Chapter 4. Creating a Prompt Book, Two at a Time: Scribes and Multi-Layered Revisions for the Hamburg Production of Kotzebue's *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* (1790–1826)

Prompt book *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* and the related *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* both come with the spotted, orange-brown cardboard covers typical of Schröder's private collection. Both contain a version of August von Kotzebue's international success *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* [*The Virgin of the Sun*], which was first performed in Hamburg in April 1790 and published in print the next year.[1] As in so many prompt books, the cluttered layers of writing and enrichments seem incomprehensible, mysterious, and, at best, utterly idiosyncratic at first glance (and, for that matter, at second, third, and fourth glance). With considerable patience, some perseverance, and a little bit of luck, we have ascertained that these layers follow regular patterns. This chapter aims to reconstruct what the two processes of creation might have looked like and how the two written artefacts as well as their respective layers seem to relate to one another.[2]

I. Doubling Down: Two Prompt Books for *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* at the Theater-Bibliothek

Theater-Bibliothek: 728 and *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* reveal the extent to which the creation of a prompt book's fair copy was already a complex and multifaceted process. The two fair copies are already multi-layered. In addition, these two written artefacts show how prompt books often came in successive pairs. In this case, one was created on the basis of the reworked other. It is the only example we have come across in which a trial draft for the written artefact that later became the actual

1 Cf. Kotzebue 1791.

2 Cf. Felser/Funke/Göing/Hussain/Schäfer/Weinstock/Bosch 2024, especially file RFD08[HandwrittenTheatre]_Sonnenjungfrau_TextualComparison-TheaterBibliothek1460_728_print1791.pdf), (http://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.13916).

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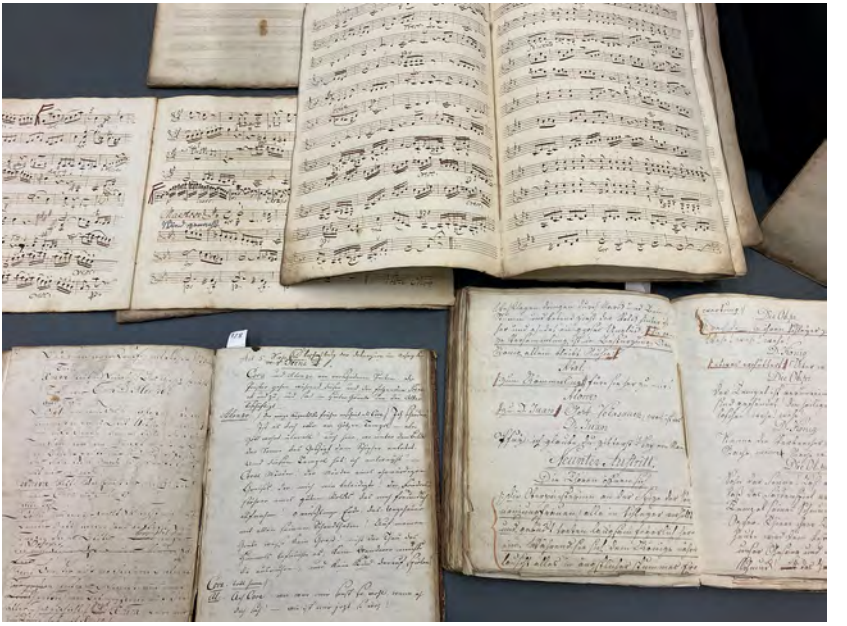
book used for prompting was also bound and preserved. The reason might be that, at some point, someone had believed *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* might be of use for the prompter or the inspector. (Cf. figure 21.)

Figure 21: S1 and S2 in front of sheet music for Die Sonnen-Jungfrau.



The production of *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* is a special case in that both fair copies were created by more than one scribe, who, apparently by design, worked independently of one another. There were three working on *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* (who we will refer to as 1A, 1B, and 1C in the following) and two working on *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* (2A and 2B). We have not come across any other examples of this practice at the Theater-Bibliothek. However, we will explain why, in the case of Kotzebue, the most popular, prolific and commercially thriving playwright of the time,[3] there might have been ample reasons for such a division.

The same scribe wrote the first part in both prompt books. (Nevertheless, we will continue to distinguish between 1A and 2A for clarity's sake.) The quires were then brought together in the chronology of the play intended by Kotzebue and stitched together using the usual thick thread. However, one prompt book was made on the basis of the other. *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* contains a copy of the revised version of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, which came into existence when at least one

3 Cf. Košenina 2011; cf. Birgfeld/Bohnengel /Košenina 2011.

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other hand, 1D, created a second layer of additions and retractions and shifted some passages. The updated version then served as a template for the two scribes who created fair copy *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, a written artefact that was then constantly enriched by various hands using different paper technologies over a period of decades. The results are two unique, complex written artefacts whose internal coherence is not immediately discernible, giving rise to the need for thick description and detailed reconstruction.

Some confusion during filing might have been why the two written artefacts, which were clearly created in quick succession, were never indexed side by side. On its cover, *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* is titled "Sonnenjungfrau", written in one word (in Schröder's own hand), while *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* has "Sonnen" and "Jungfrau" written separately but without the hyphen used in print publication. On their respective front pages, both written artefacts make do without the hyphen again, using two words instead. However, at the Theater-Bibliothek, *1460* is filed with and *728* without the hyphen. The cover of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* is identified as a "Soufleur Buch" [prompter book] instead of the more common "Soufflierbuch" [prompt book]. The handwriting is that of Schröder himself. The cover of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* only states the title (in an unidentified hand) but makes no further specification whatsoever.[4]

When looked at separately, *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* in particular elicits confusion. Its content closely resembles that of the play that Kotzebue published in print in 1791, but it contains a few completely different scenes and some divergent dialogue arrangements. The transition between the two scribes seems to have taken place randomly in the middle of one central scene. Various hands have added lines that are missing in the first layer and that have clearly been taken from the 1791 print version (or one of the 1797 and 1810 editions of Kotzebue's collected plays with an identical text[5]), sometimes on extra sheets that have then been attached in various ways. There is no discernible pattern to the enrichments made in black or brown ink, red crayon, and graphite pencil. In contrast, *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* is multifaceted because of the three distinct scribes who seem to have worked much more independently of each other. The enrichments are few but complex in nature. This prompt book does not seem to have been put to use in day-to-day performances. The effort required to create a prompt book, i.e., having the play copied and the bifolios bound, seems to have been disproportionate compared with the result. But when taken together, the two written artefacts provide valuable in-

4 The Hamburg production of *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* is one of the few for which almost all the musical scores for the orchestral interludes have survived. As mentioned in a previous chapter, the work of the orchestra and that of the actors took place independently of one another. We will not discuss them in the following.

5 Cf. Kotzebue 1797; cf. Kotzebue 1810.

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sights into how prompt books were made, how they evolved, how their materiality interacted with their content, i.e., the literary text, and how they were used in everyday theatre operations.

As a play, the print version of August von Kotzebue's *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* is an exoticist take on the then-popular *comédies larmoyantes*, i.e., sentimental dramas with ominous plots that dissolve into happy endings. The play features the verbosity and redundancy typical of Kotzebue's successful style, with the characters putting various, but always grand, drawn-out emotions on display. The tone ranges from dramatic and tragic to histrionic and comic; the action switches effortlessly between registers or mixes them with a perfect sense of timing. The (national and international) impact of *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* was so great that Kotzebue himself wrote a sequel, and both German and international (Western) authors came up with their own adaptations.[6]

The play was inspired by Jean François Marmontel's widely read 1776 novel *Les Incas*. Kotzebue had seen its 1782 opera adaptation by Johann Gottlieb Naumann.[7] Set during Spain's cruel, sixteenth-century conquest of Peru, war hero Alonzo has taken the side of the enlightened Inca king Ataliba, has become his friend, and is now advising Ataliba on his path to reform. As luck would have it, Alonzo and Cora, one of the young priestesses of the Inca sun religion, have secretly fallen in love, and the "virgin of the sun" is pregnant. Having committed the gravest of sins, Alonzo and Cora receive the death penalty: Cora is sentenced to be buried alive; Alonzo is to burn at the stake. However, they receive help from the great Inca warrior Rolla, the hero of Kotzebue's 1796 sequel *Die Spanier in Peru oder Rolla's Tod* [*The Spaniards in Peru or Rolla's Death*]. Rolla's own love for Cora is so great that he would gladly sacrifice himself for her happiness. Thus, the star-crossed lovers receive a last-minute pardon from the imposing King Ataliba, to whom Schröder would later dedicate a play of his own.[8] Ataliba chooses the law of the heart over the brute laws of religion and the state that he is supposed to represent and enact. Kotzebue's *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* therefore presents the fantasies of the "good colonizer" and the "noble savage" that were prevalent at the time (as well as the respective gender stereotypes). It also serves as a prime example of the literary current of sentimentalism in its critique of both rigid (religious) traditions and the one-sidedness of reason.[9]

6 Cf. Kotzebue 1795; for the successful English adaptation, cf. Sheridan 1809; for *Franzesko Pozarro oder Der Schwur im Sonnentempel* cf. Soden 1815.

7 Cf. the preface in Kotzebue 1791, 5–8.

8 For the 1794 play *Ataliba, der Vater seines Volkes*, there are attributions to Kotzebue as to Schröder himself (cf. Zantop 1999, 150). A play of this name was neither included in editions of Kotzebue's collected works nor in the posthumous edition of Schröder's own collected plays; cf. v. Bülow 1831.

9 Cf. M. Schneider 2023, 216–228, 384–392.

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Die Sonnen-Jungfrau premiered in Reval in 1789, at Kotzebue's private amateur theatre (an instance of the then-popular *Liebhabertheater* [fan theatre]), and was published in print by Paul Gotthelf Kummer in Leipzig in 1791. In the intervening period, Kotzebue made money by allowing the play to be performed by professional companies that were not yet able to get their hands on a print copy.[10] The first performance in Hamburg took place on 19 April 1790 as part of the seemingly endless output of Germany's most high-profile playwright of the time. Even though, in Hamburg, Kotzebue's plays did not enjoy the success they had had in, e.g., Berlin, they were still box-office hits. Judging from the playbill collection of the time, Hamburg's Stadt-Theater under Schröder must be reappraised as a Kotzebue stronghold.[11] Although *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* fell short of the success of Kotzebue's most popular plays in Hamburg (some of which clocked more than fifty performances each over the decades), it proved to be one of his most enduring works. The play was performed thirty-two times overall and was revived on a regular basis until 1826, shortly before the theatre changed hands as well as its location.[12]

As we will argue below, it is highly likely that the prompt book archived as *Theater-Bibiothek: 1460* was in use the entire time, i.e., stored, retrieved, and intermittently enriched. After three performances of the play on 19, 21, and 22 April 1790 (with presumably no production staged at the theatre on 20 April), there were two subsequent performances over the following three weeks, two more during the rest of the year, and then one each in 1791, 1792, and 1793. After a hiatus, *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* was put on eight times between August 1801 and March 1804 under Schröder's successors. The Hamburg collection contains six corresponding playbills from the nearly eight-year period of French occupation, 1806–14. *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* includes approval given by the censor in 1813, who had to sign off on productions once Hamburg officially became part of the French Empire in 1810. We have been able to verify three further performances put on until 1816. After a break, the company staged *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* five more times between 1823 and 1826.

As stated in the previous chapter, and as we will elaborate upon in Chapter 6, the Theater-Bibliothek collection contains several written artefacts that come in pairs comprising a prompt book (in the strict sense for the prompter) and an inspection book (for the inspector backstage). While *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* has been explicitly designated for use by the prompter, there is no corresponding designation on *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, nor are there any significant traces of wear and tear. It seems that it was initially a trial version of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* and then became a backup copy. While circulation of the prompt book as such was

10 Cf. Spoerhase 2018, 134f.

11 Cf. Schröter 2016, 423–425. Axel Schröter counts performances of 112 different plays, operas, farces, burlesques etc. by Kotzebue for the time between 1789 and 1819 alone.

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

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highly restricted, it always made sense to have an additional copy available in the event of loss, severe damage, or theft. For commercial reasons, a theatre company might have had no interest in publishing its successful adaptation or of lending it to a rival company without the latter returning the favour – even if another version of the play was also available in print. Losing a unique prompt book would have meant losing the master copy of the adaptation altogether, e.g., in the event that the inspector's book had not been updated regularly enough. This was even more true of plays that had not yet been published in print: before the advent of copyright licensing, playwrights like Kotzebue were only able to claim payments from a theatre company when it was not yet possible to purchase their plays from a bookseller.[13] Since bootlegs were legion, playwrights had as little interest as the company in having their unpublished works in circulation. An extra prompt book containing the same text served as insurance against losing the exclusive play from the company's repertory.

The content of the primary layer of the prompt book often initially consisted of a fair copy of the print edition of the play or a version that had been sent in by the author or a representative of another theatre company. Most of the times, this layer would then be deliberately enriched.[14] Someone, usually the company director and/or the company's head writer, would make additions and retractions amounting to a secondary layer of revisions. Together, the layers would make up the starting version of the company's stage adaptation, which would be stitched together and then bound into book form. However, this procedure only made sense if the secondary layer was not too dominant and did not affect the overall readability of the written artefact. As we will see in the next chapter, fully reworked stage adaptations such as the Shakespeare productions that Schröder's company staged in Hamburg in the 1770s warranted their own fair copies – presumably because the fundamental changes made to the available German Shakespeare translations and adaptations rendered any revised version impractical to work with. It is safe to assume that heavily revised, unbound quires and sheets of paper like this were either destroyed or remained the private property of the director.

As outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, Schröder's *Laws* stated that the actors' parts were to be written out by at least two different scribes in order to prevent the scribes from copying and bootlegging entire plays. However, a fair copy of the prompt book was usually made in one hand. The scribe in question had to be a trusted figure from inside or outside the company. Having said that, creating a prompt book for a hitherto unpublished and unperformed play by a well-known author seems to have been a different affair altogether. It is clear that *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* and *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* were divided up between different scribes

13 Cf. Spoerhase 2017, 134f.

14 Cf. Chapter 3.

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by design. The rule for the actors' parts seems to have been applied to Kotzebue's *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau*: Kotzebue sent the play to principal Schröder himself,[15] and Schröder divided the copying work up into different parts, thereby preventing or at least impeding the possibility of bootlegging.

The written artefact that Kotzebue sent in for the Hamburg production of *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* has not been preserved at the Theater-Bibliothek. It is well known that Kotzebue had individual print copies made by letterpress – presumably in order to send them to different places at the same time – which he then marked as "Manuskriptdruck" [manuscript print] in order to underline their unique nature.[16] Thus, no recipient could claim that the play, although they had obtained it as a print version, had already been published or was for sale (a practice common until the late twentieth century). Kotzebue's payment and thus his livelihood depended on this. However, as discussed below, there seem to have been obvious errors and undecipherable words in the template for *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*. Scribe 1A in particular left several blanks to be filled in with words. It seems that either the print version was of poor quality or the template was a handwritten manuscript after all.

There was no need on Schröder's part to undertake a large-scale stage adaptation of a Kotzebue play. As a playwright, Kotzebue had many tricks up his sleeve; there was no doubt about the performability and audience impact of his works. In good conscience (and probably after giving it a read), Schröder was able to divide the written artefact that Kotzebue had submitted into parts, have it copied, and come up with possible minor tweaks later. Depending on the arrangement, Kotzebue's initial submission either had to be sent back, was kept by Schröder, or was traded with other companies at a later date.

II. *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* as a Not-So-Fair Fair Copy

Traditionally, manuscript studies has examined the *syntax* and cohesion (or lack thereof) of written artefacts containing heterogeneous parts, e.g., multi-text manuscripts.[17] *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* and *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* display a phenomenon of a different kind. While the cohesion of each of the two written artefacts (which, after all, were both stitched together and then bound in book form) is obvious, the fact that the scribes were kept apart meant that the written artefacts were designed to be internally heterogenous. While all three scribes of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* were evidently by and large free to follow their own distinct style, the written artefact was plainly planned from the outset as a primary layer that would be revised in a

15 For some of the preserved correspondence between the two, cf. Schröter 2016, 429–434.

16 Cf. Spoerhase 2017, 134–154.

17 Cf. Friedrich/Schwarke 2016.

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second step: the three scribes wrote on similar paper in a similar black ink. (The ink used by scribe 1B has faded more than that of the other two, which makes the already narrowly written lines much harder to read.) The scribes created three distinct visual arrangements, each of which has some kind of margin. Additions, corrections, and comments were then written into these margins in at least one other hand using a pencil as well as a different ink that has yellowed into brown. At the same time, all three original scribes worked in their own style. On the first fifty bifolios used by scribe 1A, approximately one-fifth of each manuscript page has been reserved as a side margin, although there are hardly any margins at the top or bottom. The margin has been created by folding the bifolios and is thus on the right side of the rectos and the left of the versos. On the thirty-two bifolios used by scribe 1B, the significantly narrower margin (of less than approx. one-sixth of the manuscript page) is marked by a straight pencil line drawn with a ruler on the left of each folio. Thus, the margin is located on the inside of each recto and the outside of each verso. In the main section, scribe 1B has hardly left any space between the lines and even less at the top and the bottom than scribe 1A. In contrast, the twenty bifolios used by scribe 1C have healthy margins at the top and bottom due to the generous line spacing. The visual arrangement is similar to that of the plays available in letterpress print: the name of the character speaking the lines is written in an unmarked column on the left that takes up approximately one-sixth of the page. The spoken text and the stage directions have been written down on the right. Although lacking a distinct margin, there is enough space to write, especially in passages with little back-and-forth. However, in scribe 1C's section, the margins were hardly used to enrich the manuscripts at all. The major interventions into the play took place in the parts written by scribes 1A and 1B. (Cf. figures 22, 23, 24.)

As we will demonstrate below, Kotzebue's lost *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* template seems to have been apportioned partly with respect to content and partly with respect to the format of the writing support at hand: scribe 1A copied Acts I and II of the five-act play and left one folio blank when they had finished. Scribe 1B copied Acts III and IV as well as Act V, Scene 1, after which the quire they were working with was used up. Scribe 1C only copied Scenes 2 to 6 of Act V, which, in terms of its content, seems quite uneconomic. However, when the fair copy was later reworked, Act V, Scene 1, was integrated into the final scene of Act IV. This decision might have been made before the acts were divided up between the scribes. Scribe 1B, the untidiest of the three, introduced Acts III and IV with Roman numerals. However, 1B then switched to Arabic numerals when marking Act V – but made a mistake by writing down "Act 4" instead of "Act 5" (107). Some knowledge of the impending merger may have accounted for this confusion.

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Figure 22: S1, 31v.

