Chapter 6. Doing Literature in Theatre: Schiller's Adaptation of Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* between Prompting and Stage Managing (1800s–1840s)

A dramatic text (or any other text, for that matter) which is adapted for a specific stage production is not an abstract entity. In addition to its immaterial presence in the minds and memories of the performers and all those responsible for seamless backstage operations, it also has material manifestations: in the written artefacts used to ensure that the same sequences of events can be repeated on stage and that the lines will be uttered in the same (or nearly the same) way in the next performance. The previous chapters have focussed on prompt books in the strict sense and mentioned other kinds of books only in passing. But in Hamburg in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the prompter was not the only person making use of the written artefact containing the (valuable) complete adaptation of the respective play during a performance. Nor were prompt books the only written artefacts which were constantly being updated according to a specific area of responsibility. While the prompter was stuck in their box at the front of the stage, it was the inspector who oversaw the running of the performance backstage at the Stadt-Theater at Hamburg Gänsemarkt. According to Schröder's *Laws of the Hamburg Theatre*, the inspector also had general management responsibilities for the company's daily business such as overseeing the production of the costumes and the stage set. During the rehearsals as well as during the performances, they coordinated the various tasks of the dresser, the technical stage manager, the stagehands, the extras, and others.[1] In doing so, the inspector worked with a copy of the play, too, and that copy was also enriched with information relevant to the inspector's work (by the inspector themselves or by someone else). However, the division of labour was not that clear-cut. As we have sometimes indicated in previous chapters, the prompter also had a number of technical tasks to perform and needed to give signals for certain procedures or at least be in the know. For the technical cues, the inspector had to be aware of any technical updates that had been made as well. Adapting a play thus meant making it suit-

1 Cf. Schröder 1798, 41–46.

able for the stage on two levels at once: a textual one and a technical one. The focus of this chapter is on the written artefacts that were involved in this, the prompt book and the inspector's book, which sometimes interacted and sometimes existed independently of one another.[2]

In Hamburg at the turn of the nineteenth century, it was the prompter's responsibility (as a librarian) to ensure that all the written artefacts were brought in line and contained the same information. However, some deviations were to be expected. It is likely that actors often kept their booklets for as long as they did not relinquish their roles, and that the inspector's copy did not necessarily always make it back into the prompter's library. On a material level, it was these potentially divergent and often evolving written artefacts that comprised the stage adaptation of a play.

This chapter will take the example of the 1803 Hamburg production of Lessing's play *Nathan der Weise* [*Nathan the Wise*] to examine the correlation between the prompter's and inspector's books. The play that was published in print in 1779 was at that time referred to as a "dramatisches Gedicht" (Np, I) [dramatic poem] rather than a straightforward "play" or "drama". The text was immediately well received – but more as a closet drama made for reading than as a stage text. The lack of action in the wordy play seems to have made it unsuitable for the stage for nearly a quarter of a century.[3] This only changed with the advance of the aforementioned new theatre aesthetics introduced by Iffland in Berlin and then Goethe in Weimar. The more artificial style of acting was well suited to the declamatory mode of such a "dramatic poem". While this style was not on the agenda in Hamburg, the company at the Stadt-Theater swiftly followed suit after Iffland and Goethe both put on *Nathan der Weise* in 1801 and 1802. As we will discuss below, Hamburg's Stadt-Theater managed to win over Friedrich Schiller, who was, alongside Kotzebue, the most popular playwright of the day, to provide an adaptation for the stage, something he had already done for the Weimar production. Until the 1840s, the company at the Stadt-Theater then worked with their own updates of Schiller's adaptation. Both the prompt book and the inspector's book seem to have been continuously revised. However, they were both revised to varying degrees and in different ways. This chapter will place greater emphasis on the inspector's book than previous chapters and will shed more light on the inspector's use of the written artefacts. While examining some aspects of Schiller's adaptation of *Nathan der Weise*, it will look at the differences but also the similarities between the two types of written artefacts, where they overlap, and how their material performance took

2 The actors' booklets with their personal notes as well as all the written artefacts used in the respective production design sections (stage design, wardrobe, hairdresser) would also belong here but are not preserved at the Theater-Bibliothek.

3 Cf. Wessels 1979, 242f.

shape between prompting and stage management. The relationship between different media formats and their respective use will also play a role: the designated inspector's book, *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*, is an enriched manuscript, whereas the designated prompt book, *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, is an enriched print copy.

I. A Closet Drama, an Adapter's Work in Progress, and Two Related Written Artefacts

In 1798, Schröder resigned for the second time from the directorship of the Stadt-Theater at Gänsemarkt. As the owner, he leased its building and infrastructure, including the prompt book collection, to a group of, initially, five experienced members of the company, who ran the house until 1811.[4] Among them was Jakob Herzfeld, who had first joined the Hamburg theatre as an actor in 1791. He was not just closely connected to the two written artefacts that this chapter will focus on but also to the transition that took place in Hamburg to the post-Schröder era. When Schröder returned in 1811 for his last, two-year tenure and third "crisis" directorate during French occupation, Herzfeld was given an executive position. After Schröder's final departure in 1812, Herzfeld ran the theatre until his own death in 1826, spending the last eleven years as co-director.

Herzfeld's relationship to the two written artefacts in question began in 1801, when he sent a letter to Weimar, approaching one of the most well-known poets and playwrights of the time, Friedrich Schiller, on behalf of the Stadt-Theater's directorate. In his letter, Herzfeld expressed the directorate's wish to stage Schiller's latest and future plays, and asked if he would be prepared to sell manuscripts of the "Meisterstücke Ihrer dramatischen Muse"[5] [masterpieces of your dramatic muse] to the Stadt-Theater. Herzfeld's letter was the start of a productive collaboration.

4 One of them, actor Johann Karl Wilhelm Löhrs, died in 1802, while another, actor Karl Daniel Langerhans, resigned the same year. The other three men, actor and singer Gottfried Eule, actor, singer, and composer Carl David Stegmann, and actor Jakob Herzfeld remained in charge until 1811. Only a few years after they took office, however, a full-blown scandal broke out. Various media accused the directors of neglecting the theatre while unduly enriching themselves. Schröder was explicitly considered the benchmark for a level of quality that was no longer being achieved. This criticism was evidently being increasingly shared by some sections of the audience. In 1801, the directors were called on stage at the beginning of a performance of Kotzebue's *Menschenhass und Reue* [*The Stranger; or, Misanthropy and Repentance*] and confronted with a series of accusations concerning role assignments and engagements, as well as the state of the costumes and stage design. The increasingly heated situation was apparently only defused after Stegmann issued a public apology. The scandal has been extensively documented, contextualised, and analysed in M. Schneider 2017.

5 Schillers Werke. Nationalausgabe. 39.I, 71 (hereinafter cited as "NA").

Schiller not only sold manuscripts of stage adaptations of his own plays, filling his letters to Herzfeld with instructions and suggestions on how to stage them, but also offered manuscripts of stage adaptations he had made of other authors' plays, initially for Goethe's theatre in Weimar.[6] They included Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*, which had premiered in Weimar in 1801 in Schiller's adaptation.[7] Schiller's engagement with the play, as he wrote in one letter to Herzfeld, mainly consisted of making abridgements.[8] While this was a common procedure when adapting a play for the stage,[9] Schiller also smoothed out the ruptures he created while bridging them with some minor additions, interjections, and tweaks of his own. Schiller seems to have further fine-tuned his version of *Nathan der Weise* whenever he sold a new copy to another theatre. Until 1805, performances are known to have taken place in Berlin, Braunschweig, Breslau, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, and Mannheim.[10] The preserved written artefacts differ markedly from the enriched print edition that was presumably used in Weimar in 1801. (The Mannheim version published in the *Nationalausgabe* of Schiller's works was probably the last one he worked on.) Schiller created his Hamburg version in the midst of his involvement with the play; he seems to have sent a copy to Hamburg in September 1803, where *Nathan der Weise* was first staged in December. Even after taking Schiller's changes into account, a performance still lasted more than three hours – at least according to a note made in pencil on the last empty page of the print-based *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, right below the information that no special lighting effects or paper props such as letters were required for the production.[11]

6 For an overview of his stage adaptations, see Rudloff-Hille 1969, 183–201; for more detail, see Müller 2004.

7 Cf. Albrecht 1979; cf. Müller 2004, 171–193; cf. Niefanger 2021, 123–143; for the early stage history of the play, cf. Wessels 1979, 242–280.

8 Cf. NA 31, 122.

9 However, these revisions slightly mitigated some of the topics, as they made criticisms of Christianity and the important role of money less explicit. Moreover, they accentuated some of the characters somewhat differently. Scholars have evaluated these changes in various ways. While Barner, for example, disqualifies Schiller's adaptation as a "nachgerade verstümmelnde Version" [almost mutilating version] (2000, 182), Borcherdt praises Schiller as a "Meister theatralischer Kunst" [master of theatrical art], who "vom Hören zum Sehen, vom Lesen zum Spiel umzuformen sucht" [seeks to transform from hearing to seeing, from reading to playing] and who achieves a "Steigerung und Stilisierung" [enhancement and stylisation] of the characters in the play (NA 13, 318). Albrecht 1979 emphasises the great importance of the adaptation for Schiller's own engagement with Lessing and for the play's stage career. He is more nuanced in his presentation, analysis, and valuation, as is Müller 2004, 171–193. They both either stress the purposeful, shared character of the changes or explain and contextualise them, citing political and poetological or aesthetic reasons.

10 Cf. Müller 2004, 182.

11 Cf. Np, 239.

A few days after the first two performances, a happy Herzfeld informed Schiller of the production's great success as well as the audience feedback, which had exceeded his expectations.[12] *Nathan der Weise* was off to a very successful start in Hamburg, with seven performances alone in the first month of its staging. After that, it remained a steady part of the repertory for many years. It was performed forty-seven times before 1847 and explicitly announced as an adaptation by Schiller until 1846.[13]

Two written artefacts that contain a copy of Lessing's play can be found at the Theater-Bibliothek. They both relate to Schiller's adaptation, albeit to varying degrees and in different ways. Nonetheless, the history of their use as well as their material biographies are strongly intertwined. *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* contains a handwritten version of Schiller's adaptation that was probably copied from the one he had sent to Hamburg. It was written out by a single scribe using a dark ink on two clearly distinguishable types of paper. The scribe switched from lighter to darker paper that was a little rougher from the sixth of thirteen quires onwards, starting with the end of the last scene of Act II. This base layer was revised by at least three other hands. One of them added technical information in graphite pencil. The others cancelled, added, and replaced content using dark ink as well as graphite pencil and red crayon.

Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b was initially based on a print version of Lessing's play. It is a copy of the third edition of *Nathan der Weise*, published in 1791 by the Vossische Buchhandlung in Berlin. In order to align the original copy of the print version with the template of Schiller's adaptation, the printed book was heavily revised. Dark ink and red and grey pencil were used as well as blue ink and blue pencil. However, it is not possible to say exactly how many hands were involved. Many passages were revised more than once. Sometimes several writing tools performed the same operation; at others, the various layers modified each other or cancelled each other out again. Either way, the order of their use does not remain the same throughout the book. A substantial part of the revisions consists of extensive cancellations of text, most of which served the same purpose: shortening Lessing's play in accordance with Schiller's adaptation.

At first glance, one might assume that the print-based *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* had served as a trial copy before being used for performances. Instead of faithfully

12 In his letter from December 6th Herzfeld writes: "Es ist bereits 2 mahl, von einem zahlreichen Publicum, mit einer ausgezeichneten Aufmerksamkeit gehört und gesehen, und von *allen* Theilen desselben mit einem Beifall aufgenommen worden, der all' meine Erwartung übertraf" (NA, 40.I, 155f.) [It has already been heard and seen twice by a large audience paying excellent attention, and received by *all* parts of the same with applause that exceeded all my expectations].

13 Probably due to its pacifist content, no performances were put on during the censorship era. There is thus no signature from the censor and there are no respective revisions.

transcribing Schiller's template, the director or someone close to him might have used the template as a proposal rather than a prescription. The back-and-forth between the multiple hands might have been a discussion of which cancellations to accept, which to reject, or how to forge a new path. Schiller might have also reworked his submission, meaning that the print version had to be revised again. But even though the content of the print version and the manuscript largely match, neither the first drafts nor the final revisions of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* and *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* are fully identical. (Cf. figure 59.)

Figure 59: covers of Nm and Np.

It is fair to assume that the manuscript was not a transcription of the updated print version and that the two written artefacts were created independently of one another. However, both written artefacts seem to have been repeatedly put to use between 1803 and 1847, sometimes simultaneously, but sometimes probably not. It would make sense for them to have been used simultaneously as *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* was designated as an inspector's copy and *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* as a prompter's copy. This kind of allocation can also be found in other plays by Schiller at the Theater-Bibliothek for which both handwritten and print copies were used.[14] It was easier for a prompter in their dimly lit box to work with a print copy during a performance as print was more legible than handwriting – at least as long as it did not contain a myriad of updates.[15] Below we will discuss how the scope and types of revisions in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* seem to have impaired its legibility – and thus the most crucial quality of a prompt book.

It is immediately striking how the material performances of the two written artefacts sometimes fundamentally differ – and not just due to their materiality and respective visual organisation or layout as a manuscript and a printed book. Rather, they also differ in the ways in which they were revised and updated, for example, when the same operation was carried out in a different style or using different writing tools. On the other hand, because certain amendments can only be found in one of the two books, there are modifications in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* with no corresponding changes in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* and vice versa. This might suggest a period or periods when the two books were being used independently of one other. It also raises the question of whether the designations on their front covers (one for the prompter in their box, one for the inspector backstage) were always adhered to or whether the two written artefacts were put to different uses at various points in time.[16]

Many of the differences in content relate to Schiller's adaptation of Lessing's play. *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, the enriched print version, contains extensive abridgements, made to establish a Schillerian version of the text. But in the manuscript version *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*, some parts of Lessing's text that Schiller had left out have been reinserted. These and other modifications, which were the

14 See the written artefacts that contain *Dom Karlos*, *Die Braut von Messina*, *Maria Stuart*, and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans: Theater-Bibliothek: 1989a* and *b*, *Theater-Bibliothek: 1991a* and *b*, and *Theater-Bibliothek: 2022 a* and *b*, *Theater-Bibliothek: 2023a* and *b*. In these cases, the "a" shelf mark designates a handwritten inspector's copy, while the "b" shelf mark designates a printed prompter's copy.

15 For the preference of print, cf. Düringer/Barthels 1841, 1006. However, Blum/Herloßsohn/Marggraff 1846a, 36f., propose a manuscript that leaves an empty page (for notes) next to each written one.

16 In his discussion of Schiller's *Nathan der Weise* adaptation and the corresponding prompt books used at the Stuttgart court theatre, Niefanger also assumes there were "mehrfunktionale Nutzungen" [multi-functional uses] of the written artefacts (Niefanger 2021, 125).

result of technical requirements rather than aesthetic considerations of the integrity of Lessing's play, not only led to differences in both prompt books but also created two versions of the play for its Hamburg stagings. Both differ in several aspects from the third print edition of Lessing's text published in 1791, but also from what scholarship has come to refer to as Schiller's ultimate adaptation of *Nathan* – and they differ from each other as well.

The following considerations will provide a close analysis of the two prompt books with regard to the interrelations that have shaped the material dynamics of both written artefacts. The adaptation of Lessing's drama for the stage would not only come to bridge the gap between print and handwriting but also between prompting and stage management. The rest of this chapter will thus examine the characteristics and practices of, as well as the reasons behind, identical, similar, and distinct revisions, and the patterns and dynamics of the prompt books' use.

II. The Author as Adapter: Schiller's Template in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* and *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*

The practical use of at least one of the two written artefacts was at some point discontinued or at least called into question. Another look at the cover of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*, the manuscript designated for the inspector, shows a note that labels the book as "nicht brauchbar" [unusable]. This is remarkable because the book was clearly being used over a long period of time, whereas the same cannot be said for certain about the print version. Several indications in the written artefact attest to this: right inside the cover, an extra sheet of paper has been pasted in. It contains a cast list which refers to the performances of the year 1846 (cf. figure 60).

However, the list does not include the guest star of the 1846 performance, actor Eduard Jerrmann from the K. K. Hofburg-Theater in Vienna, who portrayed the main character, Nathan. He is only mentioned on the respective playbills[17] and in the book itself, namely in a note on folio 65r (cf. figure 61).

17 Cf. Jahn/Mühle/Eisenhardt/Malchow/M. Schneider (https://www.stadttheater.uni-hamburg.de).

Figure 60: Nm, cast list.

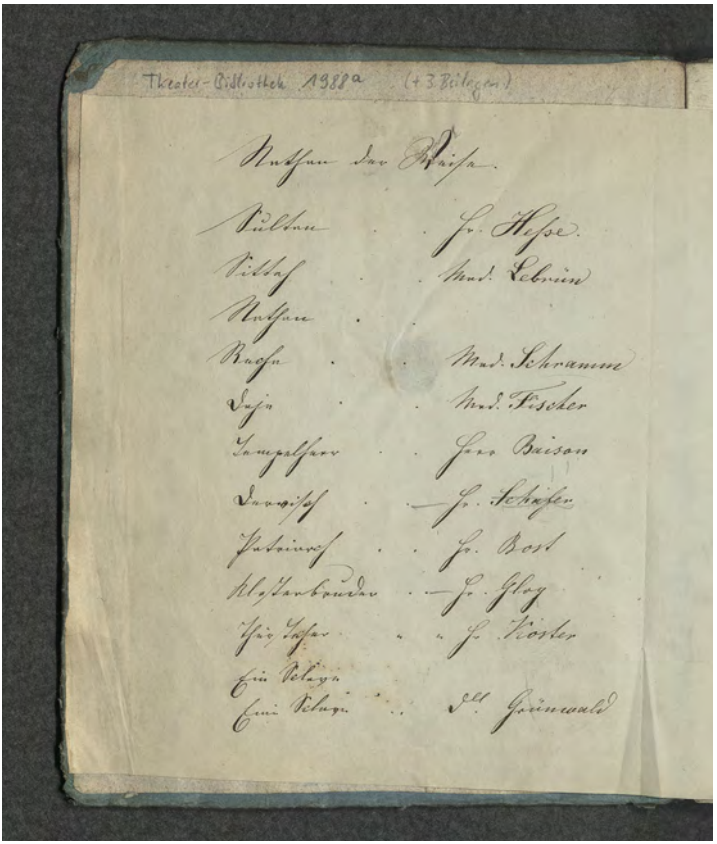
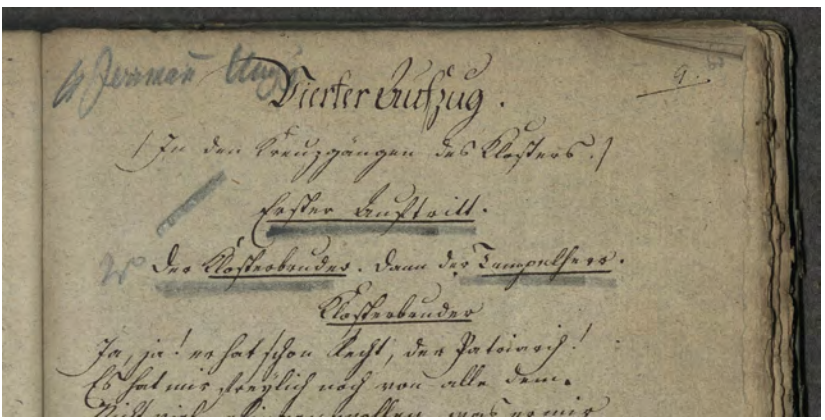


Figure 61: Nm, 65r.



