

**Staging the Deadlier Sex:
Dangerous Women in German Text and Performance at the Fin de Siècle**

by

Sara E. Jackson

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Germanic Languages and Literatures)
in the University of Michigan
2013

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Scott Spector, Chair
Associate Professor Kerstin Barndt
Professor Kathleen Canning
Associate Professor Silke-Maria Weineck
Professor William B. Worthen, Barnard College, Columbia University

© Sara E. Jackson
2013

*for Clara,
hoping that you have as many amazing women in your life as have shaped mine*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My research was inspired by the creativity, integrity, and passion for scholarship shown by my committee members: Scott Spector, Bill Worthen, Kerstin Barndt, Silke Weineck, and Kathleen Canning. Scott has been invaluable for his ability to draw connections between diverse materials and methodologies, to distill the most essential elements of my often panoptic thoughts, and to make me laugh. I am grateful to Bill for his continued support, even from afar, and for fostering my commitment to theater and performance studies. Kerstin's tireless efforts as a member of my committee and as graduate chair of German Studies were essential to my progress, and her thoughtful feedback helped me become a better thinker. Silke's discerning mind and elegant scholarship have made me consider the weight of every word in my sources and in my own writing, and always to expect more from myself. And to Kathleen I am thankful for the energy and acumen she has kindly shared, even with so many competing demands for her attention.

The scaffolding that sustained my research also importantly included numerous meetings with my "dissertation therapist," Louis Cicarrelli. Louis' support and genuine interest, his thoughtful attention to the process of writing and his unwavering encouragement made it possible for me to finish this dissertation. Hartmut Rastalsky has my gratitude for being an amazing teacher of teachers, and for helping me with some of the more difficult translations (including some entertaining ventures into the Selisian

dialect). I would like to give credit to Johannes von Moltke, who prompted me to think seriously and complexly about the meaning of interdisciplinarity. And to the entire German Studies faculty at the University of Michigan, who have influenced me in the best possible ways with their research and teaching, and also their generosity with each other and with their students.

In my time here I have benefitted greatly from the dedicated administrative staff in the German department. Sheri Sytsema-Geiger has been a friend and ally from the beginning. Many days were brightened by visits to her office, as well as trips—both practical and purely social—to see Nancy Blasch, Jen White, and Marga Schuhwerk-Hampel. Kevin Calhoun deserves many thanks for helping me by helping Scott to navigate the competing demands of a scholar, teacher, advisor and department chair.

My education and my research have been supported by the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, the Rackham Graduate School, the Institute for the Humanities, the Sweetland Writing Center, and the Fulbright Commission. I am grateful for the kindness and assistance shown by staff in all of these institutions, as well as at the Zentrum für Berlin Studien, the Akademie der Künste archive in Berlin, and the Max Reinhardt archive at SUNY-Binghamton, where Cheryl Spiese, who has since sadly passed away, was particularly generous with her time.

I am eternally indebted to my fellow students and friends for their personal and intellectual support. Special thanks are owed to Solveig Heinz, Seth Howes and Ela Gezen for reasons that cannot be adequately addressed here. To Kirsten Leng and Jonah Johnson, who were important to me in more ways than they likely know. To my incredible writing group, Alex Olson, Aleksander Boskovic and Helen Ho, who

devotedly read multiple drafts of chapters in various states of disarray and completion, and gave me invaluable insights through their comments and by sharing their work with me over the past three years. Woof! To my colleagues at the Institute for the Humanities, who brought renewed vigor to my work in its important final stages. In particular to my co-inhabitants in the crook and often partners in crime, Alison DeSimone, Başak Candar, Brendan Wright and last, but certainly not least, the incomparable Rebecca Porte, whose intelligence and grunting laughter I cherish.

Finally I wish that I could convey how grateful I am for the members of family—biological and chosen—who have tirelessly supported me through my years of graduate education and dissertation research. My parents, all four of them, have been endlessly patient and loving. I would especially like to thank my dad, Wayne, and my mom, Beth, for showing through example the value of living life guided by an inquisitive mind and fearless optimism. My ambitious and incredibly talented siblings have always been and continue to be an inspiration to me. My grandparents, Bill and Mary, taught me the meaning of true generosity, which has been essential to any success I have had, as scholarship is a fundamentally collaborative endeavor. Linda can make me laugh no matter how my day has gone. Emily always understands and always knows how to pick me back up again.

Above all I owe much to, and am ever in awe of, my best friend and husband Jeff, who has shared every moment and every emotion, in triumph and in despair, who made me a very important whiskey sour at 12:53 am on May 27, 2013, and without whom I never would have survived any of this. Thank you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix
ABSTRACT	x
INTRODUCTION	
DANGEROUS WOMEN: TEXT AND PERFORMANCE AT THE FIN DE SIÈCLE	1
CHAPTERS	
1. THE ACTRESS ON AND BEYOND THE STAGE: THEORY AND PRACTICE	19
2. UNDESIRABLE MOTHERS: MÜTTERLICHKEIT AND THE GROTESQUE IN <i>ROSE BERND</i>	61
3. FEMINIST FEMMES FATALES: PERFORMING JUDITH AND SALOME	114
4. THE SEX AND CHARACTER OF HOFMANNSTHAL'S <i>ELEKTRA</i> : TEMPORALITY, SUBJECTIVITY AND PERFORMANCE	164
CONCLUSION	
STAGING THE DEADLIER SEX: LULU'S PERFORMANCE LEGACIES	210
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
PUBLISHED SOURCES	221
ARCHIVAL SOURCES & THEATER REVIEWS	252

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1.	Gertrud Eysoldt performing the Dance of the Seven Veils in Oscar Wilde's <i>Salome</i> (1902)	43
Figure 1.2.	Max Reinhardt's <i>Kleines Theater</i> , Berlin	46
Figure 1.3.	Photographs of Tilla Durieux at age eighteen (1898) and age twenty- nine (1909)	56
Figure 2.1.	Set design for <i>Rose Bernd</i> by Leo Impekoven (1903)	73
Figure 2.2.	Else Lehmann in the role of Rose Bernd (1903)	94
Figure 2.3.	Else Lehmann in the role of Rose Bernd (1903)	109
Figure 3.1.	Lovis Corinth, <i>Gertrud Eysoldt als Salome</i> (1903) and <i>Salome</i> (1900)	115
Figure 3.2.	Scene photos from <i>Salome</i> with Eysoldt in the role of Salome (1902)	128
Figure 3.3.	Images of Bompard & Messalina in <i>Criminal Woman</i> (1893)	130
Figure 3.4.	Set photograph from <i>Salome</i> (1903)	137
Figure 3.5.	Photograph of Durieux as Salome (1904)	139
Figure 3.6.	Gertrud Eysoldt in the Role of Salome (1902/3), Tilla Durieux in the role of Salome (1904)	149
Figure 3.7.	Scene photograph of <i>Salome</i> with Tilla Durieux in the role of Salome, Kleines Theater (1904)	151
Figure 3.8.	Photographs of Tilla Durieux as Judith, (1910)	160
Figure 4.1.	Gertrud Eysoldt in the role of Elektra (1903)	166
Figure 4.2.	Scene Photograph from <i>Elektra</i> (1903). From left Rosa Bertens in the role of Klytämnestra and Gertrud Eysoldt in the role of Elektra.	174

Figure 4.3.	Gertrud Eysoldt in the role of Elektra (1903)	178
Figure 4.4.	Set design for <i>Elektra</i> , Max Kruse (1903)	181
Figure 4.5.	Scene photograph from <i>Elektra</i> (1903). From left Gertrud Eysoldt in the role of Elektra and Lucy Höflich in the role of Chrysothemis.	191
Figure 4.6.	Tilla Durieux in the role of Klytämnestra (1903)	193
Figure 5.1.	Gertrud Eysoldt as Lulu (1902), and Tilley Wedekind as Lulu (1914)	211
Figure 5.2.	Fritzi Haberlandt in the role of Lulu (2004)	213
Figure 5.3.	Fritzi Haberlandt in the role of Lulu (2004)	214
Figure 5.4.	Fritzi Haberlandt in the role of Lulu (2004)	216

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ADK Archiv Darstellende Kunst, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Germany.
- BTJ Norbert Jaron, Renate Möhrmann, and Hedwig Müller, eds. *Berlin – Theater der Jahrhundertwende. Bühnengeschichte der Reichshauptstadt im Spiegel der Kritik (1889-1914)*. Tübingen, Max Niemeyer, 1986.
- DDT Alexander Weigel. *Das Deutsche Theater: Eine Geschichte in Bildern*. Berlin: Propyläen, 1999.
- DSE Gertrud Eysoldt and Hugo von Hofmannsthal. *Der Sturm Elektra. Gertrud Eysoldt, Hugo von Hofmannsthal Briefe*. Ed. Leonhard M. Fiedler. Salzburg: Residenz, 1996.
- MRA Max Reinhardt Archives and Library, Binghamton University Libraries, SUNY Binghamton, Binghamton NY.

ABSTRACT

In German theater around 1900 dramas featuring deadly and dangerous women presented a provocative new trend in popular entertainment and also a means to aesthetic, social and political intervention; this dissertation contends that such stage performances actively participated in a discourse matrix concerned with the power to determine and represent limits of female sexuality and subjectivity. The socio-cultural complex of competing investments surrounding women and femininity comprised aesthetic productions, modern sciences (criminology, sexology, psychology), and the women's movement. This interdisciplinary study attends to constructions of the deadly woman in text and performance from the fin de siècle, interrogating how both dramatic and scientific works constituted overt and palpable efforts to script female subjects. The dissertation reveals that by performing within and against these scripts actresses intervened in the cultural production and reception of female subjectivity.

Critically engaging with performance theory by contemporary scholars and turn-of-the-century theorists including Julius Bab and Georg Simmel, the dissertation maintains that dramatic theater generates an irreducible and continuous circulation of power between the scripting forces of the text and the director, and the co-productive forces of performers and viewers. The dissertation argues that modernist stage performances of deadly women make visible the inherently ungovernable relay of determinative authority that encompassed the actress in theatrical performance, thus

modeling an interpretive analogue to ways in which female subjects beyond the theater challenged diverse antifeminist scripts of modernity.

Individual chapters analyze prominent modern dramas and their stage productions alongside and against influential scientific documents, articulating points of intersection and opposition, between leading German naturalist Gerhart Hauptmann and the criminal psychologist Erich Wulffen; in the trope of the *femme fatale* in Max Reinhardt's productions of *Judith* and *Salome* and writing by the criminologist Cesare Lombroso; as well as in constellations of temporality, gender and subjectivity in Hugo von Hofmannsthal's *Elektra*, and Otto Weininger's controversial gender theories. Examining performance and not only text, the dissertation foregrounds specific corporeal, affective and temporal dimensions of the theater, excavating how famous actresses like Gertrud Eysoldt and Tilla Durieux asserted significant autonomy in performance and staged feminist interventions in socio-cultural constructions of female subjectivity.