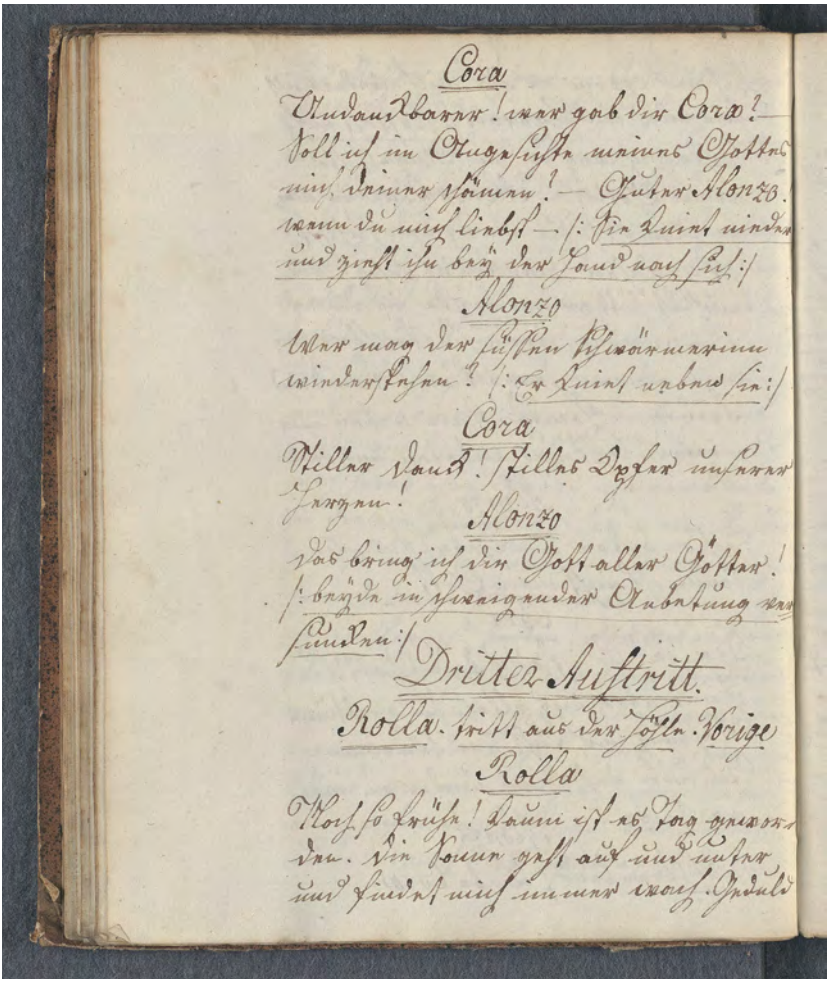

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Figure 23: S1, 77.

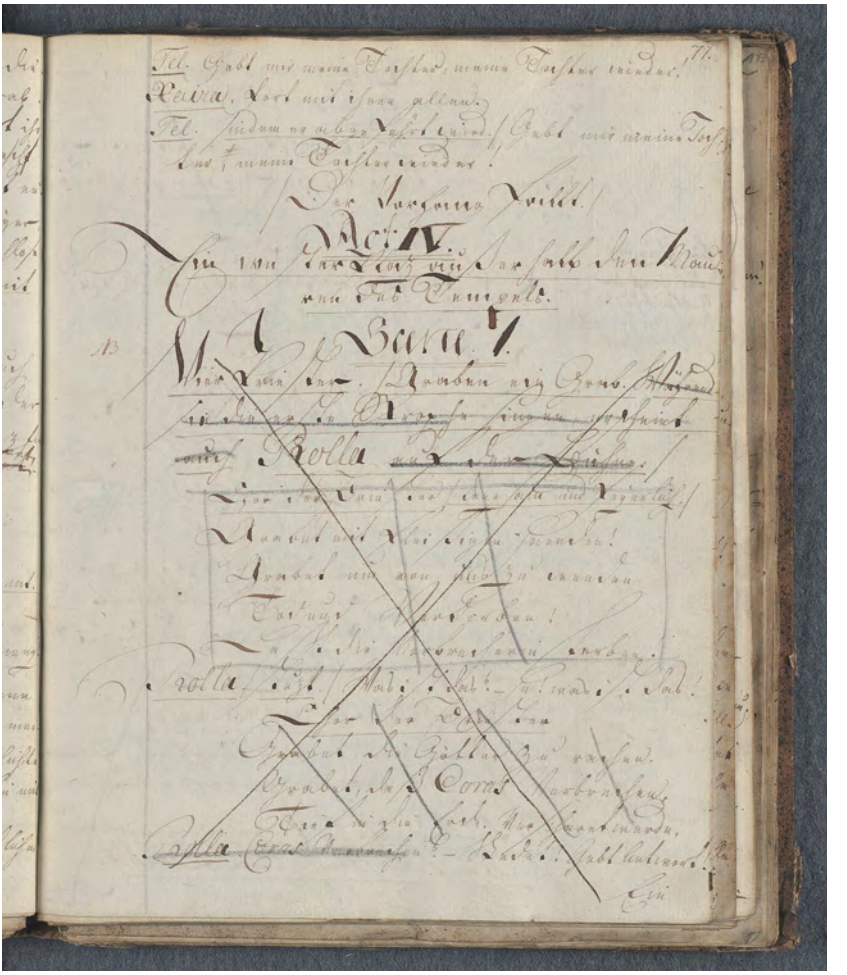

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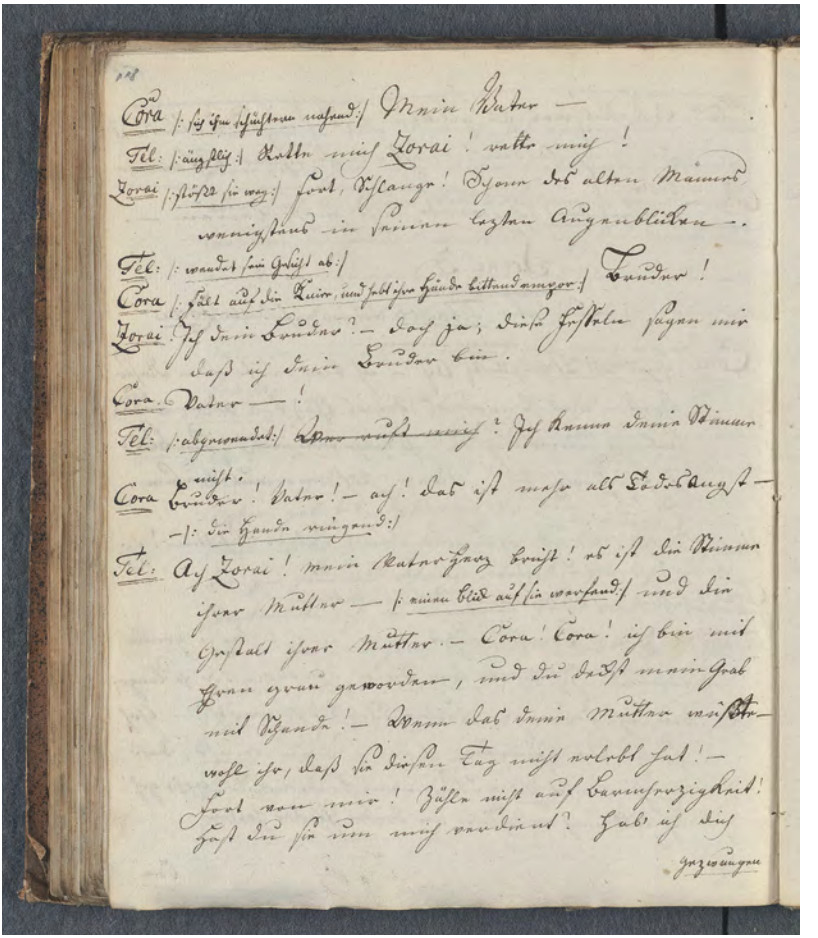
Figure 24: S1, 118.



The three parts are independent and yet relate to one another in a complex manner. Scribe 1A used six quires generally consisting of nine bifolios each. The first one includes an empty folio that, in other prompt books, is often used to accommodate additional technical information (e.g., the set and prop lists, cast sheet). Folio 9r, the other half of the book endpaper, has been cut out in a way that still allows its remainder to frame the end of the quire. Quire two contains eight bifolios (with its last folio glued to the first folio of quire three), while quire four has only six. While there is no apparent reason for these minor irregularities, scribe 1A seems to have estimated quite well how many bifolios they would need altogether: "Ende des zweyten Aufzugs" [End of the second act] is written in the middle of 49r. Only 49v and both sides of 50 remain empty. 50v is distinctly more yellowed than the

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rest of the writing support: 50v was exposed to light for a significant period of time at some point. The quires may have been bundled up but not bound together with the work of the other scribes for some time.

The work of scribe 1B seems to have begun only after that of scribe 1A had finished, but without scribe 1A's work available to consult: someone other than scribe 1A numbered the respective folios in pencil (leaving out the empty first one). In contrast, scribe 1B numbered each side of the folios as if they were book pages, beginning on their first verso with number 49, which seems to have been due to a miscommunication: 49 is also the number of the folio on which scribe 1A's transcription of Act II finishes – well before the end of scribe 1A's last quire, which also includes the empty folio 50. As a result, in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, a folio by scribe 1B which is numbered 49 on the recto and 50 on the verso side follows scribe 1A's empty folio, which is numbered 50 on the recto and unnumbered on the verso. Scribe 1B then filled exactly two quires comprising eight bifolios (resembling the book binding format that was established at that point in history and that is still prevalent today[18]). Only the second of those quires was made in one piece, i.e., consists of eight stapled sheets that are folded into sixteen bifolios down the middle. In contrast, scribe 1B's first quire is also framed by one bifolio but combines the other seven bifolios in an irregular fashion.

The various scribes' individual use of format might be the reason for the illogical division of labour. Scribe 1A's task was to copy two acts; they therefore left more than two manuscript pages blank in their last quire. Scribe 1B, on the other hand, seems to have had two quires at hand and stopped when they were filled. It remains a matter of speculation whether scribe 1B was unable to continue, was no longer available, or ran out of paper, or whether there was some other reason to change scribes at that point. As mentioned above, shifting the first scene of the last act to the act before might have taken place beforehand. Getting a third scribe, 1C, to copy the final act (minus the deleted scene) might have seemed entirely reasonable for an endeavour as secretive and economically important as the staging of a Kotzebue play.

Scribe 1C seems to have been able to precisely appraise the space required. They used one quire comprising ten bifolios, with exactly one empty folio remaining before the back cover. "Ende" [The End] has been adorned with an artistic flourish. The apparent effort made gives the impression that *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* was initially planned as more than a correction version for what ultimately became the main prompt book, *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*. But the scribe might also have been simply following a rather common pattern with respect to ornamental pieces of writing, they might not have been fully informed about the plans the director had for their work, or Schröder might not yet have decided on the final status of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*. (Cf. figure 25.)

18 Cf. Burdett 1975.

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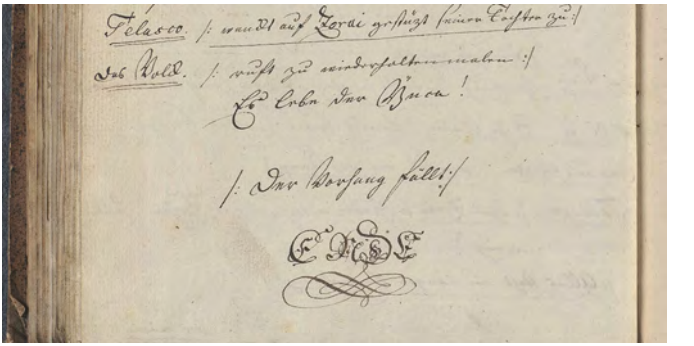
Figure 25: S1, 150.



In the end, before or after binding the written artefact, the hand that had numbered the first part in pencil got to work again in part three. However, by this point, the hand had adopted the numbering system of scribe 1B: each recto and verso page received its own number, starting with 113 and ending with 150. It can be assumed that either scribe 1B took a superficial look at the work of scribe 1A or that someone aware of the pencil numbering in the work of scribe 1A told scribe 1B to start with number 49. Only afterwards did that person realise that scribe 1B had changed the order, which they then stuck to while working through the quires handed in by scribe 1C.

Thus, even in the pragmatic world of prompt book creation, the primary layer of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* is hardly what one would normally consider to be a fair copy. Instead, the primary layer of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* is itself a heterogeneous written artefact in different hands, taking different approaches to the relationship between format and content, producing a different visual organisation, and numbering the folios differently. Due to the tidy layering of scribe 1B's second quire and scribe 1C's only quire, the bound written artefact gives the impression of a multi-text manuscript with three distinct sections: one large pile with irregular quires and two tightly organised piles (cf. figure 26).

Figure 26: S1, transversal view.

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III. The Error-Prone Dynamics of Copying: Unintentional Gender Trouble

The primary layer of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* from 1790 is largely identical with the play that Kotzebue published in 1791. Rather than inconsistencies in the template, the routines that each of the scribes had developed while copying plays might be to blame for formal discrepancies: scribe 1A of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, for example, calls scenes "Auftritte" [entrances] like in the 1791 print publication, while scribes 1B and 1C stick to the equally common "Szene" [scene]. However, it is unlikely, though not impossible, that Kotzebue's template itself was inconsistent in this respect.

Minor differences between *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* and the 1791 print publication probably indicate that Kotzebue made slight revisions to certain phrases before publishing the work in print for the book market. Only on very few occasions have changes been made to the content, but these are trivial in nature. The greatest discrepancy is that two other "virgins of the sun" narrating their encounter with two Spaniards use different descriptions: "[D]er meinige hatte einen schönen schwarzen Bart und rothe volle Wangen. / Der Meinige hatte weiche blonde Locken und ein freundliches Auge" (S1, 53) [Mine had a beautiful black beard and full, red cheeks. / Mine had soft blond curls and a kind eye] in the 1790 version became "Der meinige hatte schönes bräunliches Haar und eben solche Augen. / Der Meinige hatte so lockiges schwarzes Haar und einen so freundlichen Blick"[19] [Mine had beautiful brownish hair and eyes the same. / Mine had such curly black hair and such a friendly look] in the 1791 version. Kotzebue might have simply begun with a description of his 1789 actors and then altered the description either for theatrical effect or with other actors in mind.

Overall, Kotzebue also standardised the use of words in the play. The lines uttered by the Inca king Ataliba are always preceded by his proper name in the print version. In contrast, *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* and *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* both alternate between the proper name and "D. König" for "der König" [the king] (e.g., S1, 72). It is highly unlikely that, in the assembly-line work of putting on new (and old) productions, Schröder would have already inserted such trivial changes into Kotzebue's submission before having it copied.

There are also a few small changes to the content that Kotzebue had written for the print publication to amplify some dramaturgical effects. When, in Act I, the forbidden lovers, sun virgin Cora and the "good coloniser" Alonzo, are confronted by "noble savage" Rolla, who is in love with Cora himself, Cora stops Alonzo from drawing arms. The wording in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* is, "Sieh in sein Auge, ob er nicht unser Freund ist" (S1, 78r) [See in his eye whether he is not our friend]. The

19 Kotzebue 1791, 99.

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print version published one year later emphasises the inner nobility of Rolla, to whom Kotzebue would dedicate his sequel (which, in Hamburg, ran up a similar number of performances as *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau*[20]). Cora already knows that selfless Rolla is on the couple's side. Instead of turning to her lover, who is prepared to defend her, she has already seen the unquestionable truth in Rolla's eyes and says to Alonzo, "Sieh in sein Auge, da stehts geschrieben, daß er unser Freund ist"[21] [See in his eye, there it is written that he is our friend]. The minor change makes major dramaturgical sense because, in the prompt book as well as in the published play, the scene quickly goes from being a possible fight to the death to becoming a quarrel of words and emotions. In a sudden shift in alignment, Cora and Rolla have to appease Alonzo, who is now jealous of Cora's longstanding friendship with a potential male rival. The sudden change in register is more convincing when Cora is no longer speaking to Alonzo as her defender but informing him in a self-assured manner of her assessment of Rolla's overall harmlessness. However, in the specific dialogue in question and in the overall play, this kind of tweak hardly changes anything.

Another category of minor differences between the content of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* and the published version of the play from 1791 could be the result of either copying errors or mistakes in the template that Kotzebue had sent in. At one point in the play, Rolla reminisces about his time as a war hero standing with the Inca against Ataliba's historical competitor Huascar: "als Ataliba's Thron durch Huascar's Macht erschüttert"[22] [when Ataliba's throne was shaken by Huascar's power]. *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* does not name Huascar (who is not mentioned in the play before or after) and leaves some blank space instead. The clause remains grammatically correct but becomes unusually mysterious for a Kotzebue play: "als Ataliba's Thron durch Macht erschüttert" (S1, 5r) [when Ataliba's throne was shaken by power].

In another passage, the high priestess of the sun interrogates two sun virgins called Idali and Amazili about possible interactions they have had with men outside the temple. The two young women cannot keep their stories straight and get tangled up in a comic exchange. When Idali addresses not the high priestess but Amazili, the stage directions emphasise it: "Idali. (zu Amazili) Einfältiges Ding! Du hast auch alles vergessen"[23] [Idali. (to Amazili) You simpleton! You have forgotten everything]. In *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, the two characters speak in unison: "Id. U. Amaz.". The abridged names are underlined. The "und" is abbreviated with "u.". This could mean that the two sun virgins are deriding each other at the same time. However, on other occasions, the stage directions clearly point out when

20 Cf. Schröter 2016, 416.

21 Kotzebue 1791, 73.

22 Kotzebue 1791, 12.

23 Kotzebue 1791, 98.

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characters are speaking in unison, which would not make much sense in the context of this scene. The mistake was either in the template sent in by Kotzebue or was made during the copying process, in this case by scribe 1B.

As we will discuss below, the content of the *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* fair copy is a transcription of the revised *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* – including the latter's minor divergences from the 1791 print publication. The passage concerning the friendship reflected in Rolla's eye has been faithfully copied from handwritten artefact to handwritten artefact, as has the obvious mistake regarding Idali and Amazili. With respect to Rolla's war memories, scribe 2A of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* has actually intensified the mistake, possibly by trying to mend it: instead of "als Ataliba's Thron durch Huascar's Macht erschüttert" in the print version and "als Ataliba's Thron durch *[blank]* Macht erschüttert" in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, the wording in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* is, "als Ataliba's durch Macht erschüttert" (S2, 4r) [when Ataliba's was shaken by power]. Aside from the grammatically awkward construction, it sounds as if Ataliba as a person (or synecdoche for his kingdom) was shaken. As stated above, scribe 2A of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* is scribe 1A of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*. The fresh mistake was thus made while copying their own handwriting.

However, in the later *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* transcription, both mistakes were at some point (to be determined below) corrected in black ink and aligned with the published print version. "Id. U. Amaz." Has become "Id. Zu Amaz." [Id. To Amaz.], which now makes perfect sense. The missing "throne" and the missing name "Huascar's" have also been inserted above the line. The hand responsible was that of Schröder himself. Below we will argue that these insertions were probably not immediate corrections but were made when the play was being revised at a later date, when the print version was already available as a point of reference. Only the omission of "throne" in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* can be safely identified as a copying error from *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*. The two other examples (as well as other minor divergences from the later print version) could have come from the written artefact sent in by Kotzebue. Judging by the "friendship in Rolla's eye" example, we can thus safely assume that Kotzebue had revised the version he sent in around 1790 before the 1791 print publication.

Abbreviations seem particularly prone to copying errors, which leads to some comic confusion in both *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* and *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*. The Inca cult of the sun has a high priestess of the sun ("Oberpriesterin") as well as a high priest of the sun ("Oberpriester"), who both remain nameless in *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau*. As seen with Idali and Amazili, who become "Id. U. Amaz.", it was common practice to abridge long character names in prompt books when indicating their share of the dialogue. "Oberpriesterin" and "Oberpriester", however, seem to have been too long for even the 1791 print version: each character's name has been spelled out in the stage directions but then shortened to"Oberpr." in the dialogue. The two characters only meet once, when the high priestess brings the charges

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against the ill-fated lovers. On this occasion, the print version adds the gendered articles "die" and "der" [the] to indicate which character is about to speak.[24]

In contrast, *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* continuously distinguishes between the two characters. Since the three scribes proceed in different ways, it can be assumed that they were told to shorten the character names even if they were spelled out in the template. Scribe 1A has written "D.Oberpr." for the high priest and has not covered any scenes with his female counterpart. In the crowded folios made by scribe 1B, "Die Oberpriesterin" [the high priestess] has been shortened to "Die.Ob.Pr." and "Der Oberpriester" [the high priest] to "Der.Ob.Pr" in the beginning, then generally "D.Ob. Pr.". Scribe 1C's tidy, elegant handwriting has only dealt with the male variant; nevertheless, it is highly flexible in terms of the abbreviations it doles out: the shorter the high priest's lines, the longer the abbreviation. "D.Ob. Priest" (S1, 141) on a recto is, for instance, followed on a verso by "D.Ob.pr." (S1, 142), as already used by scribe 1A.

