Pasticcio Practice in 18th-Century German Theater

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Talking about pasticcio practice in 18th-century music theater automatically leads to asking about the existence of similar artistic procedures in 18th-century spoken theater, especially since in the 18th century, music and spoken theater were not institutionally split between two different establishments in most European cities, but were combined in one theater, often even in one evening. The typical programme from the second half of the 18th century onward scheduled an evening comprised of both spoken and music theater (Figures 1 and 2).

As can be seen on the playbill from 3 May 1792, the Hamburg Stadttheater first presented "a play in three acts", followed by a German translation of an *opera buffa* by Niccolò Piccinni. The Weimar Hoftheater, according to the playbill from 22 March 1792, first staged a comedy translated from French, followed by a one-act musical number called "Operette" which means a *Singspiel*.

But even in those cities which could boast an opera house as well as a theater, as was the case in the German-speaking world, for example in Vienna or Berlin, the separation did not run along the lines one might expect: Carl Maria von Weber's famous *Freischütz*, for example, premiered at the Königliches Schauspielhaus (Royal Theater) Berlin, not at the Hofoper (Court Opera).[1]

Despite this institutional interconnectedness of spoken and music theater, which suggests that the pasticcio practice of the music theater must have a pendant in spoken theater, and even though the so-called spoken theater exhibited a large amount of music – namely stage music – [2] I will begin with some reflections which focus on the specific differences that separate the spoken from the music theater, regardless of it being part of the same theatrical institution and regardless of the stage music.

1 For a reprint of the playbill see Schreiter, 2007, p. 168.

2 For an overview of stage music cf. Kramer, 2014; Schröter, 2006.

Figure 1: Playbill of the Hamburg Stadttheater, 3 May 1792 (https://www.stadttheater.uni-hamburg.de).

Mit hoher Obrigkeitlicher Bewilligung

wird heute,

Donnerstags, den 3ten May, 1792,

aufgeführt:

Curt von Sparkau,

ein Schauspiel in drey Aufzügen, von Beil.

Personen:

Curt von Spartau, General.	Schröder.
Von Tallmann, Obrister.	Herr Engelhard.
Der Auditeur.	Herr Reineke.
Pilof, Staabschirurgus.	Herr Löhrs.
Der Adjutant.	Herr Werdy.
Marthe Ralph, Bäuerin und Wittwe.	Madame Stark.
Fritz, Soldat,) Zwillingskinder der Marthe.	Herr Dittmarsch.
Hannchen,)	Demoiselle Wilken.
Pastor Mehfeld.	Herr Langerhans.
Christoph, Reitknecht des Generals.	Herr Rätsch.

Husaren und Soldaten.

Hierauf folgt:

Das gute Mädchen,

ein Singspiel in zwey Aufzügen, nach dem Italienischen.

In Musik gesetzt von Piccini.

Personen:

Baron von Walldorf.	Herr Rau.
Baronesse von Walldorf, seine Schwester.	Demoiselle Zuccarini.
Der Graf, Liebhaber der Baronesse.	Herr Werdy.
Hannchen, ein Gärtnermädchen.	Madame Langerhans.
Röschen, ein Gärtnermädchen.	Demoiselle Jaime.
Julchen, Kammerjungfer der Baronesse.	Demoiselle Wilken.
Lucas, ein Gärtner.	Herr Eule.
Siegmund, ein Dragoner.	Herr Langerhans.

Erster Rang, 2 Mark. Zweyter Rang, 1 Mark 8 Schillinge. Parterre, 1 Mark. Gallerie, 8 Schillinge. Ganze Theaterloge im ersten Range, 15 Mark. Im zweyten Range, 10 Mark.

Logen sind nur bey dem Cassirer im Opernhofe, Vormittags von 10 bis 1 Uhr, zu bestellen.