While it seems fairly certain that *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* was in use up until the mid-1840s, other modifications and content features allow us to narrow down when it was first used and thus when the written artefact was created. Some of the hands who updated the book can be identified, namely Herzfeld and Barlow, the prompter at the time.[18] Based on their involvement, the first possible use of the book could have been as early as 1803 or as late as 1816, as the latter was the last time the play was staged while both men were still alive.[19] Many traces clearly point to the earlier date and are linked to the person responsible for the model of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*. While Schiller sent copies of his adaptation to theatres in Hamburg and other cities, he still continued to work on it himself. What has been deemed the final edition of his *Nathan*, the version staged in Mannheim in 1806 and written down shortly before Schiller's death in 1805,[20] is included in the *Nationalausgabe* – the comprehensive and authoritative German edition of Schiller's works. However, this version is not identical with the content of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* or *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*. In fact, there are several instances in which the primary layer of the Hamburg prompt book differs, presumably because it was based on an earlier version of Schiller's adaptation, i.e., the one he sent to Herzfeld in 1803.[21] Most of these differences relate to only minor details.[22] A typical example is folio 97v, where Saladin's second speech starts with: "Komm, liebes Mädchen, / Komm! Nimm's mit ihm nicht so genau" [Come, dear girl, come! Don't take him so seriously]. In Lessing's version, the reply is a little longer, and several verses precede it.[23] They are left out in Schiller's adaptation and accordingly in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*. However, Schiller evidently revised the passage again after completing his work for the Stadt-Theater, adding a few words and extending the first of the two verses. Unlike in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*, the respective verses in the final published edition read: "Komm, liebes Mädchen, höre nicht auf ihn! / Komm! Nimm's mit ihm nicht so genau"[24] [Come, dear girl, don't listen to him! Come! Don't take him so seriously].

Another addition not only supports the theory that *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* was put to use in 1803 but also suggests that Schiller either communicated some

18 Cf. Chapter 2, sections two and three.

19 There was also a performance of *Nathan der Weise* in 1820, the year Barlow died, but only after his death.

20 Cf. Müller 2004, 182.

21 And this one was probably not identical to the version that had premiered in Weimar a year and a half earlier, cf. Albrecht 1979, 41f.

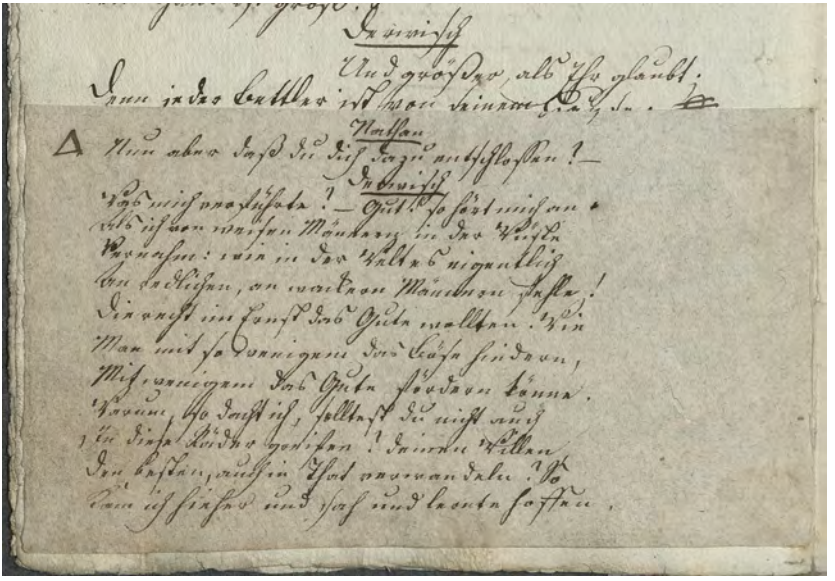
22 Cf. Felser/Funke/Göing/Hussain/Schäfer/Weinstock/Bosch 2024 (http://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.13916).

23 Cf. Lessing 1993, 622.

24 NA 13/1, 281.

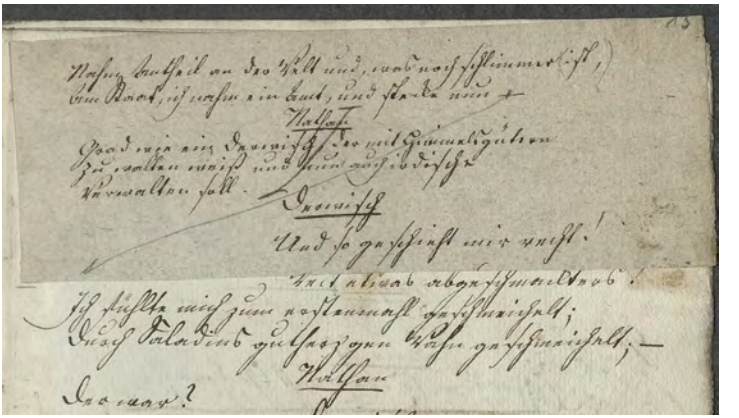
later revisions after the fact or that the theatre had access to an updated version at some point. While Schiller in most cases added just a few words of his own to the text, as in the first example, he rewrote an entire speech in Act I, Scene 3. The revision mainly concerns the lines spoken by dervish Al-Hafi, who explains his decision to act as treasurer for the sultan. In Schiller's last version, Al-Hafi does not accept Saladin's offer out of vanity but rather, and much more clearly than in Lessing's original, emphasises his idealistic motivation to use the office to do good.[25] At some point, this new text became part of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*, the manuscript. It was added on two sheets of paper in Act I, Scene 3, and was written out by the same scribe who had written the fair copy and pasted over the lower part of folio 12v and the upper part of folio 13r (cf. figures 62 and 63).

Figure 62: Nm, 12v.



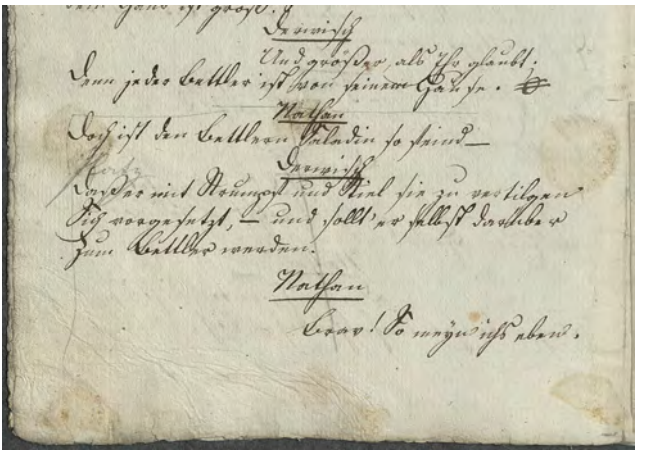
25 In this scene, Schiller's new text does not fundamentally change the character of Al-Hafi. Rather, it emphasises a trait already inherent in the figure and makes it explicit. There is another part in the play where Schiller rewrote the text, namely at the beginning of Act III, Scene 4. In contrast to the revision in Act I, Scene 3, it was part of the content of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* from the outset (cf. Nm, 47r). This addition, too, does not so much change the character as it expands on a trait already implied by Lessing, making it more dramatically explicit. Schiller thereby turns Sittah into a schemer who urges her brother Saladin to set a trap for Nathan in order to get his money. On the Hamburg stage, however, it was obviously not intended to be portrayed in this way. The passage was cancelled in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* and not even included in *Theater-Bibliothek 1988b* (cf. Np, 110f).

Figure 63: Nm, 13r.



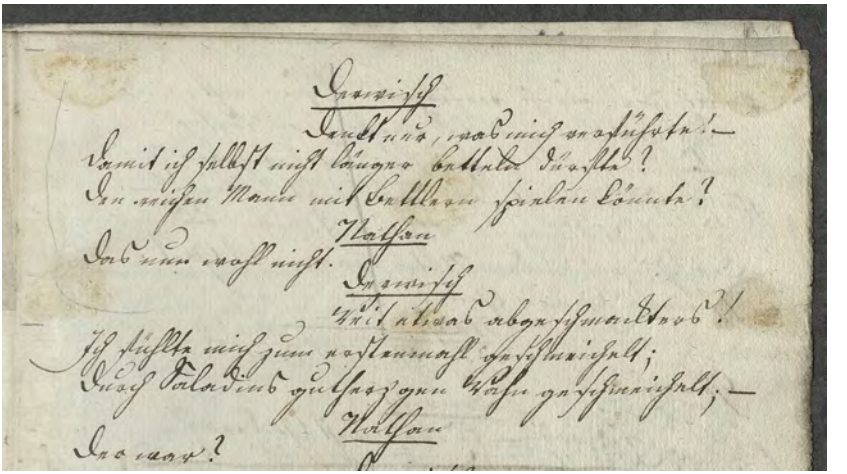
These revisions did not replace Lessing's version of the scene, but they intervened into an earlier phase of Schiller's adaptation. When turning back the pinned-in sheets containing Schiller's text, we find a shorter version of the original passage.[26] It appears that it was not rewritten until *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* had already been created and the theatre in Hamburg had gotten hold of the updated version – perhaps provided by Schiller himself (cf. figures 64 and 65).

Figure 64: Nm, 12v, primary layer.



26 Folios 12v and 13r were restored at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky in such a way that the two sheets can now be folded in towards the inner margin of the book.

Figure 65: Nm, 13r, primary layer.



This example also shows that, alongside theatrical requirements, audience expectations, and political pressure, an author or someone in an authorlike position could be responsible for making amendments to a play and contributing to the material performance of a prompt book. From the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, an increasing amount of authority was being attributed to the figure of the author.[27] However, in the theatre, the products of such singular authorship were dealt with pragmatically, as the traces of use in the prompt books analysed here show. More important than the supposed completeness of an author's dramatic work was its functional integration into the changing dynamics of a theatre production. Nevertheless, despite all interventions, the dramatic text was still attributed to its original author.[28] In the case of *Nathan der Weise*, the performances were explicitly advertised with reference to two famous (authors') names – Lessing and Schiller. And as the exchange between Schiller and Herzfeld exemplarily shows, new ideas from and changes made by the author were certainly included in the theatrical processes – but the author did not have ultimate, unquestionable authority.

Director Herzfeld and playwright Schiller negotiated this type of influence in their correspondence. Herzfeld, for instance, asked Schiller for a toned-down version of *Maria Stuart*[29] and justified reducing the role of the chorus in the Hamburg

27 As discussed in Chapter 5.

28 Cf. Weinstock 2022.

29 Cf. NA 39.I, 71.

staging of *Die Braut von Messina* [*The Bride of Messina*].[30] On the other hand, Schiller accompanied his manuscripts of *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* [*The Maid of Orleans*] and *Wilhelm Tell* [*William Tell*] with suggestions about how to stage them.[31] The simultaneous negotiation and recognition of authority and authorship is even more evident when it comes to the plays Schiller adapted. Even though he was not their author, Herzfeld attributed something akin to authorship to Schiller and therefore involved him in any planned changes. When Schiller made suggestions about his own translation and adaptation of Louis-Benoît Picard's comedy *Der Neffe als Onkel* [*The Nephew as Uncle*] (based on the play's Weimar staging[32]), Herzfeld did not respond but explicitly asked for Schiller's "Erlaubnis" [permission][33] to make changes of his own. Herzfeld described these changes as minor, although he did in fact modify the entire last scene of the play.[34] A similar dynamic can be identified in Schiller's adaptation of Carlo Gozzi's *Turandot*: Schiller sent later updates and changes to Hamburg after making initial suggestions and receiving counter-requests from Herzfeld.[35]

Against this backdrop, the addition of Schiller's own text to Act I, Scene 3, in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* seems to demonstrate the influence of an authorial figure on the theatrical treatment of a play and the corresponding prompt book. It becomes apparent, however, that both forms of engagement with the dramatic text, i.e., the author's literary activity and the pragmatic use of his work in a theatre, coincided with respect to their inherent open-endedness. Potentially, they would never be finished. The materiality of the written artefact is the place where this incompleteness manifests itself. Schiller, here, continuously updated the text of his adaptation in a manner similar to all the other updates that were continuously made to prompt books during their use. Nevertheless, this chapter aims to demonstrate how such reference and reverence to a notion of authorship also shaped the material performance of the prompt book – regardless of any actual contact and exchange between the theatre and the playwright. Both the manuscript *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* and the print-based *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* put such a material performance on display.

Including Schiller's text in our analysis helps us to date the beginning of the use of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*. It seems to have been included relatively soon after the creation of the prompt book around 1803, while Schiller was working on further versions of his adaptations – but before he finished what Schiller schol-

30 Cf. NA 40.I, 68.

31 Cf. NA 39.I, 101 and NA 32, 117.

32 Cf. NA 32, 56.

33 NA 40.I, 178.

34 Cf. NA 40.I, 178.

35 Cf. NA 31, 122; cf. NA 39.I, 244.

arship considers to be the final version.[36] The cast list, Jermann's name, and the respective playbills all indicate that the prompt book was being used well into the 1840s – for more than four decades altogether.

Similar dating of the use of the print-based *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* is not possible. Unlike in the case of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*, there are no clear indications of a specific year or period of time. But it is fair to assume that it was created equally early, as, after all, a copy for the prompter was an indispensable part of a production. Furthermore, it seems that *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* was in use for quite some time as well. Several layers of revisions, their cancellations, and sometimes even the cancellations of those cancellations have contributed to a complex material performance that is unlikely to have evolved quickly. We will examine this in more detail below.

III. The Work of the Inspector in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*

The supposedly "unusable" manuscript *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* not only contains references to the period of its use but also to its designated purpose as a copy for the "inspector". As a relative of today's stage manager, the inspector's tasks included aspects of supervision and organisation. On the one hand, the inspector liaised between the staff and the directorate. It was their duty to communicate the former's complaints to the latter but also to meticulously record and report to the latter all sorts of mistakes, instances of negligence, and misconduct on the part of staff that occurred during rehearsals and performances. On the other hand, the inspector was involved in these processes themselves. As can be gleaned from Schröder's *Laws of the Hamburg Theatre*, they attended rehearsals and performances and helped to ensure they ran smoothly. The inspector had to make sure that procedures regarding costumes and props worked well, i.e., that everybody received what they needed, and that everything was available and in its proper place. To this end, they coordinated closely with the people in charge of the respective divisions. An inspector also had to know what kinds of sounds or sound effects were to take place at what point during a performance and set the respective cues. The same applied to directions for actors' entries and exits, stage left or stage right. In all matters, it was the inspector's duty to make sure that the arrangements set out in the book were respected. Furthermore, the inspector was in charge of the extras, giving them instructions, checking their costumes, and keeping an eye on their behaviour.[37]

36 Cf. Müller 2004, 182.

37 The duties and responsibilities of an inspector were set out in the theatre regulations of the time. See Schröder (1798, 41–46) and Düringer/Barthels (1841, 1174–75), who follow Schröder, but further differentiate between the inspector's responsibilities for rehearsal and performance processes. However, Schröder's regulations were directly linked to Hamburg and shaped con-

However, the inspector not only contributed to the successful execution of theatrical processes but also made sure that those processes could be repeated in the next performance. Structurally, most of their tasks during the performance were identical to those of the prompter, but they took place backstage. The means to perform their task were also the same: both aspects, execution and repetition, depended on a "script", which in this case was a written artefact used and updated by the inspector. The inspector wrote down information concerning their tasks and duties for each production (or had it written down), usually in a copy of the respective play. This could include lists of names, props, or even the stage design, written down in varying degrees of detail on the inner covers, on vacat pages, or blank folios, probably often copied from the main lists provided by the prompter-librarian.[38] The information also included technical and organisational annotations made right next to the sections they concerned, added to the book in the same way that a prompter's copy would be updated. Nevertheless, some of the amendments and updates differed. The information that was relevant to the inspector tended to turn the written artefact they used into more of an organisational and technical score for the performance. However, there were also changes that were important to and/or characteristic of both books. Aside from the same operations performed to update the text (that were typical of the use of written artefacts employed in the context of a theatre production), some of the updates themselves were identical as well. Extensive changes to dialogue or retractions of passages, entire scenes, or characters concerned not only the prompter but potentially also the inspector. This was also the case for stage directions that were either not important for the use of the book in question or not taken into account in a production. Crossing out didascalia like stage directions might have supported not only the prompter's but also the inspector's tasks in that it distinguished between information that was relevant for their tasks and information that was not.

Many of these features can be found in the manuscript *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*. The fact that they were added systematically strongly indicates that it was indeed a copy used by an inspector at a certain point. Folios 14r and 15v contain the transition from the fourth to the fifth scene of the first act, which includes a change of characters and scene (cf. figures 66 and 67).

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crete theatre practice there. In contrast, the 1840s dictionary formulates more of an ideal, typical conception that is as much descriptive as it is prescriptive. It is striking, however, that in the first version of Schröder's regulations, which appeared in the *Annalen des Theaters* in 1792, there is not yet a section with regulations pertaining to the inspector alone. They only become part of a later version printed in 1798.

38 By the middle of the nineteenth century, the written artefact ideally used by the inspector was a "Scenarium" [scene book], which visually connected the different types of technical information and cues with the respective sections of the play in different columns, almost like a table (cf. Düringer/Barthels 1841, 958–964).

Figure 66: Nm, 14v.

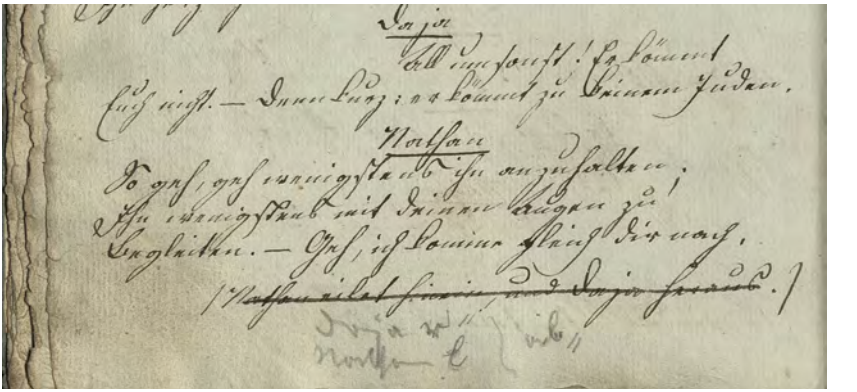
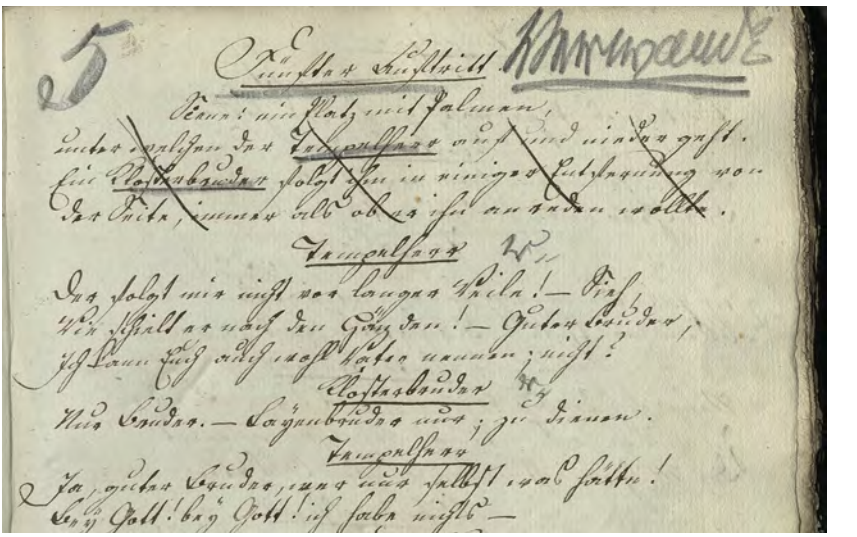


Figure 67: Nm, 15r.



