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‘Vu et approuvé’: Censorship Notes in Hamburg Prompt Books from the French Period

Abstract: Among the c. 3,050 items, most of which are books in manuscript, that comprise the collection known as the Theater-Bibliothek of Hamburg’s city and university library, 136 items contain censorship entries from the years when Hamburg was part of the Napoleonic Empire (1811–1814). Remarks in multiple hands make suggestions and negotiate how to avoid referring to the occupying forces, the English enemy, oppression, or upheaval. The prompt book for the 1812 revival of Hamburg’s famous 1770s production of *King Lear* is particularly memorable in the ways a simplified adaptation (that was staged long after the occupation ended) is produced by the complex interactions of various hands.

1 Censorship of the Hamburg stage: the stake of handwriting

In European theatre, censorship of the stage lasted well into the twentieth century in most countries.¹ In the German-speaking areas of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century theatre companies that did not perform at court had to obtain approval for their performances with the local authorities in the first place.² The content of the play itself was only one (albeit crucial) element of an overall administrative process. Theatre was a commercial enterprise and relied on pandering to the assumed prevalent taste. (Implicit) standards of offensiveness or objectionability were usually well known. Censorship of the printing press (with regard to journalism and literature) as well as that of public utterances in general provided a backdrop against which censorship of the stage was often not a problem by itself as long as plays and performances remained within an implicit framework of decorum.³

1 Cf. Goldstein 1989, 113–153; cf. Worrall 2017, 45–53.

2 Cf. Maurer-Schmooch 1982, 102–118.

3 Cf. Pieroth 2018, 18–22.

Potentially, theatre censorship can always go along with practices of hand-writing: while the performance of a play is ephemeral the censor needs a tangible basis for his decision, e.g. the content of the play to be performed in a stable container, i.e. manuscript or print. Writing tool in hand, the censor can then cancel or 'amend' words as well as whole passages. However, it is safe to assume (and in a lot of cases well known) that in practice plays were approved or rejected altogether – at least plays by familiar authors.⁴ Either way, censorship annotations would not necessarily make their way into the prompt books used within the theatre to facilitate the actual performances: written artefact in hand, prompters help out with lines that may have been forgotten or just poorly memorised; stage managers see to the quiet operation of the performance. Around 1800, these two roles sometimes intermingled in European theatre. It is more likely that these prompt books would take the approved play or version of it as a starting point for producing a 'clean copy' manuscript that would then be put to use in everyday practice.

Prompt books from the French occupation period in Hamburg (1806–1814) prove to be a fascinating exception to this rule of thumb: after the introduction of a due process of censorship in 1810/1811, the local censor, former Hamburg journalist Johann Philipp Nick (1777–1815),⁵ would note pages in need of change, suggest and insert amendments as well as sign the final version with a 'vu et approuvé' ('seen and approved') by 'Nick censeur' ('censor Nick') or simply 'Nick'. The prompt book of Kotezbue's popular melodrama *Die Sonnenjungfrau* (about a fated transcultural love during the Spanish conquest of Peru) has only very few censorship interventions (despite hints to a minor riot in the subplot). Nick signed it on the date of the performance in question, '22 août 1813' (see Fig. 1). Although Nick is the only censor in town, the respective written artefacts put the interaction of several hands and writing tools on display. In some cases, they replaced the prompt books that had already been in use for several decades.⁶ Mostly, these written artefacts were already full of amendments and additions that had been added (e.g. by the principal or the prompter himself) whenever a production was revived after a hiatus. While future enrichments

⁴ Cf. Hellmich 2014, 126.

⁵ Cf. Schröder and Klose 1870, 519; cf. Hellmich 2014, 30–31.

⁶ In some cases, such an original prompt book is part of the collection in addition to the censorship one. Cf. the 1777 manuscript based and the 1813 print based prompt books of local adaptations of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek 'Carl von Ossietzky' (Stabi), Theater-Bibliothek, 514 (*Maaß für Maaß. Ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen*); cf. Hamburg, Stabi, Theater-Bibliothek, 948b (*Maaß für Maaß. Ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen*).

were to be expected the original page layout hardly ever took them into account. Only few interleaved written artefacts⁷ or prompt books with margins for possible corrections⁸ are part of Theater-Bibliothek. These tended to be bulky and would have impeded their side stage use during the performance by the prompter or the inspector (a person of overall responsibility who was also the predecessor of today's stage manager). The manuscripts had been written (often by the prompter himself) in German cursive (with rare interjections of Latin) on low-price paper quires in whichever format and with whatever quill and ink seem to have been at hand; they had then been bound into inexpensive card board cover. They also include additional practical information for the subsequent use for a performance: the prompter and the inspector would be in need of cast, prop and set lists as well as cues for lighting, entrances and exits. These lists were often glued in on extra sheets after the production of the clean copy or added on folios that had been left blank (see Fig. 2). In the case of the French period prompt books, most of them were used (often with only minor changes) for a long time after Nick's work as censor ended. The following considerations examine Nick's interventions with respect to a prominent example, Friedrich Ludwig Schröder's 1812 reprisal of his own 1778 adaptation of William Shakespeare's early seventeenth-century *King Lear*.

