

# A Companion to the Works of Friedrich Schiller



Edited by  
**Steven D. Martinson**

# A Companion to the Works of Friedrich Schiller

Edited by

Steven D. Martinson



CAMDEN HOUSE

Copyright © 2005 by the Editor and Contributors

*All Rights Reserved.* Except as permitted under current legislation, no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system, published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast, transmitted, recorded, or reproduced in any form or by any means, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

First published 2005  
by Camden House

Camden House is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Inc.  
668 Mt. Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620, USA  
[www.camden-house.com](http://www.camden-house.com)  
and of Boydell & Brewer Limited  
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK  
[www.boydellandbrewer.com](http://www.boydellandbrewer.com)

ISBN: 1-57113-183-3

### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A companion to the works of Friedrich Schiller / edited by  
Steven D. Martinson

p. cm. – (Studies in German literature, linguistics, and culture)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-57113-183-3 (hardcover : alk. paper)

1. Schiller, Friedrich, 1759-1805—Criticism and interpretation.

I. Martinson, Steven D., 1949– II. Title. III. Series: Studies in German literature, linguistics, and culture (Unnumbered)

PT2492.C66 2005  
831'.6-dc22

2005003338

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

This publication is printed on acid-free paper.  
Printed in the United States of America.

*For Elisa*

## Acknowledgments

THE COMPLETION OF this volume was facilitated greatly by the outstanding editorial skills of Jim Walker. His responses to numerous inquiries and questions were always speedy and incisive. Thanks also go to my colleague, Thomas A. Kovach, for having rendered a fine translation of Dieter Borchmeyer's study on *Wallenstein*. I am grateful also to Claudia Galberg and Veronica Ostertag for their assistance in the early stages of the project, as well as to Janna Orlova-Schaeffer for her assistance in preparing the index. Finally, I wish to thank our colleagues in Germany, Sweden, England, Canada, and the United States whose expertise and patience helped bring this enterprise to fruition.

This book is dedicated to my oldest daughter, Elisa, who attended the Schiller-Gymnasium in Marbach am Neckar.

S. D. M.  
Tucson, Arizona  
January 2005

# The Works of Friedrich Schiller

**L**ISTED BY YEAR OF FIRST APPEARANCE. When available in translation, English title and date of appearance are given. The occasional works of Schiller are not included in this list.

- 1780 *Versuch über den Zusammenhang der thierischen Natur des Menschen mit seiner geistigen*. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1780; translated by Kenneth Dewhurst and Nigel Reeves as "An Essay on the Connection between the Animal and Spiritual Nature of Man," in their *Friedrich Schiller: Medicine, Psychology and Literature*, 253–85. Berkeley: U of California P, 1978.
- 1781 *Elegie auf den frühzeitigen Tod Johann Christian Weckerlins; Von seinen Freunden*, 4 pp., N.p., 1781.
- 1781 *Die Räuber: Ein Schauspiel*. Frankfurt am Main & Leipzig: Privately printed, 1781; translated by Alexander F. Tytler as *The Robbers*. London: Robinson, 1792; New York: Printed for S. Campbell, 1793.
- 1782 *Anthologie auf das Jahr 1782*. N.p., 1782.
- 1783 *Trauerspiele / Zum erstenmal aufgeführt auf der Mannheimer National-Schaubühne. Die Räuber, Die Verschwörung des Fiesko zu Genua, Kabale und Liebe*. Mannheim, 1783. *Die Verschwörung des Fiesko zu Genua: Ein republikanisches Trauerspiel* (Mannheim: Schwan, 1783); translated by George Henry Noehden and Sir John Stoddart as *Fiesco; or The Genoese Conspiracy*. London: Johnson, 1796.
- 1784 *Kabale und Liebe: Ein bürgerliches Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen* (Mannheim: Schwan, 1784); translated by Matthew Gregory Lewis as *The Minister: A Tragedy in Five Acts*. London: Bell, 1797; translation revised as *The Harper's Daughter; or Love and Ambition*. Philadelphia: Carey, 1813.
- 1786 *An die Freude: Ein Rundgesang für freye Männer. Mit Musik*. N.p., 1786.
- 1786 *Thalia*. Vol. 1 titled: *Rheinische Thalia*. Edited by Schiller. Leipzig: Göschen, 1785–1787.
- 1787 *Dom Karlos, Infant von Spanien*. Leipzig: Göschen, 1787; translated by Hoehden and Stoddart as *Don Carlos, Infant of Spain*. London: Miller, 1798.