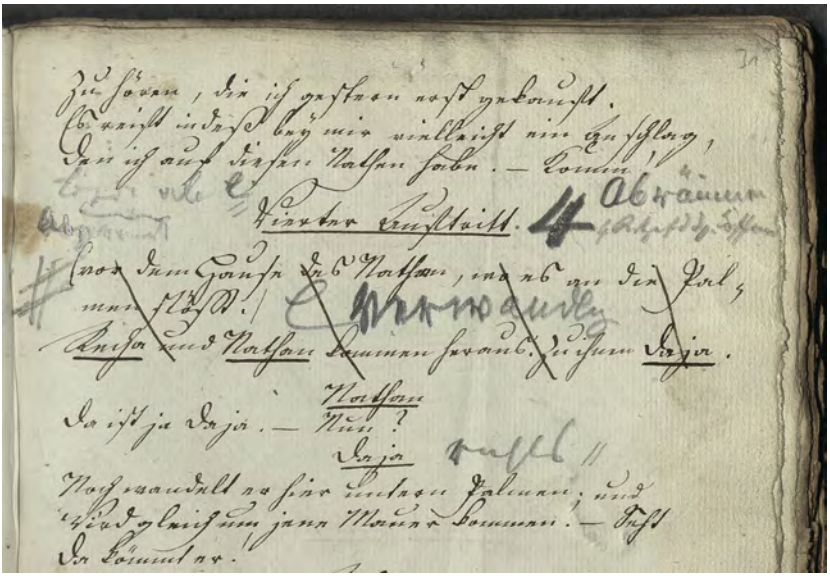
At the end of Act I, Scene 4, Nathan instructs Daja, his adopted daughter Recha's companion, to go and approach the young Templar, Recha's saviour, who is walking up and down a palm-fringed square nearby. Nathan himself intends to follow her shortly afterwards. However, a stage instruction that refers to their exits – "Nathan eilet hinein und Daja heraus" [Nathan hurries in and Daja out] – has been crossed out in dark ink at the bottom of folio 14v. The writing tool used here indicates that this strike-through was part of more extensive amendments to didascalia that would be of great consequence. This operation was performed throughout *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* in this kind of ink, which can also be seen at the beginning of the

fifth scene on folio 15r. If needed, information about technical stage procedures was added, generally in pencil. Here, an addition of this type indicates that Daja and Nathan were to exit the stage in opposite directions. It says "Daja r | Nathan l ab" which means that Daja exits stage right ("r" for "rechts"), Nathan stage left ("l" for "links").[39] Accordingly, additions on folio 15r specify from which side the characters enter the stage in Act I, Scene 5. The "r" right next to his first mention means that the Templar enters stage right, as does the Friar who follows him, which is indicated in the same way. These additions replace the crossed-out stage directions. We read: "Szene: Ein Platz mit Palmen, unter welchen der Tempelherr auf und nieder geht. Ein Klosterbruder folgt ihm in einiger Entfernung von der Seite, immer als ob er ihn anreden wollte" [Scene: A square with palm trees, under which the Templar is walking up and down. A Friar follows him at some distance from the side, as if he might address him at any minute]. Here, the stage directions apparently provide information that is relevant for the technical process of performing the text on stage. They describe the actions of the characters – one following the other – but also the changes that have been made to the stage set on which they are now to take place. While the sentence itself has been crossed out, the corresponding technical information for the inspector has been condensed and added in pencil. The word "Verwandlung" [transformation], written prominently right next to the scene title at the top of folio 15r, immediately signals that the stage set needs to be changed between the two scenes. This was a common way of indicating such changes in prompt books.

A related, but less frequently appearing instruction can be found at the transition from Act II, Scene 4, to Act II, Scene 5, on folio 31r (cf. figure 68). On the upper right-hand side, the word "abräumen" [clear away] has been added. It is an instruction that refers to the props and decorations that were to be taken off stage. At this point, the stage had to be transformed from a chamber in the sultan Saladin's palace into a square near Nathan's house. We can only speculate as to whether the instruction "abräumen" in addition to "Verwandlung" underscored that the scene change would be particularly complex and detailed (as it probably included the scattered elements of a chess set that Saladin had wiped off a table two scenes earlier). However, the addition was clearly directed at an inspector rather than the prompter in their box. It is a type of information that translates the fictional processes and settings of the dramatic (secondary) text into concrete instructions for their technical realisation on stage.

39 Our translation is imprecise. In the German-speaking countries, stage right and stage left are defined from the perspective of the audience, which also happens to be the perspective of the prompter in their box. It is the other way round in English-speaking countries where stage left is to the left of the actor facing the audience. While there could not be any confusion for the German prompter as to where to direct the actors, this was an entirely different matter for the German inspector backstage.

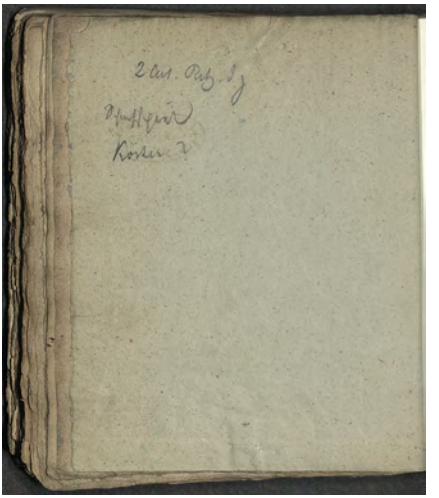
Figure 68: Nm, 31r.

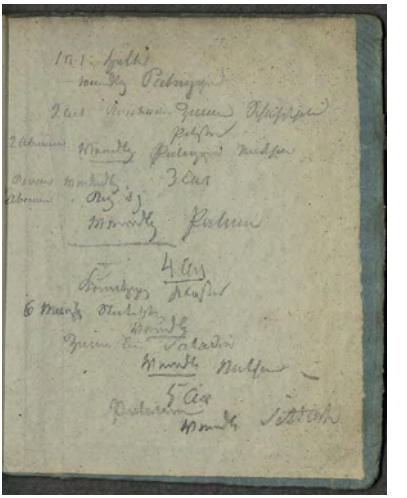


These pieces of information have not only been added next to or near the content they refer to but are also summarised at the end of the book in two lists, one on the verso side of the last vacat page, one on the inner back cover. Such lists are also typical of an inspector's copy (cf. figures 69 and 70).

In *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*, these lists give a brief overview of the technical process involved in the staging, or more precisely, of certain elements of that process, with the list on the vacat page providing the most detail. It enumerates keyword information for each act that would have been relevant to the inspector. This includes procedures such as the aforementioned scene changes or the clearing of the stage as well as references to the setting, decorations, props, and the characters they related to.

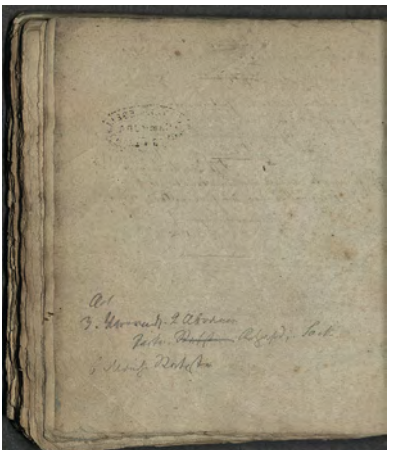
Figure 69: Nm, verso side of the last vacat page, and Figure 70: Nm, inner back cover.





Not included in this kind of list or summary are references to extras and silent roles.[40] Some notes regarding them have been added on 102r and the otherwise empty folio 102v, but somewhat more illegibly than the more organised form of a list (cf. figure 71).

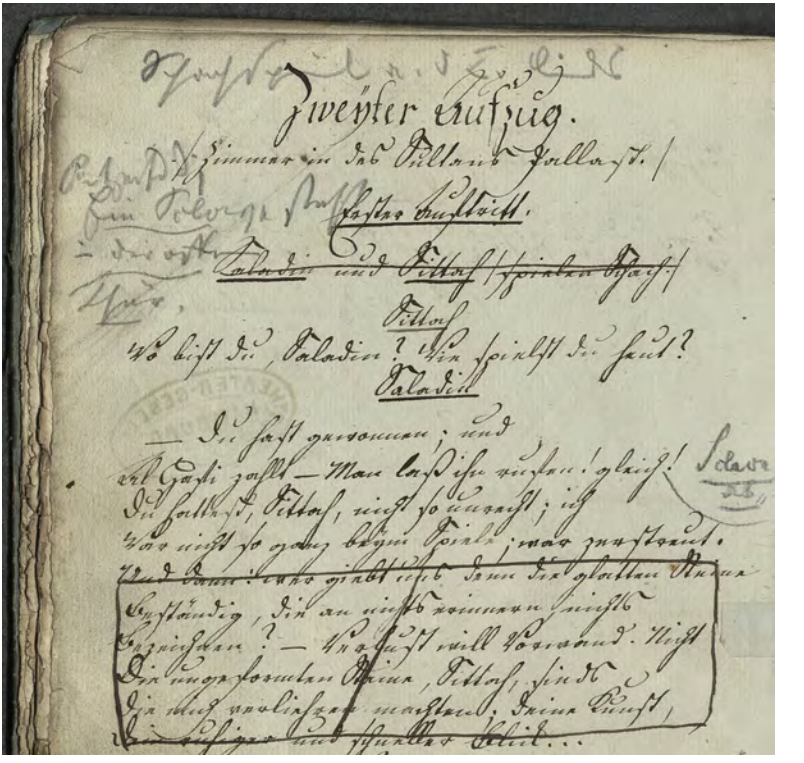
Figure 71: Nm, 102v.



40 Such silent roles were also played by regular members of a company, but apparently not always with the necessary degree of professionalism. Schröder's theatre regulations explicitly urged the inspector to report any negligence to the directorate if their instructions were not followed (cf. Schröder 1798, 4f.).

However, extras and silent roles were not only mentioned in summaries towards the end of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* but also appear in the scenes they were part of. This is the case at the beginning of Act II on folio 23v. This scene is set in a room in Saladin's palace, where the sultan and his sister Sittah are playing chess. An addition made in pencil at the top of the folio concerns the associated chess set, which seems to be a particularly important prop. Two other additions in pencil now refer to someone who was presumably an extra. In the beginning, there is also another person on stage: a male slave stands in the open door of the room ("Ein Sclave steht in der offenen Thür" [A slave stands in the open door]) and exits shortly afterwards ("Sclave ab" [Slave exits]) on the order of his master Saladin. This character was not part of the dramatic text or the initial content of the written artefact and was added when the play was performed in Hamburg. The corresponding references were added to *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* at some point while the book was being used for a production (cf. figure 72).[41]

Figure 72: Nm, 23v.



41 *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* also has an addition refering to the slave. Cf. Np, 50.

The character is also included in the cast list at the beginning of the written artefact. The fact that there is no actor's name accompanying it supports the theory that he was played by an extra. However, two additional characters who had similarly minor roles in the scene were probably played by people more closely connected with or even part of the theatre company. The cast list mentions their names: "Eine Sclavin" [a female slave] was played by one Fräulein Grünwald in the 1846 staging, the "Thürsteher" [doorman] by a Herr Koster.[42] In their scenes, additions refer to these names instead of the characters' names, which indicates that they played extras on a permanent basis (cf. figures 73 and 74).

Figure 73: Nm, 43r.

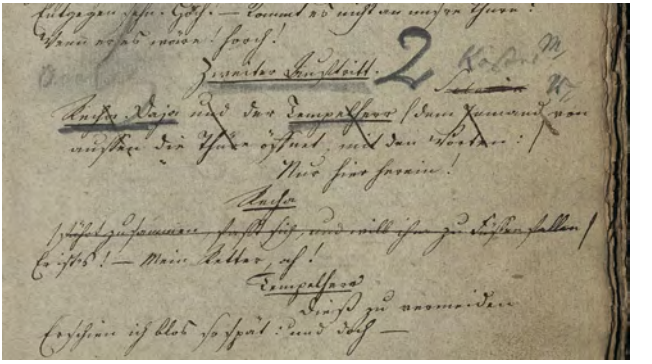
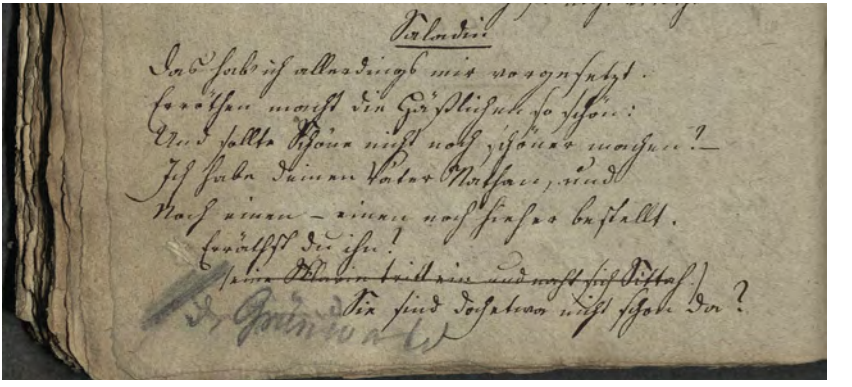


Figure 74: Nm, 95v.



42 This might have had to do with the fact that these two characters are, unlike the male slave, also part of the dramatic text. The doorman, however, was not a designated character. The secondary text only mentions "jemand" [someone] who opens the door of Nathan's house and shows the arriving Templar in, saying something like, "Nur hier herein" [Here this way] (cf. Lessing 1993, 544).

Additions like these were made because the inspector was responsible for extras, silent roles, and other similar parts. The reference to guest star Eduard Jerrmann on folio 65r has a comparable purpose. It indicated when the actor (who was not present on stage for a few scenes) could change his costume.[43]

These various examples demonstrate that *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* was clearly put to use by an inspector. Information that was necessary for managing certain processes during a performance – i.e., organising scene changes, decorations, props, extras, and silent roles – was added systematically throughout the book and transformed the written artefact into a technical score for the performance.

IV. Transforming a Print Copy into a Prompt Book: Technical Requirements for Creation and Use in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*

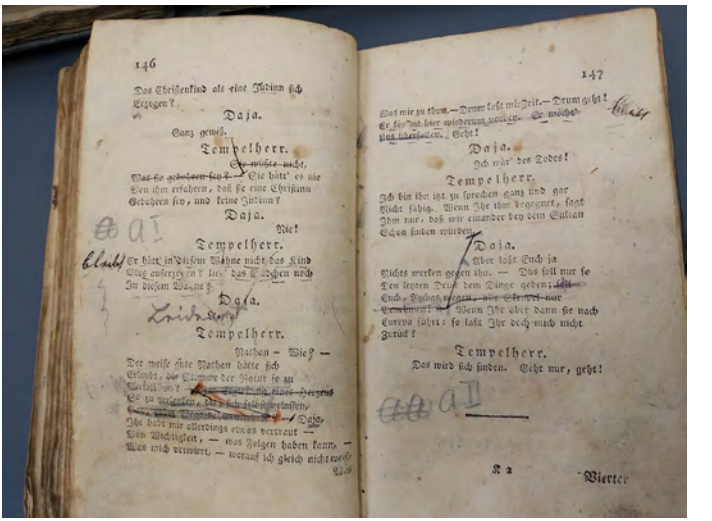
The use of the enriched, print-based *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* is largely characterised by dynamics different to those of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*. Despite any similarities and correspondences, the revisions made to the designated prompter's copy differ significantly. There were often other intentions behind the operations, and the operations themselves were often either different or were carried out in a different way. This was due to the book's main purpose: because it was used by a prompter, it always had to contain the latest version of the dramatic text, which was the main objective of its updates. It also had to do with the written artefact's mediality: *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* was based on a print copy with a different layout and different content that varied from the outset. Accordingly, it had to be modified in a different way to *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*. Furthermore, traces of various writing tools and multiple layers of updates throughout the book indicate that a number of people were involved in the process. All of this has contributed to a particularly complex material performance that might appear illegible to an outside eye. It is not always possible to identify the final layer, i.e., the latest version of the content, or to reconstruct the interplay between the various layers. Many of the modifications are not immediately comprehensible and raise questions about the book's practical usefulness. *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* is an example of how continuously updating a prompt book could increasingly impede one of its main purposes: to be used during a performance as a prompting tool, with the prompter providing the latest version of the dramatic point of reference for the performance with only the poor lighting of a candle to read by – but immediately and clearly.

Apart from its enriched content, *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* contains another register of additions directly related to the performance. Like some of the additions

43 The addition says "Umzug Jerrmann" (Nm, 65r) [change Jerrmann].

to the manuscript of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*, this information pertains to technical stage requirements. One might think that the attributions made on the covers might not always have been correct, i.e., that neither the manuscript *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* nor the print-based *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* was used by the inspector or prompter alone.[44] However, the technical additions can also be explained in another way: besides feeding the actors lines, the prompter also had to carry out coordination tasks during a performance and was thus also involved in technical processes. Some of these included areas of responsibility that were also relevant to the inspector. It was the prompter's task to give cues from their box at the right time so that the inspector could then supervise changes made to the stage, but also so that the curtain could be lowered. It was common in nineteenth-century theatre for two cues to be given for each. In the event of changes, the prompter first gave a signal to clear the stage, then another to set up the new scene. When the curtain was about to fall, they gave a first signal to the technician in charge to get ready and then a second signal to carry out the process. Timing was crucial for both processes. The cues were not to be given too early or too late in order to ensure that the end of the scene would not be disturbed and that transitions take place smoothly.[45]

Figure 75: Np, 146 and 147.



44 And it would not be entirely unusual either. Such a change in function has obviously also taken place in the case of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1987a* and *Theater-Bibliothek: 2022b*. The former is a manuscript of *Die Räuber* [*The Robbers*] that was initially used as a prompter's copy and then as an inspector's copy; the latter is a print copy of *Maria Stuart* that was used for both functions.