INTRODUCTION

DANGEROUS WOMEN: TEXT AND PERFORMANCE AT THE FIN DE SIÈCLE

In 1902, a critic for *Das kleine Journal* vividly recounted the premier of Oscar Wilde's *Salome* at Max Reinhardt's Berlin theater, *Schall und Rauch*. In the climactic final scene, he details, Salome took John the Baptist's severed head in her hands and

drew the most torrid kiss of sinful desire from the still warm lips, and death by mercenary's hand struck her in the moment of highest ecstasy. The psychic occurrences in the soul of this Salome are located in the realm of the pathological. Lombroso and Krafft-Ebing stood as godfathers at the cradle of this daughter of Herodias. [...] The actress in the lead role, Gertrud Eysoldt, gave an absolutely inspired performance. She was well suited to manage the cat-like, the lascivious, the lithesome; her pliable, euphonious voice was able to supplicate, to whimper and to whine with chromatic inflection. It was only gradually that her caressing, petting, covetous little paws transformed into threatening, bloodthirsty claws.¹

The review collapses the actress into the character, transitioning seamlessly from Eysoldt's quality as a performer to the qualities that made Salome so alluring, so enthralling, and so frightening. The author attempts to make tangible the encounter with Eysoldt's voice and body, communicating a decidedly visceral engagement with the production. Deploying zoomorphic adjectives and analogies (Eysoldt/Salome is *cat-like*, with *covetous little paws* that suddenly become *bloodthirsty claws*), and borrowing language from modern science (her *psychic occurrences* are *pathological*), he struggles to

¹ "Als sie es endlich in den Händen hielt, sog sie von den noch warmen Lippen den heißesten Kuß sündigen Begehrens, und der Tod durch Söldnerhand traf sie im Augenblicke der höchsten Ekstase. Die psychischen Vorgänge in der Seele dieser Salome liegen auf pathologischem Gebiete, Lombroso und Krafft-Ebing haben an der Wiege dieser Tochter der Herodias parte gestanden [...] Die Darstellerin der Hauptrolle, Gertrud Eysoldt, bot eine geradezu geniale Leistung. Das Katzenartige, Lüsterne, Geschmeidige gelang ihr trefflich; ihr weiches, wohl lautendes Organ wußte in chromatischem Tonfall zu flehen, zu winseln, zu

gain mastery over his experience of the performance. Indeed, to render the unsettling figure and her actions on the stage comprehensible, the critic invokes Cesare Lombroso and Richard von Krafft-Ebing, founding fathers of criminology and sexology.

The appearance of Lombroso and Krafft-Ebing by name is unusual, but the critic's appeal to the language and authority of disciplines like criminology, sexology, and psychology reflects a notable intersection of aesthetic and scientific discourse in German culture at the turn of the century. The review is also indicative of a contemporaneous surfeit of dangerous women in modern drama and thus on the stage. Both of these dimensions are related to a marked profusion of cultural texts and objects at the turn of the century that evince a predominant concern with the social status of women, and the power to determine and represent limits of female sexuality and subjectivity.

Recent scholarship has often approached this fin-de-siècle discourse complex through the lens of the so-called *Frauenfrage* [Woman Question]. The term encompasses a diversity of questions and concerns related to women and gender in the late nineteenth- and into the twentieth century. Evincing the breadth and complexity of investments collected under the concept, Otto Weininger writes in his 1903 *Geschlecht und Charakter* [Sex and Character], that the *Frauenfrage* is "the question that this book is above all else intended to solve in theoretical and practical terms, insofar as it is not a theoretical question of ethnology and political economy, i.e., social science in the broadest sense, or a practical question of the legal and economic order, i.e., social policy."² Weininger's polyfocal description of his book's objectives, and the myriad methodologies and sources that he deploys throughout *Geschlecht und Charakter* reveal how diverse and far-

² Otto Weininger, *Sex and Character. An Investigation of Fundamental Principles*, trans. Ladislaus Löb, eds. Daniel Steuer and Laura Marcus (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2005), 57.

reaching the matters framed within the Woman Question could be. That Weininger's work is one among a multitude of conspicuously heterogeneous documents and products from the turn of the century is further illustrative. In this dissertation I approach the matrix of text and performance surrounding questions of female sexuality and subjectivity more broadly conceived, as a point of intersection for competing investments from the organized women's movements, politics and the law, the modern human sciences (including anthropology, sociology, criminology, sexology, and psychology), and also artists and performers. I engage with dimensions of the construction and representation of female subjectivity in this period by analyzing performances staged in Berlin theaters around 1900 that featured dangerous and deadly women.

More specifically, I examine how both dramatic and scientific texts constituted overt and palpable efforts to script female subjects, and I identify the ways in which women asserted female subjectivity from within and against these scripts. The terms *script* and *scripting* here distinguish not a genre of text, but rather a determinative application of texts, an *intention* to shape the construction or representation of subjects that is visibly operative behind a text in a given cultural context.

Drama, for example, circulates and has a readership as literature, and dramatic text operates as script in the theater when it exercises a determinant authority over a performance.³ Similarly, scientific texts circulated widely among both expert and lay readers at the turn of the century, and they, too, became scripts through the production of normative socio-cultural discourses intended to regulate categories of gender, sexuality,

³ I will consider dramatic theater exclusively in this dissertation, and not opera productions. Musical composition, singing and libretti as text add further dimensions to production analysis that are beyond the scope of this dissertation. For critical cultural studies of female opera singers, see: Rachel Cowgill, and Hilary Poriss eds, *The Arts of the Prima Donna in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012).

and subjectivity. The dangerous woman—both real and imagined—presented a site of concentration for dramatic and scientific scripts. Furthermore, this dissertation shows how two key elements, which were held to be constitutive of female danger, deception and seduction, were multiplied in stage performance through the dual presence of the actress and the dramatic figure. As complexly layered subjects—PERFORMER (*person and persona*) / PERFORMANCE / PERFORMED—actresses were active participants in a contest over the power to determine female subjects and female subjectivity that played out both on and off the stage at the fin de siècle.

Theater and drama maintained privileged importance in German culture throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Theaters were hubs of entertainment and social life, and also vital sites of aesthetic, social and political intervention.⁴ This was true for the dramatists and practitioners who created the material of performance, and equally so for viewers, who had a decidedly active and vocal role in the theater.⁵ This rich social and political life extended beyond the parquet as well. An extensive community of German theater critics generated in some cases hundreds of

⁴ The considerable energy that the Wilhelmine government committed specifically to theater censorship is representative of the cultural power of stage performance at the turn of the century. For more on the history of German theater, see: Simon Williams, and Maik Hamburger, eds, *A History of German Theater* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008), and Ronald Hayman, ed, *The German Theatre. A Symposium* (London: Oswald Wolff, 1975). On the status of the theater as an important early site of public social and political action in German-speaking regions, see: Klaus Laermann, "Die riskante Person in der moralischen Anstalt. Zur Darstellung der Schauspielerin in deutschen Theaterzeitschriften des späten 18. Jahrhunderts," in Renate Möhrmann, *Die Schauspielerin: zur Kulturgeschichte der weiblichen Bühnenkunst* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1989), 127-153. For a more general cultural study of the relationship between theater/drama and social life, see: Erica Fischer-Lichte, *History of European Theater and Drama*, trans. Jo Riley (London: Routledge, 2002).

⁵ It was and is to this day conventional in Germany for audience members to show displays of approval and contestation during a theater performance by clapping, shouting, whistling, hissing, loudly protesting or cheering. These interjections were directed at the stage and also toward other viewers, sometimes leading to verbal and even physical altercations in the parquet during shows.

reviews over the run of a single production.⁶ In Berlin and other urban centers reviews of prominent shows were printed in specialty journals like *Bühne und Welt* [Stage and World] and *Die Schaubühne* [The Stage], and were also standard to most of the daily newspapers that circulated *en masse* in the period.⁷ This body of text also asserted a scripting force for itself, insofar as critics attempted to establish determinative authority over the reception of theatrical performance.

At the turn of the century, moreover, the scripting impetus of theater criticism was notably attuned to the deadly women of modern drama and the actresses who performed them on the stage. Theaters had appeared, at least, to be securely under the control of men in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—with canonical dramatists like Goethe, Lessing, and Hebel, the predominance of central male characters, and the monopoly on power held by the theater proprietors and company directors—but by the *fin de siècle* the stage was widely perceived to be dominated by women. Modern dramas increasingly centered on a lead female role, and star actresses accumulated fame and power on the stage, as well as social and financial independence outside of the theater.⁸ In response, reviews began to evince a desire to return authority to elements of theater production still within the purview of masculine authority—dramatic literature, stage direction, and theater management, including contracts and regulations—and to the critics themselves. In some cases, different kinds of scripts—scientific, medical, juridical—were

⁶ Over the course of the 1902/3 theater season in Berlin, Reinhardt's production of *Salome*—Gertrud Eysoldt and Tilla Durieux shared the lead role—generated over one hundred printed reviews in journals and newspapers.

⁷ Peter Fritzsche notes that, "[i]n 1914, for example, an astonishing 4,200 newspapers and 6,500 journals were published in Germany." In *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1996), 53.

⁸ On the prominence of the actress in German culture of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Chapter 1 of this dissertation. On the actress and turn-of-the-century European star culture, see also: Matthias Müller, "Sarah Bernhardt – Eleonora Duse: Die Virtuosinnen der Jahrhundertwende," in Renate Möhrmann edMöhrmann, Renate. *Die Schauspielerinnen: zur Kulturgeschichte der weiblichen Bühnenkunst* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1989), 228-260.

aggregated to multiply authority over female subjects, as demonstrated in the review of *Salome* quoted above.