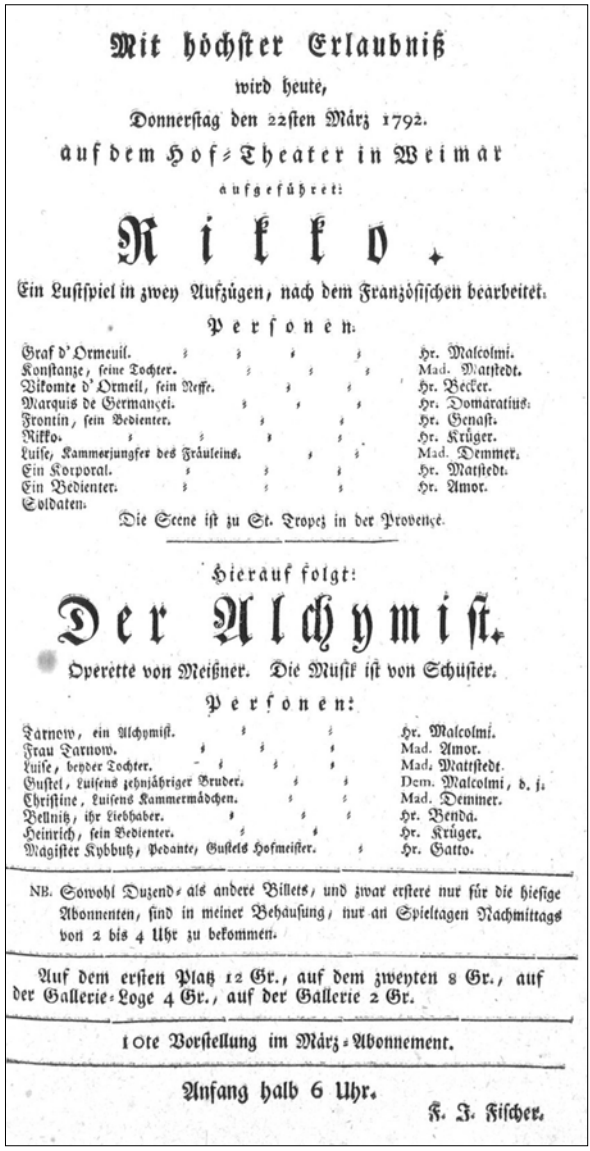
Jedes Billet ist nur für den Tag gültig, an dem es gelöset wird.

Nur die Bediente, die ihre Herrschaften begleiten, haben freyen Eintritt.

Der Ordnung wegen kann Niemand, weder bey den Proben, noch unter der Vorstellung, aufs Theater gelassen werden.

Der Anfang ist präcise um 6 Uhr.

Figure 2: Playbill of the Weimar Hoftheater, 22 March 1792 (D-WRz, Nr. ZC 120).



Mit höchster Erlaubniß
wird heute,
Donnerstag den 22sten März 1792.
auf dem Hof-Theater in Weimar
aufgeführet:

Rikko.

Ein Lustspiel in zwey Aufzügen, nach dem Französischen bearbeitet.

Personen.

Graf d'Ormeuil.	Hr. Malcolmi.
Konstanze, seine Tochter.	Mad. Matstedt.
Vikomte d'Ormeil, sein Neffe.	Hr. Becker.
Marquis de Germancei.	Hr. Domaratius.
Frontin, sein Bedienter.	Hr. Genast.
Rikko.	Hr. Krüger.
Luise, Kammerjungfer des Fräuleins.	Mad. Demmer.
Ein Korporal.	Hr. Matstedt.
Ein Bedienter.	Hr. Amor.
Soldaten.	

Die Scene ist zu St. Tropez in der Provence.

Hierauf folgt:

Der Alchymist.

Operette von Meißner. Die Musik ist von Schuster.

Personen:

Tarnow, ein Alchymist.	Hr. Malcolmi.
Frau Tarnow.	Mad. Amor.
Luise, beyder Tochter.	Mad. Matstedt.
Gustel, Luisens zehnjähriger Bruder.	Dem. Malcolmi, d. j.
Christine, Luisens Kammermädchen.	Mad. Demmer.
Bellnitz, ihr Liebhaber.	Hr. Benda.
Heinrich, sein Bedienter.	Hr. Krüger.
Magister Kybbutz, Pedante, Gustels Hofmeister.	Hr. Gatto.

NB. Sowohl Duzend- als andere Billets, und zwar erstere nur für die hiesige Abonnenten, sind in meiner Behausung, nur an Spieltagen Nachmittags von 2 bis 4 Uhr zu bekommen.

Auf dem ersten Platz 12 Gr., auf dem zweyten 8 Gr., auf der Gallerie-Loge 4 Gr., auf der Gallerie 2 Gr.

10te Vorstellung im März-Abonnement.

Anfang halb 6 Uhr.