- 1788 *Der Geisterseher: Eine interessante Geschichte aus den Papieren des Grafen von O\*\*\* herausgegeben aus Herrn Schillers Thalia*. Berlin & Leipzig, 1788; republished as *Der Geisterseher: Eine Geschichte aus den Memoiren des Grafen von O\*\**. Leipzig, Göschen 1789; translated by Daniel Boileau as *The Ghostseer; or, The Apparitionist*. London: Vernor, 1795; New York: Printed for T. & J. Swords, 1796.
- 1788 *Geschichte des Abfalls der vereinigten Niederlande von der Spanischen Regierung: Erster Theil enthaltend die Geschichte der Rebellionen bis zur Utrechtschen Verbindung*. Leipzig: Crusius, 1788; translated by Edward Backhouse Eastwick as *History of the Defection of the United Netherlands from the Spanish Empire*. Frankfurt am Main: Krebs, 1844.
- 1789 *Was heißt und zu welchem Ende studiert man Universalgeschichte?* Jena: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1789.
- 1791 *Historischer Calender für Damen für das Jahr 1791 (–1793): Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Kriegs*. 3 vols. Leipzig: Göschen, 1791–1793; translated by William Blaquiere as *History of the Thirty Years' War*. 2 vols. London: Miller, 1799.
- 1792 *Neue Thalia*. Edited by Schiller. Leipzig: Göschen, 1792–95.
- 1792 *Kleinere prosaische Schriften von Schiller: Aus mehreren Zeitschriften vom Verfasser selbst gesammelt und verbessert*. 4 vols. Leipzig: Crusius, 1792–1802.
- 1793 *Über Anmuth und Würde*. Leipzig: Göschen, 1793.
- 1795 *Die Horen: Eine Monatsschrift*. Edited by Schiller. 3 years, each with 4 vols. 1795–97.
- 1800 *Gedichte*, 2 vols. Leipzig: Crusius, 1800–1803.
- 1800 *Wallenstein: Ein dramatisches Gedicht*, 2 vols. Tübingen: Cotta, 1800. Volume 1: *Wallensteins Lager*, translated by F. L. Gower as *The Camp of Wallenstein*. London: Murray, 1830; *Die Piccolomini; or the First Part of Wallenstein, a Drama in Five Acts*. London: Longman & Rees, 1800; volume 2: *Wallensteins Tod*, translated by Coleridge as *The Death of Wallenstein*. London: Longman & Rees, 1800.
- 1801 *Maria Stuart: Ein Trauerspiel*. Tübingen: Cotta, 1801; translated by Joseph C. Mellish as *Mary Stuart: A Tragedy*. London: Printed by G. Auld, 1801.
- 1802 *Kalendar auf das Jahr 1802: Die Jungfrau von Orleans. Eine romantische Tragödie*. N.p., 1802; translated by Henry Salvin as *The Maid of Orleans* in his *Mary Stuart and The Maid of Orleans*. London: Longmann, 1824.
- 1803 *Die Braut von Messina oder Die feindlichen Brüder: Ein Trauerspiel mit Chören*. Tübingen: Cotta, 1803; translated by G. Irvine as *The Bride of Messina*. London: Macrone, 1837.