The determinant potential of a script is, however, never absolute. By their very composition, scripts act upon and are enacted by subjects, and thus the manifestation of a given script will be constituted by agents external to the text itself. The production of a dramatic script comprises multiple and simultaneously active agents of the theater (director, actors, set and costume designers, viewers), and this principle also holds true for the other kinds of scripts central to this dissertation. I contend that the scripted subject thus inherently has the potential to assimilate, to challenge, and to reject the determinant force of the script. As Judith Butler contends, even categories like gender, which would seem to operate at an internalized level, are bound to mechanisms of constant and active negotiation. She writes, "[i]f gender is a kind of doing, an incessant activity performed, in part, without one's knowing and without one's willing, it is not for that reason automatic or mechanical. On the contrary, it is a practice of improvisation within a scene of constraints."⁹

The theater makes visible practices of performance within scenes of constraint. The theater also makes tangible the constant fluctuation and instability of any set of socio-cultural constraints. This is evident on stage in the inescapable contingency of live performance. Different actors can perfectly recite the words of the same script, execute each intonation and physical movement choreographed by the same director, and the resulting performance will still be unique in each instance. I suggest that this unavoidable variance is a manifestation of subjectivity, the scripted agents' awareness and conscious

⁹ Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (Boca Raton, [Fla.]: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2004), 1.

negotiation of the scripts that engage them. Subjectivity is, then, the principal human dimension that in all cases resists the determinacy of a given script. This dissertation investigates the ways in which women enacted female subjectivity *from within and against* culturally authoritative scripts.

Other scholars have examined women's position—as subjects and objects—within the discursive frames of the *Frauenfrage* through concepts of agency and autonomy; in this dissertation I operate instead with the category of subjectivity to supplement this important preceding work. Studies focused on female agency have often taken the form of recuperative projects that identify and analyze women's aesthetic, social, and political activity *alongside and outside of* the dominant culture.¹⁰ I look to ways in which women staked claims from *within* the mainstream by asserting and performing individual subjectivity, even when scripting forces and institutional practices may have limited their ability to act with apparent autonomy. In order to do so I focus on dramas by some of the most canonical German authors from the fin de siècle, including Gerhart Hauptmann, Friedrich Hebbel, Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Frank Wedekind, and also read work by highly influential scientific authorities from the period including Cesare Lombroso, Erich Wulffen, and Otto Weininger. Furthermore, many of the texts considered in this dissertation were specifically concerned with the production or disavowal of female subjectivity, as opposed to agency.¹¹ A critical approach to performance that attends primarily to articulations of the performer's subjectivity thus demonstrates how actresses

¹⁰ See my discussion of extant scholarship on women, theater and drama in the following section of this Introduction.

¹¹ In Chapter 4, for example, I elucidate how in *Geschlecht und Character*, Otto Weininger rigorously works to deny the very existence of female subjectivity.

enacted a significant challenge to authoritative normative discourse in the same register as some of the most widely recognized and influential anti-feminist scripts.

Dramatic theater comprises an irreducible and continuous circulation of power between the scripting forces of the text and the director, and the co-productive forces of the stage performers and the viewers. In the network of exchange that constitutes a performance, I argue, the operative subjectivity of the actress intrinsically undercuts determinant authority from within and against the scripts. Through my analyses, furthermore, I argue that modernist stage performances of deadly and dangerous women make visible the inherently ungovernable relay of determinative authority between the scripts of the theater and the actress in performance, thus modeling an interpretive analogue to the ways in which female subjects outside of the theater challenged various antifeminist scripts of modernity.

Reading Performance With and Against the Text: Precedents and Methods

A significant body of extant scholarship is devoted to women in turn-of-the-century theater and drama. While much of this work is interdisciplinary, the scholarship, for the most part, addresses either female figures in male-authored dramas, female dramatic authors, or female stage performers as separate categories. Penny Farfan's *Women, Modernism and Performance* (2004) presents a notable exception, examining a number of different means by which women created countercultures at the turn of the century including both text and performance.¹² Farfan uncovers how these female productions developed alongside and against the predominantly masculine mainstream culture and contends that women's literature and performance constituted a

¹² Penny Farfan, *Women, Modernism, and Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004).

counterculture that participated actively in the production of what scholars often consider under the rubric of Modernism.

Among studies of female characters in dramatic literature from the fin de siècle, Gail Finney's formative *Women in Modern Drama* (1989) has been the most influential.¹³ Finney examines several female roles in turn-of-the-century dramas by German, British, and Scandinavian authors. She is interested primarily in the dual shaping influence of emerging feminist movements and Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic theories on male dramatic authors at the fin de siècle; the aim of her feminist literary analysis is to "[reveal] the attitudes and ideologies shaping their depictions of female characters."¹⁴ In a similar study specifically focused on the predominance of prostitutes in modern literature, Christiane Schönefeld's edited volume, *Commodities of Desire* (2000), includes essays on dramas by Frank Wedekind, Arthur Schnitzler, and Bertolt Brecht.¹⁵

Other scholars have done path-breaking work to uncover female dramatic authors who have been overlooked in the German literary canon. This has been the subject of important books such as Katrin Sieg's *Exiles Eccentrics Activists* (1994), and Sarah

¹³ Gail Finney, *Women in Modern Drama: Freud, Feminism, and European Theater at the Turn of the Century* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989). Other similar work includes, Rüdiger Mueller's *Sex, Love, and Prostitution in Turn-of-the-Century German-Language Drama* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2006), and Johannes Pankau's, *Sexualität und Modernität: Studien zum deutschen Drama des Fin de Siècle* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005). Mueller and Pankau focus primarily on sexuality and prostitution. Mueller's book is concerned with the representation of marital relationships and prostitution in dramas of the fin de siècle, while Pankau reads the representation of sexuality and gender relations in the dramas as evidence of developments in thought and social practices constitutive of modernity.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁵ Christiane Schönefeld, *Commodities of Desire. The Prostitute in Modern German Literature* (Rochester: Camden House, 2000). More recently, members of the research consortium, *Representations of Women and Death in German Literature, Art and Media after 1500*, have conducted research on specifically deadly women, including some considerations of turn of the century dramas. <<http://www.mod-langs.ox.ac.uk/women-and-death/index.html>>. This includes, among others, Susanne Kord's *Murderesses in German Writing, 1720-1860. Heroines of Horror* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009).

Colvin's *Women and German Drama* (2003).¹⁶ Sue-Ellen Case also edited the first English anthology of German women playwrights, *The Divided Home/Land* (1992), which drew increased international attention to previously understudied German authors.¹⁷ These scholars make a vital claim for the inclusion of female dramatists in theatrical and literary histories and anthologies.¹⁸ Attending carefully to predominant thematic and aesthetic concerns, they elucidate women's influence in shaping German drama.¹⁹

Feminist cultural historians have also attended to the ways in which women have staked feminist claims in dominant culture and developed counter cultures through stage performance. Substantial scholarship in this vein includes Susan Glenn's *Female Spectacle* (2000), Catherine Hindson's *Female Performance Practice on the Fin-de-Siècle Popular Stages of London and Paris* (2007), and Mary Louise Roberts' *Disruptive Acts* (2007).²⁰ Hindson draws attention to female stage performers in France and London at the turn of the century, asserting that actresses performed female autonomy in a way that transgressed cultural norms of female passivity. Hindson, furthermore, argues that female stage performance refuted the prevailing contention that women were bearers and

¹⁶ Katrin Sieg's *Exiles Eccentrics Activists: Women In Contemporary German Theater* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1994), and Sarah Colvin's *Women and German Drama* (Rochester: Camden House, 2003).

¹⁷ Sue-Ellen Case, *The Divided Home/Land: Contemporary German Women's Plays* (Ann Arbor: The U of Michigan P, 1992).

¹⁸ Anthologies and scholarly texts on modern female dramatists have also been compiled in other national contexts. See, for example, Katherin Kelly, *Modern Drama by Women 1880s-1930s: An International Anthology* (London: Routledge, 1996); Sheila Stowell, *A Stage of Their Own: Feminist Playwrights of the Suffrage Era* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1992).

¹⁹ The dramas by female authors such as Ebner-Eschenbach, Druskowitz, Kühne and Viebig contribute importantly to our understanding of women's roles in the socio-cultural landscape and cultural discourses of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, particularly regarding gender and gender relations, sexuality, the women's movement.

²⁰ Susan Glenn, *Female Spectacle Female Spectacle: the Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2000); Catherine Hindson, *Female Performance Practice on the Fin-de-Siècle Popular Stages of London and Paris: Experiment and Advertisement* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2007); Mary Louise Roberts, *Disruptive Acts* (2002).

not makers of meaning. In her work, Roberts foregrounds theater and journalism as early points of access for French women to engage publicly in political, social and cultural life. Roberts' work is significant for feminist theater history for, among other aspects, its focus on the ways in which fin-de-siècle actresses exposed the performative nature of gender, and disrupted fixed categories of masculinity and femininity. Glenn's study examines actresses' contributions to the feminist movement in the United States at the turn of the century. Glenn has done important work to recognize how actresses very deliberately participated in social and political discourse through the culture of spectacle, which scholarship prior to hers has frequently identified as purely exploitative of women. Glenn conducts a more dynamic analysis by demonstrating how theatrical performance constituted a display *of* women, and also *by* women, thus focusing on dimensions of female agency on the stage.

My dissertation contributes to this rich body of scholarship on women in turn-of-the-century theater and drama by articulating and analyzing the various textual and discursive frames surrounding women and the theater as different kinds of scripts, and by investigating the status of female subjectivity in relationship to these scripts (as outlined above). I am thus able to uncover how, through performance, women participated, intervened, and countered the dramatic, cultural and scientific scripts that asserted determinative authority over female subjects and female subjectivity. My research is informed by theater and performance theory developed by Erika Fischer-Lichte, Simon Shepherd, Hans-Thies Lehmann and W.B. Worthen.²¹ These scholars have demonstrated that theater and drama scholarship must take into account the ways in which the material

²¹ See Chapter 1 of this dissertation for further references and for an explication of the performance theory central to this dissertation.

elements of a theatrical production—the body, gesture, costume, make-up and text—create a matrix of meaning production in the theater that is necessarily shaped by and also acts upon the ideologies of its cultural context.

Simon Shepherd's work in *Theater, Body and Pleasure* (2006) foregrounds the corporeal dimension of the theatrical experience, and focuses on the ways in which the body (both of the actor and the spectator) functions in theater, its kinesthetic communicative effects, and its ideological specificity.²² He argues that the theater places the viewer and performer in a corporeal relationship, a visceral exchange that operates alongside the dramatic text. Shepherd ties the encounter of bodies in the theater always necessarily to the concurrent textual construction of the body through the dramatic text, giving primacy, however, to the textual production of the body over the physical performance in the theater.