F. J. Fischer.

Concerning spoken theater, the different theater reforms of the 18th century were, among other things, aiming to enforce an unbroken chain of causality in a play's plot, in accordance with rationalist doctrine.[3] Every single sequence of action had to stand in a causal

3 One of the main proponents was Johann Christoph Gottsched. See Alt, 1994, pp. 66-84; Jahn, 2005, pp. 170-198.

relationship with the previous and subsequent actions. Subplots, if they were to be tolerated at all, had to refer back to the main plot. In an ideal case, demands of this kind, which were made in the name of probability and authenticity, meant that Enlightenment tragedies and comedies were less easy to split into single interchangeable segments. This was different with the theater of the Commedia dell'arte or with theater that worked with comical characters (like Hans Wurst or Kilian Brustfleck): single *lazzi*, jokes, and little embedded subplots could be effortlessly extracted from a play and integrated into other plays.[4] In these forms of theater, which the enlightened theorists first rejected, there was a clear parallel to music theater, be it *opera seria*, *opéra comique* or *Singspiel*. This was due to the architecture of the plays, because all these forms of theater worked with clearly separated elements that appeared like building blocks.

Although neither the enlightened comedy nor the tragedy suggested a pasticcio practice based on their structure, the reality was different: there was a kind of pasticcio practice for spoken theater as well, but it was modified to suit the specifications of enlightened spoken theater. Hereafter, I will introduce this pasticcio technique through the example of a play by Friedrich Ludwig Schröder (II).

But first, some observations on the special circumstances of authorship and work in connection with 18th-century theater practice – this is relevant since the term pasticcio originates in the particular 18th-century meaning of these two terms (I).

I. Author, work, and theater in the 18th century

When Roland Barthes' and Michel Foucault's theory on the death of the author[5] was discussed in German studies in the 1980s,[6] the historical dimension of "authorship" was put into focus. It became apparent that in the German-speaking world, the concept of emphatic authorship first developed with the classical authors Schiller and Goethe and the complete editions of their works. Goethe's numerous complete editions, for example, dominated his *œuvre* during his lifetime and up to the last authorized edition; in the great *Sophienausgabe* (Weimar edition) this concept was philologically secured and approved.[7] But even at the center of an emphatic concept of authorship, as it developed for the classics in the 19th century, there were areas in which this concept stayed vague and could not fully develop its authority. The most important of these areas is theater practice. Friedrich Schiller, for example, wrote stage adaptations of most of his plays. There are stage adaptations of *Don Carlos*,[8] *Maria Stuart*[9] and *Die Jungfrau von*

4 See Müller-Kampel, 2003.

5 Michel Foucault, *Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?* (1969) in: Foucault, 1988, pp. 7-31; Roland Barthes, *La mort de l'auteur* (1968) in: Barthes, 1977, pp. 142-148.

6 Cf. Fohrmann/Müller 1988, pp. 223-257; Jannidis, 1999.

7 For the different editions of Goethe's works and their edition principles see Nahler, 1998.

8 Schiller, 1974.

9 Schiller, 2010.

Orleans[10] that Schiller wrote specifically for the Hamburg Stadttheater. These adaptations are marked especially by massive cuts, the rearrangement of scenes, but also slight changes in emphasis. Do these adaptations belong to Schiller's work? The editors of the *Schiller Nationalausgabe* were divided on this. In the case of the play *Die Räuber*, the edition includes the 'Schauspiel-Fassung' (drama version) of 1781 as well as the so-called 'Trauerspiel-Fassung' (tragedy version), which Schiller wrote for the Mannheim premiere and which was printed in 1782. However, the version of *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* that Schiller wrote for the Hamburg performance did not get included in the *Nationalausgabe*. The stage adaptation of *Maria Stuart* was included only in the new edition of the *Nationalausgabe*.[11]

Although it was indisputable that these stage adaptations were written by Schiller, meaning that his authorship of them was indisputable as well, the concepts of work and authorship do not seem to be easily compatible with the realm of theater. While authorship and work are tied to book printing in the 18th century – the subject of plagiarism, which was already virulent in the 18th century, was mostly discussed through the example of illegal prints – and the complete edition is above all a publishing concept to present an author on the market, the realm of theater still relied more on handwritten texts.[12] Even though the productions in spoken theater are based on printed drama texts in most cases, as shown by the example of the Hamburg Stadttheater,[13] the actual stage versions that are played onstage are most often hybrid versions comprising handwritten as well as printed parts, or even purely handwritten manuscripts (Figure 3).