A lack of clarity in the template and scribe 1B's general untidiness might have contributed to some gender trouble arising in their part. Even in the scenes in which clearly only the male high priest is on stage, scribe 1B has mixed up male and female abbreviations in a seemingly arbitrary fashion. Since this problem does not occur in scribe 1A's or scribe 1C's parts, the fault does not seem to lie with the template. One scene that is particularly crucial to the melodramatic subplot thus takes on a different meaning– or at least would leave any unsuspecting reader confused. Selfless Rolla, who is willing to sacrifice his own love for Cora in order to fight for her happiness (and, indeed, her and Alonzo's lives), has always considered himself to be an orphan. In Act IV, Scene 3, his uncle, the high priest, reveals that he was once in Alonzo's shoes. He also fathered an illegitimate child with a since deceased virgin of the sun. The child is Rolla himself. Where the son realises that his supposed uncle is actually his father, scribe 1B has run especially wild with their gender abbreviations. In the stage directions, the high priest has been consistently spelled out and identified as a *he*. But when writing down the name of the character about to speak, scribe 1B has mixed up the male and female versions over six folios until, at the end of the scene, where we find the female "Die. Ob.Pr." alternating with the male "D.Ob.Pr.", even though both will be addressed as "Vater" [father] by Rolla later on. It almost seems as if there are three characters on stage instead of just two, with "Die.Ob.Pr." and "D.Ob.Pr." alternately telling Rolla, "Du bist mein Sohn" (S1, 87) [You are my son]. The error is obvious: the high priestess has never even entered the stage in the scene, and it would not make any sense whatsoever for her to be a part of the dialogue. But since the actor playing the high priestess would only have arrived on the actual stage in the event the booklet in which her lines were written out told her to, this kind of mistake is unlikely to have done any harm in the grand scheme of things (cf. figure 27).

24 Cf. Kotzebue 1791, 127–133.

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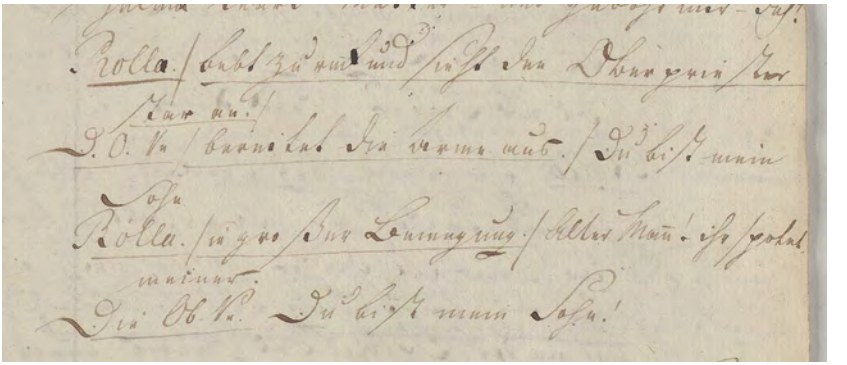
Figure 27: S1, 87.



When *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* was copied from *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, the mistake was only partially recognised. The change in scribes took place shortly after the beginning of the scene in question.[25] In Acts I and II of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, scribe 2A was still using the abbreviation they themselves had established as scribe 1A of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, with the high priest referred to as "D.Oberpr." (S1, 2v). Scribe 2A corrected the falsely allocated gender and, for their small part, used "D.Ob.pr." (S2, 67v) (close to the spelling established by scribe 1B in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*). It is striking, however, that scribe 2A followed their colleague's alternative choices (e.g., "Szene" instead of "Auftritte") to the letter in all other aspects when correcting scribe 1B's misgendering from *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*.

Scribe 2B in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* was more organised than their counterpart in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*. Nevertheless, they picked the wrong one of the two genders on offer in the continuation of the scene. For the rest of Act IV, Scene 3, in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, it is the female "Die Ob P." whom Rolla addresses as "Mein Vater" (S2, 73) [My father]. In fact, the misgendered version now persists throughout the rest of Act IV, which ends with what is supposed to be an all-male assembly of priests! Only once in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* is the mistake corrected in red crayon[26] within the scope of what were probably very late revisions in the 1820s (as we will address below). It seems the mistake was either not recognised or, more likely, not corrected until then. At the same time, the stage directions were faithfully copied in the male form only: "Rolla: bebt zurück und sieht den Oberpriester starr an" (S2, 72) [Rolla: shrinks back and stares at the high priest].

The gender trouble with the priestess and the priest in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* and *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* indicates the scope of the scribes' work. Their activities oscillated between the faithful, even mechanical reproduction of the letters, a certain

25 Cf. S2, 69r.

26 Cf. S2, 78r.

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freedom to find the appropriate abbreviations, the power to correct inconsistencies, and the possibility of creating minor (or not so minor) mistakes, which would potentially be carried on through the various copies – and thus through the decades.

IV. Reshaping *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* – Tweaking a Play for the Stage

A fourth hand in ink, 1D, and a pencil that could be a fifth hand but, in most cases, seems to have been an additional tool used by hand 1D, went through the work of all three scribes who worked on *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*. Pencil and ink worked in close alignment – whether in the same hand or not, whether during the same step in the production process or not: the additions in pencil laid the technical groundwork, made retractions, and checked for accurate numbering (even if it was not always systematic as far as the mixture of Arabic and Roman numerals was concerned). The work done in ink provided the technical and textual additions made necessary by the pencil's interventions. Major retractions have been indicated by rectangular shapes drawn around the respective content in pencil and additionally by vertical lines drawn through the middle (cf. figure 28).

Alongside the pencil, an ink different to the ones used by the three scribes who worked on the fair copy has been used for everything else. Since this ink has faded differently, or had a different consistency to begin with, the brown ink of hand 1D is easily distinguishable. Although it is, for practical reasons, untidier and more crowded than the elegant handwriting of Schröder's letters, 1D seems to be the principal's own hand. Later, the two scribes working on the designated prompt book *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* adhered to the enriched version when reproducing the play for the fair copy that would be used as the actual prompt book. In all likelihood, *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* served as the basis of the performances that began in April 1790.

Apart from minor interventions into the content, the revisions carried out by hand 1D in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* still differ from the wording in the 1791 publication. We can therefore safely assume that their author was unaware of its existence; they are probably from an earlier date, most likely from the period in which the theatre was preparing for the first performance. Many of the enrichments were corrections of obvious errors such as the ones described above: copying errors by the scribe or the errors that had already existed in Kotzebue's faithfully copied template. Examples already abound on the first folios,[27] where hand 1D has crossed

27 On some occasions, it was clearly not yet hand 1D but scribe 1A, 1B, or 1C self-correcting their own work. When Alonzo's noble but irritable sidekick Don Juan first enters the stage, he asks Alonzo's weapon bearer Diego a question ("Sind wir sicher, Diego?" [Are we safe, Diego?]). But when

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out an aimless syllable left behind by scribe 1A. In Rolla's opening soliloquy, where he calls on "das Gewimmelsel eurer Schöpfung" (S1, 2v) [your teeminging creation] of his pagan gods, scribe 1A had added a superfluous syllable with no meaning ("sel" [the second "ing"] at the end of "Gewimmel"), which has been crossed out by hand 1D. On the next folio, scribe 1A had left a little space where the meaning of Rolla's self-pity seems to have been unclear in the template: "laßt sie Rollas An sehen, wie er auf feuchtem, kalten Boden, sein liebesiches Leben ausgehaucht" (S1, 3r) [let her Rollas look how he exhales his lovesick life onto cold, humid ground]. A lowercase "ansehen" [look at] would have made more sense, but scribe 1A was apparently not able to decipher a word placed between "An" and "sehen". Hand 1D has struck through the "An", amended the misleading "liebesiches" to the more obvious spelling "liebessieches", and filled in the gap with "Überrest" [let her see how Rolla's remains exhale…]. "Überrest"[28] would also be used in the 1791 print, which otherwise used slightly different phrasing. It is thus a matter of speculation whether the word was already in the template sent in by Kotzebue and could not be identified by scribe 1A, whether the template had already been tampered with, or whether this was an honest mistake. For more profound enrichments, hand 1D sometimes used the margins (of varying sizes) that had been left by the scribes. The purpose of this was apparently to make space for alternative lines and correction marks wherever these could not be conveniently placed between or next to existing ones. The margin was not intended for discussions between hands but did sometimes include comments. Generally speaking, however, revisions were placed between the lines of the main content as was common in prompt books without margins. Overall, only very few prompt books with margins can be found at the Theater-Bibliothek. Either correction versions such as *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* were not usually deemed worth keeping (if they were not repurposed as prompt books or inspection books at a later point)[29] or the creation of distinct correction copies was itself unusual. In some instances, a commercially available print may have been used[30] or the template for the respective fair copy might not have been

scribe 1A mistakenly wrote down the character uttering the line down as the addressee Diego, they then swiftly crossed out "Diego" and wrote "D. Juan" (S1, 9r) next to it.

28 Kotzebue 1791, 11.

29 *Theater-Bibliothek*: 728 is the only example of a bound and preserved correction version that we know of in the collection. There are many prompt and inspection books for the other Kotzebues staged in Hamburg during the time, some of them based on commercially available print copies. Either the respective correction versions were lost, *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* was an exception, or Schröder and the company had had other plans for the written artefact in the beginning. Given the sheer number of written artefacts with Kotzebue-plays in the Theater-Bibliothek collection (292), there is no way to rule out other fascinating entanglements between the respective pairs.

30 This was sometimes the case for other Kotzebue plays. The use of print copies will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

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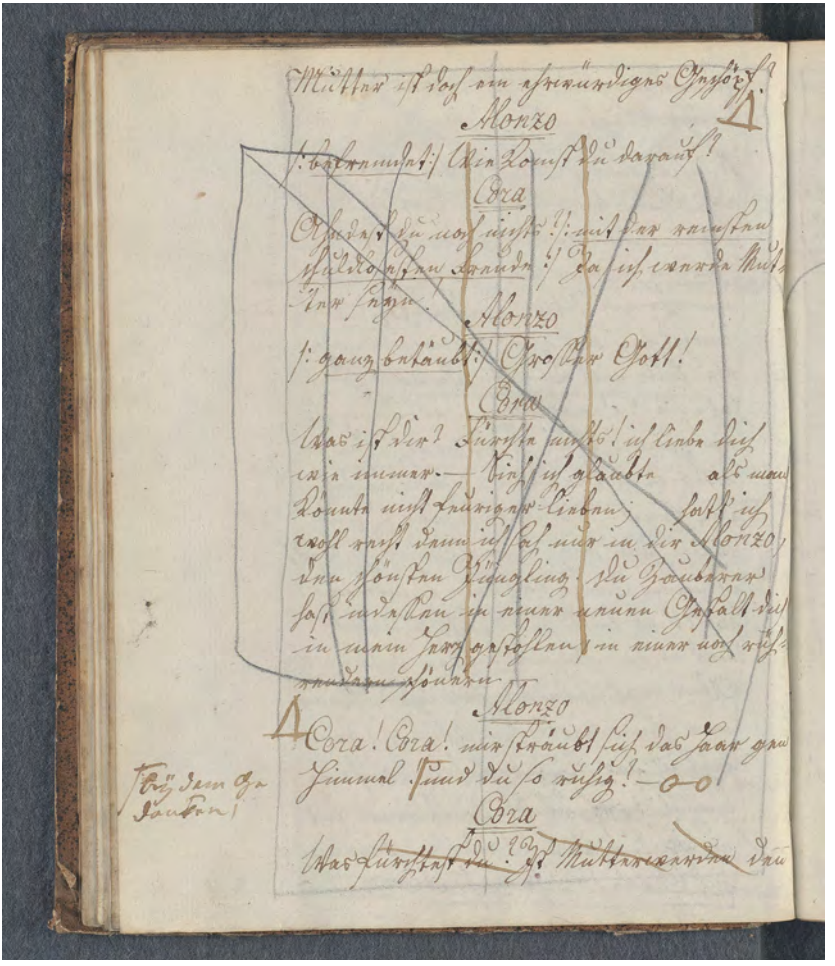
as organised as *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* (or it might not have been, for that matter, arranged into a book format during or after the copying process). But then, Kotzebue was the most successful contemporary author, at least commercially speaking. His plays might have deserved special attention, and – as we see in the dividing-up of the manuscripts between three and two scribes respectively – extra caution. But Kotzebue knew his trade: the play seems nearly stage-ready; hand 1D only made use of the margin twelve times altogether. Nevertheless, the existing retractions, additions, and rearrangements are telling manifestations of both the manuscript practices employed in the creation of prompt books and the business of adapting plays to the stage.

Figure 28: S1, 21v.



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Replacing an Offensive Scene with Comedy

Schröder greatly appreciated Kotzebue as an author. Although there was no copyright at the time, he did not intervene much into Kotzebue's submissions.[31] However, as we will discuss in the following, Schröder took the liberty of making dramaturgical tweaks when he deemed it necessary. He also made suggestions in order to avoid brushes with the authorities wherever Kotzebue's plays came across as too politically or morally frank. While some of Schröder's letters to Kotzebue about other plays are housed in the Hamburg Staatsbibliothek collection, we do not know of any letters regarding *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau*.[32] If there were any, Schröder's suggestions would have been made in the same vein: the minor changes to the text for the Hamburg production related to the practicalities of its theatrical realisation, but above all to the morals of the play. Even though very little in Kotzebue's play seems derisive or ostentatious, it was probably best to not overtly emphasise potentially delicate topics that were obvious enough in the exoticist outlines of the play.[33] Therefore, Schröder made some efforts to cushion the blow of the play's action. The Hamburg adaptation would, of course, rely on the central element, Cora's pregnancy out of wedlock (which was, moreover, punishable by death in the theatrical diegesis), but Schröder's changes would put much less emphasis on it. It was during the editing process that the margins left by the scribes in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* came into play.

In the 1791 print edition, Act I is set at dusk, some of it in front of, some of it inside a wall surrounding the temple of the sun. In Act I, Scene 4, Alonzo's side-kick Juan talks him into breaking up with the virgin of the sun – for her own safety and for that of his own political and personal friendship with the Sun King. After the two men squabble about the precautions they should take, Diego, Alonzo' fearful weapon bearer, brings some comic relief in Act I, Scene 5. The audience then meets Cora for the first time in Act I, Scene 6. In a long, melodramatic exchange that runs for twelve pages in the print edition, Cora reveals that she is pregnant and conveys her steadfast belief in the purity and innocence of the love she shares with Alonzo. She then takes leave of Alonzo, promising to return the next day to watch the sunrise with him. Cora believes that the sunrise will be a test of her god's benevolence towards the fruit of their love. In Act I, Scene 7, Alonzo confesses to Juan

31 Cf. Schröter 2016, 429ff.

32 The letters concerning Kotzebue's sequel, *Rolla's Death*, state that negative comments about the Spaniards had to be cut. Due to its commercial interests, the city of Hamburg wanted to be on good terms with the Spanish ambassador. Cf. Schröder's respective letters to Kotzebue, LA 49–50, LA 51–52.

33 For instance, a 1791 Viennese production of *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* failed to win over the local censors and could only be staged in a heavily redacted version. Cf. Höyng 2007, 112.

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that the worst imaginable thing has happened. The curtain falls with Alonzo agonizing and his companions sleeping. Act II returns to a tragicomic mode with said companions refusing to be woken up by an ever-more desperate Alonzo in Scene 1. He then greets the sun virgin alone in Scene 2. The drawn-out back-and-forth between his infatuated anguish and her loving innocence resumes as the sun comes up – before Juan and Diego wake up and Rolla arrives (mourning his unrequited love for Cora by living a hermit's life in a cave right next to the Spaniards' camp), setting the almost fateful chain of events in motion.

As described above, the Kotzebue template used as the basis for *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* in 1790 seems to be nearly identical to the content of the print version that went on sale the next year. Scribe 1A faithfully copied it into *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*. Remarkably, Act I, Scene 6, was then unceremoniously retracted in the Hamburg revisions by means of a rectangular frame in graphite pencil, with a vertical pencil line or slash at the approximate centre of the two rectos and two versos as well. Any such line is missing in the smaller frame around the beginning of Act I, Scene 6, at the bottom of 18r (which only presents stage directions). The frame at the top of 20v, however, has been filled in with several pencil graphite strike-throughs in the form of an X in order to give special emphasis to the retraction. The retraction of Scene 6 has removed the revelation of Cora's pregnancy, her extended delight, and Alonzo's horror.

Curiously, hand 1D has also made several changes to the text in the passages that it had itself retracted (if we assume that the ink enrichments were working in concert with the pencil ones). In addition, hand 1D has drawn some diacritical signs, which we will discuss below. For now, it is important to note that, instead of the retracted scene, a loose sheet in a smaller format (not organised by any ruled lines) has been folded over on the left-hand side and glued in between 17v and 18r as an additional manuscript page numbered 18a by the hand of scribe 1D. Whereas the verso remains empty, hand 1D, Schröder, has untidily scribbled an alternative Scene 6 on the recto without any margins in densely packed lines, some of them slanted. Some self-corrections seem to have taken place during the writing of the lines, with apparently no need to create a cleaner version of 18a. (Cf. figure 29.)

Act I, Scene 5, had ended with Juan and Diego arranging to go on rounds to keep guard. In the new Scene 6, Diego doubles down on the comic servant character which was so well known to audiences of the time. He delivers a self-referential monologue about his fear of the dark. If played by the book, a drop curtain would have probably come down immediately to show Alonzo and Cora meeting inside the wall. But now, the content of the additional sheet has cheeky Diego returning to the set of Scene 5, which he had just vacated with everybody else: "[…] ich bleibe hier. Hier giebts doch ~~Gest~~ noch Gesträuche hinter die man sich dukken kann, wenn was passirt" [I'm staying here. Here are bushes where you can take cover if anything happens]. Diego's extemporisation on fear is as funny as it is

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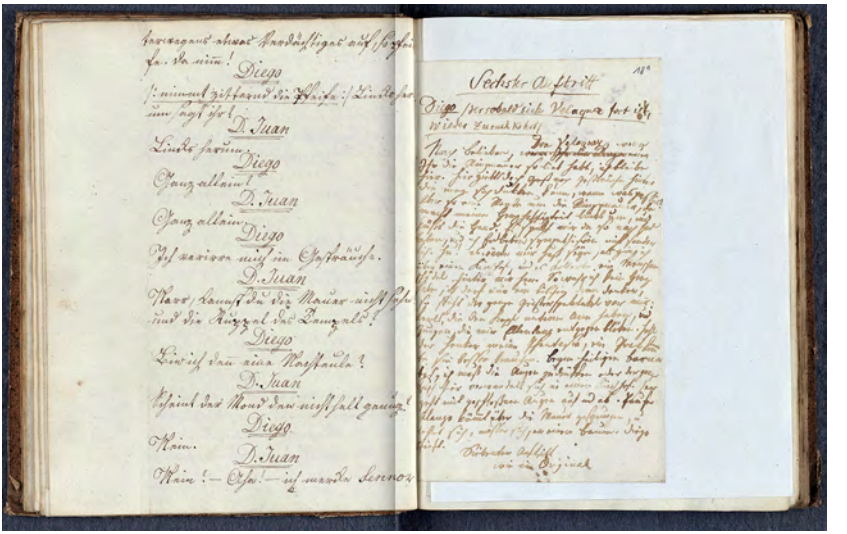
pointless. He chooses the darkness of his closed eyes in the hope of escaping not only the darkness of the night but also the terror of his imagination. However, he keeps moving about the stage, squinting – probably still afraid, probably making comic gestures: "[…] ich muß die Augen zudrükken oder der ganze Busch hier verwandelt sich in einen Kirchhof. / er geht mit geschloßenen Augen auf und ab" (S1, 18a) [I have to close my eyes or the whole bush will transform into a graveyard. / he walks up and down with his eyes closed]. While this was intended to have a hilarious effect on the audience, the punchline that Diego is covering his eyes in the same way that loose sheet 18a covers some unwanted dialogue remains lost on everyone – except for perhaps its originator, hand 1D, which did the writing and presumably the covering as well.