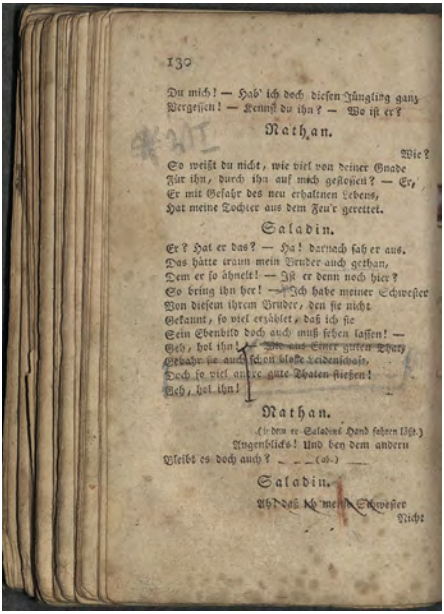
45 Cf. Düringer/Barthels 1841, 1137f.

There are additions to *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* that can be attributed to both processes. The lowering of the curtain at the end of an act was indicated by the letter "a" for "actus", which appears twice in the last scene of every act (cf. figure 75).

Like the cues for scene changes, the first sign, "a I", was added towards the end of the scene, but while it was still running. This should have given the stagehands in charge enough time to prepare everything required for the curtain to then be lowered after the last reply. The cue for this was indicated by the second sign, "a II".

Related processes seem to have taken place in a slightly different fashion: scene changes are indicated using the letters "v" or "w" for "Verwandlung" or "Wandlung" [both meaning "transformation"], with "w" used in the most recent layers (cf. figures 76 and 77).

Figure 76: Np, 130.


130

Du mich! — Hab' ich doch diesen Jüngling ganz
Vergessen! — Kennst du ihn? — Wo ist er?

Nathan.

Wie?
So weißt du nicht, wie viel von deiner Gnade
Für ihn, durch ihn auf mich geflossen? — Er,
Er mit Gefahr des neu erhaltnen Lebens,
Hat meine Tochter aus dem Feu'r gerettet.

Saladin.

Er? Hat er das? — Ha! darnach sah er aus.
Das hätte traun mein Bruder auch gethan,
Dem er so ähnelt! — Ist er denn noch hier?
So bring ihn her! — Ich habe meiner Schwester
Von diesem ihrem Bruder, den sie nicht
Gekannt, so viel erzählet, daß ich sie
Sein Ebenbild doch auch muß sehen lassen! —
Geh, hol ihn! — Wie aus Einer guten That,
Gebahr sie auch schon bloße Leidenschaft,
Doch so viel andre gute Thaten fließen!
Geh, hol ihn!

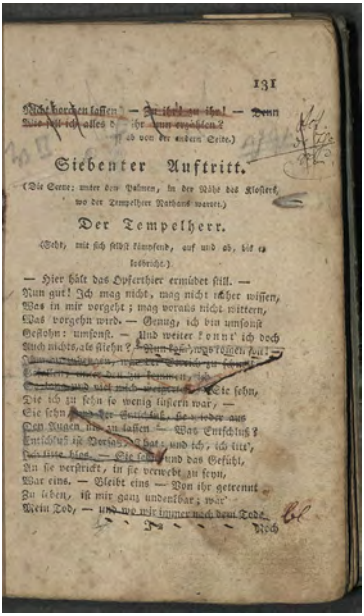
Nathan.

(indem er Saladins Hand fahren läßt.)
Augenblicks! Und bey dem andern
Bleibt es doch auch? — — (ab.)

Saladin.

Ah! daß ich meiner Schwester
Nicht

Figure 77: Np, 131.


131

Nicht horchen lassen! — Zu ihr! zu ihr! — Denn
Wie soll ich alles ... ihr ... erzählen?
(geht ab von der andern Seite.)

Siebenter Auftritt.

(Die Scene: unter den Palmen, in der Nähe des Klosters, wo der Tempelherr Nathans wartet.)

Der Tempelherr.

(Geht, mit sich selbst kämpfend, auf und ab, bis er losbricht.)

— Hier hält das Opferthier ermüdet still. —
Nun gut! Ich mag nicht, mag nicht näher wissen,
Was in mir vorgeht; mag voraus nicht wittern,
Was vorgehn wird. — Genug, ich bin umsonst
Geflohn: umsonst. — Und weiter konnt' ich doch
Auch nichts, als fliehn? — Nun komm', was kommen soll! —
[illegible]
Sie sehn,
Die ich zu sehn so wenig lüstern war, —
Sie sehn, und der Entschluß, sie wieder aus
Den Augen nie zu lassen — Was Entschluß?
Entschluß ist Vorsatz, That: und ich, ich litt',
Ich litte blos. — Sie sehn, und das Gefühl,
An sie verstrickt, in sie verwebt zu seyn,
War eins. — Bleibt eins — Von ihr getrennt
Zu leben, ist mir ganz undenkbar; wär'
Mein Tod, — und wo wir immer nach dem Tode
Noch

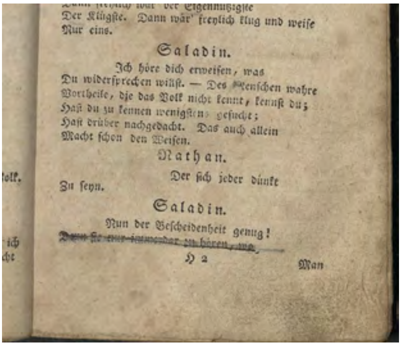
Figure 77 shows that the second of the two signs, "W II", was added at the end of the scene, where the two actors exit the stage. The first sign, "W I", however, was added at a point in the book where the scene was actually still running. It is debatable whether the stage would have been cleared when, as in the present example, Nathan and Saladin were still engrossed in their dialogue. However, in order to avoid interruptions between two scenes within one act, it was not uncommon to move the last part of a scene to the front of the stage and to lower the drop curtain,

behind which the scene could then be changed.[46] It seems probable that this was also the case in the Hamburg performances of *Nathan der Weise*.[47] (The temporary reduction in stage space would have also fitted in with the content: at the end of the dialogue, Nathan and Saladin come to talk about the young Templar and the closeness they both feel with him.)

Only a few changes in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, the print-based prompt book, were technical additions. It was inevitable that the book would undergo extensive modifications; the decision to use a print copy of Lessing's published version of the play as the basis for a prompter's copy of the Schiller adaptation called for alignment. The Lessing content needed to be revised and, accordingly, the underlying printed text in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* had to be enriched in handwriting.

The revisions concerned details as well as the overall structure of the play. Since Schiller's *Nathan der Weise* was considerably shorter, the revisions initially consisted of cancellations that ranged from single verses to entire speeches and complete scenes. Several writing tools and paper practices were involved in this process. One example of a rather minor alignment can be found in one of Saladin's speeches on pages 115 and 116: two of his lines have been crossed out in accordance with Schiller's adaptation. Evidently, this operation was carried out repeatedly. A dark ink, a grey pencil, and a red pencil were used successively to do the same: to cross out the two lines (cf. figures 78 and 79).

Figure 78: Np, 115.



Der Klügste. Dann wär' freylich klug und weise
Nur eins.

Saladin.

Ich höre dich erweisen, was
Du widersprechen willst. — Des Menschen wahre
Vortheile, die das Volk nicht kennt, kennst du;
Hast du zu kennen wenigstens gesucht;
Hast drüber nachgedacht. Das auch allein
Macht schon den Weisen.

Nathan.

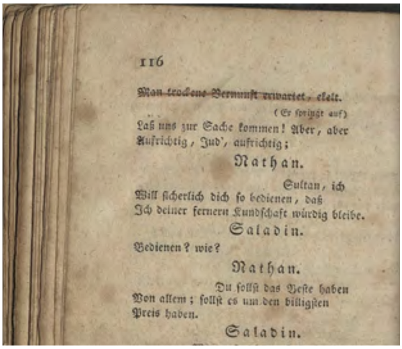
Der sich jeder dünkt
Zu seyn.

Saladin.

Nun der Bescheidenheit genug!

H 2 Man

Figure 79: Np, 116.



116

~~Man trockene Vernunft erwartet,~~ ekelt.

(Er springt auf)

Laß uns zur Sache kommen! Aber, aber
Aufrichtig, Jud', aufrichtig;

Nathan.

Sultan, ich
Will sicherlich dich so bedienen, daß
Ich deiner fernern Kundschaft würdig bleibe.

Saladin.

Bedienen? wie?

Nathan.

Du sollst das Beste haben
Von allem; sollst es um den billigsten
Preis haben.

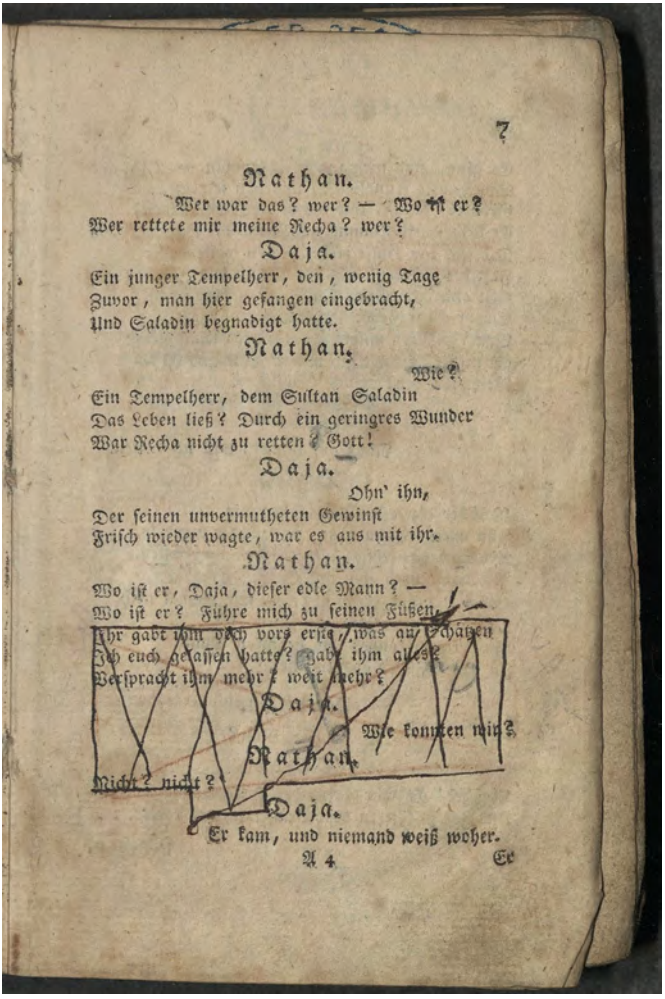
Saladin.

46 Cf. Borcherdt in NA 13, 294f.

47 Borcherdt mentions this practice in Leipzig and Dresden stagings of Schiller's *Fiesco* and *Don Carlos* (cf. NA 13, 295). It was more usual for the drop curtain to be lowered only after a scene had ended in order to change the rear part of the stage, while the next scene was played in front of the drop curtain (cf. Birkner 2007; cf. Malchow 2022, 322–333 and 371–378). However, Malchow also mentions the possibility of lowering the drop curtain within a scene in connection with Schröder's staging of *Der Kaufmann von Venedig* [*The Merchant of Venice*], cf. Malchow 2022, 378.

Characteristically of the material performance of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, passages were often revised more than once. These three writing tools were used in many cases, though not always at once or in the same order. The way they interacted, however, stayed the same: they took up previous revisions which they either repeated and emphasised or modified. The modifications in particular indicate that the approximation of Schiller's version was a process and the outcome of multiple layers of updates. This can be seen, for example, on page seven. The cancellations in the lower part of the page add up to a version that corresponds to Schiller's. Both pencils and the dark ink were involved (cf. figure 80).

Figure 80: Np, 7.



At first, the grey pencil has struck through one part of Nathan's third speech and Daja's reaction, thus connecting Nathan's third and his fourth speeches. The red pencil has then modified this retraction, extending it to cover larger parts of the third and fourth speeches. A hand working in dark ink has emphasised this, initially with just a diagonal line, before ultimately framing and emphatically crossing out the entire section.

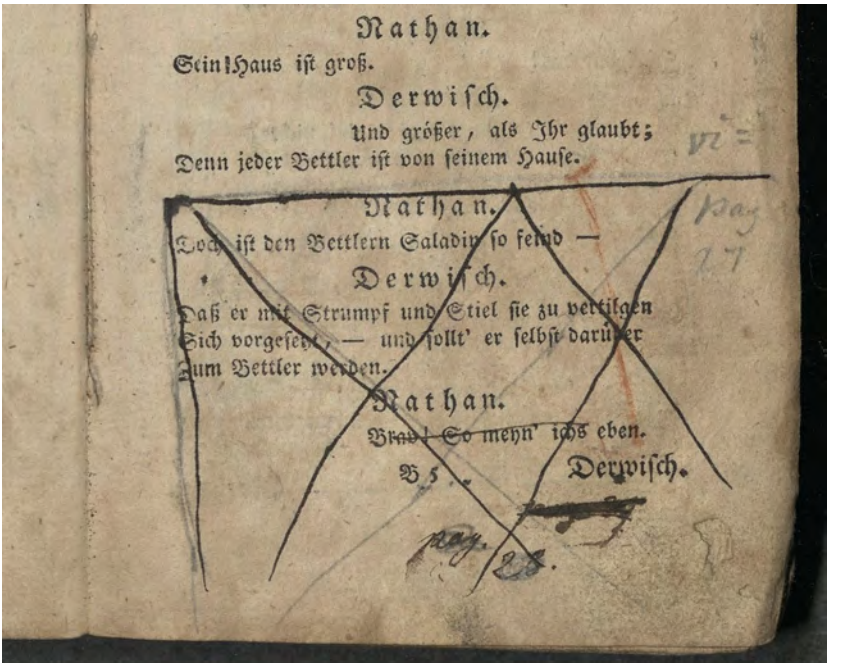
Often, these retractions also extend to the next page or even pages. On some occasions, they are accompanied by additional signs or notes that did not concern the dramatic text itself but had a pragmatic purpose. They were not updates but instructions directed at the reader of the book, tips that helped them to use it. Below the printed text at the bottom of page 107, for example, the subsequent two speeches have been added in dark ink, minimally abridged. However, the next page, where these speeches form part of the printed text, has been cancelled out completely by a diagonal line that has been drawn in what is presumably the same dark ink. This cancellation extends to the top of the following page. Now, at the bottom of page 107, next to the two speeches, there is another addition: the letters "vi=". The equals sign indicates that a word has been divided; the missing part of the word can be found at the top of page 109. Right next to the end of the cancellation "=de" has been added. The use of the divided Latin word "vide" was common in prompt books and other written artefacts employed in theatre productions.[48] It was a tool used to signal a more extensive cancellation, to draw the user's attention to the beginning and the end of an invalidated passage, and to remind said user to carefully look at what was taking place in the written artefact. This may well have been necessary, as matters are not always clear in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*.

On page twenty-five, at the beginning of a cancellation that is similarly extensive but more complex, as all the aforementioned writing tools were involved, the same kind of addition is accompanied by an indication of how far the retraction of the printed text extends. In this way, the user of the book knew immediately which page to turn to. Interestingly, this highly practical type of information was not added systematically to the book, even though other abridgements were equally extensive and complex (cf. figure 81).[49]

48 Düringer and Barthels, for example, mention it in their list of usual abbreviations from theatre manuscript culture (cf. Düringer/Barthels 1841, 9–12).

49 See, for example, the respective sections in Act II, Scene 3, and Act II, Scene 4, or the at some point entirely cancelled scenes Act IV, Scene 5, and Act IV, Scene 6.

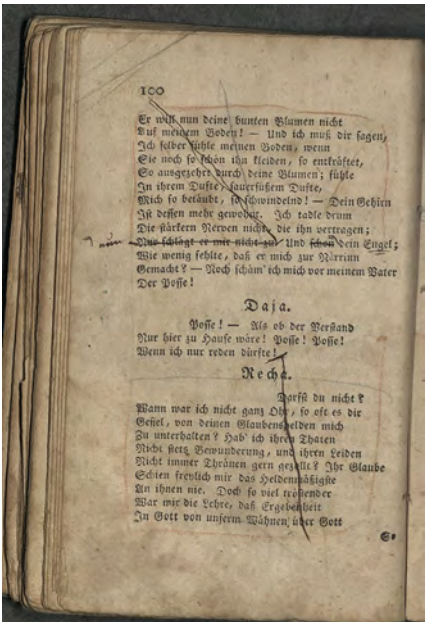
Figure 81: Np, 25.



This complexity was not the result of any kind of ambiguity about the purpose of the operations. Rather, it was due to their materiality: the multitudes of layers and their various realisations tended to cause a certain amount of confusion and repeatedly required increased attention. Sometimes, the extensive abridgements have been changed again and parts of the cancelled-out texts have been reintegrated. Other parts have been revised so intensively that they are no longer immediately comprehensible.

The end of Act III, Scene 1, provides one example of the former. It seems that, at some point, the retraction of the printed text began at the bottom of page ninety-nine and extended to page 101, but not quite to the end of the scene. The last two verses were not included in these retractions as they provided for a transition to the next scene. But in what was presumably a later revision, the cancellations on page 100 were partially cancelled out once more. The red and grey pencil were apparently erased, the ends of Recha's and then Daja's lines in the middle of the page were thus rendered valid again, and only then the dark ink – apart from slightly modifying Recha's lines – repeated and emphasised the further course of the cancellation as a final layer (cf. figures 82 and 83).

Figure 82: Np, 100.


100

Er will nun deine bunten Blumen nicht
Auf meinem Boden! — Und ich muß dir sagen,
Ich selber fühle meinen Boden, wenn
Sie noch so schön ihn kleiden, so entkräftet,
So ausgezehrt durch deine Blumen; fühle
In ihrem Dufte, lauerfüßem Dufte,
Mich so betäubt, so schwindelnd! — Dein Gehirn
Ist dessen mehr gewohnt. Ich tadle drum
Die stärkern Nerven nicht, die ihn vertragen;
Nur schlägt er mir nicht gut. Und schon dein Engel;
Wie wenig fehlte, daß er mich zur Närrinn
Gemacht? — Noch schäm' ich mich vor meinem Vater
Der Posse!

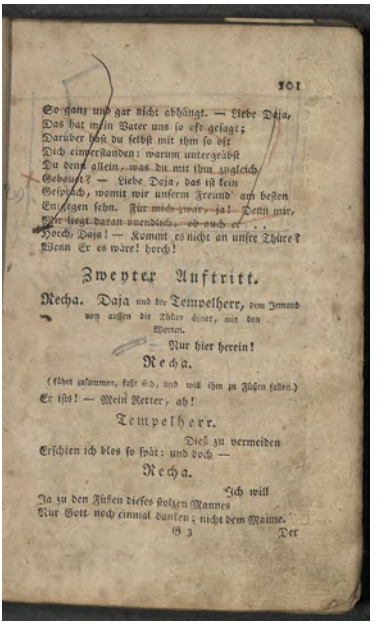
Daja.

Posse! — Als ob der Verstand
Nur hier zu Hause wäre! Posse! Posse!
Wenn ich nur reden dürfte!

Recha.

Darfst du nicht?
Wann war ich nicht ganz Ohr, so oft es dir
Gefiel, von deinen Glaubenshelden mich
Zu unterhalten? Hab' ich ihren Thaten
Nicht stets Bewunderung, und ihren Leiden
Nicht immer Thränen gern gezollt? Ihr Glaube
Schien freylich mir das Heldenmäßigste
An ihnen nie. Doch so viel tröstender
War mir die Lehre, daß Ergebenheit
In Gott von unserm Wähnen über Gott

Figure 83: Np, 101.


