and noble enough to ask pardon for his villainous brother. And everything ends happily.

This story coming as it did from the pen of Schubart, the only important poet of Schwaben of the time,

must have caused great excitement in Württemberg. It naturally came into Schiller's hands and had particular influence on him. Schubart had, by his introduction (1) to the anecdote called forth national pride. He deals with psychological interest in soul analysis, adding to it strongly pronounced moral tendencies, the very thing which interests Schiller. He expressly offers his anecdote as material, suitable to be moulded by the pen of a genius into a Roman or a Komödie. Little^{matter} that the spark caught fire in the breast of Schiller and resulted in "Die Räuber".

That "Die Räuber" is obviously like the Erzählung of Schubart in many ways is not to be denied. We have in both the father; the contrast of the two brothers. In both, the one brother, repentant, seeks forgiveness from his father, but is driven to despair by the horrible deceit of the other. In both, the latter, desirous of the fathers' property, seeks to hurry the father's death, only to have the father rescued by the brother who has been cast off. But Schiller intensifies all these facts. He finds, for example, the contrast of two brothers; he

(1) which see- Düntzer l.c. pp.3-4.

Düntzer prints the whole Erzählung.

he develops it to the highest degree. His two brothers are antipodes. The contrast, but hinted at in Schubart, becomes with him, a vital factor. His brothers are opposite poles, the chasm between them is widened; it becomes a gap that cannot be bridged. The same is true of the other borrowed facts.

Schiller has also made use of the incident of the unhappy brothers' enlisting in the seven years' war, in the false story of Hermann (1), who at the instigation of Franz, gives the father the sword of his son Karl who had fallen at Prag.

Here the very expression of the Erzählung seems to have been taken over. The Erzählung (2) reads "Der Lärm der Trommel schreckte ihn von seinen Betrachtungen auf, und er folgte der Fahne des Mars. Er ward eine Preuse, und die Schnelligkeit, womit Friedrich sein Heer von einem Wunder zum andern fortrass, liess ihm nich Zeit- - -".

In Schiller's drama (3), we read:--"Da er auf der Welt nichts mehr zu hoffen hatte, zog ihn der Hall von Friedrichs siegreicher Trommel nach Böhmen.- Er flog

(1) Act II,2.

(2) Düntzer, Erläuterungen 6.

(3) Act II,2.

(4) Düntzer Erläuterungen. Footnote 10.

den preussischen Seigeslauf mit." That Schiller substituted for the battle at Freiberg, the more important one at Prag, was quite natural(1).

In like manner the testimony of Frang that an unfortunate duel had caused this flight of Karl is taken from Schubart.

A third definite statement of "Die Räuber" has its origin in Schubart's Erzählung. Razmann says of Karl Moor, von seinem Drittel an der Beute lässt er "arme Jungen von Hoffnung studieren". In Schubart., it is excessive generosity on the part of Karl towards poor students that gets him into debt.

Schiller used the material, which he found in Schubart, very freely indeed. He retained the name of Karl, but he changed the name of the villain from Wilhelm to Franz. The change was probably caused by the fact that he could not persuade himself to name the villain Wilhelm, the Christian name of both his dearest friends - von Hoven and Petersen. He substituted for the noble sounding Wilhelm, the monosyllabic Franz -- sharp in both Anlaut and Aßlaut; forming also a clearer contrast to the opposite name, the monosyllabic Karl.(2)

(1) Düntzer Erläuterungen. Footnote 10.

(2) For another possible source of the name see Chapter III

He makes an important change in the character of Franz. Schubart would have Wilhelm a hypocrite. This trait is not lacking in Schiller's Franz. Franz prides himself in his Lecture "heiliger Predigtbücher" and accuses Karl of reading "Abenteuer der Heiden" in preference to "die Geschichte des bussfertigen Tobias". Reminiscent of Schubart's Wilhelm is also the Pharisee-like prayer of thanks which Franz offers (1) "das er nicht ist wie Jener". But this hypocritical idea in the make of Franz is lost sight of and gives way to another more prominent characteristic. Schiller makes Franz a pronounced materialist.

In Schubart Wilhelm is the eldest son; Schiller makes Franz the younger, thus adding the motive of primogeniture. He adds also another inciting cause, for his villainy, in that he endows him with repulsive ugliness, (2) which prompts his evil thoughts and calls forth his scoffing at all morality.

This change in character necessitates a change in the external facts, Schiller never hesitates to shift the facts to prepare for the result he wishes to produce.

(1) Act I, 1.

(2) Probable source Richard III .cf V Shakespeare.

In fact, it seems to me, that this is the keynote of the relation of "Die Räuber" to the Erzählung of Schubart. Karl alone attends the university; Franz remains at home with his father; ~~thus~~ having plenty of time to become absorbed in the reading which was quite in keeping with his material tendency and ^{plenty of time for} idleness, for gloomy brooding and the breeding of evil designs. Thus in the drama of Schiller Franz is from the very beginning a conscious villain, secretly working toward a certain goal. In the Erzählung, his villainy appears in a rather lame and certainly quite inartistic fashion, having not been prepared for, but only hinted at in an insufficient manner and thus suddenly surprising us, How much better the art of Schiller!

Franz, as Schiller portrays him, is not only a conscious, but a consummate villain. He does, what the villain of Schubart, Wilhelm does not in his wildest moments dream of. Schubart does have his Wilhelm in decidedly tame fashion suppress the letter,--at rather a late moment to be sure(1). But look at Franz ! Not only does he suppress the letter; he procures a commission from his father to answer in the father's name, which he

(1) As pointed out above.

does in a most horrible manner. He is, indeed, in the cutting irony of Schweizer (1), "Ein zuckersüßes Brüderchen ! "

Similarly, the Karl of Schiller is an improvement on his model. In Schubart, Karl does not write for forgiveness until he has almost recovered from his wound in the hospital. It is this which has touched his heart and elevated his spirit. Repentance awakes in the breast of Karl Moor, in "Die Räuber", however, when, after fleeing from Leipzig, he finds himself in the company of his dissolute companions. So well did young Schiller understand ^{how} to represent to us by a subtle touch the nobility of Karls' nature.

The drama of Schiller develops, then, from the beginning in a necessary and logical manner out of the contrast of the brothers, which the poet has presented; thus the story is imbued by Schiller with dramatic life. We notice the same understanding of dramatic technique in the letter incident. With sure dramatic touch, Schiller introduces the forged letter at the very beginning and by this device motivates the story and begins the (1) Act I, 2.

action; in the Erzählung the letter-incident is introduced after the unhappy fate has been practically sealed.

How such selection and arrangement of material are a change for the better, is clearly seen in the conclusion. In the Erzählung, the sudden evil deed, the sudden happiness of recognition, the pardon, are all unprepared for; they fall flat. In the "Räuber", the catastrophe is a satisfying conclusion. It brings to a close the whole development in a powerful, final scene, which is the logical end of what has preceded. Terrible tho' it be, it satisfies.

Some have placed great emphasis on the difference in ending: the happy ending that Schubart gives, the tragic end of Schiller's drama. This is true enough and an important departure, but I should place the emphasis not so much on the conclusion as on what precedes. The ending alone is not the difference, which Schiller has made, no more than is the end of a drama alone the criterion on which to damn or laud the piece. The point, is, as it seem to me, much more, this. Schiller recognized the unalterable law, that a dramatist must carefully

prepare for his conclusion and that that conclusion must be a natural close to the suppositions set forth in the exposition. With an inborn dramatic genius, he selects and arranges the material of the Schubart story, so as to give us a drama, and a drama which is an artistic product

The *Erzählung* of Schubart is neither of these two things. It is an *Erzählung*, not a drama. Second, it lays no claim to being a literary artistic work. It is a bare statement of fact, with but little attempt at embellishment or artistic structure. It has little, if any, literary merit.

We see then in the "Räuber" two departures from Schubart; first, a different form, the drama, instead of prose narrative; second, a work which could lay claim to being an artistic product, instead of a barren anecdote, presenting bare fact with no literary artistry. The material of Schubart takes artistic form under the hand of Schiller, it becomes a drama, developing in clear unified fashion before our eyes from the motives with which it started, thus obeying the supreme law of all art and becoming of genuine human interest. It is the form, which

Schiller has given the material, which makes it live; the story of Schubart was nothing judged from the view-point of art.

It is undoubtedly this view, which makes some critics belittle the influence of Schubarts' Erzählung as a source for "Die Räuber". Boyesen remarks (1) "Any other story would, no doubt, have served his purpose as well", and I heartily agree with him; but I agree rather with the spirit than the letter of the statement. One can not deny that Schiller really gave life to a lifeless in-artistic mass of barren facts; that a drama would have resulted, had Schubart's Erzählung never appeared. I should consider the Erzählung rather the occasion than the cause of "Die Räuber". There was, to be sure, that within Schiller, which would have resulted sooner or later in a drama; but that drama, would not have been "Die Räuber" as we have it today. The material which Schubart presents, is undeniably utilized by Schiller; it furnished him material; but it was only raw material, at best. It was far from dictating the trend of "Die Räuber"; far from dominating the spirit of the drama.

(1) Boyesen, H; Goethe and Schiller. New York 1904 p 301.

Some of the concrete facts, taken by Schiller, have already been pointed out, as well as the changes which he made. All departures from the story of Schubart are explained by the purpose of Schiller. The trend of the whole story was changed. Far from making it a comedy, as Schubart suggested, he makes it a tragedy. The conclusion is a wholly different one. Karl Moor is not only a rescuer, but also the avenger of his father. Schubart's Karl, in whom there is much of the milk of human kindness, is moved by generosity to pardon his brother. From such an attitude Schiller's hero is far removed. When Schubart's Karl can think of naught but forgiveness, Räuber Moor cries (1) "Rache! Rache!. Rache!"., tears his clothes asunder with the words "So zerreiss' ich von nun an auf ewig das brüderliche Band".

Such a conclusion demands different antecedents. And so it is necessary for Schiller to have prepared his readers for such a change-- he must inform us why Karl should be aroused to this most dreadful wrath at the villainy of Franz. This he does. The dreadful catastrophe of "Die Räuber" is better art, more satisfying than the

(1) Act IV,5.

happy conclusion of Schubart , because it is less of a surprise. It is prepared for and is logical in contrast to the inartistic , the happy ending of Schubart, which, as we have remarked above, impress^e_^us by its suddenness as having neither rhyme nor reason.