Schiller's stage versions did not make it onto the Mannheim or Hamburg stage in their original state, however. As shown in the example of *Die Räuber*, what was played was not Schiller's stage version, but an adaptation by the theater director Freiherr von Dalberg that was based on the stage version and has been preserved in the form of a prompt book.[14] The same was the case in Hamburg. Here, we even have the manuscript of an anonymously written adaptation of *Die Räuber*, entitled *Die Grafen von Moor* (1785), which was edited in 2013 by Nina and Gerhard Kay Birkner.[15] This version, which relocates the plot to Russia, changes the ending to a happy one and overall makes such drastic changes that older research called it a "rewriting".[16] It is one of many examples of the theater disempowering the author and weakening the concept of the work.

19th- and early 20th-century philology, which placed its focus on the printed book, could only describe this usually multistage editing process of a play as a contamination, or as the increasing removal of the work from the original intention of the playwright, which could only be explained with external constraints such as censorship or limited

10 The manuscript is edited in Hellmich, 2014.

11 Schiller, 2010, pp. 372-379.

12 Cf. Kaminski, 2013; Reulecke, 2016, pp. 86-112; Andersch, 2018.

13 Cf. Jahn/Zenck, 2016.

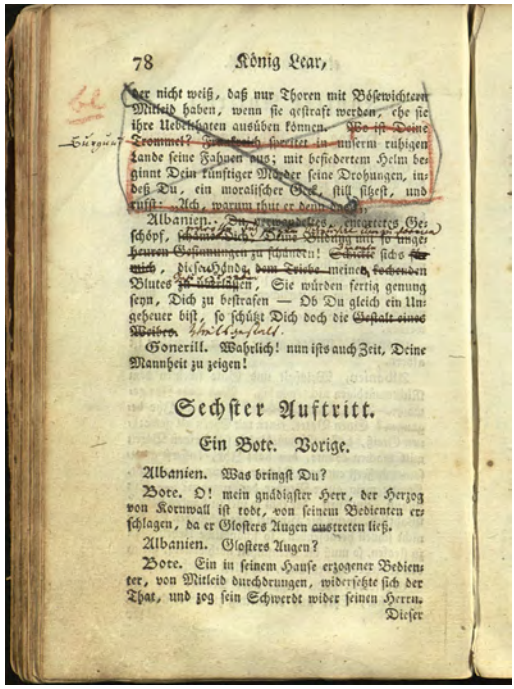
14 Kluge in Schiller, 1988, pp. 883f. and 898-902; Plachta, 2012.

15 Birkner/Birkner, 2013.

16 Wohlwill, 1905, p. 636.

stage conditions. The unsoiled, pure work could only exist in the complete, last authorized edition, but never on the stage.

Figure 3: Prompt book: König Lear*, p. 78 (D-Hs, Theater-Bibliothek 2029).*



78 König Lear,

der nicht weiß, daß nur Thoren mit Böswichtern Mitleid haben, wenn sie gestraft werden, ehe sie ihre Uebelthaten ausüben können. Wo ist Deine Trommel? [illegible] in unserm ruhigen Lande seine Fahnen aus; mit besiedertem Helm beginnt Dein künftiger Mörder seine Drohungen, indeß Du, ein moralischer Gott, still sitzest, und rufst: „Ach, warum thut er denn das?“

Albanien. Du fremdartiges, entartetes Geschöpf, [illegible] mit so ungeheuren Gesinnungen zu schmücken! Stelle sich der mich, dieses Hundes, dem Triebe meines kochenden Blutes zu widerstehen, Sie würden fertig genung seyn, Dich zu bestrafen — Ob Du gleich ein Ungeheuer bist, so schützt Dich doch die Gestalt eines Weibes.

Gonerill. Wahrlich! nun ists auch Zeit, Deine Mannheit zu zeigen!

Sechster Auftritt.

Ein Bote. Vorige.

Albanien. Was bringst Du?

Bote. O! mein gnädigster Herr, der Herzog von Kornwall ist todt, von seinem Bedienten erschlagen, da er Glosters Augen austreten ließ.

Albanien. Glosters Augen?