101

So ganz und gar nicht abhängt. — Liebe Daja,
Das hat mein Vater uns so oft gesagt;
Darüber hast du selbst mit ihm so oft
Dich einverstanden: warum untergräbst
Du denn allein, was du mit ihm zugleich
Gebaut? — Liebe Daja, das ist kein
Gespräch, womit wir unserm Freund' am besten
Entgegen sehn. Für mich zwar, ja! Denn mir,
Mir liegt daran unendlich, ob auch er . . .
Hoch, Daja! — Kommt es nicht an unsre Thüre?
Wenn Er es wäre! horch!

Zweyter Auftritt.

Recha. Daja und der Tempelherr, dem Jemand von aussen die Thüre öffnet, mit den Worten.

— Nur hier herein!

Recha.

(fährt zusammen, fasst sich, und will ihm zu Füßen fallen.)
Er ists! — Mein Retter, ah!

Tempelherr.

Dieß zu vermeiden
Erschien ich blos so spät: und doch —

Recha.

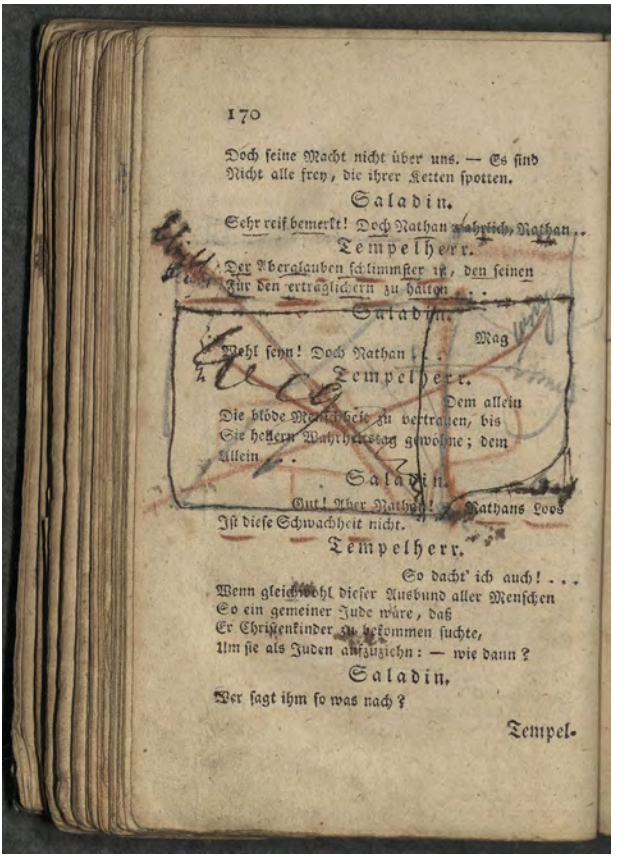
Ich will
Ja zu den Füßen dieses frohen Mannes
Nur Gott noch einmal danken; nicht dem Manne.

G 3 Der

A passage from Act IV, Scene 4, illustrates the latter. Here, a part of the dialogue between the Templar and Saladin seems to have been revised over and over again. In this part, Saladin defends Nathan against the Templar's accusation that Nathan actually believes his own religion to be superior and explicitly praises him for not making that mistake ("Nathans Loos / ist diese Schwachheit nicht" [This weakness is not Nathan's lot]). At least, this was what he did before the revisions and what, according to the logic of the character, he should have still been doing afterwards. It does not seem entirely clear, however, whether the praise really emanates from him at the end of the enriched version; the excessive material performance makes it unclear which version of the text was ultimately valid (cf. figure 84).

Due to the materiality of the enrichment, there is uncertainty about whether the Templar's reply above the framed section ("Der Aberglauben schlimmster ist, den seinen / Für den erträglichern zu halten" [Considering one's own superstition to be the more tolerable one is the worst superstition]) has been cancelled out or not. The red pencil and ink lines beneath it seem to reinstate its validity because the same lines were also drawn in red pencil below the lines of praise, which the different versions all have ended up with. Also contributing to this impression is the word "bleibt" [remains] written in dark ink in the outer margin next to the Templar's lines.

Figure 84: Np, 170.



170

Doch seine Macht nicht über uns. — Es sind
Nicht alle frey, die ihrer Ketten spotten.

Saladin.

Sehr reif bemerkt! Doch Nathan wahrlich, Nathan ..

Tempelherr.

Der Aberglauben schlimmster ist, den seinen
Für den erträglichern zu halten ...

Saladin.

Mag
Wohl seyn! Doch Nathan ...

Tempelherr.

Dem allein
Die blöde Menschheit zu vertrauen, bis
Sie hellern Wahrheitstag gewöhne; dem
Allein ...

Saladin.

Gut! Aber Nathan! Nathans Loos
Ist diese Schwachheit nicht.

Tempelherr.

So dacht' ich auch! ...
Wenn gleichwohl dieser Ausbund aller Menschen
So ein gemeiner Jude wäre, daß
Er Christenkinder zu bekommen suchte,
Um sie als Juden aufzuziehn: — wie dann?

Saladin.

Wer sagt ihm so was nach?

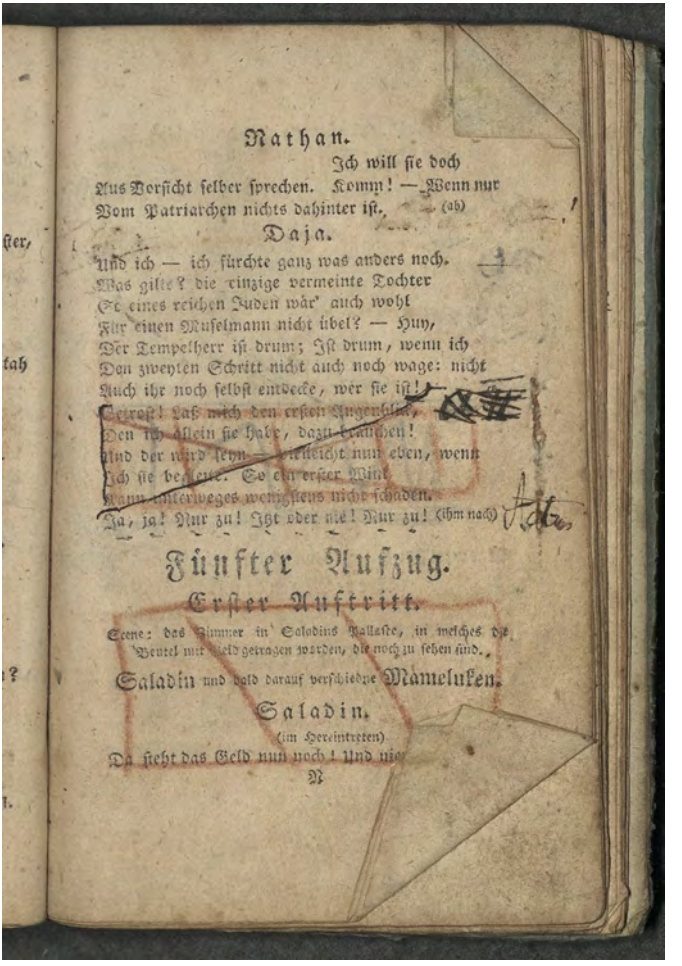
Tempel-

On the other hand, the reply might have been cancelled out yet again by the diagonal stroke made in red pencil. Then there is also the slightly bent vertical line drawn in dark ink on the right-hand side. Once we realise that this vertical line is a bit shorter and coextensive with the frame, it is the Templar's underlined speech that the praise of Nathan is connected to. Otherwise, it would have to be connected to Saladin's prior response, which is also underlined. The facts speak for the latter. It simply would not make any sense at this point if the Templar were praising Nathan for not succumbing to self-righteous religious delusion when that is precisely what he has just accused him of. The multiple layers of revisions and the back-and-forth between cancellations and their cancellations create material ambiguity, even where there is great clarity with regard to the content.

However, the complicated and sometimes confusing material performance of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* has not only been shaped by the different writing tools

and their interplay; rather, other paper practices were in use too, sometimes to implement more extensive changes. In his adaptation, Schiller left out the first two scenes of the fifth act. Accordingly, they were not included in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* from the outset. In *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, however, they were part of the initial content and needed to be cancelled out. Two practices were combined to do so: pages 193 to 198 were folded at the lower outer edge so that pages 194 to 197, which contain most of Act V, Scene 1, could be skipped when the reader turned the page. The beginning of Act V, Scene 1, on page 193 as well as Act V, Scene 2, on pages 198 and 199 have been thoroughly crossed out using a red pencil. These cancellations frame the pages invalidated by the folding (cf. figure 85).

Figure 85: Np, 193.


Nathan.

Ich will sie doch
Aus Vorsicht selber sprechen. Komm! — Wenn nur
Vom Patriarchen nichts dahinter ist. (ab)

Daja.

Und ich — ich fürchte ganz was anders noch.
Was gilts? die einzige vermeinte Tochter
Gr eines reichen Juden wär' auch wohl
Für einen Muselmann nicht übel? — Huy,
Der Tempelherr ist drum; Ist drum, wenn ich
Den zweyten Schritt nicht auch noch wage: nicht
Auch ihr noch selbst entdecke, wer sie ist!
Getrost! Laß mich den ersten Augenblick,
Den ich allein sie habe, dazu brauchen!
Und der wird seyn — vielleicht nun eben, wenn
Ich sie begleite. So ein erster Wink
Kann unterwegens wenigstens nicht schaden.
Ja, ja! Nur zu! Itzt oder nie! Nur zu! (ihm nach)

Fünfter Aufzug.

Erster Auftritt.

Scene: das Zimmer in Saladins Palaste, in welches die Beutel mit Geld getragen worden, die noch zu sehen sind.

Saladin und bald darauf verschiedne Mameluken.

Saladin.

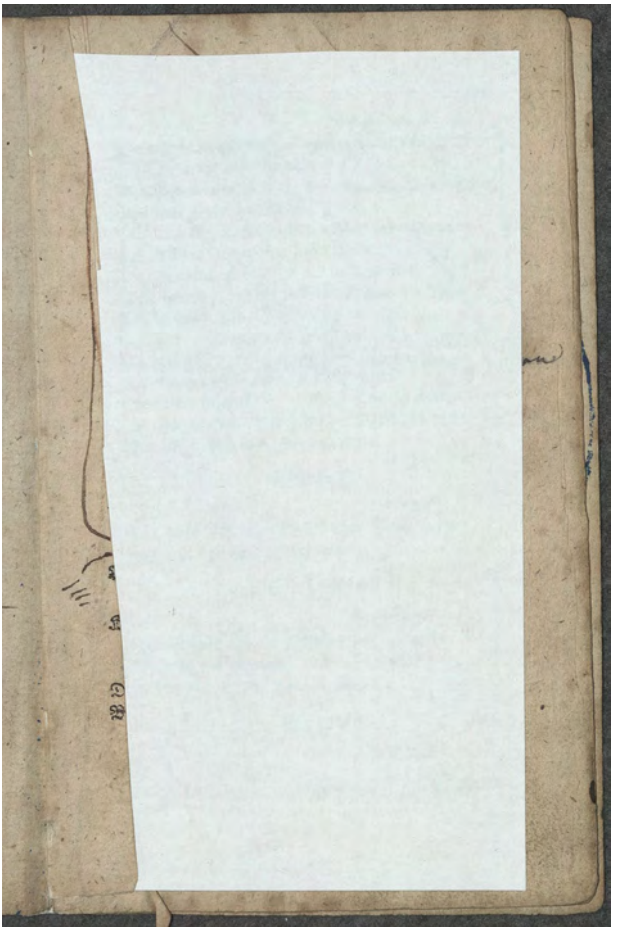
(im Hereintreten)

Da steht das Geld nun noch! Und nie

N

However, these revisions could have been easily reversed, at least in part: if required, the pages could have simply been unfolded again. Radically irrevocable, on the other hand, were the revisions to Act II, Scene 2. In Lessing's version, the beginning of the scene is dominated by the chess game between Saladin and Sittah, in which the rather absent-minded sultan shows minimal interest in winning before their conversation turns to the unstable political situation and the impending conflict with the Templars. Schiller shortened large parts of this scene, in particular most of the chess game. This was also done in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, but not by crossing out parts of the text or by folding over the respective pages. Instead, six pages were physically cut out – and rather unceremoniously at that, it would seem (cf. figure 86).

Figure 86: Np, 51, margin of cut pages.



It would be fair to assume that this irreversible modification was motivated by the content of the scene. The materiality of the written artefact may have factored in as well. The sequence with Saladin and Sittah playing chess and commenting on each other's moves might be interesting for readers, but not so much for viewers, which is why this part of Lessing's text is not really appealing as a potential part of a performance. Accordingly, it was very unlikely that the scene would ever be reintegrated, no matter how true the staging of the play remained to Schiller's version over the years or to what degree it differed. Moreover, the fact that *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* is based on a print copy of the play might have made the decision easier. If necessary, a new book could have been obtained more quickly and with less effort than in the case of a manuscript. The easy availability of the printed book at least allowed for a different pattern of use: it did not fundamentally change the operations used to update the book, but it did affect the potential consequences of some of those operations.

Because the pages have been cut out, the scene now continues on page fifty-seven in the middle of a lengthy speech by Saladin, which has itself been shortened using the three writing tools mentioned above. In order to make a coherent connection here, the beginning of the scene also had to be changed. This modified beginning was added to the book on an extra sheet pasted in on page fifty, right under the stage instructions (cf. figure 87).

It is not the operation itself that is of significance here but what it adds to the book. The content on this extra sheet differs both from Schiller's later final version[50] and from the manuscript *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*.[51] Although the beginning of Act II, Scene 1, in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* is not identical with Schiller's 1805 version either, these differences are only minor and derive from the different work stages to which both versions correspond.[52] The revision in the print-based *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* seems to have been developed more specifically within the Hamburg theatre context: the scene is still somewhat shorter than Schiller's. The newly added text corresponds neither to Lessing's 1791 print nor to Schiller's 1805 version. On a technical level, however, it was created in a similar way: it omits parts of Lessing's text, recombines others, and adds a minimal amount of new text, although the newly added text has been taken from the textual material of the Lessing template. In this context, the omission of Saladin's now futile dream of marrying his siblings off to those of the Christian King Richard is particularly striking. Thus, the possibility, albeit brief and purely imaginary, of lasting inter-

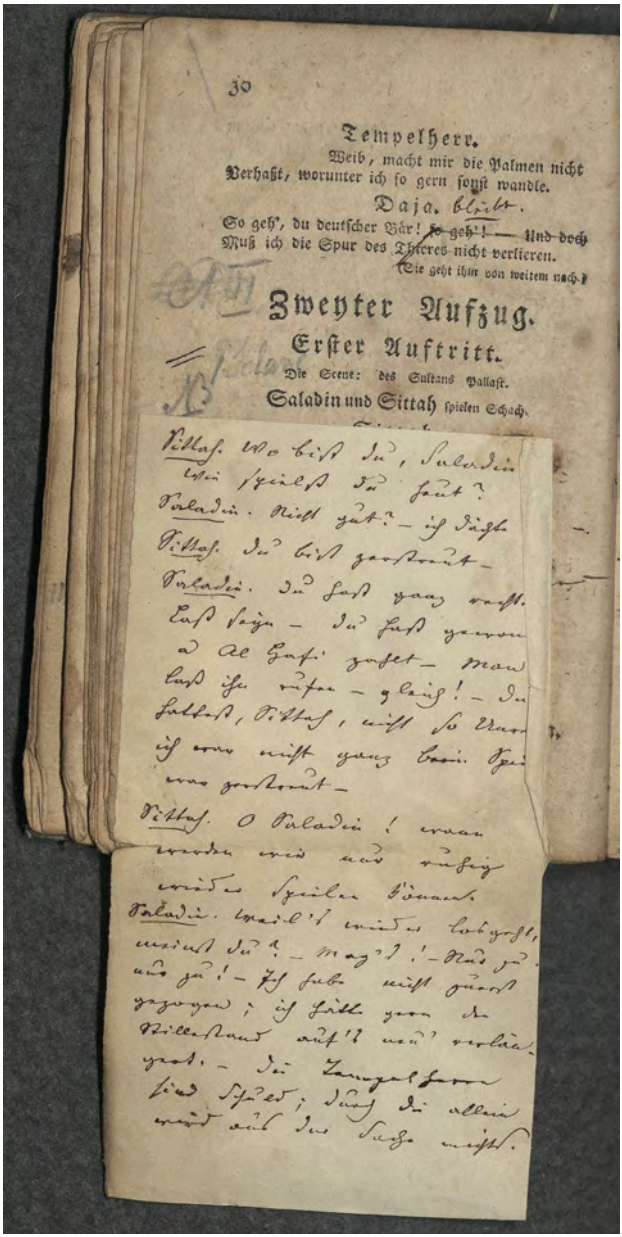
50 Cf. NA 13, 191.

51 Cf. Nm, 23v–24r.

52 Saladin's first reply in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*, for example, begins with "Du hast gewonnen" [You have won] (Nm, 23v), which Schiller extended in his final edition to "Gleichviel! Du hast das Spiel gewonnen" [All the same! You have won the game] (NA 13, 191).

religious and intercultural peace has been deleted from the play without compensation. We will discuss a number of other changes in this vein below.

Figure 87: Np, 50.



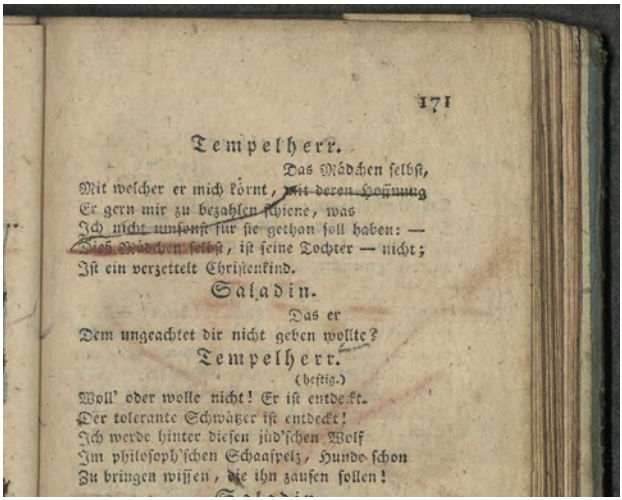
V. The Evolution of an Adaptation I: Simultaneous or Non-Simultaneous Use

The beginning of Act II, Scene 2, exemplarily reveals the relationship between the two written artefacts to each other (and also to Schiller's later 1805 version). It is a case in point for the variations and differences that developed during the use of the two books. The reason for some differences may have been the different purposes served by the written artefacts. In other instances, the significant differences indicate that the manuscript *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* and the print-based *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* were not used simultaneously by a pairing of inspector and prompter at all times – or that they were, but that it did not really matter on a pragmatic level if a book was not up to date. It seems that, for both books, the revisions that followed from their use were generally guided not by the authority of a dramatic author (Lessing's or Schiller's template) but by pragmatic considerations.