In his influential *Postdramatic Theatre* (2006), Hans-Thies Lehmann also interrogates the relationship between dramatic text and performance in modern theater. Lehmann argues that theater after Bertolt Brecht has deliberately worked to unyoke the meaning-making apparatuses of stage performance from the authority of the dramatic text. While I maintain Lehmann's analysis of the mechanisms of theatrical production and performance that actively contest the determinacy of the drama as script, I argue that these elements are operative in modernist theater before Brecht's theoretical interventions. This follows with other theater scholars, such as W.B. Worthen, who have challenged the notion that dramatic text ever held or could hold unambiguous authority over performance. Worthen resists a simple correlation between drama on the page and

²² Simon Shepherd, *Theatre, Body and Pleasure*. London: Routledge, 2006.

the performance on the stage. He has thus emphasized the need for a more critical understanding of the dramatic text itself, and also of the relationship between text and performance, disputing that the drama dictates its performance, and asking instead what a performance *does* with a text. In his view, a dramatic performance is not a version of the text on the stage, or a performance of a play, but rather a thing unto itself that is connected, to varying degrees and in varying ways, with a text.²³

Erika Fischer-Lichte has also emphasized the corporeality of theatrical performance and reception and has, furthermore, drawn attention to the temporal specificity of the theater. Fischer-Lichte's concept of "co-presence" in the theater explicates the contingency of live performance, which is dependent on the actors *and* the audience to produce the overall experience of each individual event, creating a conditional co-determinacy in live performance. Within the theatrical space of coproduction, the viewer simultaneously engages with the actor's semiotic body (the dramatic figure) and the actor's phenomenal body (corporeal presence in space and time).²⁴ Working from these concepts, I approach the actress as a complexly layered subject in the theater, analyzing not only the presence of the performer and the figure on stage, but also the performer as subject outside of the theater (person and persona). In this way, moreover, I also attend to the production and negotiation of subjectivity in

²³ See: W.B. Worthen, "Disciplines of the Text/Sites of Performance." *TDR – The Drama Review*. 39.1 (1995): 13-28, "Drama, Performativity, and Performance." *PMLA* 113.5 (1998): 1093-1107, and "Text, Tools, and Technologies of Performance: A Quip Modest, in Response to R.A. Foakes." *Shakespeare* 2.2 (2006): 208-219. See also: Robert Hapgood and W.B. Worthen, "Script and Performance" *PMLA* 11.42 (1999): 225-226.

²⁴ See: Erika Fischer-Lichte, "Performance as Event – Reception as Transformation." *Theorizing Performance. Greek Drama, Cultural History and Critical Practice*, eds. Edith Hall and Stephe Harrop (London: Duckworth, 2010), 29-42, and *The Show and the Gaze of Theatre. A European Perspective*. Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 1997.

performance, accounting for the actress's subjective experience, awareness and negotiation of these layers.

Thinking about how to access the theatrical past has been a central concern for my work, particularly given the inherent ephemerality and immediacy of the theatrical experience.²⁵ Research on stage performance from the turn of the century requires a careful approach that entails reading the available evidence of productions— theater reviews, actresses' autobiographies, directors notes, sketches, and photographs—at odds and in concert. This dictates an approach to theater criticism, for example, that attends to reviews as a form not only of reception, but also of production in itself. Life writing by actresses is also available through published articles, autobiography, and letter exchanges. When examining autobiography I am mindful of work by scholars like Viv Gardner, who insists that actresses' memoirs in particular necessitate, "a 'polyfocal' reading' ... an alertness to both the social and theatrical context, to genre and to production..., not all of which material is immediately accessible from the text itself, as well as to the 'voice' of the writer."²⁶ In this dissertation I maintain this critical awareness through my consideration of the actress as a layered subject, who also sustains and makes visible the concurrent layers of subjectivity operative in her stage performances.

²⁵ Several essays in, *Theater Historiography. Critical Interventions* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2010), edited by Henry Bial and Scott Magelssen, examine the methods of theater historiography to reconsider *how* we to theater history; what we attend to, what sources we use, how we access the theatrical past.

²⁶ Viv Gardner, "By Herself: The Actress and Autobiography, 1755-1939," *The Cambridge Companion to the Actress*, eds Maggie B. Gale, and John Stokes (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007) 176. See also: Maggie B. Gale, and Viv Gardner, eds., *Auto/Biography and Identity. Women, Theatre and Performance* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2004), and Sidonie Smith, *A Poetics of Women's Autobiography. Marginality and the Fictions of Self-Representation* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1987), and *Subjectivity, Identity, and the Body. Women's Autobiographical Practice in the 20th century* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1993).

Chapter Outline

The first chapter outlines significant cultural-historical developments for actresses, and in theater and drama more generally at the turn of the century. I survey a variety of cultural documents that elucidate the intersection of multiple levels of discourse not only concerned with theater and drama, but also representing scientific and philosophical interests in gender and sexuality. The chapter examines contemporary philosophical and sociological writing on the actress, theater theory, performance reviews and journal articles, and life writing by actresses. Furthermore, through an analysis of performance theory by Fischer-Lichte, Shepherd, Worthen and Lehmann, I generate an integrated theoretical approach that accounts for the material, temporal and corporeal specificity of stage performance and theater reception. Subsequent chapters analyze cultural texts and stage productions from the turn of the century, each foregrounding an experiential dimension of theatrical performance— affective, corporeal, temporal.

Chapter 2 identifies elements of the grotesque in Gerhart Hauptmann's infanticide drama, *Rose Bernd*. I contend that while Hauptmann's drama developed a literary grotesque, in her stage performance the actress Else Lehmann produced the grotesque as an affective and visceral category. Reading the drama and its production against constructions of and interventions in the socio-cultural binary of *Mütterlichkeit* [motherliness] and eroticism in scientific and feminist texts, the chapter uncovers how the dramatic and performative iterations of the grotesque participated in challenges to the scripting authority of normative female sexuality.

In Chapter 3 I engage with fin-de-siècle constructions of the *femme fatale* through an analysis of Max Reinhardt's modernist productions of Oscar Wilde's *Salome* and

Friedrich Hebbel's *Judith*. I interrogate performances of the lead roles by Gertrud Eysoldt and Tilla Durieux, and read them against Cesare Lombroso's influential *Criminal Woman*. In doing so, the chapter excavates important corporeal interventions in the prominent fin-de-siècle cultural engagement with the femme fatale fantasy. The chapter contends that Lombroso deploys the femme fatale fantasy to multiply the scripting authority of his scientific text through the cultural authority of myth. In the theater, however, the actress's ability to produce tangibly corporeal manifestations of the femme fatale while maintaining the layered subjectivity of the stage performer multiplied her own authority over the fantasy. I thus contend that turn-of-the-century actresses destabilized masculine authority over what scholars to-date have primarily considered to be a male-authored fantasy.

The fourth chapter draws the unique temporality of theatrical performance into the foreground to interrogate the relationship between gender, temporality and subjectivity constructed or enacted in Hugo von Hofmannsthal's *Elektra*, Gertrud Eysoldt's performance of the title role, and Otto Weininger's *Geschlecht und Charakter*. I argue that whereas Hofmannsthal's drama exposes the variability inherent to human perceptions of time, Weininger asserts an absolute model of gendered temporal awareness, which forms the basis for his disavowal of female subjectivity. The chapter contends that Eysoldt's manipulation of the temporal experience in the theater both enacted and resisted elements of Hofmannsthal's temporal paradigm, and repudiated Weininger's theoretical constructs of gender and subjectivity.

The conclusion examines Michael Thalheimer's decidedly *postdramatic* production of Frank Wedekind's Lulu dramas, starring Fritzi Haberlandt. Staged at the

Thalia Theater in Hamburg in 2004, Thalheimer's *Lulu* explicitly and aggressively dismantled the determinative authority of the dramatic text over the stage performance. I juxtapose this production and Haberlandt's performance to turn-of-the-century productions of *Erdegeist* and *Die Büchse der Pandora*, starring Tilly Wedekind, Tilla Durieux, and Gertrud Eysoldt. Through this comparison I argue that the obvious anti-dramatic effect of Thalheimer's *Lulu* does not refute the visibility of female subjectivity in dramatic performance, but rather confirms the efficacy of the fin-de-siècle actress's intervention in determinative authority from within and against the text.

This dissertation analyzes texts at the level of content, of formal construction, and of aesthetic design, and it also engages critically with texts as scripts of cultural discourse, objects, subjects, and performances. It thereby investigates how determinative authority was imagined, constructed, exchanged and challenged within and across texts, bodies, and performance. I excavate and examine how instability and mutability were centrally constitutive of these texts—purposefully (in dramas such as Hugo von Hofmannsthal's *Elektra*, and Gerhart Hauptmann's *Rose Bernd*), inherently (as evident in sociological and theoretical writings by Max Marcuse and Julius Bab), and in some cases against the author's explicit intentions (as is apparent in work by Cesare Lombroso and Otto Weininger). Dramatic theater presents a productive site at which to interrogate the complicated relationships between scripts and scripted subjects because instability and mutability are fundamental to stage production; performance ensues from the constant and unpredictable, and thus uncontrollable circulation of determinative authority. Through performances of deadly and dangerous women in German theater at the fin de

siècle, I argue, the actress presented a complexly layered subject, and asserted subjectivity from within and against the texts that would script her—as a character, a performer, and a woman.

CHAPTER 1
THE ACTRESS ON AND BEYOND THE STAGE:
THEORY AND PRACTICE

Die Keuschheit des Kunstwerks müßte von einer Stärke sein, daß wir nackt über die Bühne gehen und eine Stunde später wieder als Dame neben unseren Schwestern, die ihren Beruf in der Familie finden, sitzen können.¹

Tilla Durieux, 1914

Die bestehende Theorie, daß sich aus der Rolle als Dichtwerk allein ergäbe, wie sie gespielt werden muß, bedeutet ein literarisches Ideal, aber kein schauspielerisches. Der Schauspieler ist nicht die Marionette der Rolle.²

Georg Simmel, 1908

When Tilla Durieux announced her intention to enroll in an acting school at age seventeen her mother struck her in the face.³ It was 1898 in Vienna, and as Durieux would later write in her autobiography, *Meine ersten neunzig Jahre* [My First Ninety Years], "if it was already a degradation in that time for a girl to take a career, how much more did the hopeful actress set herself outside the limits of the permitted and the

¹ "The purity of the work of art must be of such a strength that we can walk across the stage naked and an hour later be able to sit like a lady next to our sisters, whose careers are within the family." In Heidrun Loeper, Ina Prescher, and Andrea Rolz eds, *Tilla Durieux. "Der Beruf der Schauspielerin,"* (Berlin: Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste, 2004), 32. All translations are my own unless otherwise specified. Selected passages will have the original German text in the footnote.

² "The extant theory that the way in which a role should be played is determined by the work of poetry alone is a literary, and not an actorly ideal. The actor is not the marionette of the role." Georg Simmel, "Zur Philosophie des Schauspielers" (posthumous addendum), *Georg Simmel Gesamtausgabe: Postume Veröffentlichungen, Ungedrucktes, Schulpädagogik*, eds. Torge Karlsruhen and Otthein Rammstedt (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2004), 202.