So far we have discussed the facts of Schubart which Schiller has used, we have noted the changes he has made in the arrangement of his material, in the characters of Franz.&Karl. The most important change in Karl's character still remains to be pointed out. Schubart's Karl becomes a servant. It is while chopping wood one day, that he sees the murderers fall upon his father. Schiller's Karl, a youth of fiery passion, could not lower himself to such menial service (1). His noble heart is influenced by his brother's terrible letter of scorn which excludes all hope of pardon, inflamed to a burning hatred of the whole world. He becomes Räuberhauptmann; with a temerity, of which Schubart's hero does not dream; he becomes an incendiary, a robber. This is the true background of the drama. Schiller could now pour out with great fervour his anger against the sad condition of the world, which

(1) "Such a piece in which the penitent hero bends his back to the plow and weakly pardons an abominable crime did not agree with Schiller's mood of fiery indignation". Thomas, Schiller p 35.

fettered the spirit. It was this introduction of the "Räuber"-element, which made possible the gripping tragic end.

The main difference lies in the content which Schiller has in this manner given the story. Schubart's Erzählung is after all a tempest in a teapot, a single instance and one that is rather tame in effect. Schiller enlarges it, makes it typical, generalizes and withal with a verve which makes even the fire of Schubart weak by comparison. Schiller makes of it a picture of the time and the world. It is a challenge to existing conditions, in the name of the ideal, placing main emphasis on its ethical side. The story of ~~Schubart~~ Schubart was narrow in its application, it was only an agreeable anecdote of passing interest. The drama of Schiller is a world drama, throwing its light into the depth of humanity. ~~The drama of Schiller is a world drama~~

The modest moral-satiric attitude of Schubart toward hypocrites and pietists, grew in the hands of Schiller to glowing hatred toward the world, toward the Lebenslüge which had destroyed the virtue and strength of society under the laws of culture.

What Schiller owes to Schubart, are the suppositions rather than the real content of the drama. He has taken from Schubart ~~more~~ of that which occurs off the stage or is told than what happens on it.

To sum up we might state, in brief, that Schiller took from Schubart's Erzählung, a few external facts; but that he improved and developed these to suit his own purposes, raising all hints that he had from Schubart to the nth power. Schubart's work was an Erzählung in crude form; nothing but raw material; Schiller produced a finished drama, by selecting, arranging and giving form to the material and obeying the laws of dramatic art. He introduced the important element, himself, that of the "Räuber" which gave to the drama its content, its human and universal significance.

We can not agree then with those who would reduce to zero the influence of Schubart; on the other hand we can scarcely justify those who would have it the source to the exclusion of all else (1). We here take the conventional middle ground. ~~Merely~~ Merely the general relation of the brothers, a few external facts of minor

(1) As our subsequent material will show.

importance were utilized, the entire action; the characters, above all the figure of Karl, the Räuberhauptmann, in its gigantic boldness are the original contribution of the young poet.

But there is one remark of Schubart, which had direct influence on Schiller. In the introduction (1) to the story as it appeared, he wishes to cite it as an example that great passions and significant character are to be found among the Germans. "Hier ist ein Geschichtchen", as he writes, "das sich mitten unter uns Zugetrogen hat, und ich gebe es einem Genie preis, eine Comödie oder einen Roman daraus zu machen, wann er nur nicht aus Zaghaftigkeit die Szene in Spanien (2) und Griechenland (3), sondern auf deutschen Grund und Boden eröffnet".

Such timidity was quite foreign to Schiller, and so on the title page of "Der Räuber" appeared the revolutionary dangerous (4) words:

"Der Ort der Geschichte ist Teutschland": With unprecedented temerity, he laid the scene in Germany; with equal rashness he made the time (5) the present. Let us give the credit for suggesting the thought to Schubart; the credit for its execution belongs to young Schiller.

(1) Düntzer Erläuterungen. p 3-4.

(2) Perhaps a reference to Goethe's Clavigo.

(3) The usual scene of tragic action.

(4) dangerous is none too strong a word, if we consider the times.

(5) It is instructive to note that Dalberg insisted on putting the time of the play back from (1757 to 1495) Düntzer 1c Schiller protested but to no avail, and the Mannheimer Theaterzettel of Jan. 13, 1782, read (Düntzer 51) "Das Stück spielt in Deutschland im Jahre, als Kaiser Maximilian den ewigen Landfrieden für Deutschland stiftete".

III. The récit de Vertot.

As a second immediate source of the "Räuber", we may add to Schubart's Erzählung, the récit of Vertot which inspired the "Julius von Tarent" of Leisewitz, the "Zwillinge" of Klinger and furnished material for Schiller's "Cosmus von Medicis".(1). It is impossible to determine the "einzelne Bilder, züge, Gedanken und Einfälle" which Petersen would have us believe, Schiller took from the "Cosmus von Medicis" and inserted in the "Räuber". It seems advisable therefore to give a brief summary, of the story as Schiller knew it. as he found it in Vertot (2). Some neglect to give Schiller credit for using this source, taking it for granted that he got the material for his "Cosmus von Medicis" and the resulting influence on the "Räuber" at second hand from the dramas of Leisewitz and Klinger. The better attitude, however, is that Schiller knew the account of Vertot, and borrowed from it at first hand, even as did the other dramatists of the day, Klinger and Leisewitz. There are arguments to support the fact that he utilized Vertot as a source quite independtly of the work of his contemporaries. (3).

(1) Chapter I, b. p 14.

(2) Histoire de l'Ordre de Malte par M.l'able de Vertot. Paris.1726,t.III,p.407.

Kontz,A. Les Drames de la Jeunesse de Schiller. Paris 1899, reprints the story,p.210.

(3) Düntzer, Erläuterungen l.c. sf 13. cf also Minor, Schiller l.c. 138 for a similar view. Schiller mentions the story in the introduction to Fiesco . SS III, 5, 3.

The story of Vertot deals with Cosmus I and his two sons; Garsias, the younger, a prince of wild, unrestrained passion, Johann, the older brother. "Ces deux derniers, par une Jalousie et une emulation reciproques, dès leur plus tendre enfance avaient conçu l'un contre l'autre une haine dont on n'avait jamais pu les faire revenir". This hatred finds expression. Both take part in a hunt, they quarrel, Garsias kills his brother. Garsias denies knowledge of the act (1), but his father bids him look at the bleeding body of his brother: "A ce spectacle, le duc ne pouvant plus retenir sa douleur et sa colère: Malheureux, lui dit-il, voilà le sang de ton frère qui crie vengeance au ciel contre toi; faut-il que j'aie mis au monde un parricide, qui, par la perte de son frère, s'est fait un chemin pour assassiner son père même ?" Garsias falls at his feet, confesses his crime, alleging that his brother had attacked him first, and he had to defend himself, But Cosmus does not believe such feeble excuses, looking at him with eyes full of fury, he says: " Il faut que je venge moi-même la mort de l'innocent par la perte du coupable, et que tu rends la vie à celui de qui tu la tiens!"

(1) This calls to mind at once the biblical models for this fabulous story, Cain and Abel.

With these words, he snatches from Garsias the dagger with which he had slain the brother, and plunges it in his son's breast.--

Here ends the account of the story which is usually taken as the source of Leisewitz "Julius von Tarent!" Strangely enough, however, the history of the Medicis, scarcely a hundred years before the time of this Cosmus^I, gives us a more valuable clue (1). An older Cosmus von Medici, respected for his wealth and philanthropy, but hated and persecuted by his enemies so much the more, seeks to win the favor of the house of Pazzi, by marrying his grand-daughter Blanka, with one of their house. But his grandson, Julian, and Franz Pazzi have in common, love for a certain Camilla; Julian marries her, Franz boiling with revenge, finds in Bernhard Bandini, who can not forget an old offense received at the hands of the Medicis, a willing tool for his plans; they attack the Medicis while at church, and Julian is killed.

From these accounts Leisewitz borrows the names, Blanka and Julian, the contrast of the two brothers. He furnishes a source for the rivalry of the two brothers,

(1) Minor, Schiller l.c. 138.

which in the first story is not motivated, by letting them love the same girl, an idea of the second story But he strengthens this by the powerful stroke of making the rivals, brothers -.

So, too, Schiller was drawn to these accounts with which he was familiar thru *Histoire des conjurations des Duport du Terte* and wrote his "Cosmus von Medicis" with these tales as sources and using "Julius von Tarent" as a model. The "Cosmus von Medicis" being destroyed, we can not ascertain what traits, pictures, thoughts or even scenes, were taken into "Die Räuber". We can, however, see direct influences of the tale of Vertot on the drama.

The borrowings are not merely obvious ones, such as the suggestion that Franz Moor received his Christian name from his predecessor Franz Pazzi. (1)

Schiller like Leisewitz, took from the stories the contrast of the characters, with true dramatic instinct, he motivates their hatred by making them in love with the same girl. In the récit of Vertot, this is unexplained and is stated as a mere fact. This departure is, of course, as pointed out in the case of Schubart, necessitated by the

(1) cf. Chapter II, 21.

difference in artistic form. Schiller, as well as Leisewitz, writing drama, must motivate, must carefully prepare for ^{the} ~~their~~ conclusion, must intensify contrast.

Camilla, the Blanka of Leisewitz, is the model for Schiller's Amalia (1). More obvious and quite as important is the model that we have in the Bandit Bernhard for the Hermann of "Der Räuber". Bernhard Bandini, is stung by the memory of an old injury, caused by the Medicis, hence he becomes a ready tool, falls an easy prey to the schemes of Franz. The Franz of Schiller, scheming villain that he is, plays upon the injury which his father, der alte Moor, has caused Hermann. He says (2) "Mein Vater hat dich sehr beleidigt, Hermann ! "

And when Hermann grows enraged at this, he continues, " Das ist der Ton eines Manns! Rache geziemt einer männlicher Brust". Quite like the Bernhard in the story, Hermann out of revenge for an injury at the hands of an enemy is ready to show violence.

(1) other models will be discussed later.

(2) Act II,1.

IV Sources for the Räuber-Element.

In Schubart and in Vertot, we find the immediate sources of "Die Räuber". Here are the fundamentals, on which he has based his drama, modifying here, completing there by borrowings and influences coming from Shakespeare, Lenz, Leisewitz, Klinger, Goethe (1). He has introduced however, a new element, an element not to be found in the stories of Schubart and Vertot, his immediate sources; an element quite as foreign to his predecessors, Klinger and Leisewitz. Whence came the idea of the robbers?

Schiller, himself offers testimony. In the *Sellstanzeige* (2) in discussing *Räuber Moor*, he states:- "Wofern ich mich nicht irre, dankt dieser seltene Mensch seine Grundzüge dem Plutarch und Zervantes, die durch den eignen Geist des Dichters, nach Shakespearischer Manier in einem neuer, wahren und harmonischen Charakter unter sich amalgamirt sind."