- 1804 *Wilhelm Tell: Ein Schauspiel. Zum Neujahrs Geschenk auf 1805.* Tübingen, Cotta, 1804; translated anonymously as *William Tell*. London: Bull, 1829.
- 1805 *Die Huldigung der Künste: Ein lyrisches Spiel.* Tübingen: Cotta, 1805; translated by A. I. du Pont Coleman as "Homage to the Arts." In *The German Classics of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Vol. 3, edited by Kuno Francke and William G. Howard, 366–77. New York: German Publication Society, 1913. *Theater*, 5 vols. Tübingen: Cotta, 1805–1807.
- 1812 *Friedrich v. Schillers sämtliche Werke*, 12 vols. Edited by Christian Gottfried Körner. Stuttgart & Tübingen: Cotta, 1812–1815; revised, 1835.
- 1839 *Schiller's erste bis jetzt unbekannte Jugendschrift: Die Tugend in ihren Folgen betrachtet.* Amberg: Klöber, 1839.
- 1840 *Nachlese zu Schillers Werken nebst Variantensammlung: Aus seinem Nachlaß.* 4 vols. Edited by Karl Hoffmeister. Stuttgart & Tübingen: Cotta, 1840–1841.
- 1862 *Avanturen des neuen Telemach oder Leben und Exsertionen Koerners des decenten, consequenten, piquanten u.s.f. von Hogarth in schönen illuminierten Kupfern abgefaßt und mit befriedigenden Erklärungen versehen von Winckelmann: Rom, 1786.* Drawings by Schiller, texts by Ludwig Ferdinand Huber, edited by Carl Künzel. Leipzig: Payne, 1862.
- 1862 *Ich habe mich rasieren lassen: Ein dramatischer Scherz.* Edited by Carl Künzel. Leipzig: Payne, 1862.
- 1867 *Schillers dramatische Entwürfe zum erstenmal veröffentlicht durch Schillers Tochter.* Edited by Emilie Freifrau von Gleichen-Russwurm. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1867.
- 1867 *Schillers sämtliche Schriften: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, 16 vols. Edited by Karl Goedeke and others. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1867–1876.
- 1890 *Aus dem Schiller-Archiv: Ungedrucktes und unbekanntes zu Schillers Leben und Schriften.* Edited by J. Minor. Weimar: Böhlau, 1890.
- 1892 *Briefe. Kritische Gesamtausgabe.* Edited by Fritz Jonas. Stuttgart: 1892–1897.
- 1902 *Deutsche GröÙe: Ein unvollendetes Gedicht Schillers. 1801. Nachbildung der Handschrift im Auftrage des Vorstandes der Goethe-Gesellschaft.* Edited by Bernhard Suphan. Weimar: Goethe Gesellschaft, 1902.
- 1904 *Sämtliche Werke: Säkular-Ausgabe in sechzehn Bänden.* 16 vols. Edited by E. von der Hellen. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1904–1905.
- 1943 *Werke: Nationalausgabe. Im Auftrage des Goethe- und Schiller-Archivs, des Schiller-Nationalmuseums und der Deutschen Akademie.* 35 vols. to date. Edited by Julius Petersen and Hermann Schneider. Weimar: Böhlau, 1943–. (= *Nationalausgabe*, NA)



- 1988 *Werke und Briefe in zwölf Bänden*. Edited by Klaus Harro Hilzinger, et al. Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1988-. (=Frankfurter Ausgabe, FA)
- 2004 *Sämtliche Werke in 5 Bänden*, ed. Albert Meier, et al. Munich: Carl Hanser, 2004.