2 'Nick censeur': Approval and rejection entries

The French army captured Hamburg in 1806. As the capital of the newly founded department Bouches-de-l'Elbe, the city was a part of the Empire from late 1810 up to the expulsion of the occupying forces in 1814. Napoleon decreed the reintroduction of censorship in France in 1810; the new laws were applied in the new territories in the course of 1811.⁹ The central 'Direction de l'imprimerie et de la librairie' in Paris had a Hamburg-based agency closely aligned with the local police. Beside the control of printing and bookselling, the agency had its resident censor in Johann Philipp Nick who was responsible for the newspapers, for all published literature and also for the stage. All playbills, which advertised the venue, the date and the name of the play, needed to be bilingual. An overall list of the plays to be performed had to be presented to Nick's supervisor, Louis-

7 Cf. Hamburg, Stabi, Theater-Bibliothek, 1989b (*Dom Karlos, Infant von Spanien*).

8 Cf. Hamburg, Stabi, Theater-Bibliothek, 499b (*Macbeth. Ein Trauerspiel in Fünf Aufzügen*).

9 Cf. Hellmich 2014, 123–124.

Philippe Brun d'Aubignosc, for approval. D'Aubignosc had the power to prohibit the performance of a play and to close down a theatre if his orders met with resistance. He could also interfere after the fact in case an approved play was deemed to have an undesirable effect upon the public.¹⁰ In general, plays needed to avoid utterances that could be construed as criticism of France and all things French. The English enemy was not to be mentioned; words such as 'homeland', 'patriotism', 'freedom', 'tyranny', 'oppression' etc. were to be avoided. As a matter of consequence, the agency tended to reject works by popular authors such as Friedrich Schiller wholesale.¹¹ However, a lot of the plays that did reach Nick's desk give the impression to have been edited with a great deal of good will and attention to detail. Others hardly show any interventions.¹²

More than half of the c. 3,050 mostly handwritten prompt books in the Hamburg Theater-Bibliothek's collection (ranging from 1750 up to 1880),¹³ date from the 1770s to the 1810s. Written artefacts of plays that were never performed can be found next to one hit wonders (i.e. plays that were performed once or twice but never taken up again) and plays that became part of the repertory for decades.¹⁴ Some of the books were in use for quite some time afterwards, sometimes until the 1840s. For some especially successful plays (that were performed more than 50 times over a two or three decades) there is no written artefact preserved in the collection. These might have shown too many signs of wear to be considered worth preserving for another future performance.

Before and after the time of French censorship, none of the many written artefacts in the collection bear witness to explicit censorship intervention (or, for that matter, a due process of censorship). The 136 written artefacts that bear the censor's, i.e. Nick's signature¹⁵ account for nearly all the plays known to have been performed during Nick's tenure from 1811 to 1814. The overwhelming bulk is signed with the aforementioned 'seen and approved' in a dark ink which had probably been black but faded into brown overtime. In various prompt books,

¹⁰ Cf. Hellmich 2014, 124–127.

¹¹ Cf. Stoltz 2016. (Dominik Stoltz has been part of the team that has compiled the index of Theater-Bibliothek but has only published this blogpost.)

¹² Cf. *Allgemeine Zeitung* 1815, 1236.

¹³ Cf. Neubacher 2016.

¹⁴ Playbills from 1768 to 1850 can be accessed at <www.stadttheater.uni-hamburg.de>.

¹⁵ According to the index of Hamburg Staatsbibliothek 'Handschriftenkatalog' (<allegro.sub.uni-hamburg.de/hans>); cf. Stoltz 2016. Stoltz counts 135 because he does not yet include the *King Lear*-prompt book analysed below. The written artefact clearly belongs to Theater-Bibliothek but was found by the author of this article in the general inventory of Hamburg Staatsbibliothek in 2015. It has since been included in the special collection.

page numbers are listed in Nick’s hand on one of the last pages. These are the pages with objectionable content; they contain Nick’s minor or major annotations as well as edits by additional hands (and different writing tools) that react to or anticipate Nick’s comments. Only in very few cases, prompt books include rejection notices: the most explicit one is on display in Gustav Hagemann’s 1790 comedy *Leichtsinn und Edelmuth* was performed on a regular basis until 1798 but was deemed too critical of the military by Nick. His rather genial last page commentary reads:

In einem monarchischen Staate kann und darf der Soldatenstand als kein Unglück betrachtet werden. Der 15. Auft[ritt] wirft auf jeden Fall ein ungünstiges Licht auf ihn. Die anderen Scenen sind nicht gantz von diesem Vorwurfe frei. Sie werden es mir daher nicht übelnehmen hochzuverehrender Herr Director! wenn ich dieses Lustspiel nicht genehmigen kann.

In a monarchy, the military cannot and must not be regarded as a misfortune. In any case, the 15th scene shows it in an unfavourable light. The other scenes are not entirely free of this reproach. You will therefore not hold it against me, Honorable Director! If I cannot approve this comedy (my translation).¹⁶

As mentioned above, some written artefacts Nick received look like newly produced copies instead of the existing prompt books for productions that had been part of the repertory for a longer period of time. They were possibly worn out by their long-time use; the information stored in them might have been deemed too valuable to be messed around with by a (hopefully) temporary occupying power. An additional layer of writing by an outside hand was always at risk of rendering the prompt book as a whole illegible and thus unsuitable for practical use. In such a case, especially if a play was deemed problematic by the theatre company, Nick received so-called clean copies, i.e. books that were produced from scratch and then – as soon as they had Nick’s signature of approval – amended e.g. with technical information.

In 15 instances, the company did not produce a new manuscript at all but used an existing print version of the respective play as a basis. This was convenient (and common practice) whenever the stage adaptation of a play would not greatly differ from a published version of a text. Approximately 500 of the 3,050 prompt books in Theater-Bibliothek are based on available printed books and then turned into a unique written artefact via enrichment by often multiple hands. Most of the 15 print prompt books signed by Nick were commercially

¹⁶ Hamburg, Stabi, Theater-Bibliothek, 477 (*Leichtsinn und Edelmuth. Lustspiel in einem Aufzug*), fol. 34^v; cf. Stoltz 2016.