Bote. Ein in seinem Hause erzogener Bedienter, von Mitleid durchdrungen, widersetzte sich der That, und zog sein Schwerdt wider seinen Herrn. Dieser

There is a second aspect that shines light on the instability of the concepts of authorship and work on the 18th-century stage: the practice of translation.[17] Although there had been a recurring demand for German *Originaldramen* (original plays) since Gottsched and Lessing, the reality of the stage until the end of the 18th century was that programs were dominated by plays by French, English, and Italian authors. 80% of plays at the Hamburg Stadttheater were probably of foreign origin, meaning they were translated from other languages or adapted in the broadest sense from foreign language plays.[18] Here, though, a grey area begins to appear, since translations and adaptations are often not labelled as such. In 1739 Johann Mattheson writes in the *Vollkommener Capellmeister* during a plea for "musical history science": "Where historical insight is lacking, they often ascribe to Caio what Titius created. We even transform the mere translator of a work into its true creator, which recently happened when the opera *Sancio* was mentioned,

17 Cf. Fritz/Schultze, 1997; Detken et al., 1998.

18 Cf. Jahn, Datenbank.

and which is not proper."[19] Mattheson is referring to the opera *Sancio, oder Die Siegende Großmuth*, which was staged in 1727 at the Gänsemarkt-Oper with Telemann's music.[20] In the libretto print, the poetry of the "very famous author"[21] Johann Ulrich von König was explicitly highlighted. Mattheson is right: *Sancio* is an almost word-for-word translation of Francesco Silvani's *Il miglior d'ogni amore per il peggior d'ogni odio* (Venice 1703).[22] The opera being attributed to von König in the Hamburg libretto print most likely does not originate with von König himself, who was at Dresden at the time, but with an anonymous individual involved in creating the Hamburg print. In the Brunswick libretto print, which came out before the Hamburg staging, the libretto is presented without naming an author.[23] Be that as it may: in 1753 von König's translation found its way to the printing press in Vienna under the title *Sancio und Sinilde, Die Stärcke der mütterlichen Liebe*.[24] The opera libretto turned into a play in Alexandrine verse, with the editor sticking closely to von König's text. The editor is not named in any of the three Vienna prints, nor do they mention von König or even Silvani in any way. The author of this Alexandrine version is Heinrich Gottfried Koch, the famous theater director, who should be known in musicology first and foremost in connection with the establishment of the *Singspiel* in Leipzig.[25]

Until well into the 19th century, Mattheson's desire for authors to be separated from translators and to be named at all did not correspond to the actual practice. Editors often stay anonymous, but do not disclose the author of the original either, except if the original is so famous with the audience that it cannot be kept secret (for example plays by Shakespeare or Molière). Even the epithet "Original-Drama" (original play), which begins to emerge in the 1770s, is of no help here. The combined terms "Original-Lustspiel" (original comedy), "Original-Schauspiel" (original play) or "Original-Trauerspiel" (original tragedy) appear on playbills as well as on the front covers of drama prints (Figure 4).

19 „Wo es an historischer Einsicht fehlet, da schreibt man oft dem Cajo zu, was ein Titius verfertiget hat. Wir machen wol gar den blossen Übersetzer eines Wercks zu dessen wircklichem Verfasser, wie unlängst bey der Erwehnung der Oper, Sancio, geschehen, und doch nicht recht ist." Mattheson, 1739, p. 26.

20 Marx/Schröder, 1995, pp. 333-335.

21 König, 1727, last page of the preface ("Wann nun der wegen seiner ausbündigen Poesie sehr berühmte Author, der Königl. Pohlnische Geheyme Cabinets-Secretaire, Herr König, eine besondere Probe seiner Geschicklichkeit und Wissenschafft, zärtliche Gemüths-Bewegungen in ihr gröstes Lustre zu setzen, in dieser Opera an den Tag gegeben").