Figure 29: S1, 17v and 18a r.



Diego's extra solo number is just like the scenes that the proponents of eighteenth-century German theatre reform (who generally came up with their theories from outside the theatre) tried to marginalise in favour of the inner logic of a well-made play.[34] Although here, the addition serves a purpose: the end of 18a proclaims the return of Diego's master. "Alonzo kommt über die Mauer gesprungen" [Alonzo comes jumping over the wall]. Depending on how long Diego's antics have been entertaining the audience, it is likely that Alonzo has been meeting with his beloved and will now report back to his companions. Diego's interlude also fits in perfectly with the beginning of Act I, Scene 7, in which he is scared by the entrances

34 Cf. Weinstock 2019, 70–93; cf. Malchow 2022, 261–265.

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of both Alonzo and Juan. "Siebenter Auftritt / wie im Original" [Seventh scene / as in the original] (S1, 18a) has been written at the bottom right of the recto of the loose sheet by the same hand, 1D, but is somewhat removed from Diego's lines.

The dramaturgical effect is striking: Schröder can now keep the text of Act I, Scene 7, *ad verbatim*. Thus, the pregnancy is rather hastily introduced instead of being verbosely elaborated upon throughout Scene 6 as in the template (and later in the print version): "Deine Warnung kam zu spät! […] Sie ist Mutter!" (S1, 25v) [Your warning has come too late! […] She is a mother!]. Instead of Cora's drawn-out excitement and unshakable belief in the innocence of her love, the audience would have only seen the men's perspective – their despair and their implicit assessment that a pregnancy out of wedlock would be a catastrophe. Without sacrificing the core element of the play, the revised version shrewdly aligned it with the prevailing morals of the time.

Shifting the Lovers' Passion Using Diacritical Signs

The introduction of Cora and Alonzo's love as it had been portrayed in the former Scene 6 had to be integrated into the dialogue at a later point. The same went for some pieces of information provided there. To this end, hand 1D made use of the margin of 26v: in ink, it added twenty densely scribbled, scarcely legible, and sometimes self-corrected lines of two to four words each, in which Alonzo gives his companions notice that Cora will return the next morning: "in ihrer liebenswürdigen Einfalt, will sie die Sonne zur Schiedsrichterinn über unsre Liebe machen" [in her charming naivety, she wants to make the sun the judge of our love]. At what was probably a later point in time, a rather generous bracket was drawn in pencil to point out the position of the insertion (cf. figure 30).

While the second insertion sums up the gist of the conversation that has been cut, Diego's comic scene is a seemingly redundant addition to Kotzebue's text, even though it elaborates on the already established theme of his cowardice. Both insertions were made in line with Kotzebue's overall style. Schröder, who had modelled his own style as a playwright (of comedies and sentimental drama) on Kotzebue's,[35] would have had no problem coming up with additional lines like these. However, because another extra scene with comic lines for Diego was inserted later on (in Act IV, Scene 2), it is also possible that he told Kotzebue about his plans and asked for additional dialogue. Having said that, it seems likely for practical reasons that the actual shifts and rearrangements of the text were carried out on site in Hamburg.

35 Cf. Hoffmann 1939, 35–74.

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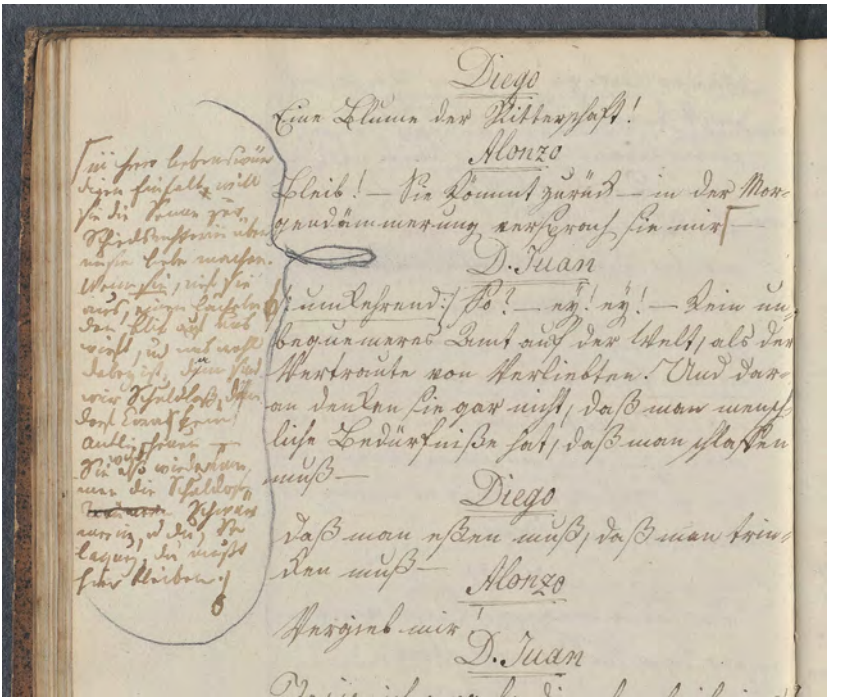
Figure 30: S1, 26v.



Particularly effective parts of Cora and Alonzo's dialogue in the revelation scene, Scene 6, were bundled together and moved to the sun trial scene in Act II, Scene 2, affecting the content of approximately two and a half of the twelve folios of Act I, Scene 6, in total. In Act II, Scene 2, Schröder kept Cora's entrance, in which she voices her disappointment about her plans to lovingly wake Alonzo being laid to waste by his insomnia. Then, an insertion mark follows, and Alonzo's next reply has been retracted. In the left margin, on the same level as the beginning of the scene, rather than the end of Cora's last line, hand 1D has placed the related insertion mark and eight lines beneath it, starting with the beginning of an alternative reply: "Alonzo. Wie könnt ich? Sieh die ganze Nacht stand ich–" [How could I? See, the whole night I was up –]. Hand 1D has continued in the same style with comments in the next two lines: "NB" for *nota bene* and then "Siehe den 6ten Auftritt in vorigem akt von Zeichen ϴ bis zu #" (S1, 29v) [See the 6th scene in the last act from signs ϴ to #]. If we turn back the pages, we do indeed find the horizontally crossed out circle and the # symbol in the previously cut Act I, Scene 6, on 19v and 20r! The text inside the pencil rectangle indicating the retraction has itself been revised with minor strike-throughs and one small addition: the comment on 29v in Act II, Scene 2, instructs the scribe of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* (or any user of *Theater-Bi-*

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bliothek: 728 for that matter) to transfer the passage between "Θ and "#" to the respective position in Act 2, Scene 2. Thus, after it was copied into *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, the now displaced dialogue continued to introduce the audience to the lovers' extended assurances of their mutual longing, which would have otherwise gone missing with the cancellation of the original Act I, Scene 6 (cf. figures 31, 32, 33).

Figure 31: S1, 29v.

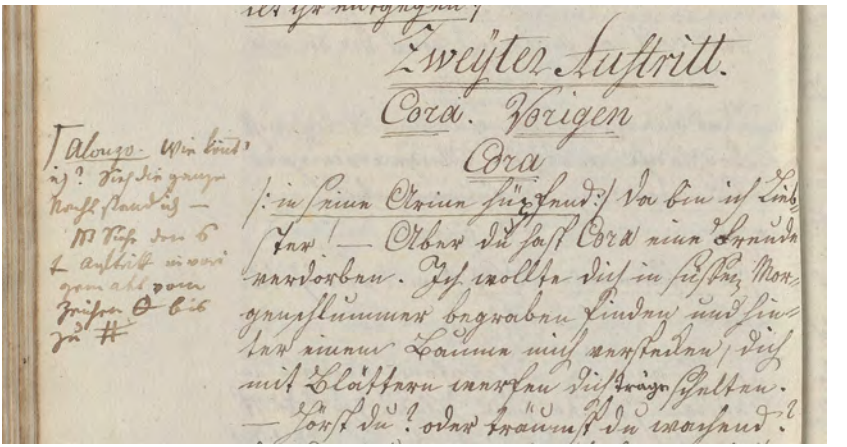

Figure 32: S1, 19v.

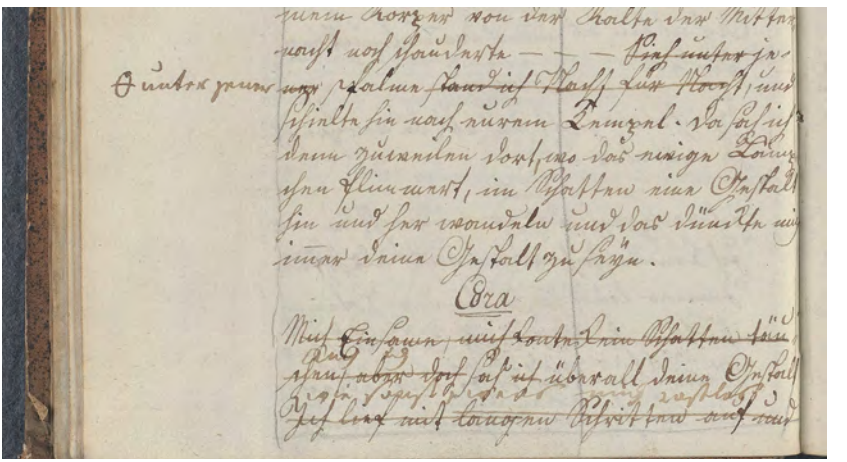

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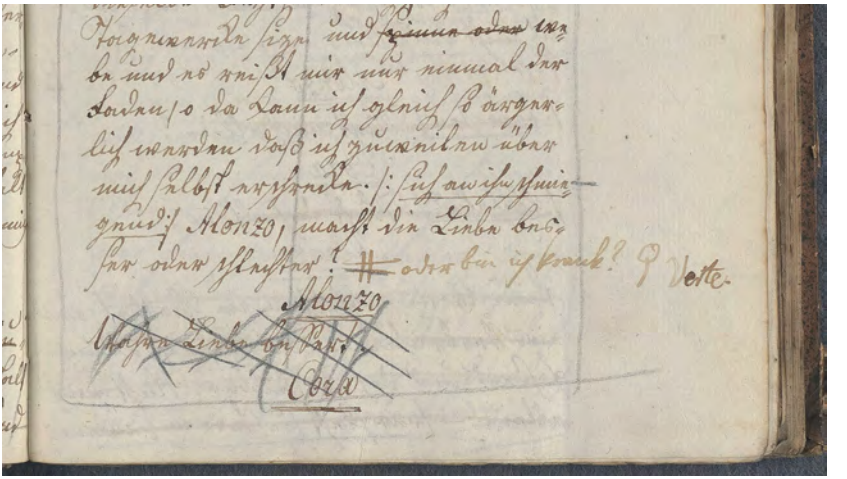
Figure 33: S1, 20r.



A second transfer from Act I, Scene 6, to Act II, Scene 2, is more complicated and, to the uninitiated, less comprehensible. On the top of 30r, right after Alonzo's first, now crossed-out speech, the fourth hand has drawn a peculiar symbol: in the middle of the writing is a triangle on top of a vertically crossed out circle. This symbol can also be found earlier in Act I, Scene 6, on 23v. Here, the vertical line only goes halfway through the circle; the symbol thus gives the impression of an arrow pointing to the passages above. Scribbled to the right of it (and thus leaving the margins empty), an insertion mark has been placed. Under it, there is nothing to be inserted but an instruction: "Siehe S 2. Act 2." [See s 2. Act 2.] – where the same symbol can indeed be found. However, any implicit instructions are far from obvious. Either Schröder conveyed them verbally to the scribe of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* or they had a working relationship where his emending marks were well known (cf. figures 34 and 35).

Only when comparing *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* with *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* does the function of the symbol become apparent. Some parts of the writing after the # symbol between the bottom of 20r and the arrow on 22v were to be transferred to Act II, Scene 2. Right next to the # symbol on 20r, hand 1D has written "verte", a common Latin phrase for "turn [the page]" in European manuscript cultures. Afterwards, until the symbol in the middle of 22v, not only has most of the text been crossed out like the rest of Act I, Scene 6, but in addition to the rectangular enclosure and the continuous vertical strike-through, more strike-throughs have also been added in pencil and sometimes in ink as well. At some points, the additional strike-throughs amount to three traverse lines in one direction, at others up to eleven in both directions. Thus, on the four and a half manuscript pages in ques-

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tion, some passages give the impression that they have somehow been retracted with more emphasis than others. The reason for this becomes apparent when we take a look at *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*. Here, the "less heavily retracted" passages have been reassembled as a coherent dialogue in Act II, Scene 2, at the very place the arrow symbol was positioned in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*. These passages portray Cora as being so joyful in anticipation of motherhood that she ignores Alonzo's horror about having to become her "Mörder" (S1, 22v) [murderer].

Figure 34: S1, 22v.

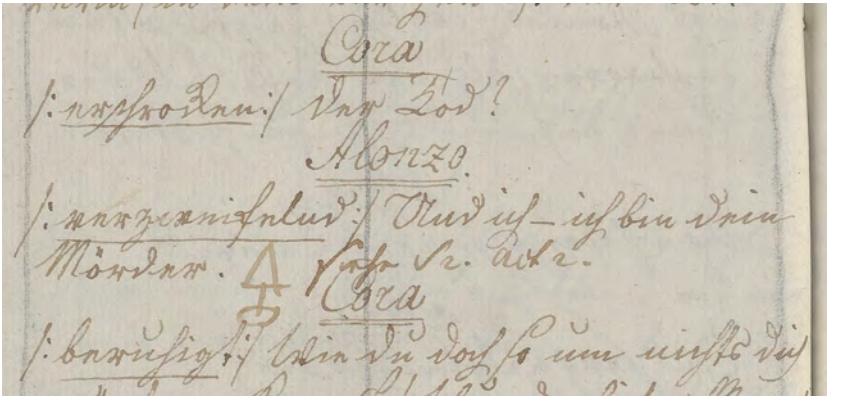
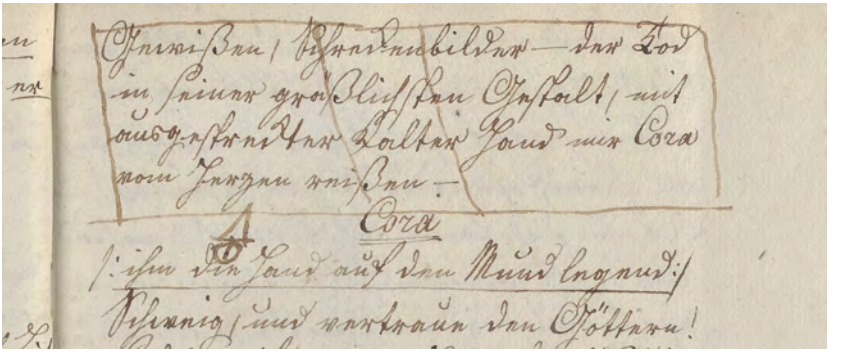


Figure 35: S1, 30r.



Hand 1D has marked the beginning and the end of the "more heavily retracted" passages with seemingly random and idiosyncratic correction marks, mostly in ink, generally in the margins, but sometimes in the writing itself. On 20v, there is a vertical line with a circle on top of it next to "verte" and before Cora's reply (that hand 1D has heavily revised). There is a first "B" after Cora's lines and, after a longer passage from Cora, on the next manuscript page as well. There is also

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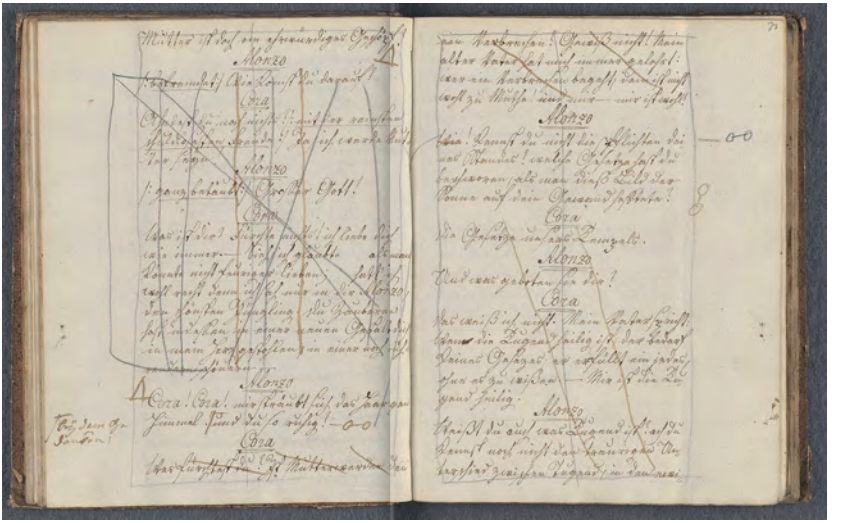
triangle near the top and close to the bottom of 21v. Moreover, a horizontal line with a circle to the left and right of it appears after a quick reply from Alonzo (with a short insert) and again on 22r (now in pencil). Finally, we find the same shape, albeit rotated by ninety degrees, after an even shorter comment by Alonzo (which is connected to the previous one by a pencil line) and its partner near the top of 22v – with some dialogue on half a manuscript page to come before the arrow and the accompanying instruction, "See s[cene] 2. Act 2." (cf. figure 36).

Figure 36: S1, 21v and 22r.



Without deciphering the instructions behind the signs in Act I, Scene 6, and Act II, Scene 2, the respective folios seem enigmatic and even arbitrary: the pattern of revision is irregular; the diacritical signs are unusual. Only in hindsight does the overall idea behind hand 1D's revision become clear. In Act I, the whole of Scene 6 has been cut. A longer passage ("from signs ϴ to #") and some scattered shorter passages have been taken up in Act II, Scene 2, instead. Passages that have been retracted altogether have been crossed out twice and sometimes three times. The beginning and the end of those passages are marked with these curious diacritical signs – as if to make sure the scribe would know what, in the midst of all the cancelled writing, was in and what was out.

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Accelerating the Dramatic Pace

Apart from the significant changes relating to the pregnancy, the modifications in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* mostly comprise minor interjections and corrections as well as several strike-throughs of the many redundancies and repetitions in Kotzebue's text. It was not until the beginning of Act IV and at the transition between Acts IV and V that hand 1D intervened in a major fashion once more: by first shortening Act IV and then shifting the first scene from Act V into Act IV.