successful (and politically non-threatening) comedies that had been part of the Hamburg repertory for a great period of time. Handing in a print made additional sense in cases in which the theatre company itself had published a particularly successful stage adaptation, which had been the case for the Hamburg productions of Shakespeare back in the 1770s. These adaptations were still the ones performed at the time although they were outdated as far as the intellectual discourse of the 1810s was concerned. Handing in a printed book also conveyed the not so subtle point that a work allowed in print could also be performed on stage: out of the five Shakespeare plays performed under Nick's aegis, two were comedies and made use of the handwritten 1770s prompt book. Three with a potentially problematic contents, however, were handed in as print: the 1770s Hamburg adaptations of *Measure for Measure*, *Hamlet* and *King Lear* had all privileged the family drama over the political dimension. But they still included tales of revolutionary struggle that could be deemed problematic by the French authorities. Handing them in as prints thus meant less work for the scribe (usually the prompter himself) in case of a possible rejection. In case of acceptance, the company would now take the print as a starting point for the new prompt book. The resulting hybrid of print and the multilayered handwriting by multiple users made it easier to distinguish between the original point of departure (i.e. the play presented to Nick), the interaction between the censor's notes and the respective reactions and counter-reactions. Additional technical information could then be added without a problem at a later point in time.

3 The case of the Hamburg 1812 *König Lear*

Against the backdrop of French censorship, it seems rather curious at first that an adaptation of William Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of King Lear* was performed at all five times during the course of 1812.¹⁷ The play by the British playwright is set in a mythical (or early medieval) England and shows the disintegration of authority, various instances of brutal upheaval as well as the invasion of a French army.¹⁸ On the other hand, Shakespeare had been appropriated by the German Romantics more than a decade ago at this point. He was widely considered to be more at home in the German-speaking world than in the London theatre-

¹⁷ According to the playbills accessible at <www.stadttheater.uni-hamburg.de>, performances took place on 13, 20, 22 and 25 March as well as on 11 May and 28 October.

¹⁸ Cf. Foakes 1993, 162–177, 295–303, 385–392.

districts.¹⁹ All the other Shakespeare-plays staged in Hamburg during the censorship period were either set in Italy or Denmark. But in the ascending romantic imagination the England-based *Lear*-plot had more the making of a fairy-tale than an analogy to current political events.²⁰ Above all, the stage-adaptations still performed in Hamburg had first been produced in the 1770s in order to introduce the German-speaking audience to the author. In order to make the plays more palatable, the then principal and lead-actor Friedrich Ludwig Schröder (1744-1816) had equipped the tragedies with happy endings:²¹ Hamlet survived and became king; Lear died more from exhaustion and old age than grief; his daughter Cordelia fainted instead of perishing and could succeed him on the throne. In 1778, Schröder's *Lear*-performance had garnered so much international praise that Mme de Staël included a description in her 1810 quasi-ethnographic exploration of Germany *De l'Allemagne*.²² Despite the subsequent ban of de Staël's work, its stunning initial success would have contributed to whatever standing Schröder's Shakespeare-adaptations had with the Hamburg censorship office. Above all, Schröder himself came out retirement for the 1811 to 1813 censorship period at Hamburg theatre to take over as principal, a position he had already held for the overwhelming part of the last three decades of the eighteenth century. (However, Schröder, although by now himself an older man, did not take up the part of the aged King again.)

In order to promote his take on Shakespeare back in the 1770s, Schröder had had his adaptations published as an octavo-print 'nach Shakespeare' (based on Shakespeare) but without referencing Schröder.²³ Despite being outdated in light of the late eighteenth's century romantic take on Shakespeare, these books were still in circulation. (They were also still common as template for *King Lear* performances in German speaking theatres.) A print copy of Schröder's 1778 *King Lear*-adaptation formed the basis of the prompt book presented to the censorship office in 1812. Next to the printed 'based on Shakespeare', Schröder's own hand has added '[von Schröder]' (by Schröder) in black ink on the title page: the famous principal does not so much ask to stage a play by the English enemy but rather stresses the local aspect. The written arte-

19 Cf. Paulin 2003; cf. Blinn 1982. However, the Romantic translation of *King Lear* in what would become the standard Schlegel/Tieck-edition would not appear until 1832. For Johann Heinrich Voss's 1806 *King Lear*-translation in the Romantic mould that was partly integrated into the Hamburg Shakespeare cf. footnote 30 below.

20 Cf. Bate 1986, 1–20; cf. Paulin 2003, 283–295; cf. Moody 2002, 40.

21 Cf. Häublein 2007; cf. Hoffmeier 1964.

22 Cf. de Staël Holstein 1810, 293–296.

23 Cf. Schröder 1778.

fact as a whole consists of 59 folios, 55 of which (4–58) are printed pages. Sheets of the same paper are also glued inside the front and the back of the brownish cover. In black ink, a faded sticker on the cover (that for most of the written artefacts in the collection seems to be have added at a much later date) does not only state the title ‘König Lear’ (King Lear) and numbers of an earlier index (47 29) but also clearly assigns the book to the ‘Soufleur [sic]’ (prompter).

A set and prop list is written down in black ink on both sides of the second folio. A red pencil by a different hand adds some minor information (see Fig. 2). On the recto of the third further prop information is inserted by different hands in black ink and in a faded grey pencil that also cancels some of the black ink. Presumably the same grey pencil is at work on the verso of the last folio and the inside of the back cover. A list of eight or nine single words could possibly consist of last names of the performers but is largely illegible. However, none of the last names on the existing *King Lear* Hamburg playbills from the 1770 to the 1820s is an obvious match. On the 55 printed folios at least the same three writing tools leave their mark. But a grey pencil is clearly used by different hands at different points in time; a hand that inserted technical remarks makes use of the grey pencil as well as black ink. At least three different hands (including Nick’s) use ink. One of them, which inserts textual additions, is clearly Schröder’s himself. Whether the different shades from black to brown indicate lessening of ink in the quill, the process of yellowing or a different ink altogether has yet to be determined by material analysis. Altogether, 82 of the 110 print pages are slightly or heavily redacted by sometimes more than one hand. The modes of written artefact enrichment range from technical information (cues for entrances, exits or sounds) to textual change. The censorship interventions feature prominently in the latter category.