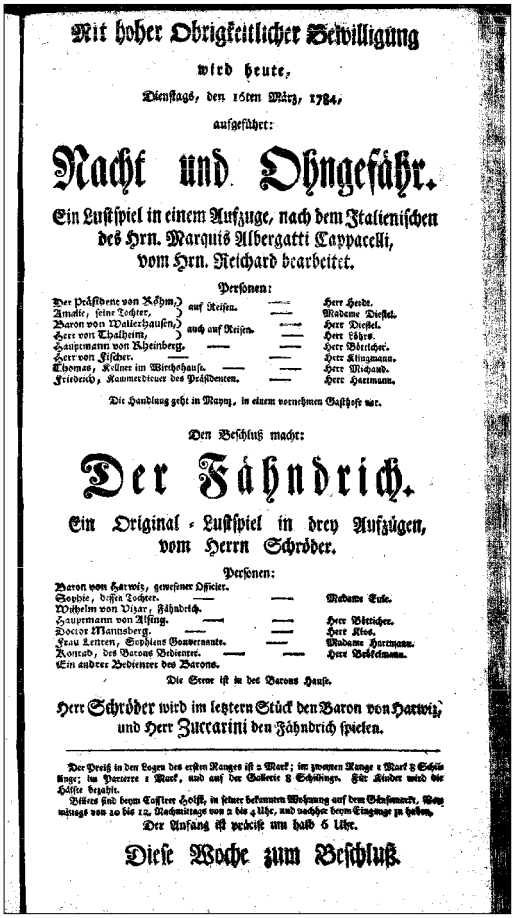
22 Marx/Schröder, 1995, p. 333.

23 Ibid., p. 334.

24 Koch, 1753.

25 Urchueguía, 2015, pp. 81f.

Figure 4: Playbill of the Hamburg Stadttheater, 16 March 1784 (https://www.stadttheater.uni-hamburg.de).



Mit hoher Obrigkeitlicher Bewilligung

wird heute,

Dienstags, den 16ten März, 1784,

aufgeführt:

Nacht und Ohngefähr.

Ein Lustspiel in einem Aufzuge, nach dem Italienischen des Hrn. Marquis Albergatti Capacelli, vom Hrn. Reichard bearbeitet.

Personen:

Der Präsidente von Böhm, } auf Reisen. — Herr Heide.
Amalie, seine Tochter, } — Madame Dietzel.
Baron von Walterhausen, } auch auf Reisen. — Herr Dietzel.
Herr von Thalheim, } — Herr Löhrs.
Hauptmann von Rheinberg. — — Herr Böttcher.
Herr von Fischer. — — Herr Klingmann.
Thomas, Kellner im Wirthshause. — — Herr Michaud.
Friedrich, Kammerdiener des Präsidenten. — Herr Hartmann.

Die Handlung geht in Mayny, in einem vornehmen Gasthofe vor.

Den Beschluß macht:

Der Fähndrich.

Ein Original-Lustspiel in drey Aufzügen, vom Herrn Schröder.

Personen:

Baron von Hartwig, gewesener Officier. — — Madame Eule.
Sophie, dessen Tochter.
Wilhelm von Visar, Fähndrich. — — Herr Böttcher.
Hauptmann von Alsing. — — Herr Alex.
Doctor Mannsberg. — — Frau Letten, Sophiens Gouvernante. — Madame Hartmann.
Konrad, des Barons Bedienter. — — Herr Beblemann.
Ein andrer Bedienter des Barons.

Die Scene ist in des Barons Hause.

Herr Schröder wird im letztern Stück den Baron von Hartwig, und Herr Zuccarini den Fähndrich spielen.

Der Preiß in den Logen des ersten Ranges ist 2 Mark; im zweyten Range 1 Mark 8 Schillinge; im Parterre 1 Mark, und auf der Gallerie 8 Schillings. Für Kinder wird die Hälfte bezahlt.

Billets sind beym Cassirer Holst, in seiner bekannten Wohnung auf dem Gänsemarkt, Vormittags von 10 bis 12, Nachmittags von 2 bis 4 Uhr, und nachher beym Eingange zu haben.

Der Anfang ist präcise um halb 6 Uhr.

Diese Woche zum Beschluß.

The label "original" is problematic in several ways, and playbills of the time are unsystematic in their use of the term. Many plays are billed as original, though they can clearly be classified as adaptations, as with, for example, Friedrich Ludwig Schröder's *Die väterliche Rache oder Liebe für Liebe*,[26] an adaptation of William Congreve's *Love for Love*. On the other hand, plays like *Der Fähnrich* or *Der Vetter in Lissabon*, both by Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, which could reasonably pass as original plays by today's standards, are sometimes simply classified as "by Schröder". For the play *Glück verbessert Torheit*, we sometimes find the note "after the English by Miss Lee, by Schröder",[27]

26 According to the playbill from 17 May 1784 an "Original-Lustspiel in vier Aufzügen, von Schröder und Meyer". Cf. Jahn, Datenbank.