Act IV, Scene 1, in which Rolla encounters a chorus of priests digging a grave for soon-to-be-sentenced Cora, has been cut altogether, with a huge ink cross over manuscript pages seventy-seven and seventy-eight. An unretracted four-line insertion in the margins, "für Priester" [for priests] (S1, 78), suggests an alternative version of the scene. As we will discuss below, the content of Act IV, Scene 1, in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* is in fact largely similar but appears in a structurally completely altered form. It includes a different use of music and an altered version of Rolla's interaction with the priests. However, except for an "NB" for "nota bene" at the beginning of the next scene, of which the first dialogue part has also been crossed out by means of a pencil square containing three horizontal strokes, and a retracted # symbol with no apparent point of reference, nothing indicates that any of the content of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* has been added or changed.

A quick look at *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* reveals that a loose sheet with alternative content (such as for Act I, Scene 6) was in all probability lost: another additional scene was indeed inserted at this point. Once more, it is the comic character of Diego who makes an additional major appearance. In Kotzebue's original template (and later print publication), Diego runs into the horrified Rolla in Act IV, Scene 2, says that he knows nothing about the turn of events, and refers him to Alonzo's friend Don Juan instead. In the respective scene in fair copy *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, however, Rolla's horror and sense of urgency is counteracted by Diego's funny inability to give a straight answer. Their back-and-forth now drags on for as long as the preceding gravedigging scene, providing some comic relief for those who have been overwhelmed by Rolla's horror.[36] As we will demonstrate below, this additional scene was retracted once more at some point, probably in an 1820s revision.

The last change that takes place in the transition from Acts IV to V is a matter of dramaturgical condensation and simplification. Kotzebue's template (as well as the 1791 print version) draws out the discussion of Alonzo and Cora's guilty verdict (that the gravedigging priests anticipate in Act IV, Scene 1) before and after their interrogation. Act IV, Scene 6, in which a group of priests are waiting for a consultation between the high priest and the Inca king to end, takes up two pages without adding much to the plot. Except for the information about the setting and

36 Cf. S2, 65v–67r.

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characters, it has been cut altogether by means of a pencil square and two vertical pencil lines, followed by the addition of four lines on manuscript page ninety. There, the heading "Szene 7" [Scene 7] has also been crossed out (albeit horizontally) in ink. Thus, the former Act IV, Scene 7, has become the new Act IV, Scene 6: the high priest discusses the upcoming verdict with his second in command, who rudely rejects his superior's and the Inca king's implied wish for leniency.

In the *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* fair copy, the act had ended after the interrogation in Act IV, Scene 8, which has now been changed to "Scene 7". The priests of the sun withdraw inside the temple to discuss the sentencing. In *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, the call to depart has been crossed out using the usual pencil square, as has the subsequent stage direction, "Der Vorhang fällt" [The curtain falls], the heading "Act V" (S1, 107) as well as the following short description of the interior setting. Thus, it is still the new version of Act IV, Scene 7, outside the temple. The high priest takes his second in command aside and implores him to let mercy prevail, before the priests reach their joint judgement. Some finer points of their lengthy discussion have been cast aside using the customary rectangular pencil shape on the following folios; the end of the scene thus concludes the fourth act with a small, but underlined "Vorhang fällt" (S1, 112) [curtain falls], which has been inserted in ink. The act of shortening and simultaneously bringing forward a scene that largely repeats the content and tone of the previous ones has accelerated the dramatic pace of the Hamburg stage version.

The beginning of the new Act V is also the beginning of the work of scribe 1C. "Szene 2" is still faithfully written at the top of the page and has been underlined twice. What was presumably hand 1D has scribbled over the Arabic "2" in pencil and put a Latin numeral "I" next to it on the right. "Act 5" (S1, 113) has also been written in pencil further to the left. An ink addition informs us that the setting is the one that had been crossed out at the beginning of the previous scene. Except for a few retractions made in pencil as well as square and vertical pencil lines, the work of scribe 1C remains undisturbed. As we have just outlined, this also applies to the content of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* as a whole. The overall tweaks made to the content of the fair copy are minor – even though the material performance of the cut-and-paste work sometimes comes across as the most dramatic of interventions. The fair copy of the unknown template remains largely intact, except for the discussion of the pregnancy in Act I and Act II, the changed arrangement of Rolla's confrontation with the priests in Act IV, the transition between the last two acts, and a few minor changes and some retractions to Kotzebue's many repetitions and redundancies.

Conspicuously, the main changes just outlined were not carried out in a manner that would have rendered the written artefact suitable for use as a prompt book – it just would not have been practical for a prompter doing their work from the prompt box to flip back and forth within the written artefact, to assess the changes, and at the same time help out the actors in the event of an emergency on stage. Therefore,

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the new version of *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* that developed in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* was copied again in order to produce the prompt book that would be employed from the prompter's box during the performance: *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*.

V. Going It Alone: Fair Copy *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, Assisted Reading, Technical Instructions

Theater-Bibliothek: 1460 has "Soufleur Buch" [prompter book] written on its cover in Schröder's tidy hand. It has been neatly bound from twelve quires of irregular size. Three of them consist of three bifolios, three of four, two of five, two of six, and one, as we will discuss below, of only two. The last quire originally consisted of three bifolios with the last folio having been cut – presumably since it would have otherwise remained empty. Half a centimetre protrudes, meaning that the quire as a whole remains stable. Some writing on the front endpaper is illegible and does not seem to have been involved in the production process or the use of the prompt book in a narrow sense. A note on the last verso seems to be a reminder that one of the actors has also to help out with one of the scene changes in Act IV.[37]

The main content of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* comprises several different forms of writing: 1) the text of *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* as updated in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* has been copied in black ink by two different scribes, 2A and 2B; 2) some secondary texts (such as stage directions) have been highlighted in a different brown (or faded) ink, helping to orient the prompter within the text; 3) a very small number of technical instructions of the kind the prompter usually carried out from the box have been written down in graphite pencil, probably by different hands and during different revision periods; 4) there are extensive enrichments that have sometimes been written on extra writing supports and then pasted over other passages using glue or tucked in using a needle. These enrichments have been made in black ink, brown (or faded) ink, graphite pencil, and red crayon. The ink enrichments were made by three or four different hands: 2C (again Schröder and thus identical with 1D), 2D, plus the hand of the French censor giving his approval at the end, and possibly another additional hand. The pencil enrichments have been made by different hands but can sometimes be seen working in concert with hands 2C and 2D (just like the pencil additions do in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*). Below we will argue that the highlighting in brown ink seems to have also been part of the revision stage that 2C was responsible for.

Altogether, the enrichments suggest that *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* was in use for as long as *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* was being performed in Hamburg, i.e., until the mid-1820s. Hand 2D can be attributed to a prompter who had been active in Ham-

37 Cf. S2, 98v.

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burg since 1821, as we will show below. It is, in fact, certain that the prompt book was being used in the 1810s: the French censor signed off on the text on August 22, 1813,on the day of the first of two performances of *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* during the French censorship period (1811–1814).[38] Since scribes 1A and 2A were the same person, *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* was probably created soon after the underlying written artefact, but definitely before Kotzebue published his play in print in 1791. After publication, there would have been no need to divide the text between two scribes anymore. Due to the theatre's considerable output, the creation of prompt books obeyed economic criteria. It thus seems safe to assume that *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* was already in use on the opening night of the Hamburg production in 1790; at least some of the technical instructions may have been included as part of the original process as they had already been necessary for the first performance.

First of all, the work of the two scribes 2A and 2B warrants examination. The two main scribes of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* created a largely faithful reproduction of the final version of the enriched and updated *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*. Scribe 2A accurately copied the word "Auftritt" that they had used in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* for each "scene", but then adopted it (probably in the name of standardisation) for the parts of Acts III and IV that they had also copied for *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*. In contrast, scribe 2B followed the divergent template (from scribes 1B and 1C) and changed the wording to "Szene" again.

As far as the plot and the action are concerned, Act I, Scene 6, has now indeed been replaced by Diego's new monologue and the extemporisations that had been added to *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* on a loose sheet. The replaced lines have been taken up in Act II, Scene 2, as prescribed by Schröder's intervention in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*. In the same vein, the original ending of Act IV and the beginning of Act V have now neatly been folded into one; the numbering of the scenes (and acts) has accordingly been adjusted from the start. As indicated above, Rolla's confrontation with the gravedigging priests in Act IV, Scene 1, which was retracted in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, has now been replaced with an alternative altercation.

Similarly, Rolla's retracted exchange with Diego in Act IV, Scene 2, has been swapped for a dialogue providing comic relief. While a loose sheet in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* might have gone missing, the new lines are brief enough to fit onto one piece of paper, and the song at the beginning of Act IV is no longer part of the prompt book. The mention of "Musick" in the graphite pencil used for technical details could mean that it or some other music was being played during the transition between acts (although no songs of this kind have survived as part of the musical material for *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau*). It is also possible that, in Act IV, Scene 1, Schröder considered the song written out in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* to be too gruesome for the stage, as it describes in some detail the priests digging a grave in

38 For a more detailed discussion of this time, cf. Chapter 5, sections 5 and 7.

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which to bury Cora alive for breaking her vows. In the *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* fair copy (as well as in the 1791 print version), the horrified Rolla learns about this when priests respond to his interjections with their song.[39] In contrast, the updated version seems short and painless. In *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, the scene opens with the four priests digging; the first utterance from their lips is "Es ist vollendet" [It is finished]. Rolla's question as to their purpose, which is by now a few words shorter than it had been in the *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* fair copy (and the 1791 print version), receives a brutal reply: "das Grab der Tempelentweiherin" [the tomb of the temple deconsecrator] (S2, 65r). In the *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* fair copy, the confrontation draws to a close quickly with a shortened variation on the dialogue in front of the temple. (However, this part of the folio was enriched at a later stage while the prompt book was in use.)

The partitioning of the text between the two scribes 2A and 2B seems to have taken place randomly in the subsequent scene. The aforementioned identification of the high priest and Rolla as father and son in Act IV, Scene 3, was interrupted in full swing, i.e., after scribe 2A had already copied out two-thirds of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* (including their own work as 1A and some, but not all, of scribe 1B's work). Scribe 2A stops working randomly at the end of the ninth of the twelve quires that make up *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*. At this point in the play, Rolla has just started working himself into a frenzy. The high priest of the sun shares in his misery by exclaiming, "Um aller Götter willen! – Rolla –!" (S2, 68r) [For the sake of all gods! – Rolla –!]. In the subsequent lengthy exchange, he will reveal that he is Rolla's father. But at this point, scribe 2A's work stops abruptly. The scribe leaves the rest of 68r and the whole of 68v empty.[40]

The ninth quire consisted of only two bifolios to begin with. Either scribe 2A ran out of paper or, as we will argue below, they knew beforehand where they would be stopping and were aware that they definitely would not need any more. Scribe 2B then started on a new folio, 69r, and a fresh quire, and continued the dialogue (including the mix-up between the high priest and the high priestess as discussed above) (cf. figure 37).

39 Cf. S1, 78; cf. Kotzebue 1791, 135.

40 For reasons that we will discuss below, a third hand first crossed out the dialogue on 68r but then added a longer version from a print copy to the rest of 68r and the top of 69v.

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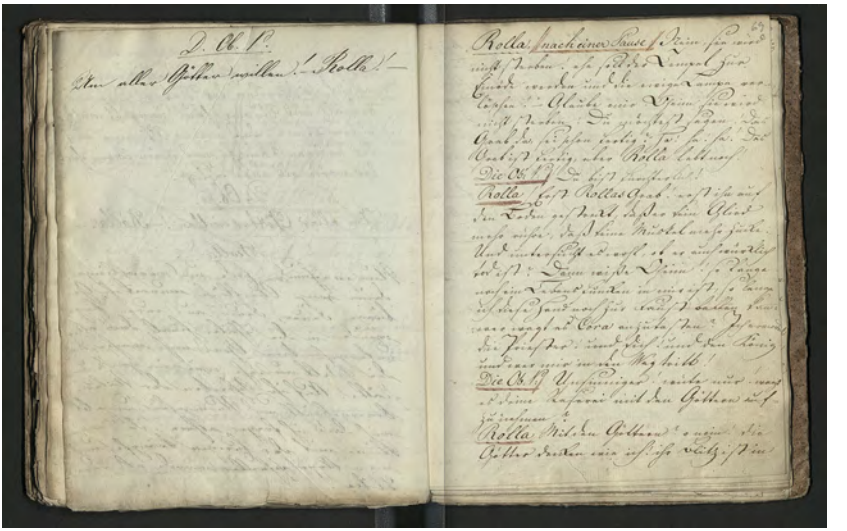
Figure 37: S2, 68v and 69r.



At second glance, the allocation of content to the two scribes with the abrupt interruption was not carried out on the basis on Kotzebue's play at all, but clearly had to do with the technical arrangement of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*. As described above, the first seven untidy quires of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* (six by scribe 1A and the first created by scribe 1B) are followed by two neatly folded ones (the second copied by scribe 1B and scribe 1C's only quire). The scribes in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* switched between the untidy and the tidy quires! One bundle, up to quire seven of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, went to scribe 2A and one bundle, from quire eight onwards, went to scribe 2B. The differences in the organisation of the quires seem to have caused an arbitrary division of the text, which is nevertheless clearly visible at a material level – hence the rough transition between scribes in the middle of a scene.

Act IV, Scene 3, is thus interrupted right after "D.Ob.Pr" exclaims, "Um aller Götter willen! – Rolla! –" (S1, 80)! It is likely that, after reworking the content of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, but before it was bound, scribes 2A and 2B of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* received their respective portions to copy: the untidy one went to scribe 2A, the tidy one to scribe 2B. The two written artefacts were then probably stitched together and bound at a similar time: *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* for use by the prompter, *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* perhaps for an undesignated purpose at first (e.g., as a backup for the principal or initially planned as the inspector's version).

In contrast to *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, the scribes of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* seem to have had specific instructions regarding the visual organisation of their folios. Both scribes wrote in a tidy fashion, with letters of similar heights and similarly

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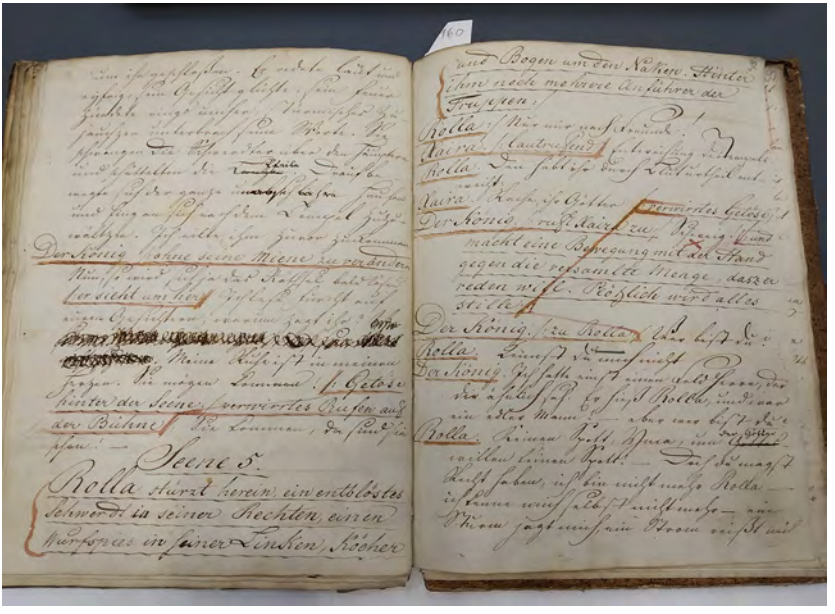
generous spacing between the lines. Both placed the characters' speech next to a slight margin of a similar size on the left of each folio. For scribe 2A, the margin seems to have been for the sake of clarity rather than for possible corrections. Thus, scribe 2A's work differed slightly from their own work as scribe 1A in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, where the spacing was more crowded. However, scribe 2A stuck to their established pattern of placing the twice underlined name of the speaking character in the middle of the line above the respective portion of the dialogue.

Scribe 2B seems to have worked more in line with the possibilities afforded by the small margin – and the visual organisation of a dramatic text in print: the name of the character speaking has been underlined once and placed in the left margin. Thus, the spacing between the speech of two characters has become smaller. Perhaps this is why, at some point during a later revision stage, someone went through scribe 2B's part and underlined the speaking characters' names once more using a thicker quill and brown ink. In contrast, the twofold underlining in scribe 2A's part clearly belongs to their original work. Both scribes had put the speaking characters' names in Latin instead of German cursive to create a contrast. But due to the additional underlining, both arrangements allowed the prompter to see more clearly where and when a new cue might be needed as far as the actors' lines were concerned.

Figure 38: S2, 91v and 92r.



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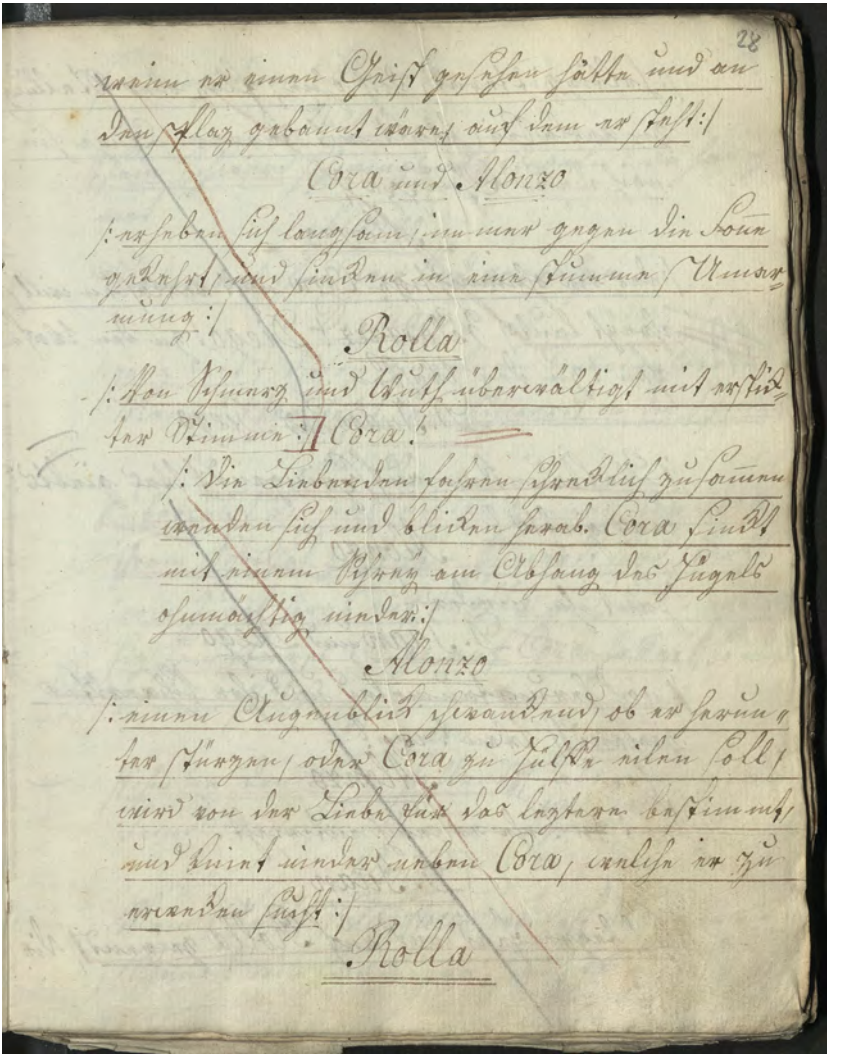
Throughout the written artefact, this form of reading assistance provided to the prompter has been adapted to most other secondary texts as well. This can be observed for most of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, although scribe 2B had already written the stage directions and other didascalia in Latin cursive (which scribe 2A had not). The brown ink underlines some secondary texts, such as shorter stage directions, while accentuating the ending, quite often the beginning, and sometimes even internal punctuation with vertical lines (cf. figure 38).