In another place (3) in the same review, he states:- "Rousseau rühmt es an dem Plutarch, dass er erhabene Verbrecher zum Vorwurf seiner Schilderung wählte."

(1) As we shall point out hereafter.

(2) *Württembergisches Repertorium* SS II, 360.

(3) SS II, 357.

Wenigstens dünkt es mich, solche bedürfen notwendig einer ebenso grossen Dosis von Geisteskraft, als die erhabene Tugendhafte, und die Empfindung des Abscheus vertrage sich nicht selten mit Anteil und Bewunderung". The passage of Rousseau to which he had reference reads (1):- Plutarch hat darum soherrliche Biographien geschrieben, weil er keine halb grosse Menschen wählte, wie es in ruhigen Staaten Tausende gibt, sondern Grosse Tugendhafte und erhabene Verbrecher".

And Schiller makes yet a third reference, when he states(2) "Jedermann kennt den ehrwürdigen Räuber Roque aus dem Don Quixote".

Rousseau (3), Plutarch, Cervantes, Shakespeare(3) thus does Schiller himself designate for us the important models of the "Räuber".

Karl Moor, as we have seen ,(4) is not a creation of Schubart, nor a figure which Schiller borrowed from his Sturm und Drang predecessors, nor is he Shakespearian. He has ,however, his sources in literature and by the confession of Schiller owes some of his traits, at least, if not his origin or conception to Plutarch, Cervantes, Rousseau.

(1) Schiller found Rousseau quoted in this manner in the book of H.P. Sturz, "Denkwürdigkeiten von Johann Jakob Rousseau".1779. It is interesting to note that the article goes on to say, "In der neueren Geschichte gab es einen Mann, der seinen Pinsel verdient, und das ist der Graf von Fiesque". Thus Rousseau suggested Schiller's second drama, "Fiesko".

(2) SSII, 360 Anmerkung.

(3) Discussion of the influence of Rousseau and Shakespeare has been postponed to later chapters , of Outline.

(4) Chapters II and III.

It was Plutarch that filled the imagination of the young poet with the pictures of antique characters, "grosse Tugendhafte und erhabene Verbrecher". Karl Moor sings of Brutus and Caesar (Act IV, Scene 5). The vignette at the end of the first edition of the drama shows Brutus and Caesar entering the boat of Charon. The Vorrede⁽¹⁾ says of Karl Moor: "Er musste nothwendig ein Brutus oder Catilina werden. Unlückliche Konjunktoren entschieden für das zweite und erst am Ende einer ungeheuren Verirrung gelangt er zu dem ersten".

Plutarch is the constant companion of Karl Moor even as he was of Schiller - "Mir ekelt vor diesem tintenklecksenden Säkulum, wenn ich in meinem Plutarch lese von grossen Menschen", are the first words we hear Karl Moor say (Act I, Scene 2) "Die ganze ^{Energie} seines Talentes hat Schiller zusammen genommen, um ~~diesin~~ diesen ehrwürdigen Missethäter, ~~Sünder~~ diesen erhabenen Verbrecher, diesen majestätischen Sünder zu zeichnen. Nicht bloss Amalia oder die ihm blind ergebenen Räuber, auch der Held selbst redet von sich als von dem 'grossen' Räuber; er ist erfüllt und durchdrungen von dem Gedanken der eigenen

(1) SS II, 10.

Grösse und tritt feierlich und majestätisch , immer mit grossen Schritten unter seine Bande. Schiller konnte nicht anders, er musste seinen Karl Moor auf der Höhe eines Plutarchischen Helden halten". (1)

So Karl Moor is ein "erhabener Verbrecher" of the spirit of Brutus, of a hero of Plutarch. To change him to a robber, another element is necessary. This precedent was to be found on the writings of Cervantes in the figure of the "venerable Robber Roque of Don Quixote", whom as Schiller in his announcement believes, "everyone knows".

The Don Quixote was at that time a widely read book in the translation of Bode,⁽²⁾ the fact that Schiller was strongly influenced by it has a peculiar significance. The writings of the great Spanish satirist touched a responsive chord in anyone, who, in rage and contempt, expressed the temperament of a satirist and whose deeply rooted idealism showed itself as "eine Bitterkeit gegen die unidealische Welt". It was while in prison that Cervantes had begun his Don Quixote, in the Militärakademie Schiller wrote "Die Räuber".(3)

(1) Minor J. Schiller Berlin 1890 pp 310-311;

(2) Minor Schiller l.c. 314.

(3) Brahm, Otto, Schiller Berlin 1888 p 121 ff carries out this parallel as above.

In the Don Quixote, in the sixteenth chapter of the second part, Schiller found the figure des " grossen Roque Quinart" and he became in part at least , the model of Schillers "grosser Moor".

Roque quinart appears like Karl Moor on horseback, four pistols in his belt; a man of more than medium stature, of powerful physique, his face browned, his look severe under heavy dark eye-brows. His word is law. He deals out the booty justly. He is generous toward captives, releases poor pilgrims. He is by nature more gentle and compassionate than severe, He is the noble avenger for himself and others.

How similar to the picture of Karl Moor! To go more into detail. Of Karl Moor we learn dass sein 'Gewerbe Rache ist'. Roque has left society on account of 'Rache , die auch das ruhigste Gemüth in Aufregung versetzten müsste".

'Ich bin von Natur mitleidig und wohlwollend' confesses Roque. The same idea is expresses emphatically by young Schiller who says of Karl Moor 'Nicht eine Fliege konnte erleiden sehen---seine Seele ist so fern von einem blutigen Gedanken, als fern der Mittag von der Mitternacht! (Act IV, 5.)

Roque and Karl Moor are both imposing, imperious, gloomy, melancholy, severe. Both are strict in discipline; severely just but generous. Roque Quifart too is fearful in his wrath. He splits the skull of the rebel, with the words 'So züchtige ich freche und verwegene Zungen'. That is exactly the attitude of Karl Moor in his contempt of Spiegelberg; in his action toward Schufferle. (Act I 1,3)

In addition to these traits of Karl Moor, Schiller found in Cervantes a model for his Kosinsky incident. For like Kosinsky, the aristocratic young nobleman who comes (Act III,2) to Karl Moor to ally himself with the great friend of freedom and opposer of tyrants, a noble youth appears in the Don Quixote: "in voller Eile, kam ein Junger Mann von ungefähr Zwanzig Jahren angesprengt. Bei dem Geräusche drehte Roque den Kopf um und erblickte die schöne Erscheinung dessen, der, näher kommend, ihn also anredete: 'Dich suche ich, tapferer Roque, um bei dir, wenn nicht Hülfe, so doch Trost in meiner Noth zu finden'". (1)

We should not, however, attach too much importance to the influence which the noble, generous, but (1) Quotation from Cervantes. How and why Schiller changed the facts will be shown later.

severely just Robber Roque Quinart had on the person of Karl Moor. The further development of Cervantes' story is quite different from that of Schiller; there are besides other models for the character. As Karl Moor was a helper of the oppressed so was also the English ballad hero Robin Hood, mentioned in the "Räuber" (Act III Scene 2) We find a heroic generous Räuberhauptmann also in the dramas of Wöllner, "Sophie" and "Die Zigeuner". There is also in Goethe's "Götz", the passage (Act II, Scene 10) where Selbitz cries, "Götz! Wir sind Räuber!"

A more closely related figure to Karl Moor than Götz is to be found in Goethe in the figure of Crugantino, one of the hostile brothers, in Goethe's "Claudine von Villa Bella", a genial vagabond of irresistible qualities. The world of convention is too narrow for him, as it is for Karl Moor. But his careless bonhomme is far removed from the stern tragedy of Schiller's Karl.

Schiller himself cites in the "Räuber" besides Robin Hood, the name of the notorious French and English robbers, Cartouche and Howard (Act I, Scene 1). But it is unnecessary to go even that far. Schiller knew from his

own experience.

teacher, Abel, the story of Friedrich Schwan the Suabian bandit. So did Schiller find sources for his robbers not only through literary, but also historical models.

Of these models, the one discussed most at length and the one most important is the story of Cervantes. But Schiller's Karl is not the Roque Guinart of Cervantes, but more- Schiller develops and continues the work of Cervantes as his Vorrede to the robbers implies(1), "Falsche Begriffe von Thätigkeit und Einfluss, Fülle von Kraft, die alle Gesetze übersprudelt, mussten sich natürlicherweise an bürgerlichen Verhältnissen zerschlagen, und zu diesen enthusiastischen Träumen von Grösse und Wirksamkeit durfte sich nur eine Bitterkeit gegen die unidealische Welt gesellen, so war der seltsame Don Quijote fertig, den wir im Räuber Moor verabscheuen und lieben, bewundern und bedauern". There is further development in the "Räuber" of Schiller.

If we look now at the earlier dramatic plans of Schiller we shall see that all point to models and that these models change according to the immediate influences, his reading, his environment. He begins with biblical tragedy.

(1) SS II, IO.

"Die Christen", "Absalom", creations of his thirteenth year, are rooted deeply in religious reading and Klopstock. The "Student von Nassau" was called forth by the newspaper account of a student's suicide. The Werther-stimmung predominates in the soul of young Schiller. The appearance of Leisewitz, "Julius von Tarent" calls forth a drama dealing with a fratricide,—"Cosmus von Medici". Thus do his dramatic ventures change in theme even as do the influences, which he experiences:— and these influences are external and internal, they are conditioned by environment, physical and mental; by his reading, his associates. the atmosphere in which he lives.

The next drama is "Die Räuber!" It is totally different from its predecessors. But like that which precedes, it is an outgrowth of influence, of environment. How his reading affected it. we have already seen. We have noted also the influence of historical fact. Had he been limited to these, however, his Karl Moor would have been a replica of Raque Quinart. Our thesis is that it is a development. The new contribution sprang from the heart of young Schiller, chafing at his confinement, bitterly

hating the oppression, clamoring for freedom.

We need but to call to mind the circumstances preceding the birth of the "Räuber" to understand the situation. On Nov. 13, 1779, the duke decreed that Schiller should stay at the academy. That was the call which brought forth the "Räuber". Schiller's hero had to become a robber and become a generous Räuberhauptmann, who loved freedom, who hated tyranny and oppression and was forced out by the conventional world. There were, to be sure, precedents in literature for the "Räuber", but Schiller felt his own personality too much to be solely dependent on them for the figure of his sublime criminal, whose angry impatience and whose generosity were within his own breast.

The point of Thomas (1) is well taken. "Probably the critics have made too much of his factor of personal disgruntlement". It is not wise to lay too much stress in a study of sources on incidental external surroundings or fleeting emotions of the author (2), lest we be lost in futile theorizing. But who will deny that there is much of Schiller in his hero Karl Moor?