The last page of the printed text is signed at the bottom by Nick’s hand in the aforementioned brown, perhaps formerly black ink (see Fig. 3): ‘Vu et approuvé par ordre / du Mr le directeur général / de la haute police / Nick censeur’ (‘Seen and approved by the order of the general director of the state police censor Nick’).²⁴ The next, empty end-page lists page numbers at the top, in all likelihood in Nick’s own hand. All pages listed seem to be considered in need of amendment. Similar paratextual indices can be found in various of the written artefacts submitted to Nick. In all likelihood they were produced when the version of a play was not accepted or rejected wholesale. In this instance, each referenced page number is divided from the next by a full stop: ‘S. 6. 7. 11. 13.

²⁴ Similar approvals in other books include a date but often lack the reference to the ‘directeur général’.

49. / 66. 67. 69. 74. 78. 85. 96. / 109.’²⁵ The 6 in 96 is blotted out, but the page in question has similar entries to the other ones. A blot next to the 96 looks like a mistake or a correction. Most pages in question include references to the names England and France: in Shakespeare’s play, Lear’s daughter is simultaneously vowed by the Duke of Burgundy and the King of France – and after her ban married by the latter without a dowry. In 1778, Schröder had cut Burgundy and only made use of the King of France (to reduce the number of actors). 34 years later, all respective references and salutations are changed into Duke of Burgundy instead; as a matter of consequence Cordelia is addressed as Duchess rather than Queen. These changes amount to eight of Nick’s list of thirteen pages with deficiencies.

However, the reintroduction of a character taken from the original Shakespeare-play likely is not to be the censor’s work but based on a proposal by the theatre: while the respective deletions could very well be from the same ink and hand as the final approval-note the corrections themselves are written by a different hand, although most of the time with a similar ink. Moreover, the changes don’t start on page six, as suggested by Nick’s list, but already in the *dramatis personae*-register on page two where the name of France is changed into Burgundy. The first time, the King of France is mentioned in the main text of the play is on page four. Here, a fascinating back and forth between writing tools and presumably different hands takes place (Fig. 4): the ‘König’ (‘King’) is deleted with black ink twice; the ‘Duke of Burgundy’ is written on the blank space on the left margin in what could be a different ink. A thick red pencil then deletes the correction; red dots under the strikethrough nullify the former deletion. Apparently, a grey pencil has the last word: grey dots under the red strikethrough nullify the previous nullification of the correction. Grey vertical lines through the deletion and its withdrawal in the main text reinstate the primary deletion.

The clear differentiation of editing-stages makes it much easier to identify layers by writing tool in the written artefact as a whole. Nevertheless, it remains unclear when the back and forth takes place. It could very well be the case that the back and forth bears witness to a discussion within the theatre company before the book is presented to the censor. After all, later mentions of France are all duly deleted and corrected. It is more likely that the interaction between the grey and red pencil takes place when performances of Schröder’s *Lear*-version are revived years after the occupation: twelve additional performances between

²⁵ Hamburg, Stabi, Theater-Bibliothek, 2029 (*König Lear. Ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Nach Shakespear*), p. 110 (fols 58^v and 59^r).

1816 and 1823 are known of.²⁶ The red pencil suggests changing Burgundy back to France; the grey pencil disagrees and looks to have gained the upper hand – as it is then displayed in the rest of the prompt book.

Nevertheless, the initial change from France to Burgundy on pp. 2 and 4 might be an initial suggestion by the theatre for the censor. This suggestion would then be taken up by him and continuously demanded for some of the additional pages that are listed at the end of the book. After taking out the references to France and England, most of the other numbers refer to pages containing passages of a seditious nature. On p. 11 old Gloster's long monologue about a perceived deterioration of politics and private morals is cut altogether, whether by the hand of the censor or by a hand within the theatre company: 'in Städten Empörung, in Provinzen Zwietracht, in Pallästen Verrätherey' ('in cities, mutinies; in countries, discord; in palaces, treason').²⁷ Traces of red varnish in the middle of the page indicate that a piece of paper had been glued over parts of the passage. Gluing pieces of paper over existing passages (and folding them in in case they were bigger than the page) or sometimes attaching them with needles was a common amendment practice to offer an alternative, more adequate text. It is found in a great number of books in the Theater-Bibliothek collection: in the handwritten prompt book for *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* (mentioned in the beginning) nine pieces of extra paper (most of the same type and by the same hand) are sometimes glued and sometimes pinned on and then folded into the more than 90 folios.²⁸ (After the print publication of Kotzebue's play in 1791 the earlier abridged 1790 stage adaptation is enriched with some of the very parts that had been cut out in the first place.) In the case of the French period *Lear* the addition was removed at some point, probably after the end of the occupation (see Fig. 5). However, the deletion underneath stands; it still fitted in smoothly with the deference to authority in the post-Napoleonic era.

Changes of a similar formal and content-related kind are added with a similar writing tool throughout the prompt book on pages not being singled out by the censor. In his 1778 version, Schröder had already transferred the passage deemed most scandalous in the eighteenth century backstage: this is where the brutal blinding of old Gloster now takes place.²⁹ The respective passages on pp. 70

²⁶ <<http://www.stadttheater.uni-hamburg.de>> lists two in performances in 1816, five in 1817, one in 1818, two in 1819 and one each in 1822 and 1823.

²⁷ Hamburg, Stabi, Theater-Bibliothek, 2029, p. 11 (fol. 9^v).

²⁸ Cf. Hamburg, Stabi, Theater-Bibliothek, 1460 (*Die Sonnen-Jungfrau*), fols 31^r, 48^v, 65^v, 66^v, 69^v, 74^r, 79^r, 92^v, 93^v.