³ Tilla Durieux, *Meine ersten neunzig Jahre. Erinnerungen* (Berlin: F.A. Herbig Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971), 19.

conventional."⁴ Although her mother reluctantly conceded, she hoped throughout her daughter's training that Tilla would choose instead to marry her childhood sweetheart, to whom she was briefly engaged, and leave the theater behind. Writing about her fiancé in her memoir, however, Tilla explains: "I already sensed then that his rigid virtue, his adherence to social codes would have always come into conflict with my temperament, my drive toward a free, uninhibited life."⁵ And so she left him and chose once and for all to be an actress. Tilla Durieux was called to the stage not only by her natural talent, but also by the promise of freedoms otherwise unattainable for young women in her time, by "a desperate longing for another world that surely must be hiding somewhere," she writes. "A world full of mystery and at the same time full of truth, a world that I couldn't have described, but that I had to reach even if I arrived at my goal starving and in tatters."⁶

Durieux's desire for an unencumbered and uninhibited life was one of the many things that drew young women like her to the theater in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although much social stigma still adhered to the theater and especially to professional actresses, in the changing socio-cultural landscape of the late nineteenth century women found increasing opportunities on stage and faced considerably less social ostracization. Working-class women found potential for gainful employment in the theater, and with the emerging celebrity culture surrounding international sensations like Sarah Bernhardt, upper-class women also saw opportunities in the theater that were inaccessible in the shepherded life of a typical bourgeois or aristocratic woman. Successful actresses enjoyed acclaim and admiration, and also

⁴ Ibid., 20.

⁵ Ibid., 28.

⁶ Ibid., 30-31.

financial independence, national and international travel, and a large degree of social autonomy.

The path to a career in theater also brought with it many hardships and great risk for women, however. For those not as fortunate and talented as Durieux and other female stars of the period, starvation, poverty, and for some prostitution were very real eventualities. In a speech given at a women's gathering during the 1914 Bugra in Leipzig⁷ Durieux cautions young women against the allure of the stage. Yes, she tells them, there are possibilities for actresses not available to women anywhere else, "but nowhere else in the world is the suffering greater. In no other career is a girl so completely helpless as on the stage, if she is not saved by great talent or a lot of luck. And only a few are blessed with these things."⁸ Male actors also faced financial strain and unfair contracts, but actresses were disadvantaged by gender-based pay inequality (like other working women), and additionally by the requirement that they provide their own costumes at great expense, whereas theater companies furnished men's wardrobes. Despite increased esteem for actresses at the turn of the century, furthermore, those not backed by the financial and social support of a wealthy bourgeois or upper-class family still faced the threat of a tarnished reputation, which could impose severe limitations on their employment opportunities if their acting careers failed.

For women at the fin de siècle the theater thus presented a contradictory landscape of possibility and jeopardy. The disparity between the lifestyle of a star actress and that of the average actress also resonated in cultural discourse surrounding female performers. Beyond performance, the public cultivated a prurient curiosity, particularly

⁷ Internationale Ausstellung für Buchgewerbe und Graphik [International Exhibition for Book Trade and Graphic Arts].

⁸ In Heidrun Loeper, et al, eds., *Tilla Durieux. "Der Beruf der Schauspielerin,"* 27-28.

surrounding the real and imagined parallels between actresses and prostitutes. The relationship between the profession of acting and of prostitution was polyvalent and largely opaque at the turn of the century. In historical research it has been difficult to ascertain how ubiquitous actual prostitution was among working actresses, and how much the discursive equation of actresses with prostitutes exaggerated the overlap.⁹ An erotic connotation colored the actress in both performance and text due to a number of coinciding factors: the evident occurrences of actresses prostituting themselves, the common coincidence of unrelated sex trade in the same neighborhoods as theaters, a more tangential association via the perceived moral flexibility among performers in the theater, and at the most basic level, the reduction of acting to the display of one's body on stage for money.

Discourses surrounding the actress circulated in German culture in myriad ways. Actresses maintained a unique status between the social periphery and the center of cultural life. Moreover, through performance on stage, and through their lifestyles outside of the theater they often challenged norms of gender and identity. These tensions and irregularities drew interest from a variety of contemporary authors and thinkers. Actresses featured prominently in dramas by Frank Wedekind (*Erdgeist*, *Die Büchse der Pandora* and *Zensur*), Heinrich Mann (*Die Schauspielerin*), Ludwig Thoma (*Magdalena*), Hermann Sudermann (*Sodoms Ende*), and Arthur Schnitzler (*Reigen*). Acting and the actress also bridged genres appearing in texts by Friedrich Nietzsche and Georg Simmel, who were interested in the philosophical implications of performance for identity and subjectivity, by sexologists and criminologists like Otto Weininger and Erich

⁹ See: Anna Helleis, *Faszination Schauspielerin: Von der Antike bis Hollywood. Eine Sozialgeschichte* (Vienna: Braumüller, 2006).

Wulffen, who examined the relationship between gender, sexuality and performance, and by theater critics including Heinrich Rötcher, Heinrich Stümcke, and Julius Bab, who each wrote extensive theoretical treatises on the actress. This body of text about, and featuring actresses constituted scripts that shaped the production and reception of women in stage performance. In theatrical performance viewers encountered the actress as a layered subject, simultaneously engaging with PERFORMER (*person and persona*)—PERFORMANCE—PERFORMED, which coterminously created multiple layers through which the individual actress could assert subjectivity and authority from within and against the scripts that acted upon and through her.

This chapter will examine the numerous scripts surrounding the actress at the turn of the century and explicate ways in which actresses actively negotiated and contested the shaping forces of these scripts. The first section will provide a brief overview of the social and cultural history of the German actress with particular attention to changes and conditions for actresses at the *fin de siècle*. Subsequent sections will then identify and analyze some of the philosophical and theoretical texts that scripted the actress on and beyond the stage. The chapter foregrounds the centrality of gender and subjectivity to these theories of the actress, and contends that the broader cultural investment in the actress was rooted in a multiform contention for determinant power over female subjectivity and danger. The analyses in this chapter construct the theoretical underpinning for subsequent chapters, which will investigate specific instances of competing scripts in female stage performance.

Layered Subjects: Actresses On and Beyond the Stage at the Fin de Siècle

Women in the German theater saw drastic changes from their first public appearances in the eighteenth century to their prominence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as actresses moved from the peripheries of social life to the center of the stage and cultural discourse. The Italian *commedia dell'arte* of the sixteenth century engaged the first professional actresses in Western Europe, followed by France and Spain. German-speaking lands did not allow women to perform until the early to mid-eighteenth century, and these early actresses initially struggled to find employment. The most lucrative performances were commissioned by the various *Hoftheater* [court theaters], which tended to favor Italian and French performers (actresses, dancers and singers). Until the late eighteenth century the majority of German actresses were thus members of *Wandertruppen* [traveling theater troupes] that performed in villages throughout the principalities. In most cases female performers were married to another member of the company, and a *Wandertruppe* was usually a family business. Within this framework women maintained a notable equality with their male counterparts, often taking an active role in management and business accounting for their troupes.

The so-called *Verbürgerlichung* ["bourgeoisification"] of the theater in the mid-to late eighteenth century brought advantages for German stage performers through the establishment of permanent theaters in many towns and cities, which guaranteed more stable work. Accompanying changes, however, also instituted greater restrictions for women. As bourgeois gender norms gained traction in the culture more broadly, patriarchal structures spread to theater companies and actresses forfeited much of the equal footing they once maintained. Women were, for example, no longer able to engage

in legal or financial transactions for the company. On stage, furthermore, actresses were limited by the relatively minor and uninteresting female roles of mainstream dramas.¹⁰ It was not until the nineteenth century with new dramatic forms and accompanying transformations in theater practice that German actresses gained prominence.¹¹

Realism and naturalism had an impact for women in the theater that cannot be overstated.¹² Actresses achieved new importance through lead female roles in modern dramas that also required them to perform with more complexity and depth. The actress as an entertainer was thus supplanted by the actress as a serious artist, who rivaled her male counterparts for talent and status. In her 1910 essay, "Die Frau auf der Bühne" [Woman on the Stage], Liesel Karloff writes that, "[i]f the actress's journey in past centuries was endlessly tiresome and difficult, the nineteenth century brought her victory on all fronts. ... [S]he not only triumphed on the stage, rather she also ruled the whole of social life."¹³ Karloff points to the dual prominence of actresses within and beyond the theater, touching on what current scholarship has identified as the emerging celebrity culture of the mid- to late nineteenth century.¹⁴ Karloff describes the influence that star

¹⁰ There were, of course, exceptions to this in roles like Goethe's Gretchen (*Faust*), and some of the supporting roles in dramas by Schiller and Lessing, but the majority of troupes performed light entertainment plays that had very few roles of substance for the actresses in the company.

¹¹ For more extensive history of the actress see: Renate Möhrmann ed, *Die Schauspielerin: zur Kulturgeschichte der weiblichen Bühnenkunst* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1989), Anna Helleis, *Faszination Schauspielerin* (2006), Tracy C. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women. Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1991), and, Maggie B. Gale and John Stokes eds, *The Cambridge Companion to the Actress* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007). For a more general history of German theater see essays in: Simon Williams, and Maik Hamburger, eds, *A History of German Theater* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008).

¹² For more on realism and naturalism, their aesthetic elements, social and political implications, and effect on theater production practice at the turn of the century, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

¹³ Liesel Karloff, "Die Frau auf der Bühne," (1910) ADK #581.1

¹⁴ On actresses and celebrity at the turn of the century, see Matthias Müller, "Sarah Bernhardt – Eleonora Duse: Die Virtuosinnen der Jahrhundertwende," in Renate Möhrmann ed, *Die Schauspielerin* (1989), 228-260. For more extensive scholarship on celebrity see: Leo Braudy, *The Frenzy of Renown. Fame and its History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), Graeme Turner, *Understanding Celebrity* (London: Sage

actresses carried beyond the stage writing that in the second half of the nineteenth century, "the actress became a trendsetter in fashion (at least in Germany – in the Roman lands this was the case much earlier). Leading fashion designers showed the most expensive fabrics and furs with the help of their new models, and the audience copied... their clothes, undergarments, shoes," and that was not all; fans emulated "even their way of laughing, of walking, and even of moving."¹⁵ The fin-de-siècle actress thus became central to popular culture through fashion and personal style, and further through the media, which reported on performances and also on the off-stage persona of the stars.¹⁶

Public interest followed individual actresses and also developed around the darker side of the profession for women. In her essay, "Die Frau im Theaterberuf" [Woman in the Theatrical Profession], written for *Die Frau* in 1909, Charlotte Engel Reimers examines how the numerous advancements for women in turn-of-the-century theater were accompanied by increasing disparity in the quality of life for different classes of actresses. She explains that advances in social acceptability made the profession less damaging to a young woman's reputation, but this in turn led to a significant influx of bourgeois and upper-class girls who went to the theater for the excitement, not for art or economic opportunity, and enjoyed the financial and social support of their families. Often working without contracts or pay as so-called *Voluntärinnen*, these leisure actresses created a highly competitive market for the women who were financially

Publications, 2004), and Aaron Jaffe, *Modernism and the Culture of Celebrity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005).