## Translations by Schiller

- Euripides. *Iphigenie in Aulis*. Acts 1–3, 6: Issue of *Thalia*, edited by Friedrich Schiller, March, 1789; acts 4–5, 7: Issue of *Thalia*, May 1789.
- Euripides. *Phönizierinnen*. 8. Issue of *Thalia* (October/November 1789). [first half of the drama only].
- Gozzi. *Turandot, Prinzessin von China: Ein tragicomisches Märchen nach Gozzi*. Tübingen: Cotta, 1802.
- Picard. *Der Neffe als Onkel. Lustspiel in drey Aufzügen. Theater von Schiller*. Vol. 5. Tübingen: J. C. Cotta, 1807.
- Picard. *Der Parasit oder Die Kunst sein Glück zu machen. Ein Lustspiel. Theater von Schiller*. Vol. 2. Tübingen: J. C. Cotta, 1806.
- Racine. *Britannikus. Trauerspiel. Schillers dramatische Entwürfe zum erstenmal veröffentlicht durch Schillers Tochter Emilie Freifrau von Gleich-Russwurm*. Stuttgart, 1867. [Fragments only]
- Racine. *Phädrus. Trauerspiel von Racine*. Tübingen: J. C. Cotta, 1805. [Fragments only; two manuscripts].
- Virgil. *Der Sturm auf dem Tyrrhener Meer* (=Book 1 of the *Aeneid*). *Schwäbisches Magazin*, 11. Stück, edited by Balthasar Haug. Stuttgart, 1780.
- Virgil. *Dido* (=Book 4 of the *Aeneid*). *Thalia*. 2. and 3. Stück (1792).
- Virgil. *Die Zerstörung von Troja* (=Book 2 of the *Aeneid*). *Thalia*. 1. Stück (1792).

## Editions and Abbreviations

THERE ARE TWO EDITIONS OF Schiller's works that are currently widely used by scholars. The edition primarily relied upon in this volume is *Werke und Briefe in zwölf Bänden*, edited by Klaus Harro Hilzinger, et al. (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1988–), which is known as the Frankfurter Ausgabe and abbreviated as FA.

The other edition, which is used as the source of primary reference to Schiller's works in the essay by Norbert Oellers and as a supplemental source in several of the other essays in this book, is *Werke: Nationalausgabe. Im Auftrage des Goethe- und Schiller-Archivs, des Schiller-Nationalmuseums und der Deutschen Akademie*, edited originally by Julius Petersen and Hermann Schneider, currently edited by Norbert Oellers (44 vols. to date; Weimar: Böhlau, 1943–), known as the *Nationalausgabe*, and abbreviated as NA.

# Contents

Acknowledgments	ix
The Works of Friedrich Schiller	xi
Editions and Abbreviations	xv
Introduction: Schiller and the New Century <i>Steven D. Martinson</i>	1

## Intellectual-Historical Settings

Schiller's Philosophical Aesthetics in Anthropological Perspective <i>Walter Hinderer</i>	27
Schiller and Classical Antiquity <i>David Pugh</i>	47
Schiller the Historian <i>Otto Dann</i>	67

## Major Writings

<i>Die Räuber</i> : Structure, Models, and an Emblem <i>Werner von Stransky-Stranka-Greifenfels</i>	89
<i>Kabale und Liebe</i> Reconsidered <i>J. M. van der Laan</i>	115
Great Emotions — Great Criminals?: Schiller's <i>Don Carlos</i> <i>Rolf-Peter Janz</i>	137
Concerning Aesthetic Education <i>Lesley Sharpe</i>	147
"On the Shores of Philosophy": Schiller's Lyric Poetry, 1795 <i>Norbert Oellers</i>	169

<i>Wallenstein</i> <i>Dieter Borchmeyer</i>	189
<i>Maria Stuart: Physiology and Politics</i> <i>Steven D. Martinson</i>	213
<i>Die Jungfrau von Orleans</i> <i>Karl S. Guthke</i>	227
<i>Wilhelm Tell</i> <i>Karl S. Guthke</i>	247

## Schiller's Legacy

The Reception of Schiller in the Twentieth Century <i>Wulf Koepke</i>	271
Works Cited	297
Notes on the Contributors	313
Index	317