27 Cf. the playbill of the Hamburg Stadttheater for 2 February 1789. Ibid.

but those notes are not used consistently. It must be assumed that labelling a play as original was a way of advertising and cannot be understood as saying anything about copyright or authorship as we understand them today. The term was mainly used to advertise new plays. Schröder's *Fähnrich*, for example, is consistently called "Original" during the 1780s; from 1800 on, it is only referred to as "Schauspiel" (play).[28]

From the perspective of the newer intertextuality research, the term "original" is problematic *a priori*, since no play and no text in general is completely original in the sense that it does not refer to previously written texts in some way. Rather, there is a *continuum* of possible dependencies which has been sufficiently examined in intertextuality research and which makes it hard to determine when a play can no longer be called an adaptation but is to be labelled as an independent version instead. In searching for answers, it is also vital to consider the criteria established by the plays' contemporaries, which are the result of the editing practice described above.

II. Forms of pasticcio in spoken theater, examined through the example of Friedrich Ludwig Schröder's comedy *Das Gemählde (Portrait)*[29] *der Mutter oder Die Privatcomödie*

In the following, I will provide an insight into the pasticcio practice of spoken theater through the example of a comedy by Friedrich Ludwig Schröder. Schröder was one of the most famous actors of the 18th century and maybe the most famous theater impresario of his time.[30] He managed the Hamburg Stadttheater, with some breaks, between 1771 and 1812, and for some years (1781-1785) the Nationaltheater (Burgtheater) in Vienna. He was also successful in the entire German-speaking world as the author of about 160 plays.[31] Schröder's dramatic *œuvre* is particularly significant concerning the question of pasticcio practice, since all of his plays – even those advertised to his contemporaries as *Originaldramen* – can be classified as more or less severely edited adaptations.[32] Schröder's first biographer, Friedrich Ludwig Wilhelm Meyer, consequently prefaces the catalogue of Schröder's works with the following careful and tentative header: "Catalogue of the works which Schröder more or less edited, changed, translated, and wrote himself."[33]

Finally, I will now introduce a small typology of pasticcio-like practices in spoken theater through the example of one of Schröder's most successful comedies, the "Ori-

28 Cf. the playbill of the Hamburg Stadttheater, 2 September 1800. Ibid.

29 The title fluctuates between "Gemählde" and "Portrait".

30 See Jahn/Košenina, 2017.

31 See Meyer,1823, vol. II,2, pp. 171-178.

32 For Schröder's adaptations of English plays see Pfenniger, 1919.

33 Meyer, 1823, vol. II,2, p. 171. ("Verzeichniß der von Schrödern mehr oder weniger bearbeiteten, umgeänderten, übersetzten und selbst verfaßten Schauspiele.")

ginal-Lustspiel" *Das Gemählde der Mutter oder Die Privatcomödie*, which premiered in Hamburg in 1786 and was then played on almost all German stages.[34]

The borrowing technique which is closest to opera is to transplant a scene or a sequence of action from one play to the other while mostly keeping the dialogue. In Schröder's comedy, this affects scenes 8 to 13 of the first act. The protagonist Rekau, who has been disowned by his father due to an intrigue, is deeply in debt. He is being pursued by bailiffs Falk and Krähe, whose task is to throw him into debtor's prison on behalf of his creditors. Rekau can convince the bailiffs that he is owed money by an acquaintance, resulting in them accompanying him to his acquaintance's flat. As Rekau goes inside, they wait in front of the house, until the acquaintance emerges and pretends that Rekau has disappeared through the back door. Schröder takes this entire sequence of action, partially including the – albeit severely cut – dialogue, from the comedy *The Puritan; or, The Widow of Watling-Street*, the work of an unknown Elizabethan author, which was attributed to Shakespeare in the 18th century.[35]

Schröder can easily transplant this entire sequence of action, which contains many puns by the bailiffs, into his comedy. This is because – contrary to what theoreticians demanded – the causal chain of scenes in his work is constructed rather like pearls on a string, at least up until the beginning of the counter-intrigue.