Figure 39: S2, 28r.



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In other instances, where stage directions have been placed within a longer portion of one character's text (such as a characterisation of their changed state of mind), the brown ink has not been used to underline them, but to cross them out instead, horizontally for shorter injections, transversally when they span multiple lines. This was in no way a retraction of content; rather, it simply signalled to the prompter that the passage was of no or little concern to them in their work. In one particularly striking case, nearly two pages of silent interaction have been crossed out in brown ink. Rolla steps out of his cave, happening upon the Spaniards, with Cora sleeping in their midst. Rolla, who believes she has been kidnapped, and his counterparts, who fear that their cover has been blown, draw swords and launch into a heated exchange of threats. Except for one exclamation ("Cora!"), the whole passage has been crossed out with slashes in the brown ink, which at this point was also being supported by a graphite pencil.[41] (Cf. figure 39.)

In other cases, curly brackets on the side drew attention to longer passages of stage directions. Sometimes, they did so without considering the beginning or ending of a scene, which quite often consisted of stage directions but was not always of interest to the prompter. At one point the word "Verwandlung" (S2, 55r) [transformation] has been written next to a curly bracket at the beginning of a scene. This indicated that, in this case, Kotzebue's secondary text not only contained some of his usual verbose descriptions of the characters' intense feelings, but that the prompter also needed to be aware of an actual change of stage set. (Cf. figure 40.)

The initial scribes had faithfully copied Kotzebue's lengthy stage directions, such as descriptions of the stage setting and portrayals of the characters' changing tones and moods, first into *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* and then into *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*. Going through them one by one and cutting the descriptions no prompter would ever take a second look at would have cost them additional effort. (However, it was always good to have the full version of a play in the safe hands of the prompter, who was, after all, also the librarian at that time.) In practice, an excessive number of secondary texts interrupted the prompter's focus during the performance. In a situation where they always needed to be two steps ahead, they would no longer lose precious seconds while figuring out which were and were not the lines the actors needed to utter on stage. This was especially true when, after years or perhaps even decades, the play was performed again. By that point, a new prompter might have taken over, and they would have had to familiarise themselves with the prompt book and perhaps rework it in a manner conducive to their own work habits.[42]

41 Cf. S2, 27v–28v.

42 In this vein, we will argue below that the brown ink belongs to a revision of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, which was carried out more than two decades after the initial creation of the two prompt books.

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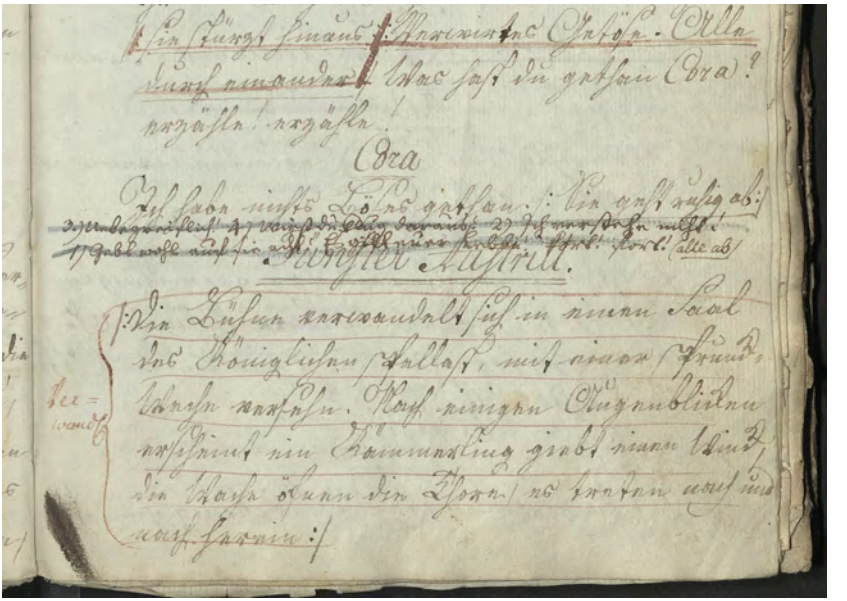
Figure 40: S2, 55r.



In any case, each prompter needed to be aware of possible internal contradictions in their writing system. Here, the same operation, i.e., highlighting in different inks, was intended to both draw attention (to the speaking characters' names) and divert attention (from the secondary text) at the same time. But since the characters names were set apart visually, which the secondary text was not, this might not have mattered too much in practice. It was probably less disruptive to the prompter's concentration than performing yet another writing operation to distinguish between the names of the speaking characters and stage directions.

Theater-Bibliothek: 1460 has also had some technical information added to it in pencil. Interestingly, it contains some peculiar lighting instructions, which are a common occurrence in prompt books. From their box, the prompter had access to candles or tallow lights at the front edge of the stage. The instructions generally refer to changes that fell within the prompter's purview. This also applies to a few notes in Acts I and II, which have been added in pencil in a different hand to that of all the scribes of the main text. The additional information pertained to the part of the set-up that was supposed to be illuminated, to the lighting mood, and, due to its position on the folio, to when the lighting was supposed to start.

Where night sets in at the end of Act I, Scene 5, shortly before Don Juan leaves to meet Cora, a small horizontal box has been added rather untidily one-quarter of the way into the folio space. It makes use of the area that has opened up between the end of one of Diego's speeches, which does not take up the whole line,

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and the name "D. Juan", which indicates the next speaker in the middle of the next line. "I Seite Nacht" (S2, 17v) [I side night] has been written into the box. At the top of the next folio, Diego's fear-filled monologue, which now fills Scene 6, has already started. In the space left open by the end of a paragraph, the same hand has added "2 Seite Nacht" (S2, 18r) [2 side night] in a similar box. It appears that the prompter was responsible for creating the effect of nightfall on the stage: first on one side, then on the other. Accordingly, a few folios later, the heading "Nacht" (S2, 22r) [night] has been added in a box next to the header of the second act in order to underline that the lighting would not change when the curtain fell and rose again. In Act II, Scene 2, during the conversation between Don Juan and the sun virgin, the sunrise was then represented by gradually reilluminating the stage. On 27r, the respective cues can be found that materially correspond to the process they indicate: first, top right, and then, a little later, further down on the left, "1 Seite Tag" [1 side day] and "2 Seite Tag" [2 side day] has been crammed into the blank space within the space of half a folio: the sun has come full circle. Apparently, the prompter dimmed or extinguished and then relit the lights within their reach in order to give the impression of dusk and dawn. The additions have the character of a personal reminder. There is no hint of whether stage left or stage right was the first side of the stage to be lit. The prompter just knew, perhaps from other productions. The hand adding the notes (which most likely was the prompter's) simply noted down a short reminder for themselves in order to use as little space as possible (cf. figure 41).

At least one pencil is active throughout *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, but the pencil insertions and strike-throughs were probably made during distinct revision stages and have thus been made by different hands. While, as mentioned above, the appearance of a chorus at the beginning of Act IV in the print publication and in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* has largely been cut in fair copy *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, the word "Chor" [chorus] has been added in Latin cursive in graphite pencil, as has the word "Music", once with only one "c", once further down as "Musick" (S2, 65r). One of the two deployments of music seems to have been added at a later stage because some of the pencil enrichments are clearly thicker than others. Different hands, although barely legible, seem to have been at work here as well. Only a few of the other enrichments provide further technical information, e.g., about the earlier onset of Act II before a retraction. The lowering of the curtain has been marked with the addition of "actus" (S2, 44r) right before the crossed-out passage starts. If it were not for that note, the prompter would have either missed their cue to signal the lowering of the curtain to a stagehand or would have had to turn the page to realise that no mistake was being made and that the curtain was indeed supposed to come down at this point.

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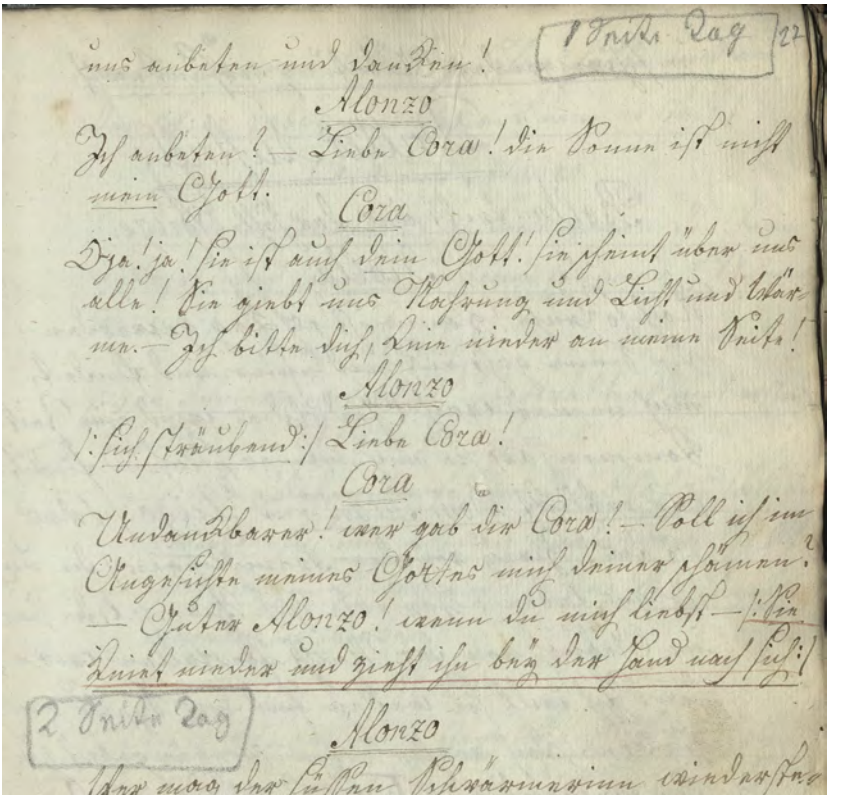
Figure 41: S2, 27r.



So far, we have covered several types of writing in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*: the fair copy with text copied from *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, the highlighting of character names and secondary text in a thicker quill and another ink, and the technical instructions given in graphite pencil (especially with respect to the lighting of dusk and dawn). The following considerations will examine textual additions and retractions, reconstructing when they were made. We will also examine another kind of paper practice in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, namely the adding of content by appending extra sheets.

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VI. Reworking the Play, Reshaping *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* I: Political Pressure in 1813

Besides the two scribes, there were at least three, probably four hands enriching *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* with textual additions in black ink: two (hands 2C and 2D) are especially prominent. The only text insertion that can be clearly attributed to the French censor is the comment, "Vu et approuvé", accompanied by his signature, dated, "Hambourg, 22 août 1813" (S1, 98r). There is one longer enrichment, which seems to have been written rather hastily and was not necessarily made by the censor, 2C, or 2D – although none can be ruled out. Of the two more prominent ones, one (2C) is clearly Schröder's own neat handwriting, the other (2D) that of one Christian Friedrich Zimmermann, who was a prompter in the 1820s (perhaps starting after Barlow's death). Oddly enough, both 2C and 2D have added lines from the versions of Kotzebue's play that were published in print in 1791, 1797, and 1810. For reasons that we will discuss further on, Kotzebue's redundancies and repetitions that had been cut for the Hamburg debut of the play made their way back into the Hamburg adaptation over time. As we will show below, this probably first occurred nearly a quarter of a century later, and then after yet another decade. Most often, it concerned text that had been part of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* but was then retracted. In most instances, text has been added from the slightly different print version that had never been part of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* to begin with.

The brown ink used to highlight the secondary text has sometimes also been used to cross out text or draw attention to other sections. This could very well have been performed by one and the same hand and might have occurred during the revision stages associated with scribes 2C and 2D. The same goes for a red crayon that performed various tasks. As mentioned, graphite pencil enrichments run throughout the written artefact and have clearly been made by more than one hand. While it is impossible to identify how many hands there were, we can often attribute their work to a particular revision stage. It is also impossible to come to a definitive conclusion as to whether the same hand may have used black, red, or graphite grey to organise their own working process or might have been trying to visually organise the written artefact in a manner more suitable for the actual work carried out from the prompt box. However, many enrichments can be attributed to specific revision stages with high probability.

The most striking additions are extra pieces of paper. Altogether, seven formerly loose sheets have been integrated into *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*: five as pasteins, two attached by needle. Two have been written in Schröder's hand (2C) on a white sheet of paper (S2, 48r, 70r); four on scrappily cut, (now) greenish paper, likely in hand 2D, which was also active during the transition between the work of scribe 2A and that of scribe 2B (S2, 31r, 65v, 79r, 92v); and one possibly by an extra hand (S2, 73v). Additions such as these were either made when the intervention

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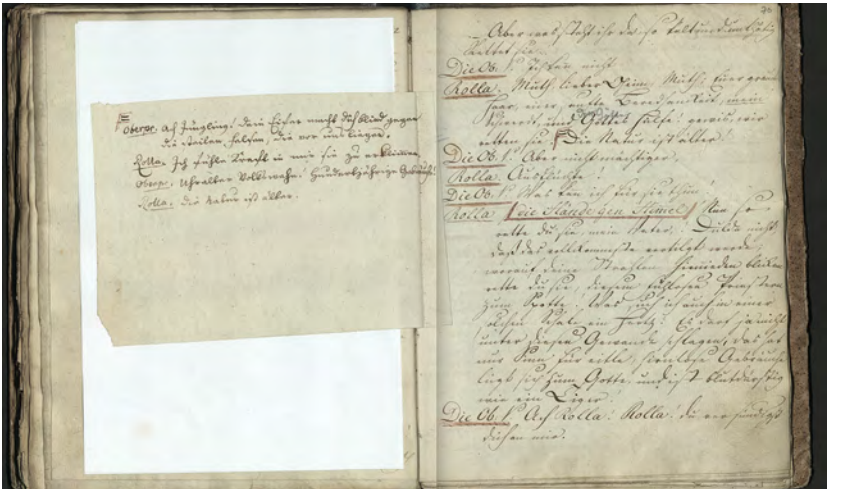
into the initial text was so far-reaching that it could not have been achieved by means of writing alone or when previous interventions were so complex that the prompter could no longer immediately recognize which text was valid.

It was only possible to cut two of the paste-ins in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* to the size of the passage they were to replace (S2, 31r, 65v). One that contained an insertion for which there was no room on the recto (S2, 70r) had a margin glued to it, meaning that the additional sheet could be folded outwards over 69v once the prompter had reached that point in the play. An insertion mark on folio 70r then led them to the extra sheet and from there straight back to 70r. Two paste-ins with additional text from the print version take up more space than the text they replace. Since the initial passage was situated towards the bottom of the folio, in both cases only an upper margin has been glued on from the loose sheet; the rest could be folded back into the written artefact whenever it was not in use and folded out again whenever it was.[43] Two loose sheets have been pinned in with a needle. The needle used for the one in the unidentifiable hand has been lost, but its puncture marks are still visible. Since the insert is nearly half the same size as the whole verso, it has been folded twice, and had to be folded in and out as the prompter followed the action.[44] The other pinned-in insert[45] extends over both the bottom of the folio and its right edge onto the next recto. It seems it was tidily folded in from both sides whenever it was not in use (cf. figures 42 and 43).

Figure 42: S2, 70r and inlay.



43 Cf. S2, 48r, 79r.

44 Cf. S2, 73v.

45 Cf. S2, 92v.

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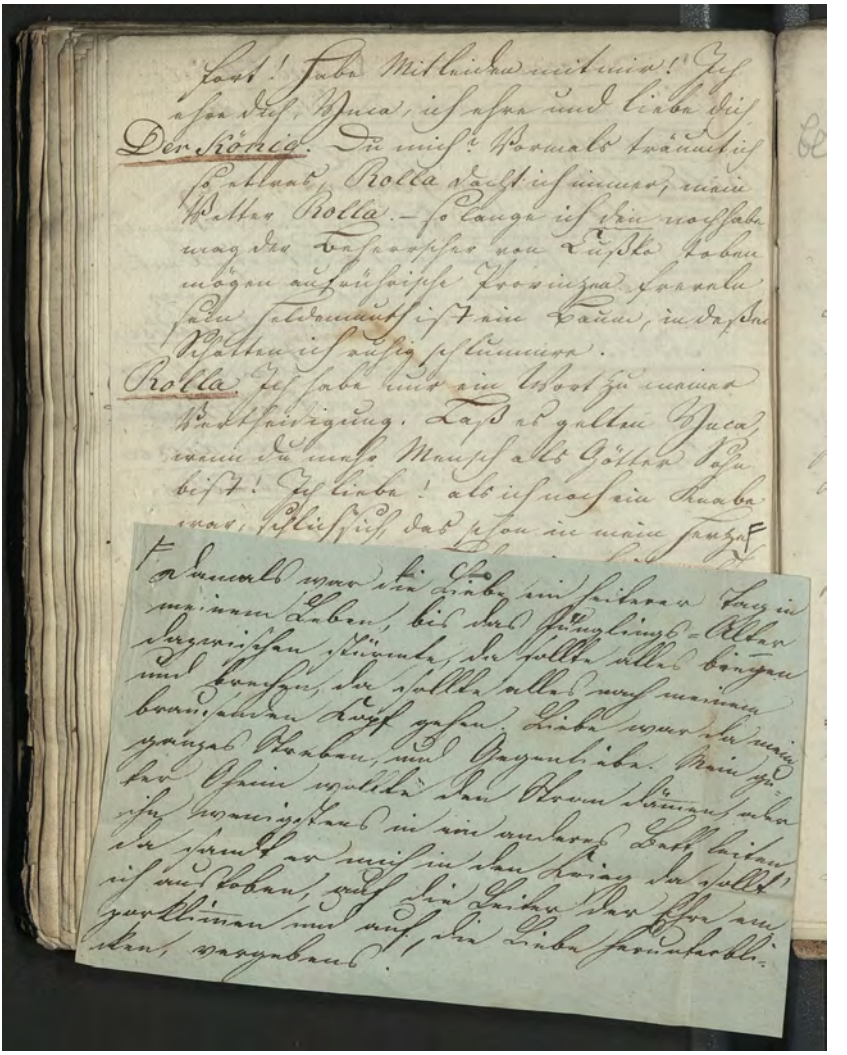
Figure 43: S2, 92v.



Prompt books were reshaped when circumstances changed. A new prompter might have gone through the book and made it their own by clarifying the visual arrangements and cues; the dramatic text might have needed to be adapted due to outside pressure from the audience or the authorities. As we will discuss in the next chapter, a significant amount of pressure was required to have an effect. During the pragmatic work of everyday operations, a prompt book would only be reworked if really necessary.

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The initially confusing multitude of hands and writing tools responsible for the enrichments can, upon closer inspection, be attributed to two coherent stages of revision. Schröder, whose handwriting is all over these updates, had returned to the Stadt-Theater in 1811 and left on March 31 in 1812, among other things after a conflict with the French authorities concerning several successful performances of August von Kotzebue's musical play *Das Dorf im Gebirge* [*The Village in the Mountains*].[46] While still in charge, or perhaps later from behind the scenes, Schröder seems to have reworked *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, another work by Kotzebue, for the French censor. The other revision stage has the handwriting of C. J. Zimmermann at its centre; the enrichments thus seem to have been made for the performances that began in 1823, shortly after Zimmermann took up his post. Of course, revisions and updates might have been made at any other point in time, too. However, due to the inner coherence and coordination of the 1813 and 1823 enrichments, this seems doubtful.