(1) Thomas. Schiller 26.

(2) Schiller's morbidity, for example, as shown in the letter of Jan. 15, 1780. Düntzer L.c. 18.

None of Schiller's predecessors had let their hero oppose the existing state of society and question its justice with weaponed hand. The credit for such boldness, for the representation of this revolutionary figure, who defied the existing condition of things, belongs to Schiller. The new traits which Karl Moor has and his predecessors lack are sprung from the heart of his creator.

V Influence of Shakespeare.

Let us turn from a study of the sources of the Räuberhauptmann, Karl, the hero of the "Räuber", to a study of the sources of his brother, Franz, the villain of the drama. Various models for Franz, Schiller found in Shakespeare. Let us see to what extent these models lend traits to the character of his villain and what other influences the study of Shakespeare had on "Die Räuber".

We have already in the Introduction called attention to Schiller's acquaintance with Shakespeare, in the Wieland-Eschenburg translation. His scientific dissertations of the Akademie are full of citations from Richard II, Richard III, Henry VIII, King Lear, Macbeth, Hamlet.

Schiller himself expressly states the indebtedness of the "Räuber" to Shakespeare. In the Selbstrecension, (1) we find the already-quoted statement that Karl Moor was indebted for "seine Grundzüge dem Plutarch und Zervantes, die durch den eigenen Geist des Dichters, nach Shakespeare'scher Manier in einem neuen, wahren und harmonischen Charakter unter sich amalgamirt sind"

(1) SS II, 360, 2.

In the Vorrede (1), we find definite mention of Richard III; he leaves us in no doubt but that his Franz Moor is his Richard III, his Iago, for in the Selbstrechen- sion (2) he says: "Einen überlegenden Schurken dergleichen Franz, der jüngere Moor, ist, auf die Bühne zu bringen--- --- heisst mehr gewagt, als das Ansehen Schakespeares des grössten Menschenmalers, der einen Iago und Richard er- schuf, entschuldigen". Richard III is mentioned in the drama itself (Act V, I), where Pastor Moser bids Franz take care lest he be like Richard and Nero (3).

Let us examine , then the influence of Shakes- peare on Franz Moor. Franz Moor learned a great deal from Richard III. Richard III,(ActI,I). complains against nature.

"I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,
Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,
Deform'd, unfinished, sent before my time
Into this breathing world, scarce half made
made up", etc and since he cannot prove a
lover , because nature has thus deforms him, he is de-
termined to prove a villain.

(1) SS II, 11, 13.

(2) SS II, 361, 5.

(3) SS II, 183, 25

These are Richard III's sentiments expressed in a monologue which opens the drama. Place besides them the words of Franz, (Act I, Scene I) in his first monologue. (1)

"Ich habe grosse Rechte, über die Natur ungebaltten zu seyn, und bey meiner ehre! ich will siegeltend machen.-----Warum musste sie mir diese Bürde von Hässlichkeit aufladen? gerade mir?--- Warum gerade mir die Lappländers Nase? Gerade mir dieses Mohrenmaul?----- Frisch also! mutig ans Werk-----Ich will alles um mich her ausrotten".

Not only are the sentiments identical, the expression similar; they are introduced in the same manner, in an opening monologue. Franz Moor, Schiller's villain, reveals his plans to the audience in long abstract monologues, even as do the villains of Shakespeare.

Like Richard III, Franz has that desire for power which must annihilate all that stands in his way. Like Richard, he woos the woman, whom he has stolen from her lover. Like Richard, he falls, with the apt versatility of a consummate villain, into any rôle,

(1) SS II, 24, 14.

which may ~~subt~~ his purpose.(1) But finally as the "thousand several tongues of conscience" awake in Richard (Monologue Act V, 3) as fear comes over him, horror makes the "cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh," so too does Franz in his mad frenzy (ActV,I) tremble at himself and at his distorted visions.

As Franz takes traits from Richard III, so does he take others from Shakespeare's villain in Othello, Iago. Iago, like Franz is an intriguer; by means of his intrigues he, like Franz, starts a reaction in an unsuspecting noble nature, a reaction which brings about destruction and forms the real tragedy. Like Iago, who scoffs "Virtue, a fig"-, we find Franz scoffing at honorable reputation as a meaningless empty symbol. The technical construction of the dramas is the same. As all action in Othello begins with Iago; so does the action of the "Räuber" have its origin on the Gegenspieler Franz (2). The two villains are cold, unnatural, mean intriguers bent upon destruction. Schiller's Franz is given as important a position as Karl; the result is that the action splits into two parts, Karl and Franz

(1) Minor l.c. 330.

(2) typical of all Schiller's early dramas.

never appear together; throughout the entire three acts, the two actions run parallel without meeting (1) Shakespeare's villain is more in the background; his technique is more skilful. Othello and Iago appear together often the action is better interwoven.

As a third model for Franz Moor, we must add to Richard III and Iago, Edmund of Shakespeare's King Lear. Here we find new features, which go to make up the figure of the composite villain, Franz. Edmund, plots against his brother, gives his father over to death and plays the lover to two sisters in cold calculating fashion.

His speech (Act I, 2) beginning "Thou, nature, art my goddess" with its cynical tone: "fine word, 'legitimate'!" was the proto-type for the first monologue of Franz in which in like cynical fashion he expresses his attitude toward primogeniture.

Edmund begins his intrigue with a forged letter. This is the source of the forged letter of Schiller's Franz; the villain of Schubart did not use it;

(1) Bellermann, Schiller's Dramen "Die Räuber".

his villainy had contented itself with suppressing the brothers letter. Schiller's Franz does both, he suppresses Karl's letterp he forges an answer,--quite laterally is he a double-dyed villain.

In the "Räuber" we have the moral turmoil of "King Lear": brother pitted against brother, the son against the father, the father against the child, the spurned child the rescuer of the ill-treated father.

Schiller learned a great deal from the villains of Shakespeare, Richard, Iago, Lear. His Franz inherits many a trait from them, but he is not all Shakespeare.(1) He has in addition a material mind directed by the study of medicine(2) a contribution of Schiller.

As we found on the case of Karl, though we may point to sources, yet those sources do not show all. Schiller understands giving his Franz original ideas. He is not a villain who steps full grown and fully accoutred from the pages of sixteenth century Shakespearian drama and who parades about in anachronistic fashion two centuries later. Schiller has made him a modern villain, giving him the moral coloring of the time, the distinct eighteenth century flavor.

(1) nor is he all Leisewitz or Klinger of. Section VI
(2) of Chapter VIII.

The means in which he reveals himself, is the one employed by Shakespeare, the monologue. Richard, Edmund, Iago initiate the audience into their plans in monologues, they rejoice(1) in soliloquies over the good results of their plans.

The sensible critic of the Erfurt paper(2) pointed this out in showing the similarity between Edmund's speech and the first monologue of ~~Karl~~ Franz; the similarity between the monologue of Karl (Act IV, 5) beginning "Wer mir Bürge wäre? --" and the famous soliloquy of Hamlet (Act III, 1) "To be or not to be". There is similarity in idea and expression, too well known to deserve notice here (3). But the difference is this. Hamlet's speech is mere theory; Schiller imbues his monologue with dramatic life. Karl is far removed from any Hamlet-like irresolution; mere theorizing will not suffice for him, it seeks expression in action. Er "lädt die Pistole".

On the other hand, the villains of Shakespeare, reveal themselves in their monologues as actively working toward a goal. Schiller's Franz, coolly analyzes in abstract fashion. He is the true son of the rationalistic age of enlightenment.(4)

(1) SS II, 76, 16. "Franz hüpfte frolockened herein".

(2) Düntzer, l.c. 37.

(3) Brahm, O. Schiller l.c. p 124
Bellermann, Schiller's Werke II, p 428

(4) Minor l.c. 331.

There are many traces of the language of Shakespeare taken over from the Wieland Eschenburg translation into "Die Räuber". It will be interesting to note some of these; together with several interesting and important parallel passages.

Räuber I, 2: "bis man zum Jüngsten Tag posaunt?" which bears similarity to Hamlet V, 1: "bis zum Schall der letzten Trommete". This may stand as an example of frequent similarity in expression which Schiller probably borrowed from Shakespeare. There are many instances of this (1) but they are omitted here as they are of but minor importance and not as interesting as are the adaptations, which follow.

Räuber II, 1. This is one of the most interesting parallel passages. Franz has just finished a long soliloquy in which he says ~~Wohl an denn ! (Hermann tritt auf~~ reveals his plans- (Entschlossen) he says "Wohl an denn ! (Hermann tritt auf) Ha ! Deus ex machina ! Hermann ! "

King Lear I, 2. Edmund, to whom Franz Moor is so largely indebted for many traits, is soliloquizing. He mentions the name "Edgar"----(Enter Edgar) Edmund continues "And pat he comes like the catastrophe of the old comedy".

(1) Düntzer's Erläuterungen furnish abundant illustrations.

Räuber II,1. Hermann to Franz: "Ich will ihn am Kruzifix erwürgen !"

Hamlet IV,7 Laertes to King: "Ich könnt ihm in der Kirche die Gurgel abschneiden".

Räuber II, 2. Franz in a soliloquy revels in the thought of the authority soon to be his. "Wer wird nun kommen und es wagen, mich vor Gericht zu fordern ? oder mir ins Angesicht zu sagen: du bist ein Schurke!"

Otello II,3. Iago in a soliloquy rejoices in his success. " Wer wags wohl einen Schurken mich zu nennen ! "

Räuber II,3.: " Greuliche, greulich Frevl, die bis zum Himmel hinaufstinken."

Räuber II,3:"nichts anders, als wie man, der Grossen am bittersten spottet, wenn man ihnen schmeichelt, dass sie die Schmeichler hassen".

Julius Caesar II, I:"Wenn ich ihm (dem C aesar) dann sage, er hasse die Schmeichler, so sagt er, er thu' es freilich, und merkt nicht, dass ich ihm eben dadurch am meisten schmeichle"."

Räuber II,3: Roller exclaims, "Hauptmann----wie er die Unter lippe zwischen die Zähne klemmt! "-- This is an aside , which Roller makes, inserted to show Karl Moor's thoughtful mood, his perturbed spirit. We find the same in Shakespeare. There the hero, Richard, is spoken of by Catesby, (~~Aside to a stander by~~) ~~also~~ also in an aside. Richard III, IV,2 Catesby (Aside to a stander by) "The King is angry: see, he bites the lip."

Räuber III,2: Karl Moor (drückt den Hut übers Gesicht) "Es war eine Zeit----Lasst mich allein, Kammeraden." A similar idea is found in the words of Malcolm.