¹⁵ Liesel Karloff, "Die Frau auf der Bühne."

¹⁶ Actresses like Sarah Bernhardt famously developed public personas, in part to advance their celebrity, and also to shield themselves from the public's aggressive interest in their private lives. At the 1914 Bugra Durieux lamented the all too common tendency for audience members and the general public to collapse an actress on stage with her person in everyday life, insisting that "[n]othing can be more wrong, nothing more ignoble than to judge an actress according to her personal life." In Heidrun Loeper, et. al, eds, *Tilla Durieux. "Der Beruf der Schauspielerin"*, 32-33.

dependent on work in the theater. Reimers further implicates the business-minded acting schools that multiplied at the turn of the century. She criticizes the practice of not only recruiting young talent from auditions, but also admitting any student able to pay tuition, heedless of the surplus market they might, and did, create. Reimers associates this overproduction of actresses with what she calls an emerging *Theaterbetrieb* [theater industry], which encompassed the schools and also the large number of permanent theaters established in almost every German city after *Gebwerbefreiheit* [freedom of commerce act] passed into law in 1869. Reimers notes with dismay the increasing conflict between *Kunst* and *Wirtschaft* [art and commerce] in the business of theater production.¹⁷

A number of contemporary journalists investigated how working actresses were often the unfortunate victims of the economic competition created by this *Theaterbetrieb*. Female performers who did not have external financial support relied on their income from the theater and suffered under exploitative contracts and dire working conditions. For them the decision to pursue acting was a significant risk. As Reimers notes, if a girl from a lower or working class family did not succeed in the profession, she was left with few options because, "no one will ever take on a former actress in a family as an assistant, governess, or companion."¹⁸ Eventual cultural acceptance of actresses did not erase centuries of ill repute, and these reticent social inhibitions and restrictions left prostitution as the only option for many failed and struggling actresses.¹⁹

¹⁷ Charlotte Engel Reimers, "Die Frau im Theaterberuf." *Die Frau* 17.2 (1909): 65-72;164-173.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 168.

¹⁹ See: Malte Möhrmann, "Die Herren zahlen die Kostüme. Mädchen vom Theater am Rande der Prostitution," in Renate Möhrmann ed., *Die Schauspielerin*; Anna Helleis, *Faszination Schauspielerin*; and Tracy C. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women*.

In addition to the women who found no other recourse after a failed stage career, some working actresses turned to prostitution to supplement their insufficient salaries, as they struggled to keep up with the exorbitant expense of supplying their own costumes in addition to everyday costs of living.²⁰ "Hungern oder Huren" [starve or go whoring] was a common expression among struggling actresses at the turn of the century.²¹ In her memoir Durieux describes the financial hardships she endured as a young actress. Even after signing a better contract with Max Reinhardt's company she had to wait until the new year to be paid. "So for the time being I continued to be plagued by hunger," she writes.²² She worked long hours at the theater without eating, and she recounts that, "at rehearsals I was now always weak and tired. Sometimes everything would start to spin before me, and when I moved quickly my eyes would go dark."²³ Durieux was able to survive until she gained financial stability, but the majority of actresses never attained that kind of independent security. It was not uncommon for an actress to have a *Theaterfreund*, who would help pay for costumes and living expenses in exchange for companionship. Durieux recounts that the prettier girls in her acting school already had benefactors: "There were young girls whose appearance immediately enraptured the

²⁰ The matter of costuming was perhaps the most urgent concern for actresses and is the main subject of numerous turn-of-the-century articles on the plight of the actress. Malte Möhrmann explains that an actress under contract at a theater was expected to have at minimum a Greek costume, a Spanish costume, a Gretchen costume, a rococo costume and a Biedermeier dress. This was in addition to contemporary clothing, which was expected to be in the latest fashion, and any specific costuming needed for each new play added to the repertoire. All costumes also had to include the appropriate accessories, shoes, wigs, and undergarments. Möhrmann and others also note that new lighting technologies made it impossible for actresses to use cheap fabrics and so the costs were extremely high. Reimers adds to this that actresses in smaller cities and towns were additionally burdened by the need of provincial theaters to rotate their repertoire much more often. (Due to the significantly smaller pool of paying audience members, theaters in small towns and villages had to constantly premier new shows to keep people coming to the theater, and thus actresses continually needed to supply new costumes for the new plays.) See: Malte Möhrmann, "Die Herren zahlen die Kostüme."

²¹ Malte Möhrmann, "Die Herren zahlen die Kostüme," 275.

²² Tilla Durieux, *Meine ersten neunzig Jahre*, 65.

²³ *Ibid.*, 66.

whole world, and others, girlfriends of rich men, in elegant, rustling silk dresses. (God forbid that my mother ever found out!).²⁴ Durieux's concern about her mother's reaction reflects the stigma attached to such "friendships." Indeed, these relationships maintained a highly ambivalent cultural status between patronage and prostitution.

What the *Theaterfreund* exemplified for conservative critics was a moral flexibility that they perceived to characterize life in the theater. Detractors imagined a secret and bawdy world behind the curtain in which women and men shared dressing rooms, engaged in illicit affairs, and raised children out of wedlock. Others presented a less hyperbolic account of the unconventional relationships and insular moral codes of the theater. In her 1909 article Reimers contends that the seemingly scandalous *Saisonverhältnisse* [seasonal relationships] actually provide loving companionships for actors who, due to frequent travel and temporary contracts, have difficulty establishing long-term relationships.²⁵ Many of the actresses themselves also saw no moral conflict in having a patron. "A *friend* who helps a young artist [*f.*] intellectually and economically," Durieux would later remark, "does not seem to me to be the worst thing."²⁶ Like many actresses in the period, Durieux viewed the relationship not as disguised prostitution, but rather as a mutually beneficial arrangement, and a means to circumvent social and moral restrictions to women's independence.

For some progressive critics like Reimers, the moral status of the actress was strictly delimited by motivation, whether a woman was a true artist or a disreputable kind of woman attracted to the theater by the opportunity to pursue immoral desires and

²⁴ Ibid., 21.

²⁵ Charlotte Engel Reimers, "Die Frau im Theaterberuf," 167.

²⁶ From her speech to the Burgra in 1914, reprinted in Heidrun Loeper, et al, eds., *Tilla Durieux. "Der Beruf der Schauspielerin,"* 33.

whims. Notably for Reimers and others, this divide coincided with the economic disparity between lower- and upper class actresses, and not as one might initially think. In an article for *Die Frau* published in 1897, "Die Stellung der Frau beim Theater" [The Position of Woman in the Theater], R. Hardenberg concedes that the majority of actresses are genuinely motivated by their craft, but he insists that at least one third are attracted by the opportunity to pursue their lascivious inclinations.²⁷ There are "ladies," he writes, "who need a cloak for their amoral lifestyle, who for the most part have money and protection on their side, and who have unfortunately achieved a position of power in the theater."²⁸ Hardenberg indicts the bourgeois and aristocratic women, the most suspect of which are, for him, the *Voluntärinnen*, who work for free. Similarly, Reimers claims that there are many, "Theaterprinzessinnen [theater princesses], for whom the profession of actress is only a cloak for their impure doings."²⁹ Both authors lament that the power afforded by their social and economic status enabled wealthy thrill-seekers to influence casting in many theaters, thereby disadvantaging the true artists—the working actresses, whose devotion to their craft was evident in the financial hardship they endured in its service.

Both writing for *Die Frau*, Hardenberg and Reimers engage with a number of issues related to fin-de-siècle actresses that intersected directly with the larger *Frauenfrage*. Yet what many contemporary authors felt to be a perplexing division between actresses and the organized German women's movements was evident throughout the late nineteenth and into the early twentieth century. In his essay for *Die*

²⁷ R. Hardenberg, "Die Stellung der Frau beim Theater," *Die Frau* 4 (1897): 174.

²⁸ "'Damen', die einen Deckmantel für ihr unmoralisches Thun und Treiben brauchen, und denen meistens Geld und Protektion zur Seite stehen, zu einer bedauerlichen Machtstellung am Theater gelangt sind." *Ibid.*, 218.

²⁹ Charlotte Engel Reimers, "Die Frau im Theaterberuf," 166.

Frau, Hardenberg muses that, "the actress still stands apart from other women. [...] [A]nd yet among them there would be a keen understanding for women's struggles in our time. Because who, for example, has suffered more under the unjust paragraphs of the Civil Code than actresses, who so often are thought of only as a source of income?"³⁰ Hardenberg contends the actress's struggle for equal pay and better working conditions in the theater, their continued exploitation by theater directors, acting schools, and agents would make her a clear partner in the women's movement. Conversely, other fin-de-siècle authors touted actresses as proto-feminists, positing that the theater was the first place in which women were equal to men, and in which women still equaled or surpassed their male counterparts in ability and esteem. In his *Die Frau als Schauspielerin* (1915), Julius Bab writes that, "as an actress, woman has long been equal to man, and perhaps the greatest achievements in acting in our time have been wrought by the lovely hands of a woman."³¹ Yet despite seemingly obvious intersections between actresses and various causes and concerns of the German women's movements the two remained markedly separate until after 1909.

There were, in fact, two main obstacles to the assimilation of actresses into the organized branches of the women's movement at the turn of the century. At a practical level, it was difficult to coordinate actresses in a combined effort because of the vast economic disparity among female performers in the period. This not only created divisions among actresses themselves; it also confused any clear alignment with a particular vein of the diverse women's movement, which was divided by different agendas from bourgeois and proletarian feminists. A second, and perhaps more important

³⁰ R. Hardenberg, "Die Stellung der Frau beim Theater," 174.

³¹ Julius Bab, *Die Frau als Schauspielerin* (Berlin: Oesterhold & Co., 1915), 24.

impediment extended from the aforementioned moral ambiguity and unconventional familial structures associated with the theater and with professional actresses in particular. Much early German feminism was rooted in an assertion of woman's unique contributions to society through marriage, motherhood, and moral education. As recent scholarship has shown, motherhood and maternal traits were central to the program of conservative and progressive branches of the women's movement alike.³² Actresses were difficult to assimilate in a strict moral campaign, and they also defied a platform strongly tied to motherhood and maternal qualities. The life of a professional actress left little time for marriage and family, and in many cases their contracts explicitly prevented them from establishing a domestic life outside of the theater.