²⁹ Hamburg, Stabi, Theater-Bibliothek, 2029, p. 70–71 (fols 38^v and 39^r); cf. Wimsatt 1960, 98.

and 71 are surrounded by a box drawn in the same ink as the other corrections. There is a strikethrough from top left to bottom right indicating a complete deletion of the respective scene. Here, the treason in palaces lamented earlier is in full bloom: not only is the character of Gloster brutalized by a fellow nobleman in his own home, in turn, the perpetrator is then attacked by a defiant subordinate. Either the theatre company already presented a domesticated version to the censor – in that case, there would have been no need to reference the pages – or the censor himself provided the deletion of that which is clearly unacceptable. The brown ink makes both possibilities valid. Notably, the deletion was not reversed after the occupation except for one minor sentence. On the contrary, the aforementioned red and grey pencils are also at work on these pages with the latter tending to affirm and add deletions.

In the case of the Hamburg *King Lear*, a restriction of individual and artistic freedom seems to have started not with the reconstruction of the old European order after 1815 but with Napoleon's reintroduction of censorship. The various hands that interact within the promptbook in a multilayered fashion all work together towards the same goal: an even less brutal and inflammatory version than the already rather tame one staged in Hamburg since 1778. The hand that changes the name of France into that of Burgundy also accounts for an artistic choice that is in no way related to the necessities of censorship: the parts of the spouses Goneril, Lear's power-hungry daughter, and the Duke of Albany, her well-meaning husband, are heavily reworked (by Schröder's own hand). Goneril's part is trimmed down in size. Albany's lines that, like the adaptation as a whole, are based on the prose translations prevalent in the 1770s are now interjected with parts of the new early nineteenth-century romantic metric translations.³⁰ As a result, Shakespeare's complex full-fledged characters, which Schröder's version at least partially captured, are reduced to clear-cut types of evil (woman) and good (man). But while the content of the *King Lear*-play was simplified in the process of censorship and beyond, the process itself puts a complex scene of multiple hands on display: these interfere into a print as well as interact within this print which the dynamics of the censorship procedure have unintentionally turned into a unique written artefact.

³⁰ Added and changed passages in Albany's parts are taken from the younger Voss metric translation in Shakespeare 1806. Voss makes use of the new metric approach to translating Shakespeare as established by August Wilhelm Schlegel in the 1790s. A *King Lear*-translation in what would later become the standard Schlegel and Tieck-edition was not published until the late 1830s.

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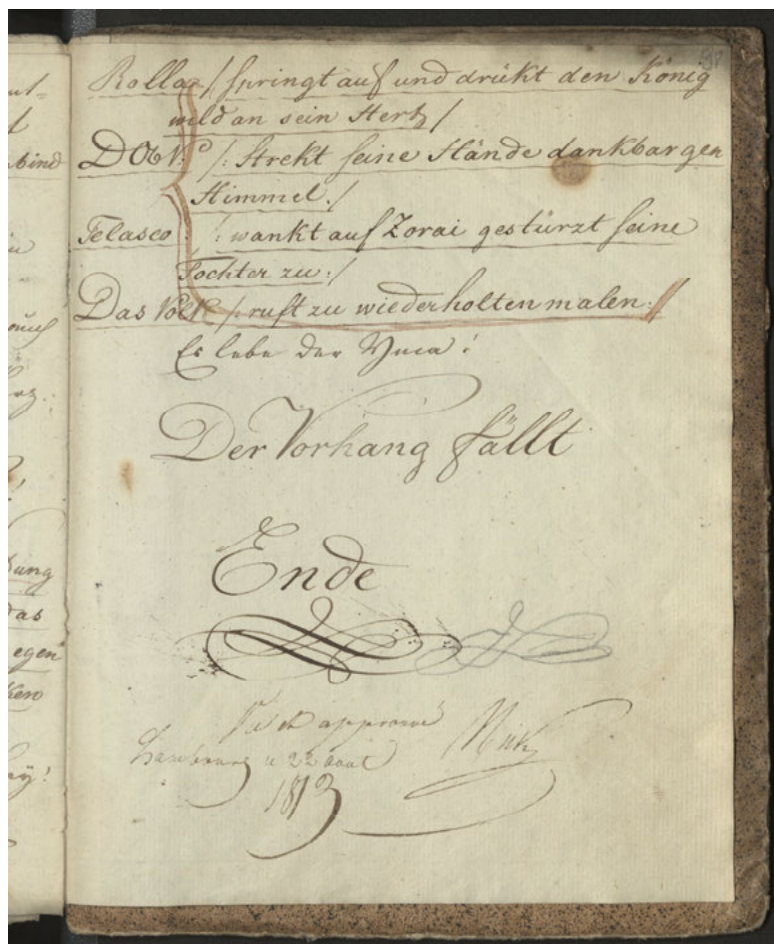


Fig. 1: Hamburg, Stabi, Theater-Bibliothek, 1460 (*Die Sonnen-Jungfrau. Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen*), fol. 98r. Censorship notes at the end of prompt book of August von Kotzbue *Die Sonnen Jungfrau* (first performed in Hamburg in 1790, censorship note from 1813). © Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.