Macbeth IV,3: "Let us seek out some desolate shade, and there weep our sad bosoms empty."

Räuber IV,2: Franz in a soliloquy remarks; "Bin ich doch ohnehin schon bis an die Ohren in Todsünden gewatet, dass es Unsinn wäre, zurückzuschwimmen, wenn das Ufer schon so weit hinten liegt---Ans Umkehren ist doch nicht mehr zu gegenken."

There are two similar passages in Shakespeare.

Macbeth III,4. "Ich bin so tief in Blut hineingestiegen,

dass, wenn ich jetzt nicht weiter fortwaten wollte, der Rückweg ebenso gefährlich wäre als der Durchgang."

Richard III, IV, 2: "Doch bin ich nun einmal so weit im Blt, dass eine Sünde nun die andre nachzieht."

Räuber IV, 3: In an soliloquy, Franz remarks: "Der Mensch enstehet aus Marast, und watet eine Weile im Marast, und macht Marast und gärt wieder zusammen in Marast, bis er zuletzt an den Schulsohlen seiner Urenkels unflätig ank klebt."

Hamlet V, 1 Hamlet says: "Warum sollte die Einbildungskraft nicht den edlen Staub Alexanders verfolgen können, bis sie ihn findet, wo er ein Spundloch verstopft?"

Räuber IV, 5. Karl Moor addresses his father: "Geist des alten Moors! Was hat dich beunruhigt in deinem Grab?----Hast du das Gold der Wit^{en} und Waisen unter die Erde vergraben, das dich zu dieser mutternächtlichen Stunde heulend herumtrieb?"

This bears apparent sililarity to Hamlet addressing the gghost. Hamlet I, 4. The last line points to the speech of Horatio.

Hamlet I,1.

"Und hast du aufgehäuft in deinen Leben

Erpresste Schätze in der Erde Schoss."

Räuber IV,5 Der alte Moor has just revealed the villainy of Franz--"Das hat mein Sohn Franz gethan".

Karl Moor."Franz ? Franz ?++++--O ewiger Chaos!

Similarly Othello, uses chaos to designate the awfulness of life without Desdemona.

Othello III,3."Wenn ich doch nicht mehr liebe, so ist das Chaos da."

Räuber IV,5 Karl cries:--"Zerr' ihn aus dem Bette, wenn er schläft oder in den Armen, der Wollust liegt, schleppe ihn vom Mahle weg, wenn er besoffen ist , reiss ihn vom Kruzifix, wenn er betend vor ihm auf den Knien liegt !"

This bears clear resemblance to the scene in which Hamlet sees the king at prayer.

Hamlet III,3.

"Wann er berauscht ist, schlafen, in der Wut,

In seines Betts blutschänderischen Freuden---

Dann stoss' ihn nieder."

Räuber V,2 Räuber Moor laments: "Das Erbarmen ist zu den Bären geflohen".

Julius Caesar II,2 Antony in the funeral oration: "O Vernunft, du bist zu den dummen Tieren geflohen."

Räuber V,2 Räuber Moor in the final scene states: "Halt -- noch ein Wort, eh' wir wieter gehn.---"

King Lear V,3 Albany in the final scene, just before arresting Edmund says: "Wartet und hört erst !"

Othello V,2 Othello in the final scene, at the very close of the drama, just before he stabs himself, says to Lodovico: "Sachte, noch ein paar Worte, eh ihr geht."

From the study of these and other parallel passages---for their number can easily be doubled-- we are safe in forming two conclusions. First Schiller knew only the tragedies. Besides King Lear, Richard III, Othello, to whose character he owed so much, the "Räuber" show evidence of his acquaintance with Hamlet, Macbeth, Julius Caesar(1) The comedies, the light sprightliness of the Shakespearian "Tempest" or "Midsummer Night's Dream" were but oddly suited to the stern tragic youth.

(1) probably also "Romeo and Juliet"-Kontz l.c.246 foot note 2."The Two Gentlemen of Verona" Ibid 262 footnote 2.

The second conclusion is in regard to the nature of his borrowings. These fall into two classes. First and of least importance are the expressions which were taken over into the "Räuber" quite naturally, perhaps unconsciously. The second is a conscious borrowing of not only the verbal expression, but the thought and situation. This kind of borrowing, I feel safe in stating, is found almost exclusively in the soliloquies. In other words, it is found, wherever the characters do reasoning with which the twenty year old Schiller was necessarily unfamiliar. Schiller borrowed then, from literary sources, from Shakespeare, when his own observation failed him.

The influence of Shakespeare on "Die Räuber" was an important one (1). It showed itself in single definite cases, as cited; in characterization, especially of Franz, in the spirit of the whole. Shakespeare offered Schiller a picture of life never equalled for variety, vivacity, magnificence--a picture of human nature which young Schiller, shut up as he was, would never have had the time or opportunity of studying at first hand. Schiller was too young to appreciate at the time its influence. It remained

(1) Yet Kontz (l.c. 121) is of the opinion that "le poète allemand a peu de ressemblance avec 'son grand modele'."

For the Schiller of maturity to explain his early attitude toward Shakespeare in "Über naive und sentimentale Dichtung" (1) and his explanation reads "Ich war noch nicht fähig die Natur aus der ersten Hand zu verstehen."

(1) SS X, 447.

VI The Influence of the Age and its Productions.

A) Influence of Rousseau and of Sturm und Drang.

Attention has already been called to the fact that Schiller was directly or indirectly under the influence of Rousseau. He mentions him specifically in the *Selbstrecension* (1).

That Rousseau should have influence on "Die Räuber" is not startling. It was largely the doctrine of Jean Jacques Rousseau, the teaching of his "Emile", "la nouvelle Heloise" and the "contrat social" that had called forth the Sturm and Drang movement. His antagonism to state and society, his longing for primitive life as set forth in his cry, "Retournons à la nature", had found an attentive ear in the *Stürmer* and *Dränger*.

This doctrine found fertile soil in the heart of young Schiller. It was the caprice of the duke that had forced him to relinquish his cherished hope of entering the ministry. This aroused for the first time in Schiller antagonism against a social order, which tolerated such decisive interference with personal liberty,

(1)SS II, 357,22.

which permitted such arbitrary action and left one helpless, powerless to resist.

In the Militärakademie he was made to feel the oppression constantly; he observed at first hand the rottenness of the state, the favoritism of the court. Little wonder that his thoughts turned toward an overthrow of society ! Surrounded as he was by the walls of the Militärakademie, he gave expression to his despair, to his longing for freedom in the "Räuber".

Little wonder that "Die Räuber" reflect the teaching of Rousseau ! The longing for nature, for freedom, the battle cry of Rousseau, sounds again in Karl Moor, and in Karl Moor we have the sentiment of Schiller. We see the passionate longing for liberty, indignation at the oppressing bonds which restrained on all sides, his disappointment with the existing condition of things in the world.

Schiller chafed at the narrow restrictions of the Karlsakademie; he expresses his dissatisfaction with the society, which kills all that is whole and splendid, in the character of Karl Moor. Karl Moor, full of rage

that he must be retained by the world of law, speaks in Rousseau's spirit. (Act I, 2) (1) "Mir ekelt vor diesem Tinten kleksenden Sekulum, wenn ich in meinem Plutarch lese von grossen Menschen"--- "Pfu! : Pfu! : über das schäppe Kastraten-Jahrhundert, zu nichts nütze, als die Thaten der Vorzeit wieder zukäuen." --"Da verammeln sie sich die gesunde Nature mit abgeschmackten Konventionen",--- "Ich soll meinen Leib pressen in eine Schnürbrust, und meinen Willen schnüren in Gesetze-----Das Gesez hat noch keinen grossen Mann gehiläet, aber die Freyheit brüet Kolosze und Extremitäten aus."

His spirit thirsts for dees, he yearns for freedom. This is the fundamental idea of the piece, the hatred of the unnaturalness of culture, hatred against the conventions imposed by society which restrain and weaken. Schiller follows quite literally the teaching of Rousseau, he puts it into practice, for he actually makes his Räuber leave civilization, which Rousseau deemed degenerate and return to a primitive state, to nature, into the Böhme Wald, there to enjoy the natural rights of the individual, not to be controlled by the force of law;

(1) SS II, 28-9.

indeed they are to restore by force the pure state of primitive nature.

The Revolutionary spirit of freedom which pervades the piece, this theme of social revolution has its source in the source in the doctrine of Rousseau. It is the attitude of the young Stormers and Pressers. Schiller was thoroughly imbued with this spirit. It finds expression in the motto from Hippocrates on the first page (1) "quae medicamenta non sanant, ferrum sanat, quae ferrum non sanat, ignis sanat." It is expressed too in the symbolical title vignette which shows a rearing lion, with the inscription "In Tirannos" (2).

The Sturm and Drang influence manifests itself also in the tendency toward the extreme, throughout. We find it in the violent language, in the representation of passion, the titanic rage of Karl Moor, the materially minded villainy of Franz, the superabundance of emotion in Amalia, the blustering crudity of the robbers, everything raised to the highest pitch. One point to illustrate;— Even the manner of exits, will not allow of calmness. Not even in the scenic directions can Schiller moderate

(1) SS II, 2.

(2) This appeared in the later editions and may be seen in Könnecke l.c. It was not the work of Schiller cf. E. Schmidt. Einleitung säkular Ausgabe VIII.

the violence of his expressions—"wild", "heftig", "schreyend", "sein Gesecht zerfleischend", "Grässlich schreyend, sich die Haare ausraufend", are scenic remarks found in but two pages of the text (1). On the same page Amalia's recovery from her swoon is expressed "Wie aus einem Todes-schlummer aufgejagt (2)."

This exaggeration is typical of Sturm und Drang and was the affect which Schiller wished to produce as his words to Scharffenstein show, "Wir wollen ein Buch machen, das aber durch den Schinder absolut verbrannt werden muss."

That it led to repulsion is shown by the testimony of the "Fürst" who is quoted by Goethe (3), as saying, "wäre ich Gott gewesen, im Begriff die Welt zu schaffen, und ich hätte in dem Augenblick vorausgesehen, dass Schiller's Räuber darin würden geschrieben werden, ich hätte die Welt nicht erschaffen."

Schiller himself was not blind to this exaggerated violence, as his humorous remarks of the Selbstre-cension shows. He speculates on the possible author and says (4) "Er soll arzt --seyn"---"So gewiss ich sein Werk ver-stehe, so muss er starke Dosen in Emeticis ebenso lieben

(1) SS II, 70-71

(2) SS II, 70, 14

(3) Gespräche mit Eckermann I, 206. Wäd. Jan. 17, 1827.

(4) SS II, 372-373.

als in Aestheticis, und ich möchte ihm lieber zehen Pferde,
als meine Frau zur Kur übergeben."