The second pasticcio-like technique which is often used in spoken theater is copying specific plot points. This is not about general motifs like the motif of the lost son or Faust, but about more detailed elaboration. For his comedy, Schröder copies such specific plot points from Sheridan's comedy *The School for Scandal* (London 1777) and from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.[36] From Sheridan, Schröder takes the motif of the unsold portrait and the connected sequence of action: Charles Surface, a *bon vivant* like Schröder's Rekau, does not sell his uncle's portrait despite his severe financial hardships, resulting in the uncle forgiving him and paying off all his debt. Schröder changes the portrait of the uncle into the portrait of Rekau's late mother. His father shuns Rekau because he assumes that his son callously sold the portrait and last *memento* of his mother to make money. It is only when Rekau can prove to him that the portrait was stolen that his father accepts him back into the family. In addition to copying the motif, Schröder creates a variation on it that increases the emotional effect.

To convince his father, the son uses the play inside the play. His father is an enthusiastic amateur actor and has a small indoor theater at his house (the "Privatcomödie"). Like Hamlet does in Shakespeare's play with his mother, Rekau has a play performed in front of his father which uncovers the machinations of the enemy that Rekau fell victim to.

34 Cf. Zink, 2017. The text will be cited after the edition by Bülow: Schröder, 1831, vol. 4, pp. 63-130.

35 The front page of the 1734 edition names Shakespeare as author: "A Comedy by Shakespear."

36 Hoffmann, 1939, pp. 182f.

There is a third central sequence of action that Schröder takes from a model: It is the father's widowed sister-in-law, Madame Waker, who turns out to be Rekau's main opponent. Together with her evil servant Franz, who himself shares characteristics and motivations with his namesake from Schiller's *Die Räuber*, she enforces Rekau's disinheritance – among other things by stealing the portrait of the mother. Mrs Waker's aim is to have her own daughter appointed heiress instead of Rekau. This sequence of action originates from Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter's *bürgerliches Trauerspiel Mariane* (Gotha 1776), which itself can be traced back to a French model (de la Harpe: *Mélanie*).[37]

In contrast to the first mentioned borrowing technique, when plot points are taken from another play, the dialogue is usually not copied but rather newly created. The editor's own share of original writing is relatively high in this case. Looking at the copying of sequences of action in general, we can say that Schröder takes five sequences of action for his comedy from other plays and combines them to create a new sequence of actions. His success in connecting them in the sense of an unbroken chain of causal motivation is mixed. The sequence of scenes in which Rekau fools the bailiffs could be deleted without consequences, which is not possible for the other sequences. Copying sequences of action cannot be understood as secret theft, or not exclusively, but should instead be seen at least partially as an intertextual offering to the audience: the father in Schröder's comedy, for example, explicitly references Sheridan's *School for Scandal* and calls it his "favorite play".[38]

The third pasticcio-like borrowing technique we need to mention in this list is the copying of small motifs. It is not about entire sequences of action or dialogues, but about smaller motifs, which can be located in the plot, the linguistic presentation or the stage equipment. In Schröder's *Das Gemählde (Portrait) der Mutter*, for example, this is the case with the small indoor theater and its stage equipment. We can find parallels with the craftsmen's play in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, for example in the area of stage props (the moon for Shakespeare, the sun for Schröder).[39] Smaller plot points, for example the servant Franz, who intercepts Rekau's letters to his father (see Schiller's *Die Räuber*), must be mentioned here as well.[40]

The pasticcio-like practices of spoken theater might have become clearer through the example of Schröder's comedy. Of course, these practices also apply to the creation of librettos. The main difference between spoken and music theater is that the former lacks clearly separated components, such as for example arias in music theater. This means that when we look at pasticcio-like practices such as the copying and recombination of sequences of action, we are dealing with less clearly distinguishable compo-

37 Ibid.

38 Schröder, 1831, p. 108: "Ich bin ein großer Liebhaber von Lustspielen: und mein Favoritstück ist die Lästerschule." Schröder had adapted Sheridan's play in 1782. Meyer, 1823, II,2, p. 172; Czennia, 1993.

39 Compare Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, III,1, to Schröder, III,1; Schröder, 1831, p. 96.

40 Ibid., p. 91 (= II,11).

nents. Moreover, the practice involves changes to the copied parts and rewriting of the dialogues in most cases. A question that must be left unanswered is how strongly plays like Schröder's count on the audience recognizing the copied parts, which would mean that we can surmise a consciously created intertextual aesthetic. A generalizing answer is most likely inadmissible, and instead we will have to decide on a case by case basis.

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