Whether or not working actresses could and should be mothers was, in fact, a topic of general interest, part of the cultural interest in the actress that extended beyond stage performance. In 1910 the magazine *Bühne und Welt* conducted a survey of actresses on the question, "Sollen Künstlerinnen heiraten?" [Should Actresses Marry?]. The opinion poll received numerous responses from actresses addressing a range of concerns from marriage to motherhood. The printed submissions reflect diverse opinions. Some actresses flatly denied the possibility for a woman to be both an actress and a mother. One respondent answers: "In principle I say no. Because the greatest sphere of the married woman, being a mother and housewife, is unfortunately very difficult to fulfill."³³ Many replies insist that between rehearsals and performances, sewing costumes, and frequent travel, stage performers have little time for life outside of the theater. Yet other actresses denied this, sending responses like: "I can also say completely objectively

³² See: Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800-1914* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1991). For more on early German feminism and *Mütterlichkeit*, see also Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

³³ "Sollen Künstlerinnen heiraten? Eine Rundfrage" (1907), ADK Theatralia #16.

that I am a very good housewife, which proves that the artistic career and the domestic can be combined very well."³⁴ Still others argued that actresses should marry and have children for the sake of their art. Else Wassermann from the Deutsches Theater contends that, "[s]tage performers should marry because in order to represent the character of many kinds of beings truly, the artist must be familiar with love and sorrow, joy and grief in her own life."³⁵ Beyond these varied opinions from actresses themselves, it remained apparent to those outside of the theater that the life of a stage performer did not conform to any normative vision of female domesticity, and that was precisely why some women chose the profession in the first place.

The distance from traditional forms of family life and motherhood, the perceived moral ambiguity of the theater, and economic diversity thus maintained a wide gap between actresses and the organized women's movements during the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. On March 1st, 1909 actresses gathered in numbers for the first time under a feminist initiative. In an article for *Bühne und Welt* entitled, "Die Schauspielerin im sozialen Kampf" [The Actress in the Social Struggle] (1909), Hermann Keinzl reports on the public forum organized by a few of Berlin's star actresses in concert with *der Verband der fortschrittlichen Frauenvereine Berlins* [League of Berlin's Progressive Women's Associations].³⁶ Keinzl details that the majority of the speakers (the program included a number of prominent actors and actresses, and also notable feminists, Minna Cauer and Adele Schreiber) focused on the unequal pay and exploitative working conditions for actresses in the theaters, and outlined suggestions for enacting future change.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Hermann Keinzl, "Die Schauspielerin im sozialen Kampf." *Bühne und Welt* 7 (1909-10): 528-530.

The stakes in a feminist agenda for actresses at the fin de siècle extended beyond the material conditions of theater life and unfair contracts, however. For actresses like Tilla Durieux, persistent social and moral stigma, and the prurient interest of the viewing public corrupted the artistry of female stage performance. At the Bugra in 1914, she spoke passionately about the actress as a performer. "[A]bove all," she insists, "one must forget the person of the actress behind the art. The work of art and the artist must always be treated with complete objectivity. Every erotic moment must be disconnected."³⁷ Durieux' imperative bespeaks the status of the actress as a layered subject on the stage, expressing a desire for the viewer to disengage with the actress as a performer—a person, and her public persona—and only to see the level of the performed—the figure that she creates on the stage through performance.³⁸

³⁷ In Heidrun Loeper, et al, eds., *Tilla Durieux*, 33. "[M]an [muß] vor allem bei der Schauspielerin die Person über der Kunst vergessen soll. Dem Kunstwerk und der Künstlerin gegenüber muß stets die volle Objektivität gewahrt werden. Jedes erotische Moment ist auszuschalten."

³⁸ This problem was often framed in terms of female *Keuschheit* [chastity] or *Schamhaftigkeit* [modesty]. Some actresses—including Eysoldt and Durieux who both starred in many of Reinhardt's most controversial productions of the period such as Lulu, Salome, Elektra, Judith, and Penthesilea—embraced the opportunity to challenge norms and perform in these complex roles (see Chapter 3 of this dissertation), and others insisted that only the most morally corrupt and most desperate actresses would take on any role regardless of its propriety. These views were expressed in a 1906 edition of the theater journal *Bühne und Welt*, which included a three part series on "Die Schamhaftigkeit auf der Bühne" [Modesty on the Stage]. The premise of the survey was that in the modern theater, "there are clearly figures and situations that would run contrary to female modesty." To explore the implications of this for actresses the journal collected responses to three main questions: "1) How much sway does modesty have on the stage? 2) Is modesty on stage identical to modesty in life? 3) Where does the power of the theater management and the director stop, i.e. are there roles that you would reject on the grounds of modesty?" A large number of female stage performers responded to the questionnaire, and their answers varied widely on each of the three issues. Some actresses contend that there are roles that are unacceptable to a morally minded woman. Many with this view explain further that it is not necessarily the kind of female character, but rather the manner in which the figure is constructed that matters. In this regard they largely agree that the modern dramas tend to sensationalize female deviance, naming Frank Wedekind's Lulu and Oscar Wilde's Salome as prime examples, whereas one could play Gretchen from Goethe's *Faust* and be protected by the high artistry of the work. Others contend that the amoral roles distinguish not only moral and amoral actresses, but also the true actresses from the attention-seekers. Marie Barkany ed, "Die Schamhaftigkeit auf der Bühne. Eine Rundfrage." *Bühne und Welt* 9.1 (1906): 416-422; 448-452; 515-517.

Actress on Stage—Theories of the Actress

Durieux's comments on women in performance represent one way in which theories of the actress came into dialogue with a more expansive turn-of-the-century discourse regarding women and performance—a dialogue that encompassed questions beyond the practice of stage performance, reaching into identity, subjectivity, and encompassing contemporary discourses of the dangerous woman. Much nineteenth and early twentieth-century writing about woman's innate talent for performance explicated inborn female traits related to deception and seduction, woman's most dangerous weapons against man. In his 1904 *Die Frau als Schauspielerin*, Heinrich Stümcke attends specifically to the problem of the actress's *Reiz* [allure]. He contends that, "[t]he particular appeal that the actress has always exercised over the world of men is not baseless. She has the opportunity like no other woman to show her gifts in the best light, ... and to practice all the captivating little arts of female dissimulation and coquetry."³⁹ By equating female performance with seduction, theater theorists like Stümcke inadvertently exposed the power struggle at the root of efforts to authoritatively script female performance. The ability to dissimulate and deceive, to adopt and convincingly display alternate personalities challenged notions of identity, and threatened to undermine social structures based on fixed models of class, gender, appearance, and position—all of which could be manipulated via performance.

In *The Gay Science* (1882), Friedrich Nietzsche includes a dense excursus "Vom Probleme des Schauspielers" [On the Problem of the Actor]. He opens the short segment with a confession that the actor has been an abiding concern. "The problem of the actor

³⁹ Heinrich Stümcke, *Die Frau als Schauspielerin*, 98.

has disquieted me the longest," he concedes. The trouble for him lies in the deception at the root of acting, which comprises, "[f]alsity [*Falschheit*] with a good conscience; delight in dissimulation [*Verstellung*] breaking forth as power, pushing aside, overflowing, and sometimes extinguishing the so-called 'character' [*Charakter*]." For Nietzsche, the actor, furthermore, has "the inner longing to play a role, to assume a mask, to put on an appearance [*Schein*]; a surplus of capacity for adaptations of every kind, which can no longer gratify themselves in the service of the nearest and narrowest utility."⁴⁰ Not surprisingly, Nietzsche is concerned with the relationship between performance and power [*Macht*], and his trouble with the actor immediately extends beyond the stage. Through *Falschheit* and *Verstellung* an individual can manipulate his appearance, create a *Schein* that attains power not innately available to the individual performing it. In this performance, furthermore, Nietzsche asks what happens to the original identity, to the *Charakter* of the performer. His fear is then, like Durieux's, attached to the correlation between the performer, the act of performance and that which is performed, only he is inversely motivated; whereas Durieux is concerned that the viewer is aware of the multilayered subject of the actress, Nietzsche fears that these layers may become undetectable, that the act of performance could be invisible, making the performer and the performed indistinguishable.

The conflict of *Schein* and *Sein* was pressing at the turn of the century when theorists in a diversity of fields ardently pursued and contested questions of identity and

⁴⁰ "Das Problem des Schauspielers hat mich am längsten beunruhigt; Die Falschheit mit gutem Gewissen; die Lust an der Verstellung als Macht herausbrechend, den sogenannten 'Charakter' beiseite schiebend, überflutend, mitunter auslöschend; das innere Verlangen in eine Rolle und Maske, in einen *Schein* hinein; ein Überschuß von Anpassungs-Fähigkeiten aller Art, welche sich nicht mehr im Dienste des nächsten engsten Nutzens zu befriedigen wissen: alles das ist vielleicht nicht *nur* der Schauspieler an sich?" Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*. Ed. Bernard Williams. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 225-26. The German word *Charakter* here refers to an individual's character, not a character in a drama.

subjectivity.⁴¹ Nietzsche's writings were some of the earliest and most influential texts to destabilize confidence in the unified male subject, and his interest in the actor is not surprising in this regard. The mutability and self-determination that theatergoers in the eighteenth century admired and even idealized in the actor became at the fin de siècle a dangerous act of *Verstellung* that belied the very instability of subjectivity.⁴² The increasing importance and prominence of women in the theater, furthermore, converged with a developing philosophical and scientific interest in the relationship between gender, identity and subjectivity. Actresses magnified what were thought to be inherent and potentially dangerous traits in women that could further threaten an ability to identify and determine subjects absolutely. Indeed, for Nietzsche women presented a paramount concern when it came to the problem of acting. He concludes his essay with a section specifically devoted to female performance. "Finally, women," he writes. "If we consider the whole history of women, are they not obliged first of all, and above all to be actresses? If we listen to doctors who have hypnotized women, or, finally, if we love them and let ourselves be 'hypnotized' by them, what is always divulged thereby? That they 'give themselves airs' even when they 'give themselves.' Woman is so artistic."⁴³ Nietzsche's porous divide between acting in the theater and acting in daily life persists through his thoughts on woman as actress, and resonates with a growing trend in nineteenth and twentieth century writing on female performance that identified the layers

⁴¹ See the Introduction to this dissertation.