The violence was intentional however on the part of Schiller and was quite in keeping with the tendencies of Sturm und Drang.

VI The Influence of the Age and its Productions.

B) Contemporary classic and Storm and Stress dramas as models. for "Die Räuber."

There is in addition to this indirect influence which the doctrine of Rousseau and the atmosphere of Sturm und Drang had quite naturally on "Die Räuber", more direct influence from contemporary drama of the time. It is this to which we now turn our attention. What preparation had there been for "Die Räuber" in the drama? How do these preparatory dramas serve as sources for "Die Räuber"? In how far is Schiller's drama a new departure, an advance?

There are several dramas to which important significance must be attached.

Gerstenberg's	"Ugolino"	1768
Lessing's	"Emilia Galotti"	1772
Goethe's	"Götz von Berlichingen"	1773
Klinger's	"Zwillinge"	1776
Leisewitz'	"Julius von Tarent"	1776

Gerstenberg's "Ugolino" was, as we have already seen, the first ^{peculiar} drama ~~of the world~~, which Schiller knew and had therefore an important and lasting influence,

as the letter (1) of Schiller to Goethe written as late as March 13, 1801 testifies. The portrayal of the Hungerthurm of "Ugolino" was not lost on Schiller and "Die Räuber". So Gerstenberg's language, his awful solemnity were taken over into the "Räuber", so strong was the influence that many phrases have been taken over. Minor (2) points out a dozen passages of "Die Räuber" which show marked ~~similarity~~ similarity to "Ugolino". We may add to this another similarity. When der alte Moor dies (Act V, 2) Karl Moor in mad despair runs against an oak tree (3), just as does Ugolino against the wall.

Lessing's "Emilia Galotti" furnished in similar manner phrases and situations for "Die Räuber" (4) But more significant is the careful construction which was thus put into the hands of Schiller. "Emilia Galotti" was a model of dramatic form and technical construction use of dialogue which Schiller profited by in his drama (5). The catastrophe of "Emilia Galotti" may have caused Amalia's longing for death at the hands of her lover; Franz Moor finds a companion in Lessing's creation of Marinelli. The caprice of despotic princes finds definite expression in

(1) which see.

(2) Minor l.c. 573. cf also 351.

(3) SS II, 197, 7.

(4) Minor l.c. 572

(5) Kühnemann l.c. 88-96, 105 points out the technical excellences thus offered Schiller.

the Kosinsky Erzählung, a theme which Schiller was later to develop into a ~~Stück~~ whole drama, "Kabale und Liebe".

Hard upon Lessing's "Emilia Galotti", followed Goethe's "Götz von Berlichingen." The study of Goethe's "Götz" and Schiller's "Räuber", the first dramas of the two great contemporaries, both born away in their youth for a moment, by the Zeitgeist, the violence of Sturm und Drang, forms an interesting parallel. There is obvious similarity in motives, characters, construction, phrasing; but there is no need of going into these here. The two dramas have been compared in exemplary fashion by J. Minor in an article entitled "Die Räuber und Goethe's "Götz von Berlichingen" (1).

The two dramas, which are really predecessors and show direct unmistakable influence on "Die Räuber" among the Sturm und Drang dramas (2) which preceded the "Räuber", are Klingler's "Zwillinge" and Leiswitz "Julius von Tarent."

These are both typical Sturm und Drang dramas. They both deal with the conflict of two brothers. This was such a favorite motive of the times that when Akermann

(1) Zeitschrift f.d. Phil. XX, S 66f.

(2) It is possible to point out a few similarities in phrasing between "Die Räuber" and "Werther". One passage of Schiller, SS II, 150, 19 reminds of Goethe's "Das Veilchen"-cf. also "Kabale und Liebe!"

(2) Weltrich has shown many similarities between the "Räuber" and contemporary drama of Goedeke. l. c.

Schröder established a prize for the best drama in 1775, three of the dramas submitted dealt with this motive, though such a theme was not at all required.

In the "Zwillinge", Guelfo is jealous of Ferdinando because he is the first born, just as Franz is of Karl. The love of Camilla, corresponds to the love of Amalia; the loved one between the two hostile brothers.

Klinger introduces his hero, Guelfo, and his confidant, Grimaldi, before an opened book and Grimaldi asks: "Soll ich nun weiter lesen in Brutus Leben"- So Schiller shows us Karl Moor with Spiegeberg (Act I, 2) "in ein Buch vertieft" and this book is Plutarch, in fact as he calls it, "meinen Plutarch"

Stronger than the influence of the "Zwillinge" is that of "Julius von Talent". Schiller knew this drama almost by heart, read it often on his walks and hence it is not surprising that he incorporated its ideas and its phraseology into the work.

It represents an old father, two sons in love with the same girl, one son kills the other, the father kills the guilty son. It furnishes Schiller,

accordingly, with the theme of the dissimilar brothers, both desirous of gaining the authority after the father's death, both desirous of wedding the same girl. It gives the conflict between father and son. It touches upon all the themes which were in the air and debated in Sturm und Drang times, the theme of friendship, the longing for freedom.

We can get a good idea of the similarity and difference of "Julius von Tarent" and "Die Räuber" by a comparison of the title pages. Constantin, Fürst von Tarent, corresponds to Maximilian, regierender Graf von Moor; the father. The two sons Julius and Guido are represented in the "Räuber" by Karl and Franz. Both sons in Leiswitz love Blanca, who is the model for Amalia.

So much for similarity in character and motive. On the same page, we find, however, two important differences. We find on the title page of the "Räuber", a list of "Libertiner , nachher Banditen", which are lacking in "Julius von Tarent" and point to an entirely new solution.

Leiswitz with the timidity of dramatists of the time places his action in Tarent in the end of the

fifteenth century . Schiller, influenced by Schubart, boldly states "DER Ort der Geschichte ist Teutchnland, die Zeit ohngefähr zwei Jahre" and this time is moreover the time of the seven years war, near the present.

Thus the story no longer plays in the misty medieval 15th century and in a place far remote; but on German soil and in present times. That already explains much of the violence, the wild desire for freedom of Karl, which are but timid and modest statements in Julius. The wild tirades of Klinger's heroes thus received a firmer stamp; unlike the foreign Guelfo, Karl Moor stands firmly with both feet on German soil.

We can add to the similarity of character and motive; similarity in situation and language. As early as 1805; Petersen pointed out parallel passages in the "Freimüthigen" (1). The first monologue of Franz points to the soliloquy of Guido, Freedom speaks in Julius von Tarent II, 5: "musste denn das ganze menschliche geschlecht, um glücklich zu sein, durchaus in staaten eingesparre werden, wo jeder ein Knecht des Andern und keiner frei ist,----- jeder an das andere ende der Kette angeschmiedet woran er

(1) Minor Zs, f.d. Philologie XX, 65.
cf for others Minor, Schiller l.c. 573.

seinen Sklaven hält ?" (1) Love for freedom finds expression, too in the "Räuber", but with a violence that makes Leisewitz tame by comparison (2).

It was reading such as this that Schiller had done at the Militärakademie. He was filled with the contemporary literature of the Sturm und Drang, he was chafing at restriction himself, he hit upon Schubart's Erzählung, which served as a point about which to crystallize his thoughts. It precipitated "Die Räuber".

(1) cf also IV, 1&2 for similar sentiment.

(2) for other parallel passage cf Säkular Ausgabe. l.c.III, 427, 438 also Kontz l.c. footnotes to pages 222,236,246.

VII- The Influence of the Bible and Religious Poetry.

In the introductory chapters, we have pointed out the place which the Bible played in ^{Schiller's} ~~his~~ early education; the religious atmosphere of his home, his intention of entering the ministry; his early religious tragedies.

The Bible influenced "Die Räuber" in no small measure. The drama was first to be called "Der Verlorane Sohn"; allusions are made to this story in the drama; it is an analagous theme (1). The Bible is quoted directly in one place, Amalia reads aloud to the father (Act II, 2). She selects an old testament story, that of Joseph.

The atmosphere of the "Räuber" is that of the old testament. Schiller appears as a protestant poet. The influence of his religious home, of his early teacher, ^{The} Rev. ^{Mr.} Moser, are not lost. The God of the drama ~~is~~ the God of the old testament, a father to be sure, but a stern judge, in whom there rules not so much tender love as severe justice.

(1) Mme. de Stael DE l'Allemagne- Chapter XVII.

The language of "Die Räuber" is that of the Bible. The Bible furnishes Schiller with an infinite number of synonyms to express good and evil. He uses its ~~own~~ ~~own~~ language to represent pleasure and joy, sorrow and fear. On the one hand, we read of heaven, Eden, Paradise, the legion of angels, the cherubim, the seraphim; on the other, we see yawning before us the abyss of damnation, we see the fallen angels, Satan, Abbadonna, Moloch, Mammon, the serpent. Amalia, in the garden, sings to the accompaniment of the lute (Act III, 1), "Seine Küsse -----paradiesisch Fühlen ! -----" and we are tempted to repeat the exclamation point ! ?

The influence of the Bible (1) on the language of "Die Räuber" has been made the subject of a special study. R.Boxberger, "Die Sprache der Bibel in Schiller's Räubern-Erfurt 1867" (2) . Düntzer in the "Erläuterungen"; editors of Schiller have pointed out parallel passages. Witkowski (3) makes a list of over sixty instances; I find in the Amerkungen in Bellermann and in Düntzer, seventy passages in "Die Räuber" for which the Bible furnished the expressions. In many the expression of "Die Räuber"

(1) Kontz l.c. Part II, Chap.I.

(2) J.Schurich. Schiller und die Bibel. Leipzig 1895.

(3) Unfortunately not available.

(3) l.c. footnote 46, 47.

is taken verbatim from the Bible. The passages of Schiller's drama, which can be traced to the Bible run easily into the hundreds.

As the relation of "Die Räuber" to the Bible is so close, we are not surprised to find also an intimate connection with religious poetry, Milton and Klopstock. The "Paradise Lost" of Milton was favorite reading of Schiller. He mentions him in a scene later suppressed. Karl asks, "Ich weiss nicht Moriz, ob du den Milton gelesen hast" (1). In the Vorrede, he says (2), "Milton's Satan folgen wir mit schauerndem Erstannen durch das unwegsame Chaos." In the Recension (3) he tells us that "Milton, der Panegyrikus der Hölle, auch den zartführendsten Leser einige Augenblicke zum gefallenem Engel macht."

There seem indeed to be a kindred spirit in the two poets. The same pathos is to be found in both. The Satan of Milton is a not unimportant model for Schiller. (4).