Correlations and Disparities

There are revisions that were only made in one of the two written artefacts. Often, they are not complex on a material level, nor do they change the content in a similar way to the revisions in Act II, Scene 2. But they have various effects that go beyond shortening overlong speeches. Take, for example, the Templar's lines at the top of page 171 in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, the designated prompt book. Disappointed and angered by Nathan's behaviour, which the Templar views as a rejection of his courtship, the Templar reveals Recha's Christian origins to Saladin in Act IV, Scene 4. Some of his lines were crossed out over time: at first, half a line was struck through in red pencil, followed by the preceding two and a half lines in the now faded grey pencil, an action that was then repeated once more in dark ink and thereby reinforced. These cancellations ensured greater focus on the main information provided in the reply – the revelation that Recha is only Nathan's adopted daughter. In *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*, however, the reply has not been revised at all. Backstage, the inspector might not have been in need of the latest version of the text – as long as the change did not interfere with their overall technical responsibilities (cf. figures 88 and 89).

Figure 88: Np, 171.



171

Tempelherr.

Das Mädchen selbst,
Mit welcher er mich körnt, mit deren Hoffnung
Er gern mir zu bezahlen schiene, was
Ich nicht umsonst für sie gethan soll haben: —
Dieß Mädchen selbst, ist seine Tochter — nicht;
Ist ein verzettelt Christenkind.

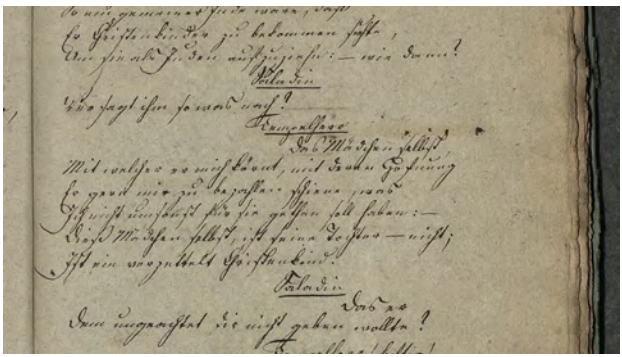
Saladin.

Das er
Dem ungeachtet dir nicht geben wollte?

Tempelherr.

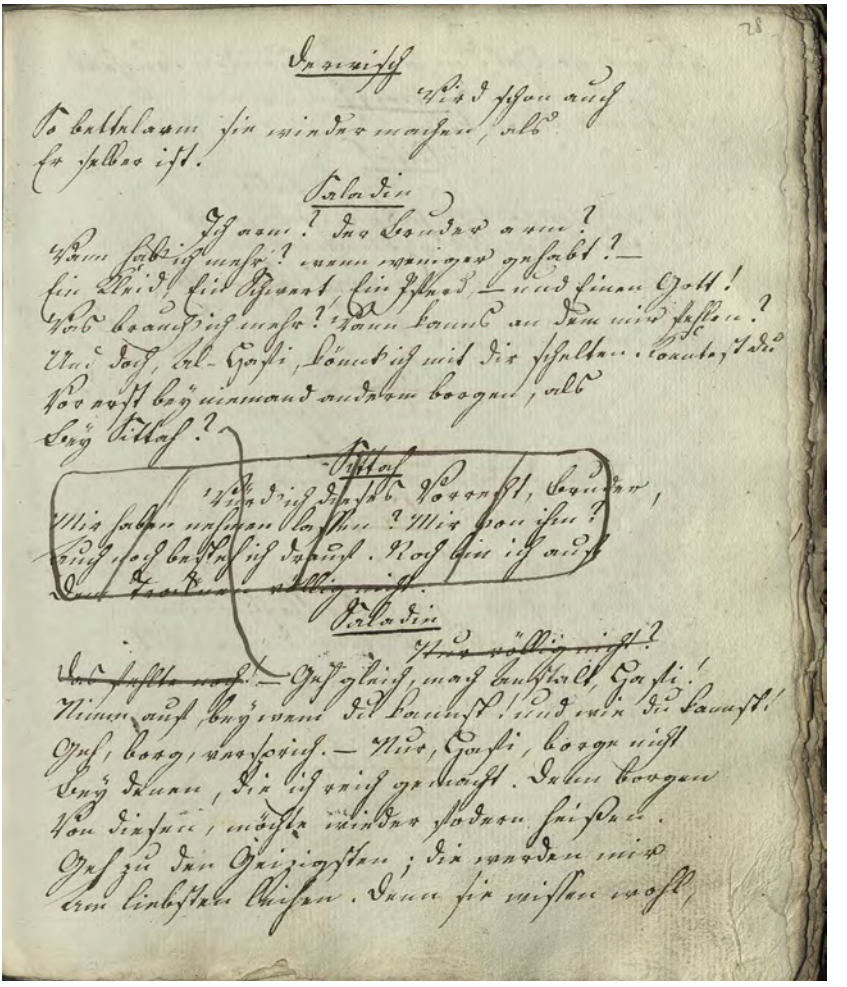
(heftig.)
Woll' oder wolle nicht! Er ist entdeckt.
Der tolerante Schwätzer ist entdeckt!
Ich werde hinter diesen jüd'schen Wolf
Im philosoph'schen Schaafspelz, Hunde schon
Zu bringen wissen, die ihn zausen sollen!

Figure 89: Nm, 75r.



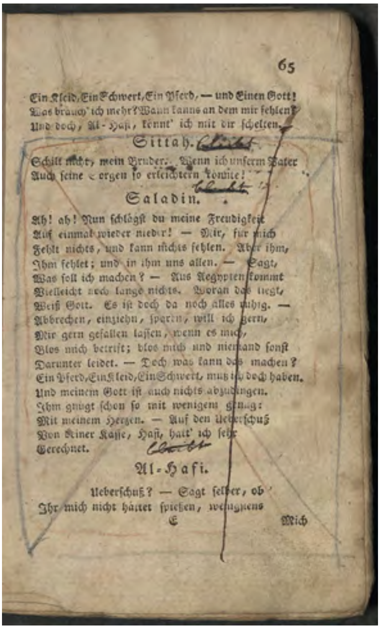
There are, on the other hand, revisions that were made in both written artefacts, but whose execution differs fundamentally on a material level. On folio 28r in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*, one of Sittah's speeches and the beginning of Saladin's response have been cancelled out. As a consequence, two of Saladin's speeches have become one. To highlight this connection and to indicate where the new speech continues after the cancellation, a vertical sinuous line has been drawn (cf. figure 90).

Figure 90: Nm, 28r.



Of course, in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, the print-based prompt book, much greater effort was required to create the same dialogue. The content of one and a half pages has been cancelled out and partly replaced with the help of a piece of paper pasted over the upper half of page sixty-six. Its content is thus to follow the lines at the top of page sixty-five. The valid text continues right below the piece of paper. The result is an identical dialogue in both books – a dialogue that differs from both Lessing's version and presumably the one sent in by Schiller in 1803 (and definitely from Schiller's ultimate 1805 version). It gives an example of how the template Schiller had submitted in Hamburg in 1803 was the starting point for a work in progress (cf. figures 91 and 92).

Figure 91: Np, 65.



65

Ein Kleid, Ein Schwert, Ein Pferd, — und Einen Gott!
Was brauch' ich mehr? Wann kanns an dem mir fehlen?
Und doch, Al-Hafi, könnt' ich mit dir schelten.

Sittah.

Schilt nicht, mein Bruder. Wenn ich unserm Vater
Auch seine Sorgen so erleichtern könnte!

Saladin.

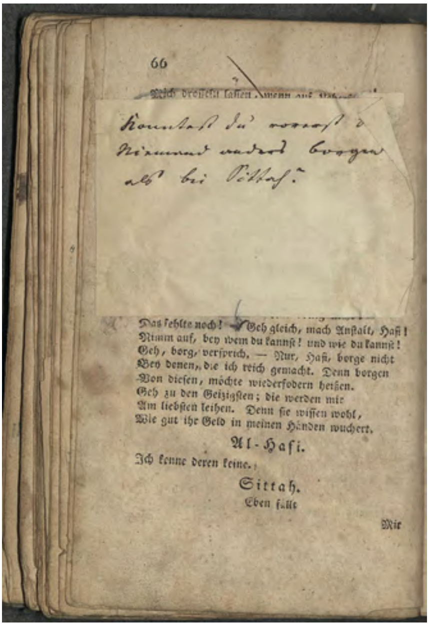
Ah! ah! Nun schlägst du meine Freudigkeit
Auf einmal wieder nieder! — Mir, für mich
Fehlt nichts, und kann nichts fehlen. Aber ihm,
Ihm fehlet; und in ihm uns allen. — Sagt,
Was soll ich machen? — Aus Aegypten kommt
Vielleicht noch lange nichts. Woran das liegt,
Weiß Gott. Es ist doch da noch alles ruhig. —
Abbrechen, einziehn, sparen, will ich gern,
Mir gern gefallen lassen, wenn es mich,
Blos mich betrift; blos mich und niemand sonst
Darunter leidet. — Doch was kann das machen?
Ein Pferd, Ein Kleid, Ein Schwert, muß ich doch haben.
Und meinem Gott ist auch nichts abzudingen.
Ihm gnügt schon so mit wenigem genug:
Mit meinem Herzen. — Auf den Ueberschuß
Von deiner Kasse, Hafi, hatt' ich sehr
Gerechnet.

Al-Hafi.

Ueberschuß? — Sagt selber, ob
Ihr mich nicht hättet spießen, wenigstens

E Mich

Figure 92: Np, 66.



66

Das fehlte noch! — Geh gleich, mach Anstalt, Hafi!
Nimm auf, bey wem du kannst! und wie du kannst!
Geh, borg, versprich. — Nur, Hafi, borge nicht
Bey denen, die ich reich gemacht. Denn borgen
Von diesen, möchte wiederfodern heißen.
Geh zu den Geizigsten; die werden mir
Am liebsten leihen. Denn sie wissen wohl,
Wie gut ihr Geld in meinen Händen wuchert.

Al-Hafi.

Ich kenne deren keine.

Sittah.

Eben fällt

Mir

However, it took several layers of revisions for the print-based *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* to arrive at the same result. Extensive cancellations on page sixty-five in red crayon and graphite pencil were taken back at some point. But this disavowal of the retraction was in turn retracted once more. The word “bleibt” has been added several times and then crossed out again in dark ink – thus reinforcing the original cancellation anew.

There are repeated modifications of the same passages in both books. After initial parallel revisions, these modifications sometimes diverged again at a later date. This was the case in scenes like Act V, Scene 5: at the bottom of folio 89v in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* (the manuscript), parts of the Templar’s lines have been crossed out in dark ink up to the top of folio 90r. The same hand presumably also retracted his last reply on the same folio (cf. figures 93 and 94).

Figure 93: Nm, 89v.

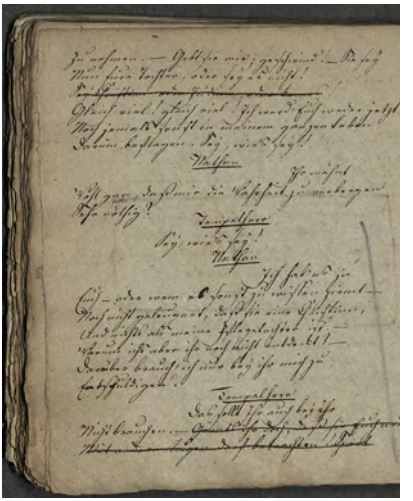
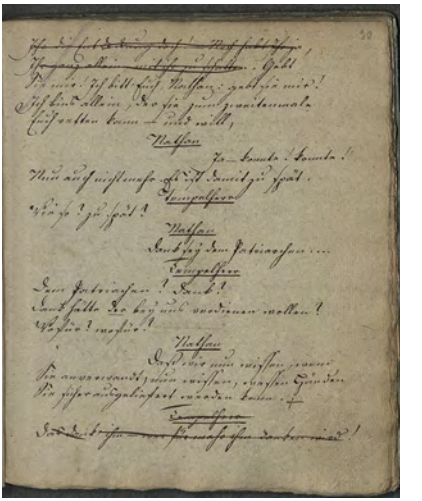


Figure 94: Nm, 90r.



In *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, the print-based written artefact, the same lines were crossed out, in grey and red pencil on page 210 and in faded red pencil on page 211. Both sections were then revised further. The strike-through of the Templar's lines on page 211 has been withdrawn, as the underlining and "bleibt" show, but only in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* (cf. figures 95 and 96).

Figure 95: Np, 210.

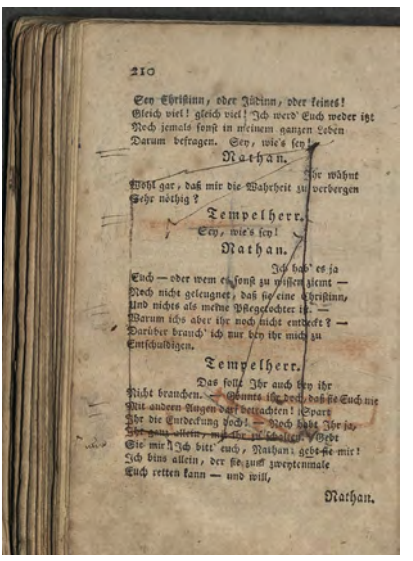
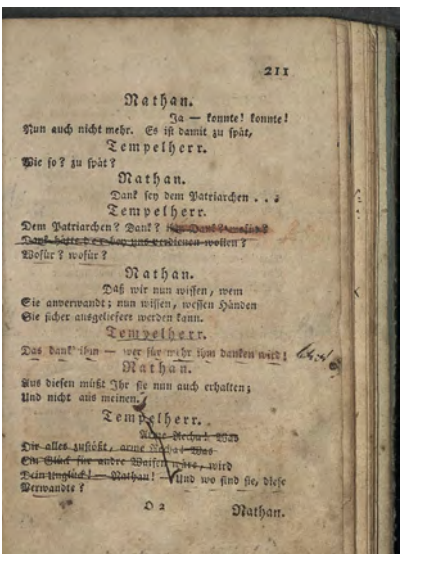


Figure 96: Np, 211.



The Templar's other speech became the subject of further revisions and more extensive cancellations in both books. But these cancellations are not entirely identical. In fact, they each allow for different accentuations. In the print-based *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, the passage has been modified by several layers, some of which have faded. The latest version has been established in the dark ink. The cancellation made using this ink begins at the top of the page, right after the Templar's first speech, and ends in the same place on the page as the initial cancellation. The result is a contracted speech by the Templar that already starts on page 209. The new ending attached to it by the abridgement further intensifies the urgency of the Templar's courtship of Recha, which is under threat from the Patriarch: "Sey, wie's sey! Gebt / Sie mir! Ich bitt' euch!, Nathan; gebt sie mir! / Ich bins allein, der sie zum zweitenmale / Euch retten kann – und will" (Np, 210) [Be that as it may! Give / her to me! I implore you, Nathan; give her to me! / I am the only one who can save her for you for the second time – and wants to do so].

In the manuscript *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*, on the other hand, the section has been revised less intensely. In fact, there is just one more layer. Two pencil strokes on folios 89r and 90v have established the latest version. It resembles *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* but is not identical: the cancellation starts a little later and extends a little further, or so it seems. This has led, firstly, to the inclusion of more lines by Nathan, in which he addresses the Templar's insinuations. Secondly, it appears to eliminate the Templar's explicit, urgent request for Recha. The cancellation goes so far that the Templar now merely emphasises that he alone can still save her without explicitly responding to Nathan's question: "Nathan: Ihr wähnt / Wohl gar, daß mir die Wahrheit zu verbergen sehr nöthig? / Tempelherr: Ich bins allein, der sie zum zweitenmale Euch retten kann – und will" (Nm, 89v–90r) [Nathan: It seems you believe that I very much need to conceal the truth? Templar: I am the only one who can save her for you for the second time – and wants to]. This potentially contributes to the Templar taking a somewhat more distanced attitude towards Nathan – something that is quite inherent in the character's distrustful, almost suspicious side.

This passage from Act V, Scene 5, illustrates how close the traces of parallel and apparently independent use are to each other in the entangled material performance of the manuscript *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* and the print-based *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*.[53] Identical, similar, and different revisions resulting from varying layers, which are generally more numerous in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, characterise the relationship between the two written artefacts. The material effort required to carry out the revisions was sometimes disproportionate to the content

53 What also contributes to the impression of independent use is the modification of the Templar's second speech in the middle of page 211 in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*. Parts of it have been cancelled out here but not in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*; cf. Nm, 90r.

of the changes. This was due to the different versions of the play with which the books started out (Schiller's adaption in the manuscript, Lessing's third edition in the print-based prompt book) as much as it was due to the different media comprising their primary layer: a manuscript and a printed book.

Reintroducing Segments from the Canonised Print Version

Two more features need to be mentioned with regard to the dynamics of the prompt book and the inspector's book: the growing importance of Lessing's print template for the manuscript *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* and the extra time the ending takes in both written artefacts – apparently created at the theatre, independently of Lessing and Schiller. Both concern the entanglement between the dramatic text and its theatrical staging as well as the authority of the author in relation to the practices of the stage.

It has already been pointed out that Schiller's adaptation was the model for many of the enrichments in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, the print copy of Lessing's play. What is striking is that there are traces of an opposing dynamic in the manuscript *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*: modifications reinsert passages of Lessing's text that had been left out in Schiller's revision. Such reinsertions can be found several times in the written artefact. In Act III, Scene 2, in the Templar's first speech on folio 44v, for instance, there is a small triangle and a small # symbol. The same symbols were also drawn on an extra piece of paper pasted onto the folio like a subsequent sheet (cf. figures 97 and 98).

Figure 97: Nm, 44v with symbols indicating insertion.

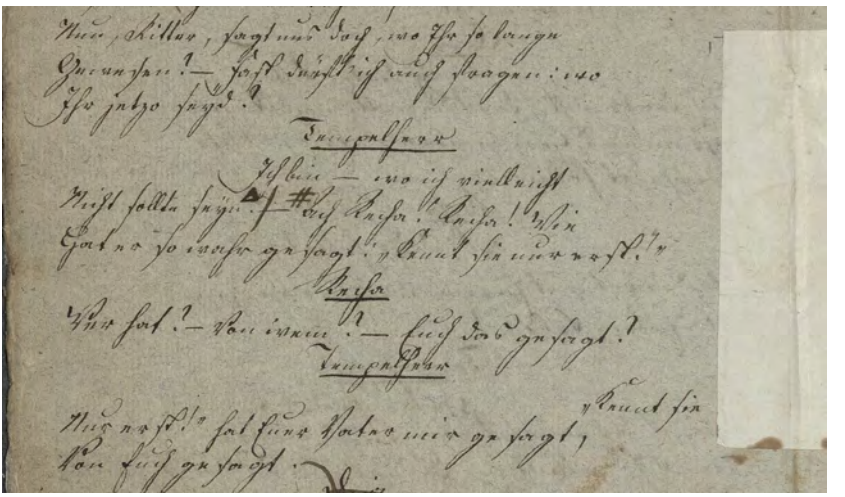
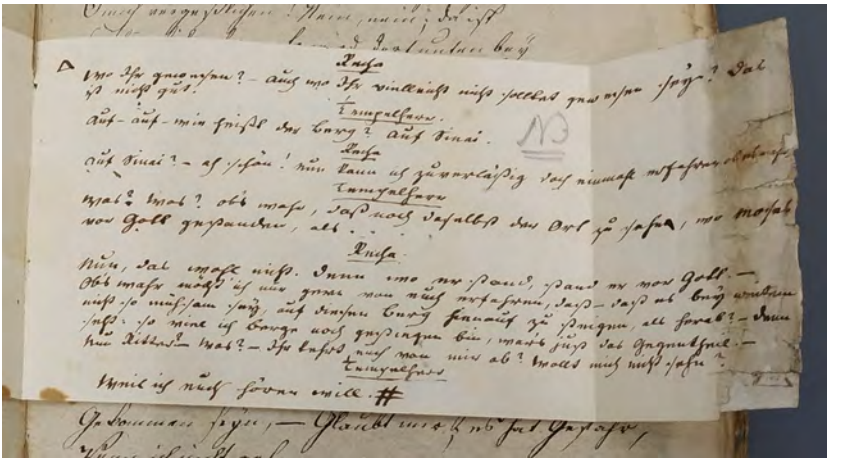


Figure 98: Nm, extra sheet glued to 44v.