As stated above, *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* playbills from Hamburg Stadt-Theater have survived for ten performances that were staged between 1790 and 1793, during which it seems unlikely that there was any urgent need for changes. Eight performances took place in the early 1800s, for which Schröder was not at the helm and had no business scribbling in the prompt books, which he still technically owned but had leased to the theatre. At that time, there might not have been much pressure to make changes. Then, there are leaflets with playbills for six performances put on during the French occupation period, although the censor only signed off on the two 1813 performances. On the one hand, Kotzebue's play was based on a popular French novel and was as such unlikely to have been suspected of being overtly anti-French. On the other hand, the elements of revolt and political upheaval in *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* might have caused the theatre company to tread lightly, especially for as long as an official censor was in office. Just a few months after the French left town, the play was put on once more in 1814 and then again in 1815 and 1816 respectively. There are additional playbills for four performances that took place between 1823 and 1826. We might speculate that any concessions to the censor had been long withdrawn by that point. However, the play might by now have seemed historically so far removed that the company felt inclined to review the text's suitability anyway. But these are all speculations. All we can do is take a closer look at *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, try to declutter the various layers, and examine the ways in which they do or do not interact with each other. If we assume there were outside pressures such as demands from the censor, we can also watch out for possible clues about related interventions into the content.

We will be paying special attention to the French censor in the next chapter. In general, the Stadt-Theater company did not rewrite plays for him, nor does he seem to have intervened directly into the written artefacts on a large scale except

46 Cf. Meyer 1819b, 317–322.

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by way of his signature. Possible revisions seem to have been done in-house. It was mostly unproblematic plays or those in which minor cuts and tweaks would ensure a positive judgement that reached his desk. In the years that Hamburg spent under French rule but was not an official part of the empire, procedures had been less formal. But the company had to be careful not to run afoul of the authorities and might have changed texts proactively (like it did with the original Hamburg authorities in 1790 regarding Cora's pregnancy). At first glance, very few of the enrichments in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* seem to have been censorship-related. The revolt incited by Rolla against the death sentences might not have been considered particularly threatening, as Kotzebue allowed it to fizzle out in the face of the Inca king's moral authority. Only the king's line "wer seinem Volke Gutes that, der darf sein Volk nicht scheuen" (S2, 91v) [he who did good to his people must not be afraid of his people] might have been seen as inviting the audience to apply the same maxim to the occupying forces. Consequently, the respective one and a half lines have been rendered illegible by dense black ink scribbles.

It is only at second glance that it becomes apparent that many small details hinting at political struggles of any kind have been retracted, generally by means of strike-throughs or rectangular frames, sometimes in black ink, sometimes in the faded brown ink, sometimes in graphite pencil. The brown ink in a strikingly similar hand was also responsible for highlighting the secondary texts discussed above. The highlighting seems to have been a new kind of mark-up carried out by the prompter to get a grip on the text they needed to be able to prompt – or that of somebody else who feared the prompter might get side-tracked by the extensive secondary texts. However, a similar hand working in brown ink was also active in preparing *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* for the censor. At the very beginning, the ink was used to make several slanted lines retracting the complicated, nearly two-page-long, sometimes violent political backstory which the characters relate to each other – and thus to the audience. First and foremost, the retracted passage raves about Alonzo, the ideal humanitarian and teacher of the "savages" – such praise for the Spanish enemy may have been deemed out of place in 1813.

Several dynamic instances of "bl" for "bleibt" (S2, 11v–12r) [remains] have been scrawled in black ink in the margins. As we will demonstrate below, these lines were made by a hand from a later revision stage, i.e., the stage when many of the censorship changes were being reversed. While the hand working in brown ink was in charge, however, the dramatic conflict was depoliticised at the very beginning of the play. The plot was now solely based on the clash between love and religion. The tool that, at some point, provided reading assistance to the prompter in the work of scribe 2B also seems to have been working in concert with hand 2C to prepare the play for the censor. It might have been the same hand, but there is also a chance it was a different one. The same goes for the enrichments made in graphite pencil that support this revision stage. (Cf. figure 44.)

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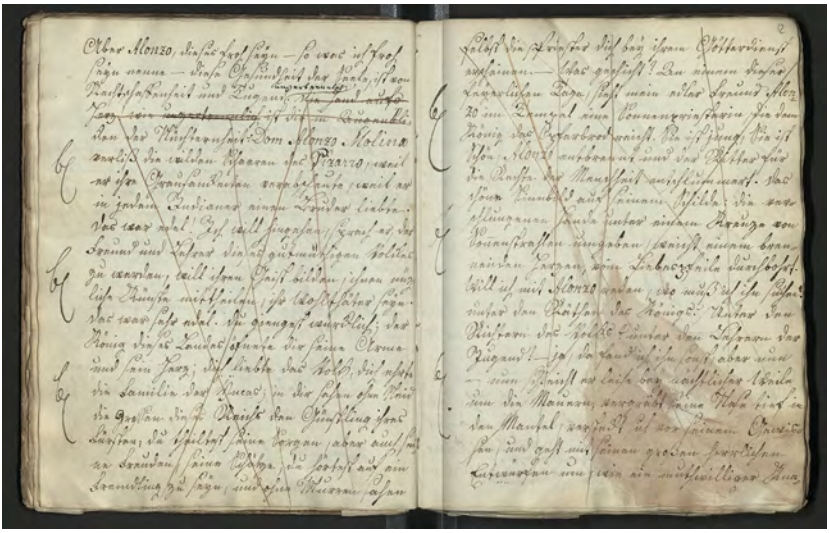
Figure 44: S2, 11v and 12r.



In a similar revision, the early end to Act II (as described above) retracts a speculation made by Don Juan about the possibility of Rolla overthrowing the king.[47] The different timing of the curtain fall, which the pencil reminds the prompter of, might simply have been the technical outcome of a change to the play that was deemed politically necessary. In contrast, the messenger's report of Rolla's sedition at the stirring end of Act V has remained surprisingly intact. It was only when the description became vividly specific that a couple of lines were crossed out in thick graphite pencil: "Trommeln und Hörner tönen. Waffen klirren, ein Wald von Lanzen zieht herauf, alles läuft und schreit durcheinander" (S2, 91r) [Drums and horns sound. Weapons clang, a forest of lances advances, everything runs and shouts in confusion].

Further down on the same folio, it is Schröder's own hand, 2C, that has provided some alternative lines in black ink. Both prompt books and the print publication have the king defending his former general with an assured, "Rolla und Aufruhr. Nein, du irrst" [Rolla and sedition. No, you're wrong]. The black ink has been used to cross out this writing, except for the name, by means of a horizontal line and to add a tiny but clearly legible alternative that is nowhere to be found in either of the two prompt books or the print version: "Rolla weiß das Aufruhr Verbrechen ist und Rolla wird kein Verbrecher seyn" (S2, 91r) [Rolla knows that sedition is a crime and Rolla will not be a criminal]. While the text in the print edition and both handwritten artefacts present the hero rebelling against authority, Schröder's addition

47 Cf. S2, 44r.

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has the king (who, throughout the play, has also been introduced as an authority figure) stressing what ought to be held of such rebellion – and what will await the perpetrator. Any potential audience would now view Rolla's actions in a far less benevolent light – as would the censor as an audience of one.

In the 1790s, Schröder would have had no reason to make this kind of addition. In the 1800s (including the beginning of the occupation), he was not around. It was only once French control began to tighten in 1811 that he came out of retirement to support the theatre with his international standing.[48] It can therefore be assumed that Schröder's change was aimed at the censor with a possible upcoming performance in mind – and that it was Schröder personally who undertook and directed the reshaping of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* (although quite a while before the actual performance). Indeed, his handwriting as 2C not only worked in tandem with the graphite pencil retractions at the end; sometimes the writing in pencil, however hard it is to read, seems to be in Schröder's hand as well.[49] More strikingly, Schröder's hand, using black ink (2C), also worked together with the hand retracting the political backstory at the beginning in brown ink. On 11v, it shifted one word ("unzertrennlich" [inseparable]) to the place immediately before the strike-through begins; Schröder's hand then crossed it out in black ink right before the brown ink was used to retract several folios. All Schröder did here was align the wording of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* (which, again, faithfully followed *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*) with that of the wording in the available print editions. Therefore, Schröder likely corrected "unzertrennlich" and nothing more because he had the strike-through of the next passage in mind – or perhaps because he was the one behind the brown ink himself.

Nearly all of Schröder's textual changes as 2C, which are mostly miniscule and hardly ever more than a few sentences long, are identical with the print editions, whether ostensibly for the censor or not. While hand 2C did not systematically check for discrepancies, it seems to have corrected some of the ones it came across. One of these unrelated changes is particularly interesting because the retracted text has been crossed out in the dense black ink scribbling that was clearly done to please the censor. They can thus be safely attributed to Schröder himself. In the scene where the high priest confesses his fatal love for Rolla's mother, saying, "Da gingen wir beyde von Kummer und Liebe gefoltert […] umher" [There, we both walked around tortured by sorrow and love […]], the "gingen" copied from *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* has become the arguably more emphatic and effective "schlichen" [crept] (S2, 71v[50]) in the print edition.

48 Cf. Meyer 1819b, 111; cf. Wollrabe 1847, 132.

49 Cf. S2, 70r.

50 Cf. Kotzebue 1791, 145.

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On other occasions, Schröder might have planned to adapt the play to contemporary tastes. His hand revised his own 1790 revision of Kotzebue's template in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*. With a straight, vertical black ink line, it cut the comic exchange between the distressed Rolla and the hapless Diego that had been added in Act IV, Scene 2, and instead inserted the much shorter print text at the beginning and ending.[51] Since the 1770s, Schröder had been known not only for his temperate, restrained dramaturgical approach but also as a principal with a feel for the disposition of his audience.[52] While, in 1790, he seems to have seen a need to balance Rolla's agony about Cora's future suffering with Diego's comic inaptitude, in the 1810s, cultural tastes had changed. Rolla's exaggerated agony could now easily be brought in line with the sombre, macabre atmosphere of Dark Romanticism. In fact, the play was advertised as a "romantisches Schauspiel" [romantic play] in 1813 instead of a mere "Schauspiel" as it had been before.[53] This billing was probably also due to the censorship context. It placed emphasis on the star-crossed lovers instead of on the political dimension of the plot. The eerily beautiful horror that Rolla feels about Cora's penalty fitted in nicely with the mitigation of the political. Similarly, on neither occasion in 1813 did the evening end with the swift, happy resolution of the play, i.e., the Inca king's pardon. In addition to the subsequent musical finale, one-act, comic pantomime ballets were performed (*Der glückliche Morgen* [*The Happy Morning*] on 22 August, *Der Schornsteinfeger* [*The Chimney Sweeper*] on 9 September).[54] Framing the politically problematic play as "romantic" and easy-going – not only for the censor but also for the general public – seems to have been a successful strategy for getting *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* staged. After French occupation, however, the playbills swiftly dropped any mention of it being "romantic", and the amusing epilogue was cut.[55] (Cf. figure 45.)

In most cases, Schröder's hand intervened when the passage at stake was potentially interesting from a censorship point of view. Nevertheless, at some points, deviations from the print attracted his attention in passing as he worked on the censorship revisions. Before the graphite pencil retracted the potentially provocative lines at the end of Act II, Schröder's hand intervened in a completely unrelated matter. In the print edition, Rolla offers to go drinking with Alonzo ("zechen"[56]).

51 Cf. S2, 65v–67r.

52 Cf. Hoffmann 1939, 237–246.

53 Cf. the 1813 playbills for August 22 and September 9 on Jahn/Mühle/Eisenhardt/Malchow/M. Schneider (https://www.stadttheater.uni-hamburg.de).

54 Cf. the 1813 playbills for August 22 and September 9 on Jahn/Mühle/Eisenhardt/Malchow/M. Schneider (https://www.stadttheater.uni-hamburg.de).

55 Cf. the playbill for September 19, 1814, on Jahn/Mühle/Eisenhardt/Malchow/M. Schneider (https://www.stadttheater.uni-hamburg.de).

56 Cf. Kotzebue 1791, 100.

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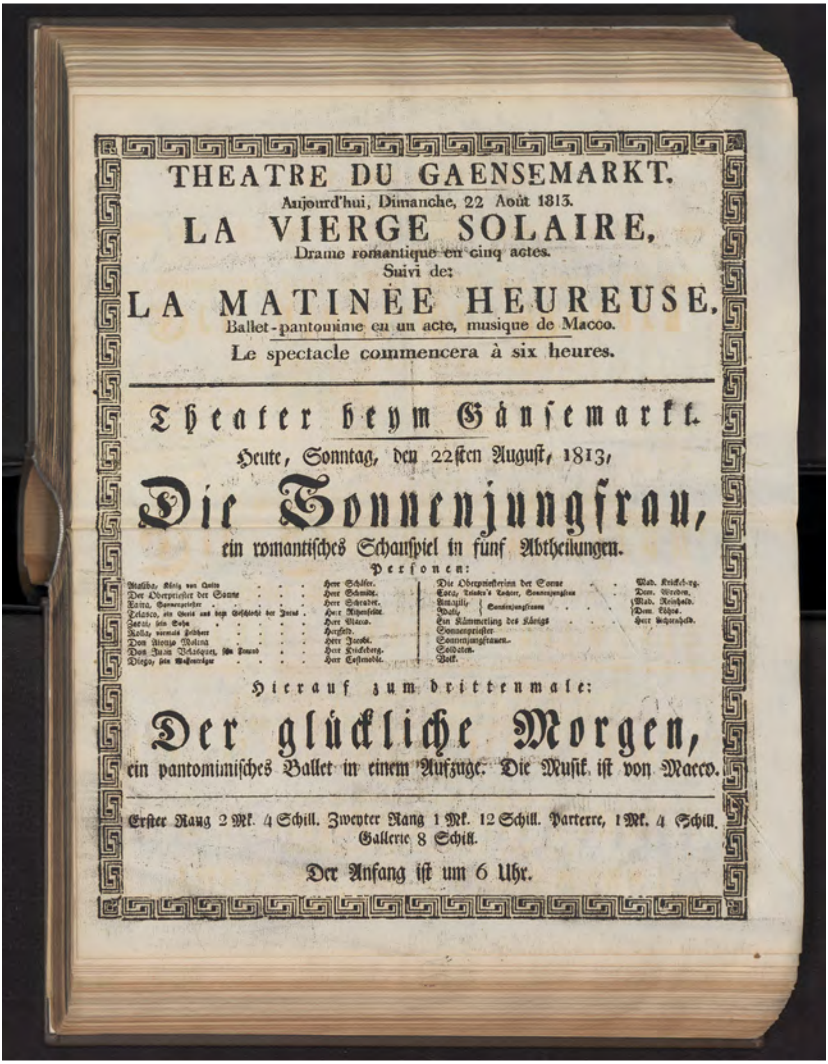
As in the *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* correction version, *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* only had them taking a walk ("gehen" (S2 44r)) and was later realigned with the print version.

Figure 45: playbill 22 August 1813.



THEATRE DU GAENSEMARKT.
Aujourd'hui, Dimanche, 22 Août 1813.
LA VIERGE SOLAIRE,
Drame romantique en cinq actes.
Suivi de:
LA MATINÉE HEUREUSE,
Ballet-pantomime en un acte, musique de Macco.
Le spectacle commencera à six heures.

Theater beym Gänsemarkt.
Heute, Sonntag, den 22sten August, 1813,
Die Sonnenjungfrau,
ein romantisches Schauspiel in fünf Abtheilungen.
Personen:

Ataliba, König von Quito	Herr Schäfer.
Der Oberpriester der Sonne	Herr Schmidt.
Xaira, Sonnenpriester	Herr Schrader.
Telasco, ein Greis aus dem Geschlecht der Incas	Herr Ahlenfeldt.
Zorai, sein Sohn	Herr Macco.
Rolla, vormals Feldherr	Herzfeld.
Don Alonzo Molina	Herr Jacobi.
Don Juan Velasquez, sein Freund	Herr Krickeberg.
Diego, sein Waffenträger	Herr Costenoble.
Die Oberpriesterinn der Sonne	Mad. Krickeberg.
Cora, Telasco's Tochter, Sonnenjungfrau	Dem. Wreden.
Amazili, } Sonnenjungfrauen	Mad. Reinhold.
Idali, }	Dem. Löhrs.
Ein Kämmerling des Königs	Herr [illegible]
Sonnenpriester.	
Sonnenjungfrauen.	
Soldaten.	
Volk.	

Hierauf zum drittenmale:
Der glückliche Morgen,
ein pantomimisches Ballet in einem Aufzuge. Die Musik ist von Macco.

Erster Rang 2 Mk. 4 Schill. Zweyter Rang 1 Mk. 12 Schill. Parterre, 1 Mk. 4 Schill.
Gallerie 8 Schill.
Der Anfang ist um 6 Uhr.

It is thus safe to say that Schröder had a print copy in hand as he was working his way through the 1790 prompt book in 1811 or 1812. Some inserted parts are thus also identical with the original *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* fair copy (such as Act IV, Scene 2), but were cut when it was revised for *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*. Since the text

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of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, and presumably that of its original template, sometimes differed from the print publication, it is obvious that Schröder did not make use of the earlier version preserved in his collection.

Schröder's hand only deviated from the print edition and from *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* on a very small number of other occasions aside – and frequently only marginally. The play was de-Catholicised at a time when Spain was an enemy of France: the excommunicated Napoleon had the Pope in chains, and references to Rome might have seen as antagonistic towards the (Catholic) occupiers of Protestant Hamburg. A Spanish character's exclamation of "Gott sey Dank!" (S1, 30[57]) [Thank God!], has been changed by Schröder's hand into "Himmel sey Dank!" (S2, 13r) [Thank heaven!]. It has also replaced "Bei allen Heiligen!" (S1, 80[58]) [By the saints!] with "Beym Himmel!" (S2, 37r) [Heavens!]. In a similar manner, implorations such as "beym heiligen Ritter Georg" (S1, 36[59]) [by George, the holy knight] have been reduced to "beim Ritter Georg" (S2, 15v) – written in a black ink like the one Schröder used for his other revisions. While Kotzebue presented members of the Inca as monotheistic (and thus as thinly veiled representatives of his own times), a hand that might have been that of Schröder changed the singular "Gott" [God] into "Götter" (S2, 70r) [gods] in graphite pencil. Where Don Juan worries about Cora's "Aussichten auf Seligkeit" [prospects of redemption], which could be read in a religious sense, Schröder's hand has crossed out "Seligkeit" and added the similar sounding but semantically distinct "eine seelige Zukunft" [a blessed future] (S2, 14r).[60]

As we have pointed out, Schröder corrected some of the obscurities that had made it from *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* into *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* – that is, wherever they occurred in proximity to a passage that needed to be revised for the censor. It was his hand that clarified who was speaking with or about whom where the two additional sun virgins show up and *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* becomes a bit untidy.[61]

57 Cf. Kotzebue 1791, 40.

58 Cf. Kotzebue 1791, 89.

59 Cf. Kotzebue 1791, 44.

60 Schröder's hand also deviated from both the print edition and *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* when it came to weapons: Rolla's troops are described as "schütteln die Lanzen" [shaking the spears], which is changed into a nearly nonsensical but perhaps less menacing "schütteln die Pfeile" [shaking the arrows] (S2, 91v). In the same vein, Rolla's "lance", which is referred to as such in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* and faithfully transcribed into *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, has been changed into a "Wurfspieß" [javelin] when talked about on stage. The related stage direction, however, still mentions the "Lanze" (S2, 95v). "Wurfspieß" sounded a bit more archaic and thus further removed from the reality of French soldiers patrolling the streets – or, and perhaps more likely, Schröder knew that the censor was highly critical of mentions of contemporary weapons or spears on stage.