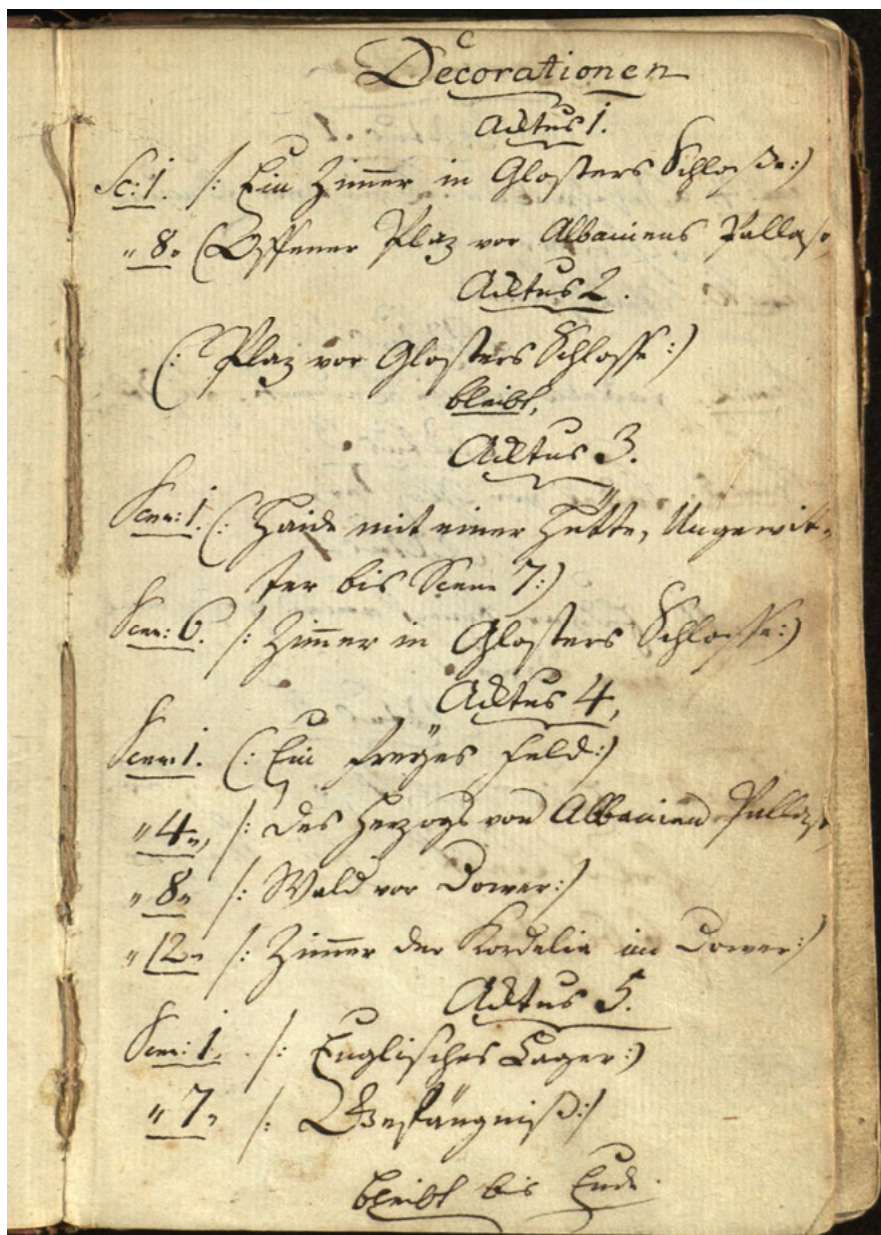


Fig. 2: Hamburg, Stabi, Theater-Bibliothek, 2029, fol. 2^{r-v}. Set and cast list in prompt book of William Shakespeare's *König Lear* based on a print of Friedrich Ludwig Schröder's 1778 adaptation (censorship note presumably from 1812). © Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.
Fig. 2a: fol. 2^r.

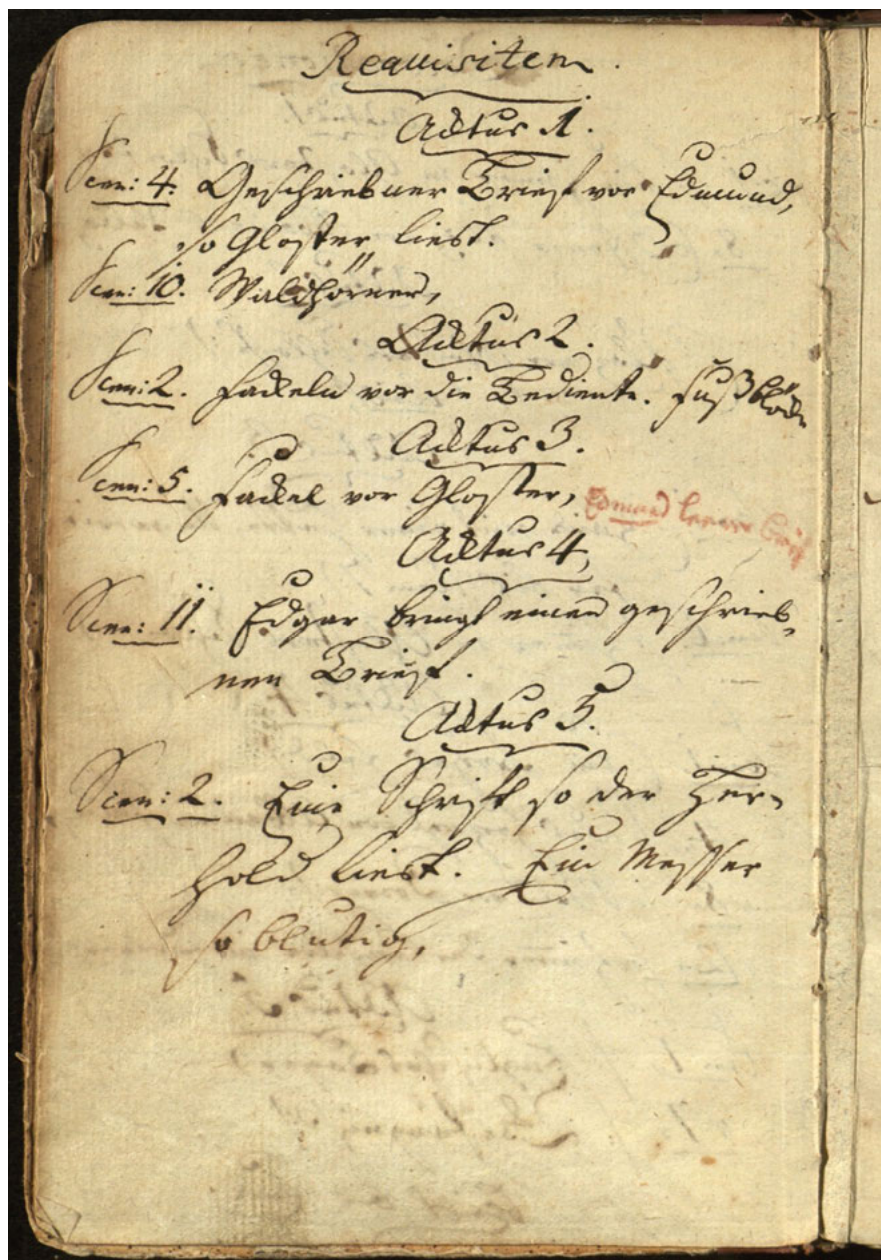


Fig. 2b: fol. 2v.