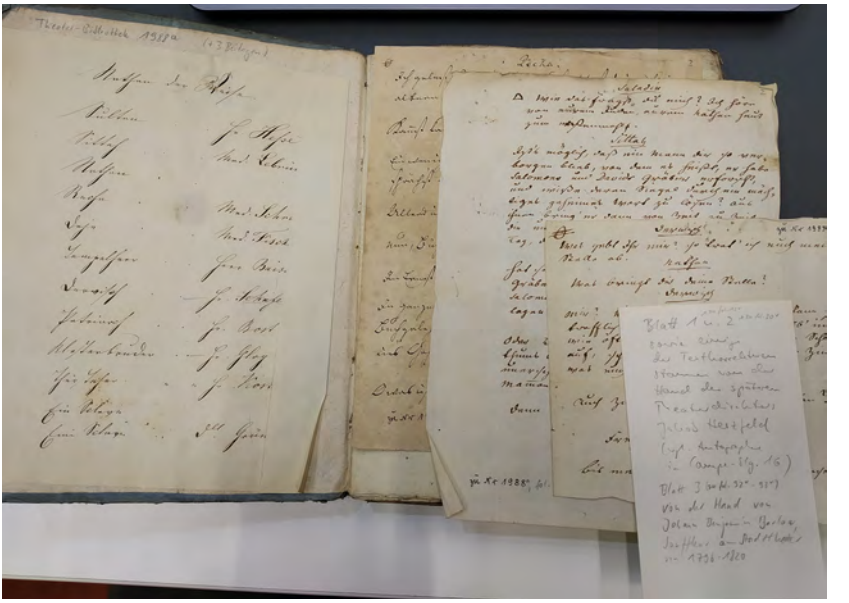


The content of this extra sheet was supposed to be added between the triangle and the # symbol on folio 44v, right in the middle of a verse that Schiller had created out of two different speeches from Lessing's text. The sheet contains lines from Lessing's original version of the play that once again extend the abbreviated scene – more specifically, part of the dialogue between the Templar and Recha, in which she asks him in a somewhat naïve and innocent manner about his experience ascending and descending from Mount Sinai. The reinserted lines from Lessing provide stronger motivation for the subsequent expression of the Templar's blossoming affection.[54]

Although the scribe of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* has not yet been identified, we do know who was responsible for the writing on the extra sheet: the writing is by Herzfeld, the person who had not only ordered a copy of Schiller's adaptation to begin with but who, at some point, also seems to have been the driving force behind the partial realignment of the book with Lessing's original template. This is also evident in other scenes. Three loose sheets have been preserved with the book, each of which can be precisely assigned to specific folios. They all contain parts of Lessing's published print edition of the play. Herzfeld was the one responsible for the writing on two of the sheets (cf. figure 99).

54 Some of the respective section in the print version was cancelled at some point, but this cancellation was repealed again in a later revision (cf. Np, 104).

Figure 99: three sheets with additional content.



The content of the first sheet belongs to folio 12v, one part of Act I, Scene 3. Two diacritical signs[55] – a circle crossed out twice and a triangle – indicate where on the folio it was supposed to be added: right before the previously mentioned revision of the passage using Schiller's own text. These signs also provide a crucial clue about the order of the revisions. The triangle was added to the pasted-in sheet, which was accordingly added first.[56] In other words, while the prompt book had been initially further updated in the sense of Schiller's adaptation, it was then later readapted to the version of Lessing's play available in print.

In Act I, Scene 3, Herzfeld's addition brings a topic back into the play that Schiller had largely omitted: the great importance of money, which is closely associated with economic power and dependence.[57] Nathan is not only wise but also rich; he talks about tolerance but also about money and business. Saladin, too, is

55 They were also used in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* and are described in Chapter 4.

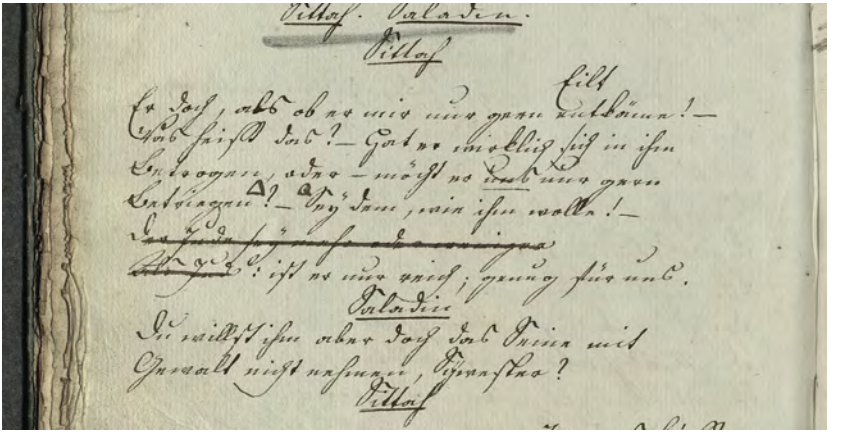
56 Cf. Nm, 12v.

57 Scholars have given various reasons for this against different aesthetic and poetological backdrops. In his NA comment, Borcherdt talks about a "bewußtem Idealisierungsprinzip" [conscious idealisation principle] according to which "die Motivwelt […] ihrer materiellen Bedingtheit entkleidet werden soll" [the imagery is to be stripped of its material conditions] (NA 13, 318). Müller (2004) also argues that the repeated discussion of the sultan's financial needs is inappropriate with regard to the *Ständeklausel* [estates clause] in theatre (cf. Müller 2004, 183). On the role of economics in the play, see, for example, Weidmann 1994 and Schönert 2008.

driven by financial worries in the face of a renewed conflict with the Templars. Both levels are by no means mutually exclusive in Lessing's version. The addition in Herzfeld's hand reincludes this aspect of the play.[58]

This is also the case with regard to the other major addition made in his hand. The content of the second loose sheet belongs to Act II, Scene 3. A triangle and a letter "Q" on folio 30v indicate that it was also supposed to be added in the middle of a verse that Schiller had created out of two separate speeches (cf. figure 100).

Figure 100: Nm, 30v.

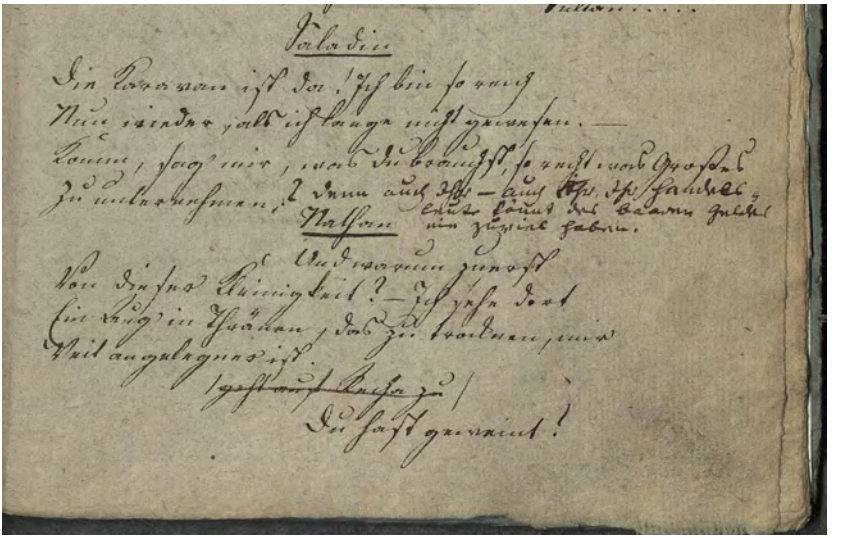


The reinserted passage extends the dialogue between Saladin and Sittah. They now explicitly discuss Nathan's wealth, which they both attribute to his successful trading activities. Moreover, the part of the conversation in which the rumours about the mysterious origins of his fortune are mentioned has also been integrated back into the version of the play found in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*.

Apart from these sheets, Herzfeld also added other short passages from Lessing's text. They set the same accents in the content. At the beginning of Act V, Scene 6, Saladin, who has just rid himself of his financial worries, emphasises the importance of money for merchants. The respective lines have been squeezed in using dark ink on folio 96r, right next to the lines that Schiller had left them out of (cf. figure 101).

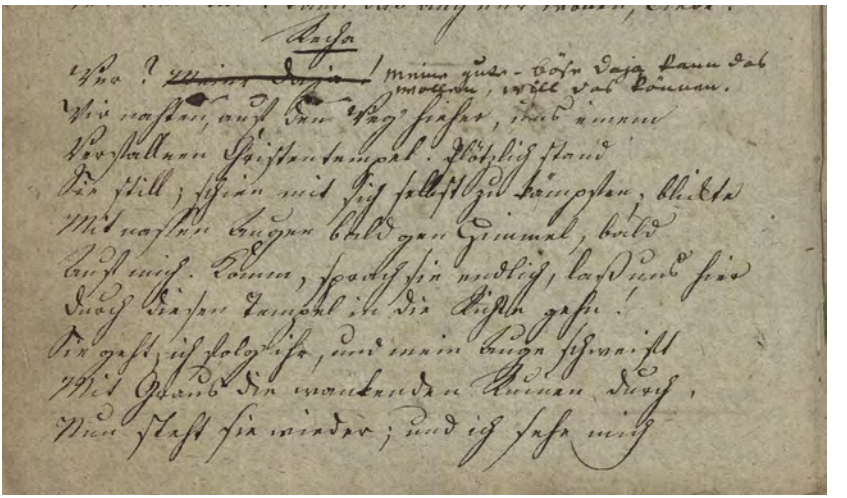
58 However, the resulting version does not seem entirely smooth. The transition from Lessing's reinserted text on the loose sheet to Schiller's text on the pasted-in sheet reads: "Nathan: Auch Zins vom Zins der Zinsen? / – Derwisch: Freilich! – Nathan: Bis / Mein Kapital zu lauter Zinsen wird. Nun, aber, daß du dich dazu entschlossen? – Derwisch: Was mich verführte? Gut! so! hört mich an!" [Nathan: Also interest from the interest of interest? / – Dervish: Of course! – Nathan: Until / My capital becomes pure interest. But now, that you have resolved to do this? – Dervish: What tempted me? Good! so! hear me!].

Figure 101: Nm, 96r.



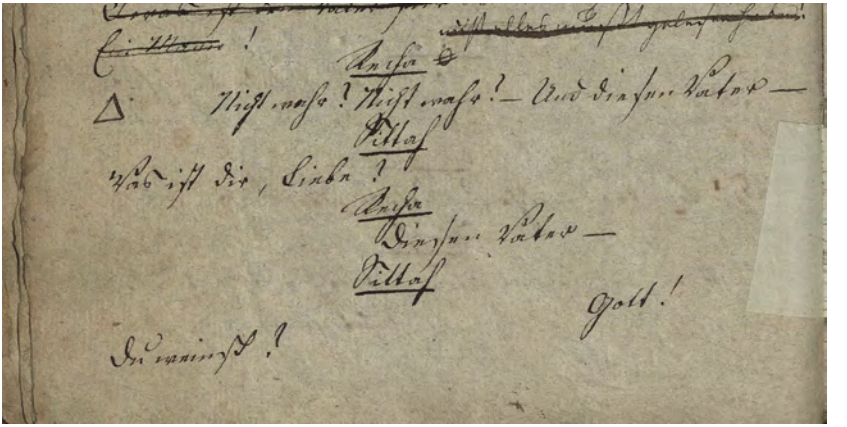
In a similar fashion, some of Recha's lines have been revised in Act V, Scene 4. A few of them have been cancelled out and some new content added in the limited free space right next to them (cf. figure 102).

Figure 102: Nm, 93v.



This addition does not really make any significant changes to the content, but it does highlight one of the character's traits. Recha now answers Sittah's question about who would want to force another father on her in the same way that she does in Lessing's original print publication, i.e., in an almost childlike manner.[59] This character trait is emphasised in another revision at the beginning of the same scene: a crossed-out circle and a triangle on folio 92v indicate that content was supposed to be added after Sittah's second speech (cf. figure 103).

Figure 103: Nm, 92v.



The content in question was written on the third loose sheet. This time, though, not by Herzfeld but by Barlow, the prompter. The addition of content to the folio itself has also been made in his hand, as has at least the retraction to the left of it. These crossed-out lines have not been cancelled out but moved to the end of the loose sheet; the same connection has thus been retained but relocated. In the extended, Lessing-based version of this section, Recha confesses that she can hardly read due to her father's aversion to scholarship based on dead signs. But now, in response, Sittah exclaims admiringly, "O was ist dein Vater für ein Mann!"[60] [Oh, what a man your father is!]. This revision now strengthens the accentuation of Recha's obedience and inexperience as a daughter who is dependent on her father.

59 Instead of, "Wer? Meine Daja!" [Who? My Daja!], she now says again, "Wer? Meine gute-böse Daja kann das wollen, will das können" [Who? Why my good-evil Daya can want that, wants to be able to do that] (Nm, 93v).

60 This is indeed a little irritating, because the part of the dialogue where Recha explains that her father himself educated her remains left out instead. It would have provided a more convincing motivation for the admiration felt by Sittah, who evidently agrees with Nathan that book-based education only leads to affectation and self-alienation (cf. Lessing 1993, 614f).

This is one of the two shifts that take place with the reintegration of Lessing's text into a written artefact based on Schiller's adaptation: the childlike, innocent, almost naïve side of Recha is now emphasised – which once again brings her closer to the daughter character that figured prominently in the bourgeois theatre of the time. She is an unaffected and virtuous young woman with the closest possible affective ties to her father and who is also confused by her feelings for a young man who is drawn to her. The other shift relates to the economic dimension of the play, i.e., the significance and value of money. Wealthy merchant Nathan's financial power makes him interesting to Saladin – the sultan himself knows that this is an indispensable prerequisite for maintaining political and military power. The renewed emphasis on this theme ensures that the dramatic diegesis, which is otherwise shaped by abstract ideals, becomes more tangible and specific. The reintroduced theme also refers to the social fields and structures for which ideals like tolerance and wisdom are presented as more than necessary.[61]

Ending Extemporaneously

Among the revisions that directly relate to the Hamburg theatre context, one change stands out. It has its model in neither Lessing nor Schiller and instead seems to be related to the dynamics specific to the Hamburg performances. At some point, the already conciliatory ending of the play was amplified, apparently for greater stage effect. A few lines were added below the original reference to "the end" of the play. This extended ending was written in ink in the print-based prompt book *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* and in pencil in the inspector's manuscript book, *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*. On the one hand, the (very similar) additions encompass lines to be spoken while on the other hand pointing to the improvisational character of the extended finale. In addition to the dialogue, "p. p." ("perge perge", meaning "continue") has also been added in the print-based prompt book. However, it seems that this extended version did not become a permanent fixture in the play and was taken back again. In the modified ending, Saladin explicitly invites Nathan to join the reciprocal embraces indicated in the final stage directions. He refers to the central ring parable of the play and amicably affirms Nathan's moral authority as he exclaims, "Komm in meine Arme! – Nathan – deine Hand! Wie wars mit deinem Ring? – bist du mit mir zufrieden?" [Come into my arms! – Nathan – your hand! What was it about your ring? – are you satisfied with me?] (Np, 238) (cf. figures 104 and 105).

61 Interestingly, almost all of these sections look different in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*. Not only is the degree of revision often very different, but the versions resulting from these revisions are usually only similar and not identical with *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* either.

Figure 104: Nm, 102r.

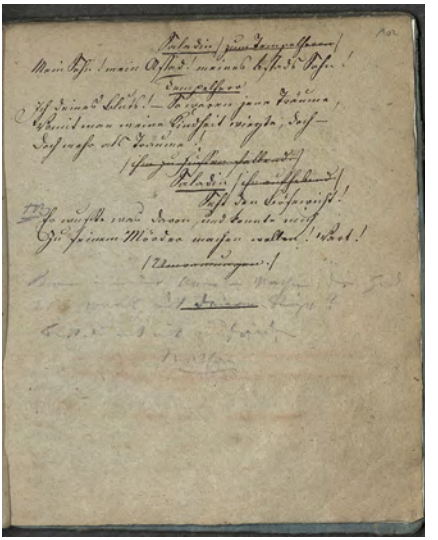
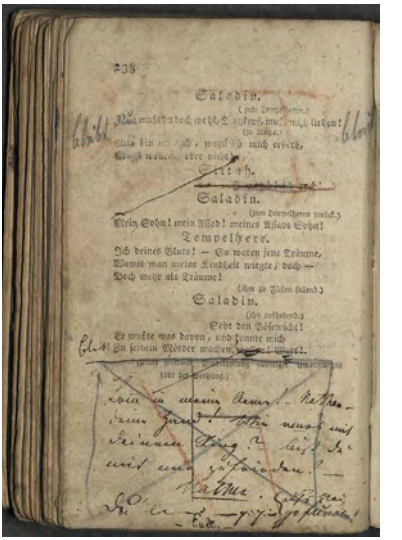


Figure 105: Np, 238.



The untidy incompleteness of the addition is striking in both written artefacts. In the manuscript *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*, Nathan's final reaction has not been written out at all and is merely hinted at instead. In the print-based *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, it has been written down so sloppily that some parts are scarcely legible. Other parts simply consist of a continuous line ending in "p. p.": the extended ending seems to have been largely improvised.

In the manuscript, Saladin's additional lines are somewhat illegible. Not only have they been written very carelessly, but the pencil has faded – or an attempt has been made to erase it. This corresponds to the crossing-out of the new handwritten ending in the print-based *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*. Apparently the extemporaneous finale was not a permanent change to the play. After a hiatus, a new generation of actors (and a new artistic director) might have preferred to stick with the lines of a text that, by that time, had become canonised and was being widely read in print.

VI. The Evolution of an Adaptation II: Negotiating Christianity in Public

There is another type of revision that can be found to varying degrees in both written artefacts. It is likely that these changes were also directly related to the context of the Hamburg performances. On a material level, they do not differ from the other revisions; the same operations were employed to carry them out. However,

they seem to have been neither aesthetically nor technically motivated. Instead, it is reasonable to suspect that they had something to do with the changing tastes of the public and the changing morals of the time. (They might have also been another attempt to preemptively avoid a brush with the authorities.) They concern a topic that is central to the play but that was potentially quite explosive and also seem to indicate changes in the way that this topic was dealt with over the course of two written artefacts' use. It is now well-established that, in *Nathan der Weise*, the theme of tolerance gains particular traction in connection to interfaith relations and the religions' respective claims to power. This is necessarily linked to an overarching critique of religion as such, especially Christianity. The play presents prejudices and delusions, but also their overcoming. In the process, it explores ways of thinking about and realising community and belonging – independently of, or at least not primarily through, religion.