# Introduction: Schiller and the New Century

Steven D. Martinson

*Lebe mit deinem Jahrhundert,  
aber sei nicht sein Geschöpf.*

## The Man and His Life

JOHANN CHRISTOPH FRIEDRICH SCHILLER was born to Johann Kaspar Schiller and Elisabetha Dorothea Kodweiss in Marbach am Neckar on November 10, 1759. His father served in the Württemberg military as a lieutenant and medic. Following the Seven Years' War, he was promoted to the rank of captain and became a recruiting officer. The duchy of Württemberg included among its largest cities Stuttgart, Tübingen, and Ludwigsburg. The small city of Marbach lies just northeast of Ludwigsburg on the Neckar River. The Landeskirche was Evangelical-Lutheran with which Swabian pietism soon conflicted. Not only that, but the duke, Karl Eugen, was Catholic, a vestige of which can be seen in the beautifully appointed chapel in the Ludwigsburg castle itself. The antagonistic confessional stands of the duke and his protestant subjects formed one of the bases of the political tension that reverberated throughout the province.

The house in which Friedrich Schiller was born is a short walk uphill from the best *Gasthaus* (to this day) in Marbach, the Goldener Löwe. This is where Johann Kaspar Schiller met his wife-to-be, the innkeeper's daughter Elisabetha. When their son was only five years old, the family moved to Lorch, where they spent the next three years. In the Remstal, young Schiller had access to the *Klosterkirche* and cemetery atop the Marienberg, a small castle, an outlying estate with its colossal walls, and, within an hour's walk, the Hohen-Staufen.<sup>1</sup>

Johann Kaspar Schiller was a restless individual who desired the even greater education that his son, Friedrich, was to receive and for which he was grateful. Of Schiller's mother, Elisabetha Dorothea Kodweiss, Bernhard Zeller records that she must have been a lively, imaginative, generous, and pious woman (9). While in Lorch, the family was influenced strongly by the local pastor, Philipp Ulrich Moser. Schiller would later

leave a legacy, albeit a problematic one, to him in his first highly successful drama, *Die Räuber* (The Robbers, 1781). Under Moser's instruction, young Schiller began to master Latin and became familiar with Greek, and it was through Moser that Schiller would be influenced by Swabian pietism. In this environment Schiller considered the possibility of becoming a pastor. The seeming ridicule that his attempts at declamation received, however, may well have dissuaded him from pursuing this path. Several subsequent experiences, in Stuttgart and Weimar, for example, confirm that Schiller was not destined to become an actor or a preacher. (His role as Clavigo in a performance of Goethe's early work was not well received, as was evident from the lack of applause and guarded, but audible laughter.)

In 1766, the Schiller family moved to the court city of Ludwigsburg. Shortly before their move, Duke Karl Eugen had taken up residence in this "Swabian Versailles." Within a short time, the population of Ludwigsburg doubled in size from five thousand to ten thousand residents. The stage of the theater within the castle was one of the finest in Germany at the time. It was unique because it could be opened to the natural environment so that, among other things, horses could be brought onto the stage, thus increasing the effect of dramatic and operatic performances. Because of Friedrich's exceptional academic success, the duke allowed the young Schiller to attend the theater with his father on a few occasions. The castle's chapel and the many waiting and sitting rooms, together with the spacious gardens and likeness to the ruins of a medieval castle, contributed to the splendor of this location, in and around which Schiller spent many of his formative years.

Despite his parents' hesitation, the duke insisted that Schiller become a student at the newly established military *Pflanzschule*, appropriately called the "Solitude." There, the students (called "Eleven") were expected to consider the duke their new "father." After a few years, the Herzogliche württembergische Militärakademie (est. 1781, later the Herzogliche Karls-Hohe-Schule), relocated near the castle in Stuttgart.<sup>2</sup> Duke Karl Eugen reigned for nearly fifty years (1744–93). The students' "mother" was the well-liked Duchess Franziska von Hohenheim, who, at times, counterbalanced the actions of her husband, Duke Karl Eugen. Although certainly a tyrant in an age of absolutism, the duke was capable of exercising what Goethe would characterize as a certain magnanimity (Zeller, 12). One of Schiller's closest friends at the time was Friedrich von Hoven (1759–1838) with whom he spent a great deal of time. Together, they would write poetry and study both medicine and philosophy. Von Hoven noted that the duke had made some big mistakes as a regent, but even greater ones as a human being (Zeller, 13).