61 Cf. S2, 45r–48r, see above.

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We have already mentioned the two instances when Schröder did not have enough space for the text he inserted from the print edition: two of the paste-ins have been written in his hand.[62] Both follow the same pattern: they contain dialogue that had been cut from *Theater-Bibiothek: 728* and the print editions. Both passages might have been retracted from *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* because they did not contain any new information or contribute anything new to the plot. Both, however, bolstered the authority figure's standing in the face of the rebellious youth. The first is a comic interlude in which the high priestess catches two sun virgins in their lie about having left the premises. In the second, the riotous Rolla is brought back to earth by the high priest. Either Schröder wanted to rid the text of the impression that the authorities could be challenged for no reason, or the conspicuous positioning of his paste-ins was to demonstrate how attentive the theatre company was to any perceived challenges to authority. The fact that the censor only signed off on the very day of the performance (after it had probably already been advertised) indicates that there were some complications or that there was at least some back-and-forth. But if the performance announced on the playbill did indeed go ahead, then the revisions had served their purpose after all.

VII. Reworking the Play, Reshaping *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* II: Discovering the Heroic Dreamer in 1823

At some point during the use of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*, some of the bigger changes Schröder had made to get the censor's approval were retracted. This might have happened in anticipation of the September 1814 performance, soon after the withdrawal of the French troops. Since none of the changes genuinely impaired the functioning of the play as a piece of dramatic literature, it is more likely that the new revisions were made when *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* was taken up again in the 1820s after a longer hiatus. The hand of Zimmermann, the 1820s prompter (2D), clearly speaks for the latter hypothesis.

Most of the time, hand 2D, which wrote in black ink on green paper inserts, seems to have been undertaking a joint effort with a hand writing in red crayon – perhaps in two stages, perhaps for the sake of clearer visual organisation; perhaps it was hand 2D itself, perhaps a colleague working as a partner. This becomes evident during the climactic finale, i.e., the showdown between Ataliba and his former general Rolla. When the Inca king orders Rolla's entourage to arrest him, the Inca warrior's lengthy retort makes appeals to their shared memories of battle. Except for "Ihr mich greifen? Ihr mich fesseln?" [You seize me? You bind me?], a graphite pencil had previously censored everything with a sweeping slash, starting

62 Cf. S2 48r, 70r.

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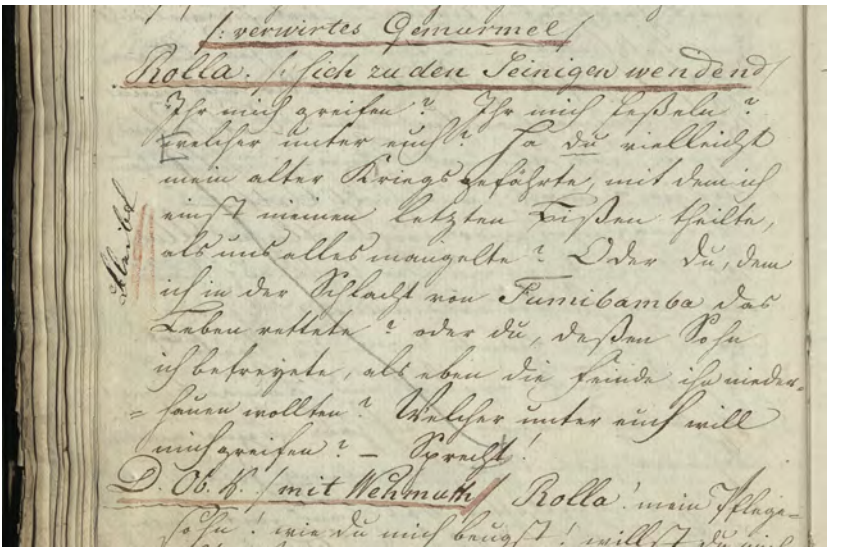
with the defiant "welcher unter euch?" [who among you?], going all the way through to the aggressive "Ha, du vielleicht?" (S2, 94v) [Ha, perhaps you?]. Retracting the retraction, hand 2D has written a vertical "bleibt" [remains] in neat, elegant black ink letters next to the whole passage. "Bleibt" has been underlined in red crayon. The audience would now once again witness Rolla in full swing. On other occasions that we will analyse below, passages have been struck through in red crayon, with hand 2D filling in the substitute lines. Together, the two writing tools were clearly out to reverse some of the earlier taming of the action (cf. figure 46).

Figure 46: S2, 94v.



The hand of the vertical "bleibt" on 94v can be clearly identified as that of Christian Friedrich Zimmermann, whose work as a prompter at the Stadt-Theater can be traced back to 1821, i.e., before the 1823 revival of the play. Zimmermann signed his name in some other prompt books in the same elegant penmanship.[63] It seems to be identical with some of the other additions and likely the same as the lines jotted down on the green paper inserts. For those, however, Zimmermann seems to have used a different quill that produced a thinner line. (Cf. figure 47.)

63 The earliest example from Theater-Bibliothek is an 1821 production of Ernst von Houwald's one-act play *Die Heimkehr* (*The Homecoming*). Apart from his signatures, there is no record of Zimmermann. The official prompter of the company was a "Herr Haring" in 1821. Cf. *Theater-Bibliothek*: 374b, 93; cf. Klingemann 1822, 410; cf. Zimmermann's DNB entry https://d-nb.info/gnd/1243915552.

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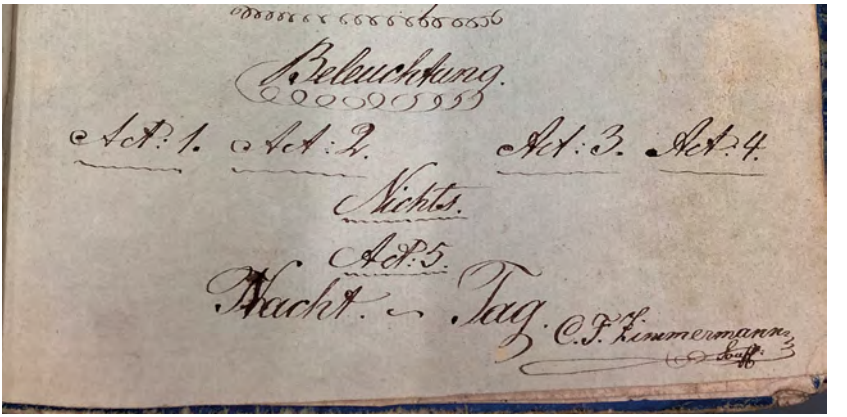
Figure 47: Theater-Bibliothek: 1428b, 235.



As described above, hand 2D also seems to have been responsible for adding several sweeping instances of "bl" (short for "bleibt" [remains]) where Don Juan's report had given a full picture of the backstory at the beginning – only to then be cut by Schröder for the censor. Now, the Hamburg audience would once again get an overview of the political backdrop to the plot unfolding on stage – not just the sensational story of forbidden love.

On occasions, the black ink used by hand 2D was also working together with a graphite pencil (which could also have been, but was not necessarily being, used by the same hand). At the end of Act III, the priests of the sun take the prisoners away, including, in an act of wanton psychological cruelty, Cora's elderly father. The accompanying turmoil – which might have been deemed a little too similar to what the authorities feared would happen on the streets of Hamburg under French occupation – had been cut for the censor. Hand 2D now added a casual "bleibt" (S2, 64r) using a quill that seems to have been running low on ink. The addition of "bl" in graphite pencil on the verso could also have been made by hand 2D. Three additional instances of "bleibt" in graphite pencil on the recto and one (S2, 64v) on the verso might or might not have been made by the same hand: like Schröder's/hand 2C's black ink, hand 2D also seems to have worked in tandem with someone using a grey writing tool alongside the red crayon – whether applied by a different hand or not.

However, in the case of hand 2D, it is far less obvious whether this layer of black, red, and grey was applied during the same revision stage or whether it can itself be divided into sublayers that might each emphasise a certain operation at a different point in time. While the graphite pencil enrichments in the written artefacts of the Theater-Bibliothek are almost impossible to attribute to a certain hand or revision stage, some interventions by the crayon might already have oc-

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curred in tandem with Schröder's 1813 revision. Like Schröder's hand 2C, the wax crayon has casually aligned the text copied from *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* for no apparent reason with the one circulating in various print editions. In the passage where Rolla laments that "ich ein Mädchen liebe, das ihrem Dienst geweiht ist" [I love a girl who is dedicated to their [the gods'] service], the writing tool has cut the relative clause down to a more elegant participle apposition: "ein Mädchen liebe, ihrem Dienst geweiht" (S2, 5v[64]) [I love a girl, dedicated to her service]. The wax crayon was also at work at the beginning, suggesting it might have been part of Schröder's 1813 revisions. Where Rolla is frequently addressed as "Jüngling" [youth] by the high priest, the writing tool has consistently crossed out the appellation and replaced it with "Rolla" (S2, 3r, 4v, 6r). These slight changes would have indeed made sense for the 1813 performances. Up until 1815, Rolla was played by former director Herzfeld, who was in his forties by that point.[65] As the famous role of Rolla was now coveted by prominent (and thus mostly older) actors, there would have been no need to change the appellation back to emphasise the Inca warrior's youth when, in 1816 as well as in the 1820s, guest actors were playing the part. On the other hand, audiences tended to excuse differences in age between their favourites and the parts they played. After all, Schröder himself had achieved stardom in 1778 by playing the aged King Lear just before he turned thirty-four.[66] In 1790, he then played Kotzebue's geriatric high priest at the age of forty-nine. There is consequently no certainty as to when the red crayon got rid of Rolla's youth. Where, at a later point, Don Juan addresses Rolla as "junger Mensch" (S2, 29v) [young person], the "junger" has been crossed out in black ink, which could have been carried out by Schröder's quill in 1813 or by Zimmermann's in 1823. Where the high priest calls Rolla "junger Mann" (S2, 4r) [young man] at the beginning, the red crayon has crossed out "junger", which has then been added again in the margin in Zimmermann's black ink, thereby potentially indicating a later revision. This might also have occurred simply due to the age difference between father and son (as revealed during that scene): the older priest is clearly addressing a younger man. Since a red crayon was evidently assisting Zimmermann's quill (2D), the revision was probably made in the 1820s if the crayon was in fact only used for a single revision stage, but this is by no means certain.

When reworking *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* in 1813, Schröder's hand, 2C, accentuated the power of authority, cut back on the political backstory, and trimmed Rolla's sometimes bellicose mood to size. Zimmermann's hand, 2D, not only walked many of these decisions back but also gave more emphasis to some aspects of the

64 Kotzebue 1791, 16.

65 Cf. the respective playbill for February 17, 1815, on Jahn/Mühle/Eisenhardt/Malchow/M. Schneider (https://www.stadttheater.uni-hamburg.de).

66 Cf. Chapter 5, section 7.

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play that we have just mentioned. "Noble savage" Rolla was such a popular character with actors because he had also found such favour with the (theatre-going and reading) audience. His brooding nature fit in with popular Romantic tastes, as did his passion. In 1823, Zimmermann's hand, 2D, working in black ink, and the hand working in red crayon set out to expand Rolla's part once again. In this spirit, other characters' lines were occasionally cut or reduced to give Rolla's part more weight. When he first encounters Rolla, Don Juan defends his friend's Alonzo's passion only to be surprised by the former general and now hermit's confession of his own love for the sun virgin. In 1813, Schröder had aligned the passage with the print version. In 1823, the wax crayon cut it altogether,[67] lending Rolla's feelings more significance. Conversely, in the dramatic finale, one of the green paper inserts has given much more space and assigned more importance to Cora's declaration of her absolute and innocent love for Alonzo than in the pared-down versions in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* and *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*.[68] While this shifts the attention from Rolla's revolt to the ill-fated lovers, Cora's purity now gives more weight to Rolla's anger against the powers that be – a righteous anger in defence of truth, virtue, and beauty.

Several times, hand 2D has filled in lines spoken by Rolla that had been cut during the revision of *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* in 1790. Like Schröder before him, Zimmermann also used a print copy as a point of reference. This has created the curious overall impression that redundant lines with no importance for the overall plot were cut from *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* and therefore left out in *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* only to be put back in again later. At second glance, it is possible to discern the slight re-accentuation of the mood effected by these minor changes. Clearly, Schröder's 1790 impulse to sober up Kotzebue's ebullient style was no longer the order of the day by the 1820s. On the contrary, parts thrown out thirty years earlier had now become suitable or even fashionable.

This is most prominent at the seemingly random transition between the two scribes of *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* in the middle of Act IV, Scene 3. The red crayon has crossed out the text in the upper half of 64r by making four slashes in the form of two large X's. The lower half and the completely empty 64v have been left for the new text before the first quire of scribe 2B begins. The retracted lines that were copied from the revised *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* into *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* are emotionally charged to begin with: "Nun so zertrümmre Erde, daß alles untergehe! – Auf ihr Schrecken der Natur! Donnergebrüll und Sturmgeheul! Umgebt mich daß ich frey athme! Daß meine Stimme mit der eurigen kämpfe und mein Arm schneller morde als eure Blize!" [Now smash the earth so that everything perishes! – Here's to the terrors of nature! Roar of thunder and howl of storm! Surround me so that

67 Cf. S2, 30r.

68 Cf. S2, 79r.

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I may breathe freely! That my voice may fight with yours and my arm may murder faster than your lightning!]. The high priest can only retort with, "Um aller Götter willen! – Rolla! –" [For all the gods' sake! – Rolla! –]. In the printed text however, Rolla's part is nearly twice as long and includes an additional, over-the-top, "Nun so schaudere, Erde, und verschlinge Deine ganze Oberfläche! Murret ihr Gebürge rings umher! Feuer! Feuer aus euren Eingeweiden in die Thäler! Daß Alles untergehe! Kein Gras mehr wachse! Und die Welt aussehe, wie eine große Brandstäte!" (S2, 64r) [Now, shudder, earth, and devour all your surface! Murmur you mountains all around! Fire! Fire from your bowels into the valleys! That all may perish! That no grass may grow! And that the world may appear as a great conflagration!].[69] On the bottom of the recto, hand 2D has inserted this passage into *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* in its entirety. "Um aller Götter willen! – Rolla! –" [For all the gods' sake! – Rolla! –] then follows at the top of the verso. In his alarm about Cora's fate, Rolla (who is about to find out that his counterpart is his father in an even more dramatic next step) makes a scene in the literal sense of the word. The character had done so in Schröder's slightly subdued 1790s version; however, the work of the red crayon and Zimmermann's black ink quill turned the volume all the way back up in the 1820s. Due to the half-empty recto and the empty verso, *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* seems to invite such excess: there is indeed space to add more text.

In other instances, the prompt book does not afford space for enrichments. This is where the inserts on additional sheets such as the one with Cora's extra text make their entrance. In one case, only a minor amount of Rolla text has been added. But the red crayon disavowal of Schröder's revisions looks so convoluted that it might have seemed necessary to insert the slightly longer text.[70]

Hand 2D also incorporated Rolla's greater emotional bandwidth into Act IV, Scene 2 – the scene that was entirely reworked in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728* and then realigned with the print version in 1813. Back then, Schröder had not added all of the text from the print edition, instead leaving out the part where Rolla reveals himself to be not only desperate but also emotional and weak – even vis-à-vis the cowardly Diego. Re-adding this side of Rolla in the 1820s now made for a fuller character, whose love and desperation lead him to humiliate himself: "Redet! Es ist Rolla der euch bittet. Rolla bittet so gut ists euch noch nie geworden. Redet was ist vorgefallen?" (S2, 66v) [Talk! It is Rolla who asks you. Rolla pleads[,] you've never had it this good. Talk, what has happened?].

The one insert which is in neither Schröder's nor Zimmermann's (or the censor's) hand was clearly added in line with the spirit of the 1820s revisions. It was pinned-in using a (since lost) needle at the end of scene Act IV, Scene 3, on 73v and replaces only two and a half lines. The insert has been folded twice and thus had

69 Kotzebue 1791, 138.

70 Cf. S2, 31r.

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to be folded in and out to first follow the additional text and then slide back onto the verso for the reader to continue reading. The lines around the passage that the insert replaced had already been aligned by Schröder with the print version during the 1813 revision. Since this passage has been crossed out in the red crayon, it seems to have been made during the Zimmermann revision stage. In the sober 1790 version copied from the revised *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*, Rolla has regained his balance and gets back to business: "Ja, ich bin wieder ausgesöhnt mit der Welt. Und nun mein Vater, laßt uns Alonzo und Cora retten, ihr müßt sie retten" [Yes, I am reconciled with the world once more. And now, my father, let us save Alonzo and Cora, you must save them]. In the print version and on the insert, the text is nearly six times as long. Rolla's mind goes on a flight of fancy in envisioning how to engineer the lovers' escape: "Hört, wie meine Phantasie sich das frohe Bild träumt" (S2, 73v) [Hear how my imagination dreams the happy picture]. There was clearly no room for the verbose breadth of such "Phantasie" in the 1790 version, certainly not with respect to the heroic Rolla. The 1820s revisions situate the character quite differently but with a remarkable (and pragmatic) fealty to Kotzebue's original publication. Rolla is now a hero because he is also a dreamer. As far as the character is concerned, this is a complete turnaround. On a material level, however, the insert clearly remains a foreign body which is always in danger of falling or fluttering out of the prompt book.

The reshaped *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* was probably in action five times between 1823 and 1826. Since enrichments like this were rather common, it was nothing worthy of greater attention in the pragmatic work of prompting or in the handwritten artefact. However, the content of the pinned-in insert had come a long way: it had been part of Kotzebue's original submission and had been crossed out in Schröder's 1790 trial version, i.e., in *Theater-Bibliothek: 728*. It was excluded from the production for over thirty years, spanning more than twenty performances under different principals, with different actors, and at least two different prompters. But six years after Schröder's death, Rolla's fanciful side made it back into the written artefact – as part of the life of its own that *Theater-Bibliothek: 1460* had taken on.

Initially, two written artefacts had had to be created to make one prompt book for the original production of *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* in 1790. One (*Theater-Bibliothek: 728*) was decisive for the make-up of the other but was then left by the wayside. The other (*Theater-Bibliothek: 1460*) went with the historic tides and would be blown about by the shifting political and cultural winds for the next thirty-six years. The seemingly incomprehensible layers of writing bear witness to this history and follow fairly regular patterns. For their part, these patterns were tied to the internal and external circumstances, conditions, and urgencies of the Stadt-Theater as they influenced everyday work in and around the prompt box.

Reconstructing the eventful history of the two prompt books and their entangled relationship calls various well-established notions of literature and theatre

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into question. The unity of a dramatic text and the authority of the print version published by an author were, on the one hand, treated as self-evident ideas in the world of the Stadt-Theater around 1800. But in practice, they were only ideas. Texts have been materially dismembered and put together again in different ways, sometimes with new ingredients. The many hands of different agents (the principal, the prompter, the impartial scribes) as well as the various styles, tools, and paper practices have contributed to an intrinsically complicated result. It was only by arriving at this result that another play from the ceaselessly productive assembly line of August von Kotzebue, the German-speaking world's most prolific and successful playwright, could grace the stage every now and then for several decades.

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