A number of revisions found in both written artefacts suggest that it was not possible to bring this topic on stage without further ado. The changes affected, on the one hand, the emphasis on religious identities and, on the other, the strong criticism of Christianity, which is particularly pronounced in the version of Lessing's play that was available in print.[62] There were evidently periods of revision in which both aspects were toned down. However, this does not apply equally to both books. In fact, the manuscript *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* proves to have undergone much more revision in this respect.

Both aspects pertain to certain characters in the play: the first one primarily concerns the Templar and Recha, the second one the Patriarch. There are several sections throughout the play in which the Templar is either referred to or refers to himself as a Christian and as a Templar at the same time. In several instances, however, references to his religious identity have been crossed out in *Theater-Bibliotek: 1988a*,[63] while in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* this is only sporadically the case.[64]

Similarly, the emphasis on Recha's religious identity is somewhat downplayed. In *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*, the Templar no longer stresses to the Patriarch that Recha is baptised. And even when he speaks to Nathan, he no longer explicitly refers to her possible religious affiliation.[65] One reason for these changes may

62 This constellation was in any case not without its problems. After all, a performance of the play brought to the theatre stage a fundamental critique of an institution that itself had a history of pronounced and forceful hostility towards the theatre. See, for example, Wild 2003, 167–356; Krebs 2005; Kolesch 2012.

63 Cf. Nm, 34v, 63r.

64 Cf. Np, 83.

65 Cf. Nm, 68v, 89v. In *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, the respective lines were also cancelled out at one point. However, the revisions have faded so much that they are hardly visible anymore. This makes it at least questionable whether they were valid until the end of the book's use (cf. Np, 155 and, in particular, 210).

be the interfaith love between the two characters, which the play ultimately resolves through the "revelation" that both are Christians. Up until that point, however, interfaith love is continuously brought up as a problem. It seems to have been too provocative for the stage in times that were less tolerant than the age the play anticipated. Another reason for the revisions, which has more to do with the changes affecting the Templar, is the negative portrayal of Christianity and the Church – after all, the Templar can barely hold back his pejorative opinion. The retractions now offer a slight mitigation in that the criticism is not explicitly voiced by a Christian but "only" by a Templar. The focus shifts minimally from his denomination to his profession.

In this sense, too, the Muslim Sittah's sharp criticism of Christian intolerance is cancelled out in single strokes of dark ink at the beginning of the second act in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* – as are parts of Saladin's subsequent reaction. Although he urges that a distinction be made between Christians in general and the Christian Templars, he still mentions both together, whereas the strike-through now reinforces their separation. The threatening outbreak of a new conflict is thus attributed to military and political efforts alone – while any explicit religious component is distinctly excluded.[66]

In the extensive revision to this scene in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, the print-based prompt book, these passages were cancelled at the start. The new beginning of the scene, which has been integrated into the prompt book on the pasted-in sheet, has been modified by means of abridgments and by recombining the text material in such a way that it no longer contains any explicit criticism of religion.[67]

Both written artefacts build on a strategy that had already defined Schiller's adaption, as Marion Müller has shown. She points out that Duke Karl August himself demanded retractions on two pages in Act II, Scene 1, before the play was staged in Weimar. Müller demonstrates that these pages included the part of the dialogue that contained detailed and explicit criticisms of Christianity.[68] The respective verses were consequently omitted by Schiller. They therefore did not form part of his Hamburg adaptation, as they had not been part of the version in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* either, the manuscript copied from Schiller's template. Lessing's explicit and unsparing critique of Christian intolerance and self-righteousness as expressed in the scene with Sittah[69] was presumably radically shortened for political reasons. However, the far-reaching revisions of the dialogue in the two written artefacts used in the Hamburg theatre context demonstrate that, even decades later, remarks about Christianity had lost none of their political explosiveness.

66 Cf. Nm, 24r and v.

67 Cf. Np, 30.

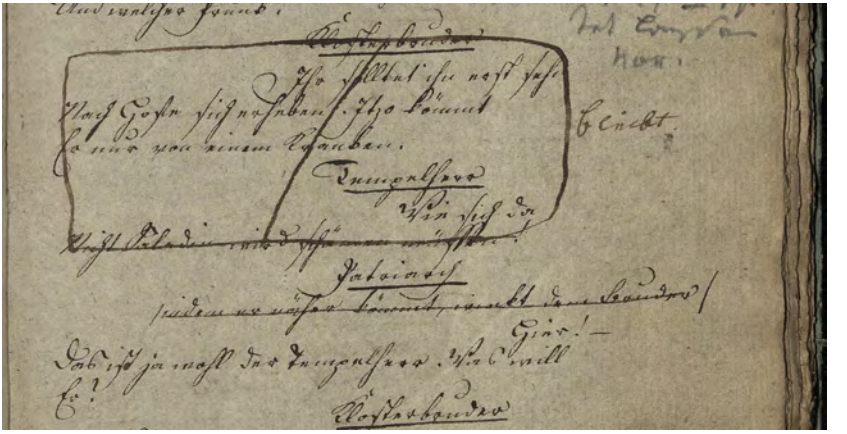
68 Cf. Müller 2004, 178–180.

69 Cf. Lessing 1993, 517.

Having said that, not all negative portrayals of Christianity were so permanently erased. This applies above all to the treatment of the figure of the Patriarch, who was drawn by Lessing as an autocratic fanatic in an all-round pejorative manner. Looking at the revisions in both written artefacts, we see that, in the course of their use, attitudes changed regarding how negatively this supreme Church representative could now actually keep being depicted on the Hamburg stage. Almost all of the relevant passages in both books were the subject of two layers of revision. In the process, the second layer took back the first layer while retaining the primary layer. Apparently, concerns about portraying the Patriarch too negatively on stage played only a temporary role while *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* and *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* were in use.[70]

Take for example the beginning of Act IV, Scene 2: this is the first scene in which the Patriarch appears in person. He enters the stage not as a humble, pious man but in a stately, pompous manner. The part of the dialogue that demonstrates that this is inappropriate and rather questionable was retracted in the manuscript *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*, meaning that the character does not immediately appear in a bad light upon his first appearance. The corresponding lines have been framed in dark ink and crossed out with a single stroke. However, this retraction was taken back again. A "bleibt" was added in dark ink next to the framed section. This second layer cancelled out the validity of the first, restoring the initial negative impression (cf. figure 106).

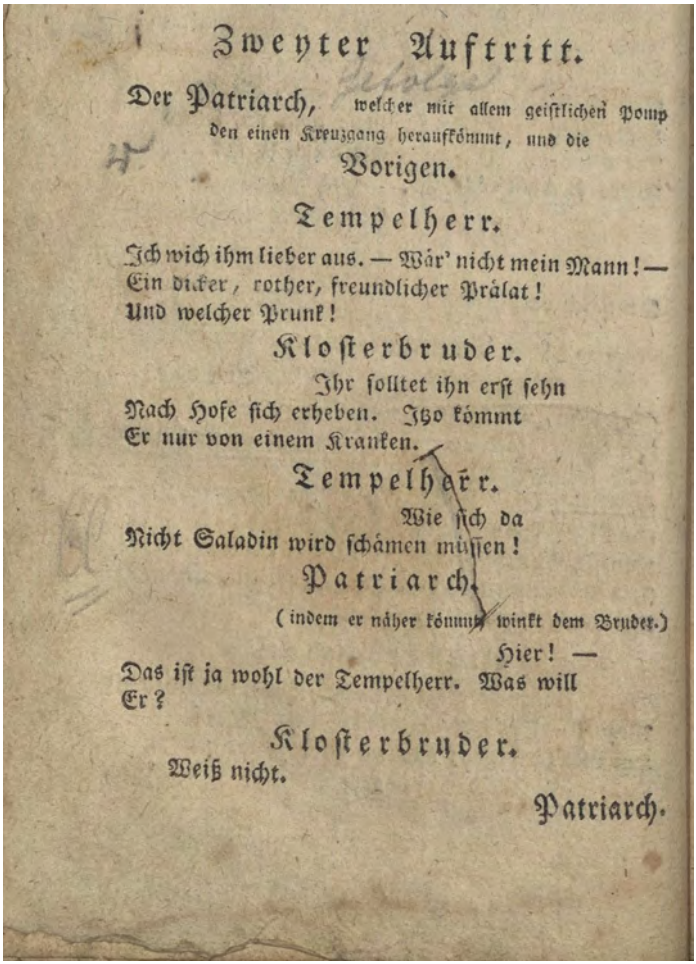
Figure 106: Nm, 67r.



70 This may indicate a somewhat more liberal climate in Hamburg. In Munich, for example, the play was only allowed to be staged at all after the character of the Patriarch was removed altogether, cf. NA 13, 419.

In *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, the print-based prompt book, there is a related retraction at the beginning of the scene. It is somewhat less extensive and includes only one of the two speeches that were retracted in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*. An initial diagonal pencil stroke has been repeated once more in dark ink. Unlike in the manuscript, there is no doubt about the inappropriateness of the Patriarch's conduct, even after a first layer of revision. Nevertheless, in a second layer, the already minimised critique has been fully withdrawn once more: a "bl" for "remains" has been added in pencil right next to the crossed-out lines. Even though the revision phases differ in both books, the scene was identical at the end of both processes (cf. figure 107).

Figure 107: Np, 152.



Zweyter Auftritt.

Der Patriarch, welcher mit allem geistlichen Pomp den einen Kreuzgang heraufkömmt, und die Vorigen.

Tempelherr.

Ich wich ihm lieber aus. — Wär' nicht mein Mann! —
Ein dicker, rother, freundlicher Prälat!
Und welcher Prunk!

Klosterbruder.

Ihr solltet ihn erst sehn
Nach Hofe sich erheben. Itzo kömmt
Er nur von einem Kranken.

Tempelherr.

Wie sich da
Nicht Saladin wird schämen müssen!

Patriarch.

(indem er näher kömmt, winkt dem Bruder.)
Hier! —
Das ist ja wohl der Tempelherr. Was will
Er?

Klosterbruder.

Weiß nicht.

Patriarch.

A comparable material dynamic is at play where the scheming, nefarious actions of the Patriarch, who has been identified as an intriguer and adversary of interfaith tolerance all along, are named outright. The Templar in particular makes sure of this. He repeatedly refers to the Patriarch as a "Schurke" [villain] and to his actions as "Schurkerey" [villainy]. The respective passages were cancelled in a first layer of revisions in both written artefacts. Their content may have been somewhat delicate, declaring on stage that the highest church official in Jerusalem was morally deficient – thereby explicitly making him the play's antagonist. Although the Patriarch appears in a dubious light from the outset, it is solely through the Templar in Act V, Scene 3, that he is so harshly evaluated in the play. The words of this character, although they merely express what the audience might have felt already, nevertheless overtly direct the viewers' perception (cf. figures 108 and 109).

Figure 108: Nm, 87v.

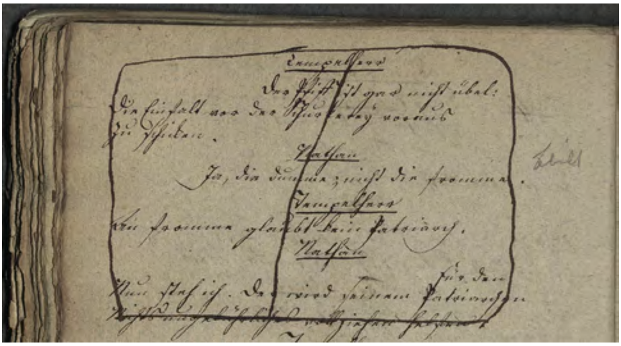
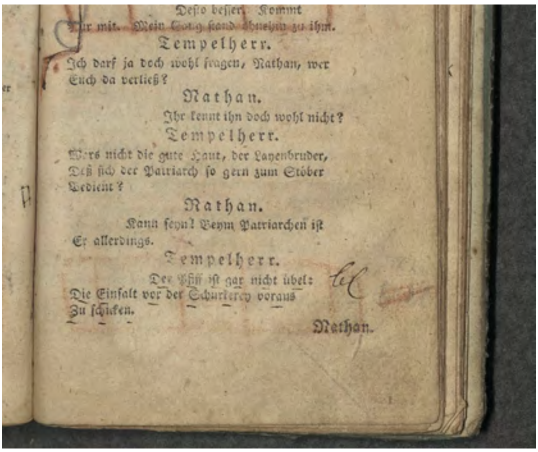


Figure 109: Np, 205.



Desto besser. Kommt
Ihr mit. Mein Gang stand ohnehin zu ihm.
Tempelherr.
Ich darf ja doch wohl fragen, Nathan, wer
Euch da verließ?
Nathan.
Ihr kennt ihn doch wohl nicht?
Tempelherr.
Wers nicht die gute Haut, der Layenbruder,
Deß sich der Patriarch so gern zum Stöber
Bedient?
Nathan.
Kann seyn! Beym Patriarchen ist
Er allerdings.
Tempelherr.
Der Pfiff ist gar nicht übel:
Die Einfalt vor der Schurkerey voraus
Zu schicken.
Nathan.

Whatever the reasons for these changes, they do not seem to have been compelling enough. The respective retractions were themselves retracted in both written artefacts. And yet, it is not possible to say whether this happened after a short period of time or after years of use. In the print-based *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, the cancellation of the retraction has been indicated in ink strokes below the verses, in addition to the "bl" also used as "bleibt" in the manuscript *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*. Again, there are differences in the material performance of the two books. While the retractions in both passages have been taken back in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b*, this is only true of one retraction in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a*. Instead, the retraction of the still somewhat explicit criticism of the Patriarch on folio 89r has actually been reinforced by yet another layer of revisions. It is possible that the repetition of the Templar's plain words in one scene was thought to be too drastic. In this way, the negative portrayal of the character remained part of the performance, but much less emphatically (cf. figures 110 and 111).

Figure 110: Nm, 89r.

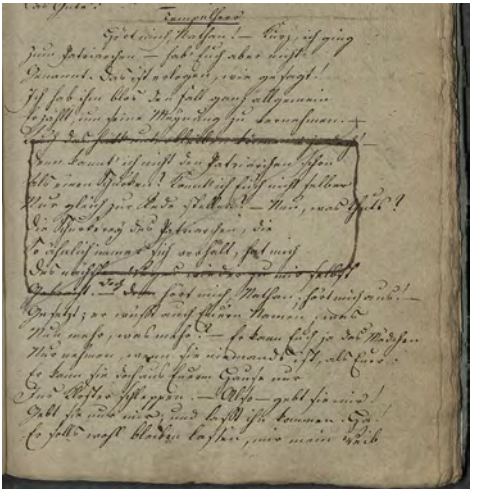


Figure 111: Np, 209.

In view of this divergence, it is a matter of debate whether the revisions concerning the sensitive topic of religion originated from the simultaneous use of both written artefacts. It is possible that this was at least partly the case. With regard to the figure of the Patriarch, both books were only initially updated in parallel – or rather, from a certain point, updates made to the actors' parts were negligently only made in one of the books. On the other hand, it is also possible that the same requirements, the same need for changes, and the same basis for decision-making affected theatre operations during phases in which the books were being used independently of each other – without this having to result in com-

pletely identical revisions. Rather, it is precisely the characteristic mixture of parallel, merely similar, and completely divergent changes that makes both scenarios seem plausible. What is certain in any case is that the portrayal of Christianity and Church representatives was more problematic from a theatrical point of view than from a literary one, and that, even decades after the second "Hamburger Theaterstreit" [Hamburg Theatre Controversy], the company apparently felt compelled, or at least thought it advisable, to cut potentially explosive passages about Christianity. The version of Lessing's play available in print and Schiller's stage adaptation in manuscript form were able to go further. But when the content of those written artefacts became an element of theatrical processes, such openness was no longer possible without further ado. This is evident in the material performances of both books as well as in their relationship to Lessing's and Schiller's versions – in strike-throughs, cuts, and omissions. However, the extra-theatrical pressure seems to have softened over time (or the production had been a little too cautious from the outset). In many cases, the retractions that affected the portrayal of the Patriarch as an antagonist were ultimately taken back.

VII. Entangled Purposes, Complementary Materialities

The example of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* and *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* has vividly shown how the authority of literary authors (whether they were creators of "original" works or adapters of others' works with a literary reputation of their own) and their literary texts played a role in shaping the use of the Theater-Bibliothek prompt books and how that authority became interwoven with the other forces that manifest themselves in the material performances of these written artefacts. The intertwining of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* and *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* also points to the entanglement of various prompt book practices. In addition to the interdependencies between handwriting and print, which we have already discussed in previous chapters, the relationship between prompting and stage management has come into view in this chapter. We have shown that these prompt book practices (in the general sense pertaining to both the prompter's as well as the inspector's written artefacts) provided the framework for "doing literature in theatre".

Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* is a prime example of a (relatively) "stable" literary text that has been continuously reproduced in printed book copies since 1779. Its stage adaptation was just as much an evolving entity as the prompt books that served as its physical carriers. Through the prompt book and the inspection book, the adapted text of Lessing's play became entangled with the technical conditions and procedures of the Hamburg stage. As soon as we start viewing the adaptation as nothing but the text that Schiller wrote down (with the 1805 version as his ultimate goal), the adaptation loses the very context that made it the theatrical adap-

tation of a rather untheatrical play (a "dramatic poem") in the first place. Schiller's final adaptation is not the version presented in the *Nationalausgabe* (although it certainly was his last version of *Nathan der Weise*). Rather, Schiller's ever-evolving Lessing adaptation is the sum of all the different versions it metamorphosed into as it took on a life of its own: in its negotiations with its general context that became visible with respect to shifting attitudes towards religion, but also in the independent lives that the prompt book and the inspection book seem to have taken on – whether because they were not always being used simultaneously or because their upkeep became sloppy. Examining how literature was done in theatre at certain points in time means retracing the heterogenous layers that manifest themselves in the material performance of prompt (and inspection) books. For their part, the two written artefacts *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a* and *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* bear witness to the theatre's intensive, long-lasting engagement with *Nathan der Weise* but also to the play's decades-long success in Hamburg – a success that endured far beyond the Schröder era.

As we have shown in previous chapters, the back-and-forth, i.e., the multiple revisions carried out with the help of different writing tools and paper practices, were fairly typical of the prompt books in use at the time. The practices of this theatre manuscript culture can be clearly identified in both written artefacts. These practices were carried out over time by several hands, some of which are no longer identifiable, and, as the enriched print-based book *Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b* demonstrates, they ran the risk of impairing the usability and functionality of the written artefact at a certain point – at least for any person other than a user involved in the revision process. Even though the practices are identifiable, the different layers can be "decluttered" to a certain extent, and much of the context can be reconstructed, it is no longer possible to fully decipher the actual history of the use of the two written artefacts – as is the case with most prompt books at the Theater-Bibliothek.