Even before the time of the duke's funeral, Schiller had come to realize that he had received an excellent education and training (as a future

military officer) at the Karlsschule. In fact, the medical faculty at the military academy was second in Germany only to the faculty at the university in Göttingen. In its final form, the duke approved the publication of Schiller's dissertation, that is, *Abschlußarbeit*, on physiology, *Über den Zusammenhang der tierischen Natur des Menschen mit seiner geistigen* (Concerning the Connection between the Animal [Corporeal] and Intellectual Nature of the Human Being, 1780). The Johann Cotta Verlag, which would eventually become one of the most famous publishing houses in Germany, published Schiller's dissertation in 1780. Schiller's interest in medicine and his career in writing owed in part to his ill health. Since birth he had been lanky and sickly. Throughout his life he would battle a variety of debilitating illnesses. For Schiller, the act of writing became a therapeutic means of mediating between the demands of the mind and the needs of the body. His favorite professor at the Karlsschule was Jakob Friedrich Abel. Abel's integration of poetry, by Shakespeare and others, into his lectures on philosophy had a profound impact on Schiller, as can be seen from his later study of the critical philosophy of Immanuel Kant and the composition of his own philosophical essays in the 1790s.<sup>3</sup>

For the sake of brevity, we will mention only the geographical locations where Schiller spent the most time and then address briefly his relationships with the individuals with whom he was most familiar.

The main stations in Schiller's life following the early years in the Stuttgart area were Mannheim, Dresden, Jena, and Weimar. Intermediate stops included the small village of Bauerbach outside Meiningen in the Thuringian forest and, among other places, Leipzig. In 1785, in Mannheim, Schiller experienced both success (with *Die Räuber*) and failure (with *Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua* [The Conspiracy of Fiesco of Genoa, 1783]). Having received an unexpected and anonymous letter of appreciation for his work from a number of individuals in Leipzig, Schiller finally decided to leave his disappointments in Mannheim behind and travel to Saxony. He wrote: "O meine Seele dürstet nach neuer Nahrung — nach beßern Menschen — nach Freundschaft, Anhänglichkeit und Liebe" (quoted from Zeller, 44). It was at this moment that Schiller also decided to become a poet. The experience was nothing short of liberating. Just outside of Leipzig, in Gohlis, Schiller took up residence in the home of a farmer named Schneider. His fellow tenant was Georg Joachim Göschen, one of his future publishers. It was here also that Schiller became acquainted with Christian Gottfried Körner, who became a lifelong friend. In the late summer of that year, 1785, Schiller accepted Körner's invitation to travel to Dresden with Körner's new bride, Minna Stock, where he remained until mid-1787. Schiller records that he was never happier. His euphoria culminated in the writing of the famous poem, "An die Freude" (Ode to Joy, 1785).

Seid umschlungen Millionen.  
 Diesen Kuss der ganzen Welt!  
 Brüder! Überm Sternenzelt  
 Muss ein lieber Vater wohnen. (ll. 9–12)

And:

Ihr stürzt nieder, Millionen?  
 Ahnest du den Schöpfer, Welt?  
 Such' ihn über'm Sternenzelt!  
 Über Sternen muss er wohnen. (ll. 33–36)

The experiences in Dresden provided Schiller with a sense of direction and a new view of the world. Hard work was mixed with moments of happiness, but before long he felt physically exhausted, as if nature were collapsing around him. In 1785, while in Dresden, Schiller composed the novella *Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre* (The Criminal Out of Lost Honor, 1786, originally titled *Der Verbrecher aus Infamie*) and the novel fragment, *Der Geisterseher* (The Ghostseer, 1788). The latter work quickly became one of the most popular of Schiller's writings in Germany and also the most widely read of Schiller's works in America. Both of these writings are indicative of a kind of existential crisis precipitated by haunting memories of his days at the Karlsschule, which began to torment the young writer. To Körner he wrote that he felt the bold tendency of his powers and the unsuccessful plan of nature, that is, his battle with illness. The one was caused by the insane method of his education and abortive fate, the latter of which had the greatest detrimental impact on him. Nonetheless, between 1785 and 1787 Schiller finished composing one of the world's greatest pieces of literature, *Don Carlos*. The romantic content of the piece is encased by a new-found classical form, which, together, yielded a dramatic masterpiece. Here, too, the writer exhibits his concern with politics and the problem of humanity. The work appeared with Göschen in Leipzig in the summer of 1787.