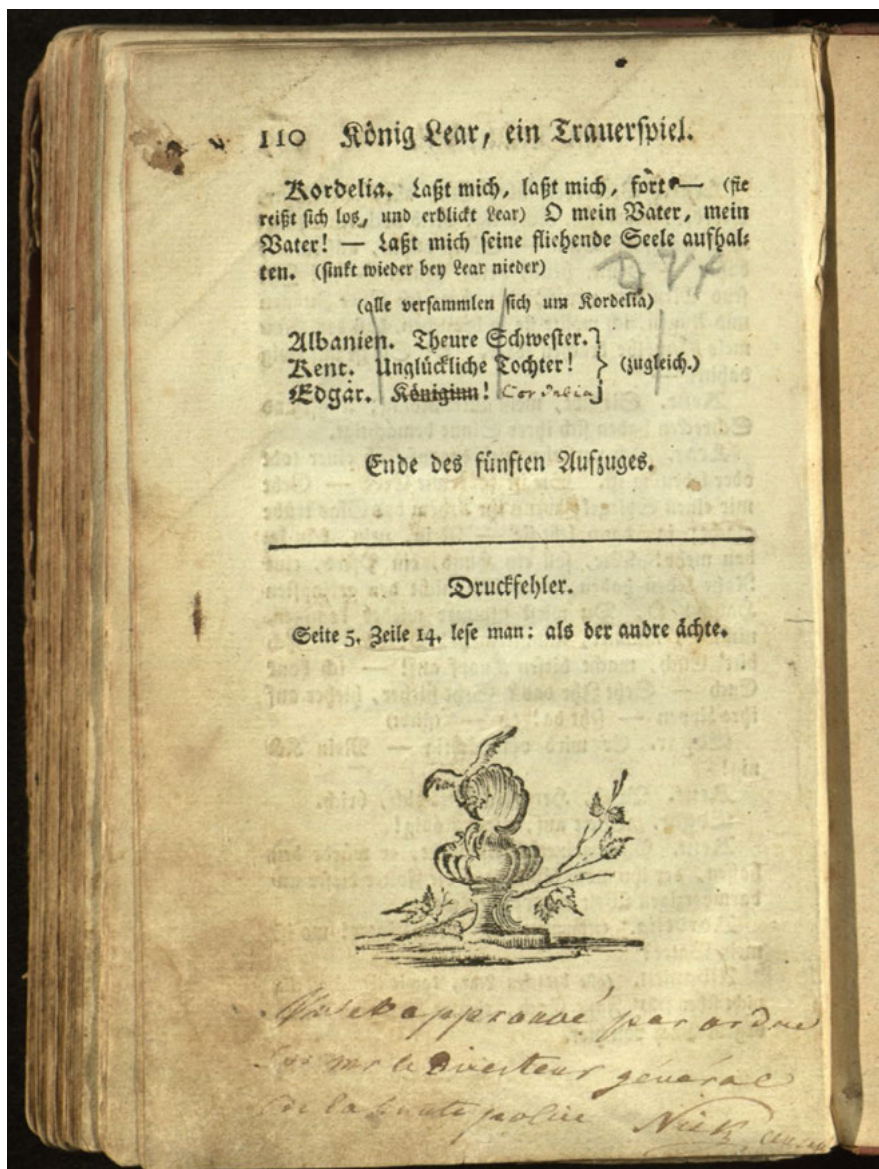


Fig. 3: Hamburg, Stabi, Theater-Bibliothek, 2029, p. 110 (fols 58^v and 59^r). Censorship note and reference to pages with objectionable content. © Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.
 Fig. 3a: fol. 58^v.