Schiller became acquainted with Milton through Klopstock. We have already seen how in his early youth, Schiller had found in Klopstock, his first model,

(1) Brahm. l.c. 117

(2) SS II, 11, 10.

(3) SS II, 358, 11.

(4) Kühnemann l.c. 78-83 draws an interesting parallel.

how he had copied his early lyrics, epics, dramas after the religious poetry of Klopstock. During the early days in the military academy, Schiller worshiped the "Messias" as the ne plus ultra of poetry.

He admits the influence of Klopstock on "Die Räuber". The Recension (1) remarks of Amalia, "Das Mädchen hat mir zuviel im Klopstock gelesen". The Vorrede (2) says, "Klopstock's Adramelech wekt in uns eine Empfindung worinn Bewunderung in Abscheu schmilzt." At the Donau, Karl Moor cries (Act III,2) "Ich"-----"mitten in den Blumen der glücklichen Welt ein heulender Abbadona! "

quite in the manner of Klopstock we have in Karl and Franz, the personification of good and evil. Quite like a religious drama, the thought of a world judgment pervades all. Religious poet that he is, Schiller closes his Vorrede with the words,(3), "Ich darf meiner Schrift, zufolge ihrer merkwürdigen Katastrophe mit Recht Platz unter den moralischen Büchern versprechen; das Laster nimmt den Ausgang, der seiner würdig ist, Der Verirrte tritt wieder in das Gelaise der Geseze!"

Schiller is quite right when he criticizes

(1) SS II, 370, 30.

(2) SS II, 11, 9

(3) SS II, 12, 26.

Amalia for having read too much Klopstock. His words are very literally true. Her song (Act II, 2) "Willst dich, Hektor, ewig mir entreissen", shows that she has really read the "Messias", and quite carefully too and in a specific place Messias II, 763, "Abdiel, mein Bruder, du willst dich mir ewig entrissen?"

Amusing, indeed, is Schiller's criticism of Amalia in the Recension (1). He was entirely conscious of his inability to portray woman. He had grown up in a world of men. His woman must needs be the Blanka of Leisewitz, steeped in Ossian and Klopstock, "la figure klopstockienne d'Amalie" in the phrase of Kontz (2). We can apply to her exactly, Schiller's words in regard to the drama as a whole of the Rheinische Thalia" (3), "ein Ungeheuer-----das zum Glück nicht in der Welt vorhanden" ist.

Not only Amalia's speeches are related to Klopstock's; the pathos of Klopstock pervades the whole style. There are frequent allusions which have their origin in Klopstock. Boxberger in den "Neuen Jahrbüchern" für Philologie und Pädagogik 1868, 87 ff" has pointed out the language of Klopstock in the "Räuber".

(1) SS II, 365, 5 ff.

(2) Kontz, l.c. 217.

(3) SS III, 529.

The frequent expressions of Klopstock quite often coincide with the language of the Bible, which is natural enough. I find one expression which is of unique interest in that it is found in the Bible, Klopstock, Shakespeare and the "Räuber". In the final scene, we find in the words of Räuber Moor (1), the expression "im Rath himmlischen Wächter." In the Bible, Daniel 5,14, we read: "Solches ist im Rath der Wächter beschlossen!" In Klopstock's "Messias", we find similar phrases occurring frequently (II,99) "Rath der heiligen Wächter"; (VI, 244) "ersten Rathe der Wächter"; (I, 566) "Versammlung der heiligen Wächter ." In Hamlet, (III,4), Hamlet cries "Ihr himmlischen Wächter."

Some of the citations from Klopstock are in earnest, some are parodied. In one place, the words of Klopstock take on a decidedly vulgar meaning in the mouth of Spiegelberg (2). Klopstock had fallen from his pedestal in the eye of Schiller in the later academy days as an extant poem shows (3) and hence we find now and then an occasional indication in the "Räuber!"

But, though he ridiculed Klopstock, he could

(1) SS II, 203,21.

(2) Kontz, l.c.95.

(3) Ibid. the poem was published in the "Anthologie!"

not escape his influence any more than he could deny the language of the Bible entrance into his drama. In fact, wherever, the language of *Die Räuber*, is elevated above mere conversation, Schiller's falls into Biblical diction and the phraseology of Klopstock.

VIII Actual Experience and Environment as a Source.

So far we have discussed as sources of "Die Räuber", the stories which served as immediate sources for his material; also those ~~wrks~~ works of literature which had preceded and served him as models. We turn now to the actual experience and environment of Schiller, to see what contributions of life and historical fact can be traced in the drama.

We have already pointed out that in the figure of Pastor Moser, Schiller adopts not only the name but also the character of Rev. Chr. Ferd. Moser, his first teacher. From the life of ^{at} Militäarakademie, much was taken up into the "Räuber". Not merely the longing for freedom, which the confinement in the academy aroused, found expression in the drama; the students' language and phrases are taken over. The Robbers speak the student slang. They cry "Mordbleu", "Mort de ma vie"; they speak of "Seelengaudium" and "Seelenjubilo", their language is full of classical allusions. We see references not only to Plutarch, Josephus, but also to Nero, Dido, Pizarro, Prometheus, Hannibal, Scipio, Hercules. They use student expressions such as

"auf das chapitre bringen", "aufs Tapet bringen"-for which we can find English equivalents current at present in colleges. Spiegelberg (Act IV, 5) cautions them to be quiet when speaking of the Hauptmann lest they be overheard with the words (1) "Pst doch ! Pst ! ---- Er hat so seine Ohren unter uns herumlaugfen---". We can imagine the students of the academy using the same expression to prevent "tattle-
tales" repeating their secret doings to the duke Karl Eugen.

The very prototype of Spiegelberg perhaps used the expression himself; for there is ground for belief that Spiegelberg owes his origin to a fellow student whom Schiller disliked. Schiller's teacher, Abel, tells of a student of the academy who had the idea of restoring the Jewish kingdom, as Spiegelberg entertains the cherished hope of wandering to the promised land. Düntzer (2) ,with acute observation points out that he is ~~only~~ the only robber addressed by his Christian name, Moritz. This lends further credence to our theory. Perhaps that was the name of the scholar meant by Abel. One thinks also in this connection of the student, whom Schiller cited (3) as the most despicable of his fellows in the "Bericht an den Herzog Carl über *Mittel*

und über
sich selbst."

(1) SS II, 155.20

(2) Düntzer l.c. 131.

(3) SS I, 16, 18 ff. Karl Kempff. Minor.l.c.3 22.

Similarly the other robbers are taken from actual life; their very names are found on the rolls of the academy (1). And their Hauptmann, Karl Moor, is Schiller, himself.

The studies of the Militärakademie, are sources for "Die Räuber"; the studies of the classics, of philosophy, of medicine. The frequency of classical allusions in the mouths of the robbers had already been touched upon. The "diem perdidit" (2) reminds of Suetonius' story of Emperor Titus; the action of the robbers (Act V, 2) (3) reminds of a similar account of Livy (4); the kissing of the earth of his native land (Act IV, 1) (5) by Karl Moor is taken from the Odyssey of Homer (6); like the Odyssey, too, is the way in which Daniel recognizes Karl by means of the scar (7)

Similarly, Schiller's philosophical studies have a noticeable effect on the trend of "Die Räuber". The training of the academy was to a large extent philosophical; the influence of Abel, the teacher of philosophy (8) was an important one. That is the origin of the cold, calculating, analytical philosophy which we have noted in the character of Franz.

(1) Minor. l.c. 320. Verified by the testimony of Abel and Schwan.

(2) SS II, 79, 21

(3) SS II, 199, 14

(4) Livius II, 22

(5) SS II, 128, 11

(6) Odysee 13, 252

(7) SS II, 142, 18. Odysee 19.

(8) Kontz, l.c. 24 Footnote 1.

The study of medicine, like that of philosophy was an important factor in the creation of Franz. Thence comes the speculation of Franz as to the manner of his father's death, thence his repulsive reasoning as to the nature of birth, his minute description of dread disease and its influence (Act 1,3). The monologues of Franz show that he has been an apt pupil of one Fr. Schiller, stud. med., that he has read with interest, has quite carefully studied in fact, the medical dissertations of this M.D. in spe. In the opening monologue of Act II, Franz quotes almost verbatim Par. 14 of Schiller's dissertation of the year 1780, "Versuch über den Zusammenhang der tierischen Natur des Menschen mit seiner geistigen." A little later on(1), he quotes a thought of Par. 18.

In one place (2), indeed, the student of medicine quite wins the upper hand over the dramatist, the author is so bound up in his medical interest that he suddenly steps out of his story to furnish his readers with the account of the most interesting "case" of a woman in Paris-- and he expresses his "Pfu!" of contempt at the doctors of the day, thus put to shame !

(1) SS II, 22, 16

(2) SS II, 58, footnote.

But there were facts beyond the pale of the military academy that were used in the "Räuber". None less an authority than Schiller's wife informs (1) us that the story of old Moor is based on fact. The story of Kosinsky is founded on an actual occurrence (2); the account of Karl (Act II,3) concerning treacherous ministers and false friends points to Montmartin and Piegtr, actual persons in Suabian history (3). The influence of Schwaben is felt also in dialectic form, occurring often and to good advantage, especially in the language of old Daniel (4).

(1)

(1) Minor. l.c. 298

(2) Brahm l.c. 131. "Eine freche Tat des Jud Süß."

(3) Bellerman Ausgabe l.c. 425.

(4) cf. in this connection Meyer Neue Beiträge, 46., also Düntzer C. E. Erläuterungen.

IX Conclusion.

a) Review of the Sources.

From the foregoing discussion, we can easily determine the sources for "Die Räuber", for the characters, for the language, for the construction.

Thus Karl Moor points to predecessors in literature, Roque Quinart, to the influence of Plutarch, Cervantes, Rousseau; to legendary and historical personages, Robin Hood, Cartouche, Howard, Schwan, Franz Moor traces his descent to the villains of Shakespeare; Iago, Edmund, Richard III. Both brothers are found in the Sturm and Stress drama.

The father finds his model in contemporary drama.; Amalia is obviously the Blanka of Leisewitz plus the language of Klopstock and Ossian. Pastor Moser was an actual person; likewise many of the robbers have their origin in real life.

The language is that of the Bible, of Klopstock, of Shakespeare, of Schwaben,. Schiller felt this himself and his frank statement of it in the Recension(1) is characteristic. Its words follow:

(1) SS II, 371, 24 ff.