In the hope of meeting the famous writer, Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Schiller left for Weimar in July of the same year. Here he met up with his Mannheim associate, Charlotte von Kalb, who instructed him in the ways of the court. Herself on the verge of divorce, von Kalb's private interests included attracting Schiller and pursuing an amorous relationship. But he refused the lady's advances and expressed his wish not to become involved with someone for whom he had no feelings. Privately, he considered her to be uncharitable ("nicht wohlthätig"). Discovering that Goethe was in Italy, Schiller met the acquaintance of Goethe's first mentor, the folklorist and theoretician Johann Gottfried Herder, as well as the famous writer and first (unsuccessful) tutor of Duke Carl August, Christoph Martin Wieland, who was well known for his novel, *Geschichte des Agathon* (The Story of



Agathon, 1766). In addition to Herder and Wieland, Schiller spent some time with Duchess Anna Amalia, the mother of Carl August, who had put Weimar on the cultural map. Although he opposed courtly life, to his surprise Schiller found the occasions at her home in Tiefurt, with its spacious grounds and the babbling of the Ilm river that winds its way around this beautiful and peaceful landscape, to be especially enjoyable. Schiller also became acquainted with the most influential lady of the Weimar court, Charlotte von Stein. On a side trip to Jena, Schiller first made the acquaintance of the philosopher, Karl Leonhard Reinhard, Wieland's son-in-law, who first prompted the writer to undertake a close study of the work of Immanuel Kant. While in Weimar, Schiller, the man, began to come to a better understanding of himself. The following self-characterization reveals his propensity for self-critical reflection: "Um nun zu werden, was ich soll und kann, werde ich besser von mir denken lernen und aufhören, mich in meiner eignen Vorstellungsart zu erniedrigen" (quoted from Burschell, 230). It was the beginning of a new phase in Schiller's life.

In 1789, on Goethe's recommendation, Schiller became a professor of history at the university in Jena, where Reinhard was actively professing the essential attributes and contemporary significance of Kant's critical philosophy, albeit from a more independent standpoint. Schiller's inaugural lecture, "Was heißt und zu welchem Ende studiert man Universalgeschichte?" (What Is and to What End Does One Study Universal History?, 1789), was well received by the four to five hundred attendees. On average, twenty to thirty students attended his lectures, even though only about half of them paid their tuition. By all accounts, Schiller was highly regarded by his students. One of them, Johann Gottfried Gruber, who would himself later become a professor of history, described Schiller's physical condition and openness and support. His portrayal reads, in part: "Mit Freundlichkeit empfang er mich, sein ganzes Wesen erweckte Vertrauen. Da war nichts von Zurückhaltung, nichts von Stolz oder vornehmthuendem Air, er war so offen, so redlich in allen Äußerungen, so ganz nur ein schönes Herz entfaltend, das mir, ehe eine Viertelstunde verging, war, als hätten wir uns seit Jahren gekannt" (Lahnstein, 302).

With a number of important exceptions, including the last several years of his life, Schiller would struggle financially. Although gifted at writing books on formidable European events in European history, for example, *Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Kriegs* (History of the Thirty Years' War, 1791–93), his initial interest in the subject was to earn the money he needed to sustain himself. Interestingly enough, the work appeared in installments in the *Historischer Kalendar für Damen*, the commercial success of which saved both the publisher, Göschen, and the author, who then received a sizeable reimbursement for his extremely hard work (Lahnstein, 265–66). Schiller was especially well paid for the essays he