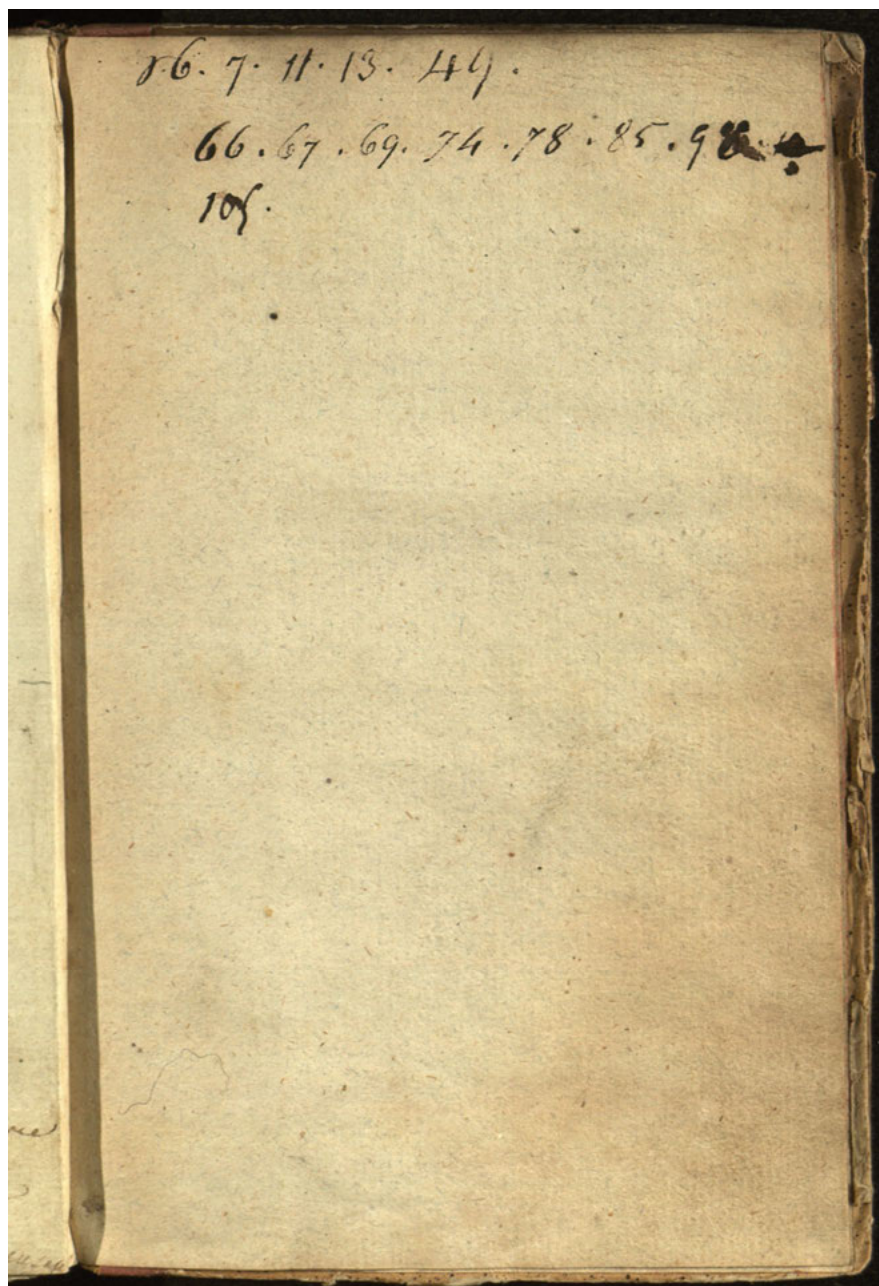


Fig. 3b: fol. 59'.

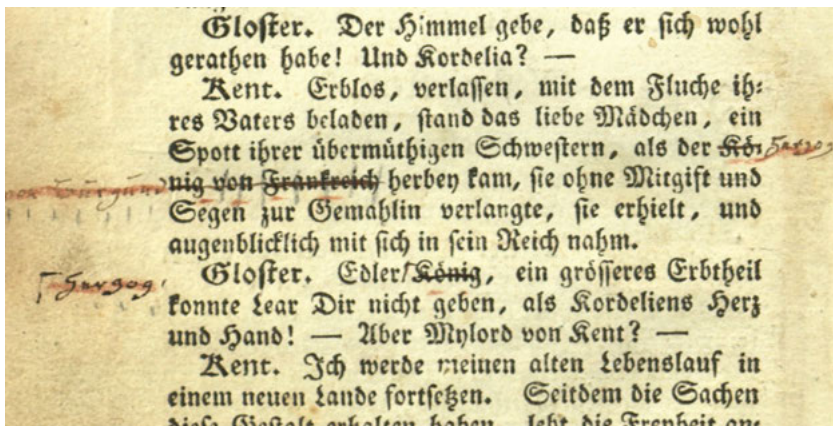


Fig. 4: Hamburg, Stabi, Theater-Bibliothek, 2029, p. 4 (fol. 5v). Corrections and retractions by multiple hands/writing tools. © Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.

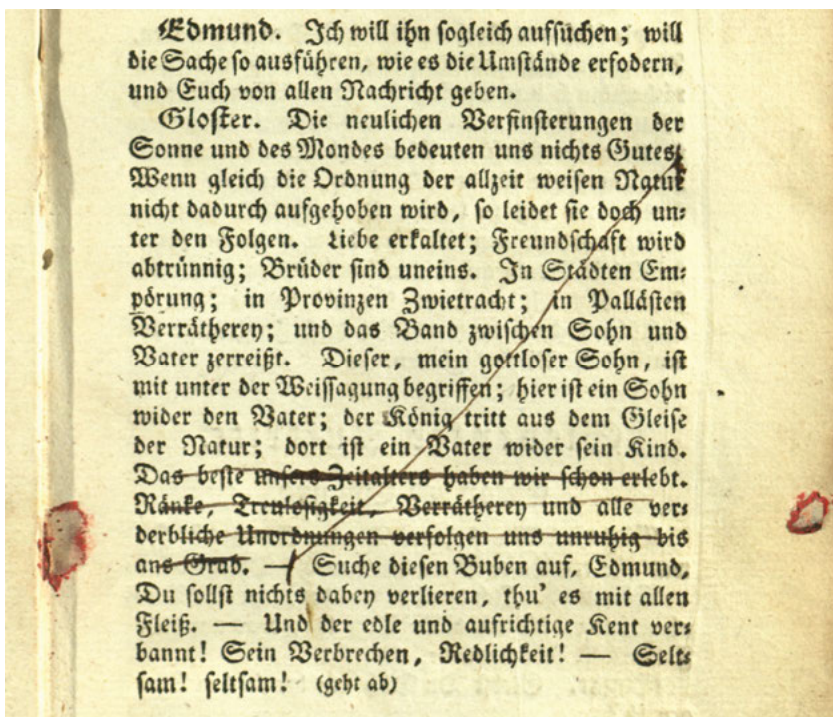


Fig. 5: Hamburg, Stabi, Theater-Bibliothek, 2029, p. 11 (fol. 9v). Corrections and traces of red varnish. © Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.