"Die Sprache und der Dialog dürfen sich gleichen bleiben, und im Ganzen weniger poetisch seyn. Hier ist der Ausdruck lyrisch und episch, dort gar metaphysisch, an einem dritten Ort biblich, an einem vierten platt. Franz sollte durchaus anders sprechen. Die blumigte Sprache verzeihen. ~~Die~~ wir nur der erhitzten Fantasie, und Franz sollte schlechterdings kalt sein. Das Mädchen hat mir zuviel im Klopstock gelesen. Wenn man es dem Verfasser nicht an den Schönheiten anmerkt, dass er sich in seinen Shakespeares vergaft hat, so merkt man es desto Gewisser an den Ausschweifungen. Das Erhabene wird durch poetische Verblümmung durchaus nie erhabener, aber die Empfindung wird dadurch ^{undichtiger. Wo der Dichter} am wahrsten fühlte, und am durchdringendsten bewegte, sprach er wie unser einer. Im nächsten Drama erwartet man Besserung. oder man wird ihn zu der Ode verweisen."

We have pointed out also sources for the construction. The technical construction of "Die Räuber" owes much to Shakespeare; much to Lessing. The motives are taken in large measure from preceding dramas. The motive of the prodigal son, Biblical in origin was a

favorite topic of the time, the conflict between father and son was common, the motive of patricide, of the Hungerturm had found expression in Lenz, Schubart, Gerstenberg. The conflict of the two brothers, was in the air. Nearly all the Sturm and Stress dramas had selected it for their theme. Even the "Räuber"- motive, the one to which, if any, Schiller could lay claim of originality, had also been treated.

A brief summary of the sources, such as the foregoing, might lead us to question the author's originality in this work. From a summary continued but this far, one might suspect that its principal parts, its principal characters, its very language are in large measure borrowed.

But this is not the place to stop. Like Räuber Moor of the final scene, who has still an important disclosure to make; we say, "Halt-- nach ein Wort, eh' wir weiter gehn.-----" Our story, like his, is not yet done.

IX Conclusion.

b) Original Contribution of Schiller.

It is well that we pause a moment. There is still a final statement to be made. We can not afford to omit it. Were we to stop our discussion with the preceding section, were^{we} to class "Die Räuber" as a mere mosaic work of facts borrowed from various sources, which showed no originality, we would but tell a half-truth. That its characters, its language, its motives are borrowed, the evidence of our preceding pages will not let us deny.

But there is some other force at work in "Die Räuber", which has immortalized the piece. "What is this force and whence came it?" is the question which arises. Hence our expression of restraint, "Soft you; a word or two before you go."-- Let us see whom we must credit for the new element.

The critic, Chr. Fr. Timme, in a criticism which followed (1) hard upon the production of "Die Räuber," ends his article in enthusiastic admiration for the unknown author of the piece with the words, "Haben wir je
(1) July 24, 1781 Erfurt Zeitung of X Appendix a)

einen teutchen Shakespeare zu erwarten, so ist es dieser!"
The play was a success on the stage; no other play of the
time could compete with it in popularity. (1)

It is still produced today and with success.
More recent writers support the contemporary critic in his
his admiration for the piece. Weltrich thinks that neither
the dramas of Lessing nor Goethe's "Götz" can rival "Die
Räuber" of Schiller in dramatic grandeur. Otto Brahm be-
lieves that "Die Räuber" surpasses everything that had
preceded it, all that had before the time been written in
German. There is evidently something in the drama, which
has made it live; while its models, the contemporary
dramas, have been allowed to die.

Schiller did borrow material and he did so
freely. But what of it? Molière takes his material where
ever he may find it; Shakespeare calmly steals his entire
subject matter at will from some Italian chronicler or
other. One cannot make bricks without straw, especially
if one is ^anew hand at the business. Surely we can not con-
demn Schiller, a youth in his teens, for borrowing
material.

(1) " Neben den Räubern konnte sich damals kein Stück
Geltung verschaffen." Dintzer l.c. 71.

But someone will say, "Schiller borrowed not merely raw material as a source for "Die Räuber", he was directly influenced and copied from the dramas of his day." But to this objection, we have also an answer.

The contemporary Storm and Stress dramas did treat similar subjects. Granted that we do find in them similar conflicts, similar characters; yes, if you will, the same expressions, They had touched upon single, isolated moral and social failings; they had pulled and tugged at the barriers which walled them in. They had suggested social upheaval, they had reveled in violent passionate language and represented it on the stage for years. But Schiller did, what they but wished to do. He challenged the existing conditions of things, he declared war on the whole world. His "Räuber" was a declaration of war against all tyranny, against the oppression of church and state, against all society. It stood for social revolution; it was the announcement of a new era.

The Stürmer and Dränger had preceded him. Their dramas had indicated what he accomplished. He profited by their example, to be sure. His subject matter had

been treated for years, but never before with such power, never before animated with such warmth, never treated with greater technical skill, than in "Die Räuber". Schiller's drama stirred up the desires which lived in the hearts of the youth, to revolution. It was a picture of the times, done in lurid colors. It met with success, such as few poets before or since have known.

The Stürmer and Dränger had prepared the way for him. They had written violent drama, only to lose themselves in their own violence. Schiller elevates this violence to tragic sublimity. They had treated motives; he intensifies them and carries them out. They represent hostile brothers; he is the first to represent them as antipodes. He is the first to present the superb contrast of the two. They place their dramas remote in time and place. He boldly places his in Germany and in the present. They select foreign counts and princes; he represents Germans, taken from real life. Hence the enormous actuality of his drama.

They write dramas, he learns from them; but he adds to them his own heart and soul. He writes in his own heart's blood. Their dramas are forgotten; his "Räuber" is

a work of all times.

It has been our tendency in the foregoing to point out the departures which Schiller made from his sources. We have emphasized what ~~he~~ new he added to them, we have stressed his original contribution. And his original contribution is an important one. It is this and this alone, which gives the drama its universality. It is the work of Schiller in the piece that gives it immortal life. It is the genius of the youth that gives life to material, which others had treated only to have their work forgotten. It is not the borrowed material which fascinates; it is the treatment which is the ~~work~~ work of Schiller. And this is genius. After seeing a performance of "Die Räuber", Auerbach could say of its author, "Es ist eine Grösse in ihm wie ausser Shakespeare in keinem."

The whole development of Storm and Stress from Gerstenberg to Schiller gives evidence on all sides of Shakespeare. Schiller is the first, in the "Räuber", to produce big tragedy, worthy of a place beside him and he is the only one to do so. He penetrates to the depths

which the Stürmer and Dränger do not touch; for his is the greater nature. After all that had been prepared for him, he appears in the tragic field, as the greatest of them all, the fulfillment, the born writer of tragedy.

Taking into consideration his material, his predecessors; giving full credit to the influence of his sources, we must still credit him for his original contribution. It must ever remain an object of wonder- to see how this youth of twenty-one could so depart from the profusion of contemporary literature and in his very first drama show his own peculiar character, a distinct individuality, quite his own. We must ever admire the genius of the youth, that could borrow material and pour into it the emotions of his own soul and to do it with that dramatic skill which makes big tragedy.

X Appendix.

a) Chronological Table.

1759-- Nov.10.	Schiller born.	Marbach.
1763-- Dec.	Family leaves Marbach for Lorch.	
1763-1766.	Lorch. Pastor Moser. Religious influences.	
1766-- Dec. Leave	Lorch.	
1767-1772	Ludwigsburg. Opera. Theatre.	
1772--	Emilia Galotti.	
1773	Jan, 17. Enters Solitude.	
1773	First dramas, "Die Christen" "Absalom".	
	Bible and Klopstock as models.	
1773	Klopstock's Messias.	
1773	Goethe---Götz von Berlichingen.	
1774	Schiller's attention called to Gerstenberg's "Ugolino"	
1774	"Der Student von Nassau"--approximate date.	
1774	Goethe's "Leiden des jungen Werthers"	
1775--January.	Schubart's "Erzählung" appears in Haugs schwäbischem Magazin.	
1775--Nov.18.	Military academy moved to stuttgart. Schiller already acquainted with Schubart's "Erzählung."	
1775	Prize offered by Ackermann and Schröder of the Hamburg Theatre for the best Trauerspiel. This called forth in the following year:	
1776	Leisewitz "Julius von Tarent"	
	Klinger's "zwillinge"	
1776 -77	"Cosmus von Medicis."	
1776-77	Schiller's attention called to Shakespeare	
1777	Probable beginning of "Die Räuber."(1)	
1777-79	Two years devoted entirely to medicine.	
	"Eine Pause in meiner Poeterei."(2)	
1779--October.	Schiller's thesis, "Philosophie der Physiologie" not accepted.	
1779--Nov.13.	Birthday of "Die Räuber" may have begun at the end of this year, as but it	

(1) Date set by Petersen--accepted by Bellermann and others Bellermann, Schiller's Werke--Leipzig und Wien II footnote p5 questioned by Düntzer p 15.

(2) Schiller in a letter to Körner, Feb.2, 1789. "Als ich während meines akademischen Lebens plötzlich eine Pause in meiner Poeterei machte und zwei Jahre lang mich ausschliessend der Medizin widmete so war mein erstes Produkt nach diesem Intervall doch gleich die "Räuber."

- 1780 may not have begun until after Feb. 10, 1780
1780 Late in the year. Schiller's thesis "Zusammenhang der thierischen Natur des Menschen mit seiner Geistigen."
1781 April. "Die Räuber" finished.
1781 May 6. "Die Räuber" appears without name of author and with false place of publication. "Die Räuber. Ein Schauspiel. Frankfurt und Leipzig. 1781."
1781 July 24. Criticism by Chr. Fr. Timme in der "Erfurtischen Gelehrten Zeitung."
1782 Jan. 13. first presentation at Mannheim
1782 Schiller's Selbstrezension in "Wirtembergischen Repertorium." signed K-----r.
1782 First edition with Schiller's name with the words, "in Tirannos."
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X Appendix.

b) List of sources.

Bible.

Cervantes-----"Don Quixote"

Duport du Tetre-"Histoire generale des Conjurations"

Gerstenberg-----"Ugolino"

Goethe-----"Claudine"

Goethe-----"Götz von Berlichingen"

Goethe-----"Leiden des jungen Werther"

Klinger-----"Zwillinge"

Klopstock-----"Messias"

Klopstock-----"Gedichte"

Leisewitz-----"Julius von Tarent"

Lessing-----"Emilia Galotti"

Milton-----"Paradise Lost"

Möller-----"Sophie"

Möller-----"Die zigeuner"

Ossian-----"Poems"

Pltarch-----"Lives"

Rousseau-----"Works"

Schubart-----"Erzählung"

shakespeare-----"Hamlet"
shakespeare-----"King Lear"
shakespeare-----"Othello"
shakespeare-----"Richard III"
shakespeare-----"Machbeth"

Vertot-----"Histoire de l'Ordre de Malte"

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