⁴² Theater historian Klaus Laermann has argued that in the eighteenth century the theater was an important and unique site of public political action, and that actors presented a model of self-determination for the emerging bourgeois class, because in their stage performances they were able to challenge institutional divisions of class and station. For more on the idealization of the actor in the eighteenth century, see his essay, "Die riskante Person in der moralischen Anstalt. Zur Darstellung der Schauspielerin in deutschen Theaterzeitschriften des späten 18. Jahrhunderts," in Renate Möhrmann ed, *Die Schauspielerin* (1989), 127-153.

⁴³ Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, 226.

of the actress as a performing subject as a threat to masculine authority, particularly when they could not be differentiated and definitively scripted.

In the nineteenth century, theater theorists began to incorporate modern sciences of gender and sexuality into their writing on female performers.⁴⁴ The most notable works on the actress were composed by Heinrich Theodor Rötcher, who wrote *Die Kunst der dramatischen Darstellung* [The Art of Dramatic Performance] published in 1841, and later Heinrich Stümcke and Julius Bab, who both published pieces entitled *Die Frau als Schauspielerin* [Woman as Actress] in 1904 and 1915 respectively.⁴⁵ Each of these authors relied heavily on popular sciences of gender in the foundation of his theory of the actress. Bab insists that the question of gender and sexuality is imperative. The actress presents "a topic," he explains, "in which a concept from the sexual sphere plays a considerable role."⁴⁶ Bab's writing overtly references contemporary theories of gender, and though he does not name his influences, the very language of his text would implicate sexological work that circulated among an extensive lay readership at the turn of the century by Richard von Krafft-Ebing, perhaps Rosa Mayreder, and most apparently Otto Weininger. Bab writes, for example, that "all individualities merely form a series of unendingly different, mixed forces of gender, that span from the ideal point Man to the ideal point Woman."⁴⁷ He elaborates that femininity and masculinity cannot be defined absolutely, but are rather general ideas that can only be described ambiently [*stimmungshaft*]. "We establish oppositions," he explains, "and we say that the

⁴⁴See Anna Helleis, *Faszination Schauspielerin*, 124-125.

⁴⁵ Later the criminal psychologist and art critic Erich Wulffen would discuss the actress more extensively in his *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin* (1923) and *Sexualspiegel von Kunst und Verbrechen* (1928).

⁴⁶ Julius Bab, *Die Frau als Schauspielerin*, 11.

⁴⁷ "Alle Individuen bilden nur die Reihe unendlich verschieden gemischter Geschlechtskräfte, die sich vom idealen Punkte Mann zum idealen Punkte Weib hinüberspannt." Ibid., 15.

opposition 'Woman-Man' is related in some way to the oppositions: closed–open, idle–mobile, conservative–revolutionary, passive–active, all-encompassing–discerning, totality–details, belief–skepticism, instinct–consciousness, feeling–rationality, nature–culture."⁴⁸ Bab's oppositions rehearse widely accepted truisms about femininity and masculinity that the modern sciences of gender and sexuality reiterated and institutionalized at the turn of the century.

For Bab, Rötcher, and Stümcke, the characteristics supposedly inherent to woman predestine her to be an actress. "Woman has been called the born actress, and rightly so," Stümcke writes. "The characteristic of the female psyche and the feminine character predetermines her precisely to a career on the stage, where she can find the full expression of her personality, as with so few other places."⁴⁹ Not sharing Bab's hesitation to define absolutely the characteristics of femininity, Stümcke catalogues the traits that, to his mind, made women natural performers. He lists a love of adornment and an affinity for grooming, an ability and tendency to hide and reveal emotions at will, coquetry and a pleasure in manipulating men by giving and withholding attention, "and additionally the ease with which she is able to assimilate herself, the susceptibility to foreign ideas and strange situations—which has always made woman known for her ability and her willingness to sacrifice."⁵⁰ Joining with many of his contemporary theater theorists, Stümcke contends that whereas many of these traits were hindrances or faults in women's

⁴⁸ Ibid., 17.

⁴⁹ Heinrich Stümcke, *Die Frau als Schauspielerin* (Leipzig: Friedrich Rothbarth, G.m.b.h., 1905), 52.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

daily lives, in the theater they became tools that enabled the actress to equal or surpass male performers.⁵¹

In a 1903 article for *Bühne und Welt*, Ilke Horovitz-Barnay writes that for women, "[t]he failings and merits of her being, both small and large, comprise the inherent tools for her accomplishments and become fortunate aides for the same." She highlights woman's, "vanity and wish to be admired, her drive to shine and to show off, her ambition, her sense of beauty, the passion, variability, charm, unpredictability of woman's nature," and also touts, "the subtle instinct that unconsciously guides her to the most delicate sources of feeling, that always discovers something more valuable than does the sharpest intellect." Finally she praises, "her marvelous ability to comprehend the most heterogeneous phenomena at lightning speed." Horovitz-Barnay concludes that, "all this equips her with a sum of abilities that even significant male artists cannot hope to outdo."⁵² Such theories of female performance inherently bind the act of performance to the *being* of the performer. Horovitz-Barnay writes that the actress is "unconsciously" guided by her "instinct," indicating that it is not so much what a woman *does* that makes her a great performer, but rather *who she is*. The feminist impetus behind Horovitz-Barnay's identification of femininity as inherently conducive to acting was based in a kind of gender essentialism, however, that other theorists would develop into a means to

⁵¹ Ilke Horowitz-Barnay writes: "But woman is destroyed faster than man; she has taken everything onto the battlefield, health, satisfaction, and last not least her femininity, her happiness. From a delicate, warm-blooded, life-giving being she becomes a barren, isolated working machine. Nature, which made woman more delicate, weaker, more in need of protection and therefore more demanding than man, speaks against the equality of the sexes." *Bühne und Welt* 5.1 (1903): 279.

⁵² "Die kleinen und großen Fehler und Vorzüge ihres Wesens bilden das angeborene Rüstzeug für ihre Leistungen und werden glückliche Behelfe derselben. Ihre Eitelkeit und Gefallsucht, der Trieb zu glänzen und sich hervor zu thun, ihr Ehrgeiz, ihr Schönheitssinn, das Leidenschaftliche, Schwankende, Reizvolle, Unberechenbare der Frauennatur, der subtile Instinkt, der sie unbewußt hinleitet zu den feinsten Quellen der Empfindung, die immer Wertvolleres entdeckt als der schärfste Verstand, ihre fabelhafte Intelligenz, die heterogensten Erscheinungen blitzschnell richtig zu erfassen, all das stattet sie mit einer Summe von Fähigkeiten aus, die auch der männliche bedeutende Künstler nicht zu steigern vermag." *Ibid.*, 280.

contain the "dangerous" potential of female performance. A model of female performance based on unconscious instinct and intuition inherently contests the actress's subjectivity in performance.

The attribution of an actress's performance to her intuition—as opposed to male actors who were thought to rationally understand and perform their roles—was common in theater theory the period. Heinrich Rötcher's 1841, *Die Kunst des dramatischen Darstellung*, was the most comprehensive and widely read study of performance and stage performers in the nineteenth century, and his work maintained influence among theater practitioners and critics through the early twentieth century. In his work he writes that woman's greater sensitivity and emotional intuition make her naturally more artistic than man. Moreover, the actress's art is, "generally more related to inspiration than reflection."⁵³ The most talented actresses, he claimed, possess the ability to intuitively assimilate a role in its entirety. "Her genius performance is mainly the product of the intuition that enables her to immediately seize the entirety, without *consciously* penetrating into all of the particularities of the character and its psychological context."⁵⁴ According to Rötcher's theory, women do not intellectually approach or comprehend a role. They feel it and absorb it instinctively.

Rötcher's division of *Inspiration* and *Reflexion* between female and male performers respectively consequently aligns women with their performance, and men with the act of performing. This division attached female performance to her very being, taking the place of a separate subjectivity. As Julius Bab asks, "[w]hat deep connections

⁵³ "...der Inspriation überhaupt verwandter als der Reflexion." Heinrich Theodor Rötcher, *Die Kunst der dramatischen Darstellung*, (Berlin: Erich Reiß, 1919), 59.

⁵⁴ "Ihre genievoll Darstellung ist größtenteils das Produkt jener unmittelbar das Ganze fassenden Anschauung, ohne in alle Besonderheiten des Charakters und sein psychologischen Zusammenhänge bewußtvoll einzudringen." Ibid.

must there be between the essence [*Wesen*] of the feminine and the essence [*Wesen*] of the art of acting?"⁵⁵ Bab's use of *Wesen* carries the implication of "essence" and also of "being." A theory of female performance as unconscious *Inspiration* mitigated the danger of deception two-fold by removing subjectivity from the woman behind the performance, and in doing so securing the power to script for those with the conscious *Reflexion*, masculine subjects. The disavowal of the actress's subjectivity was most apparent in a related assertion that performance posed a potential danger to the actress, because the absolute and unthinking absorption of her character risked over-identification, which could lead to an inability to distinguish between the role and the self.⁵⁶

The evident impetus to diminish the actress's authority over her own performance, to subject her absolutely to the determinacy of the script belies the anxiety expressed in Nietzsche's early work on women and performance. It betrayed an underlying recognition of the actress's subjectivity and a fear of her power in performance. Stümcke tellingly confesses that, "precisely the female power of dissimulation and suggestion that the great actresses exert, make it much more difficult than with a man to recognize whether we are faced with a product of cold, penetrating rationality and the phenomenal mastery over all external instruments, or a creation born out of deepest feeling [*Empfindung*]."⁵⁷ The actress on the stage thus presented a magnification of female danger, the potential to deceive and seduce. Despite the ardent insistence of theater theorists that they were

⁵⁵ "Welche tiefen Zusammenhänge zwischen dem Wesen des Weiblichen und dem Wesen der Schauspielkunst müssen sich uns auf tun?" Julius Bab, *Die Frau als Schauspielerin*, 27.

⁵⁶ See: Heinrich Röttscher, *Die Kunst der dramatischen Darstellung*, and Heinrich Stümcke, *Die Frau als Schauspielerin*. See also, Klaus Laermann, "Die riskante Person in der moralischen Anstalt," in Möhrmann ed., *Die Schauspielerin* (1989).

⁵⁷ "[G]erade die weibliche Kraft der Verstellung und die Suggestion, die die große Schauspielerin ausübt, macht es bei ihr noch weit schwieriger als beim Manne, zu erkennen, ob wir ein Productt kalten, durchdringenden Verstandes und phänomenaler Beherrschung aller äußeren Mittel oder eine aus tiefster Empfindung herausgeborene Schöpfung vor uns haben." Heinrich Stümcke, *Die Frau als Schauspielerin*, 90.

entirely determined by the dramatic text, theatrical performance entails a simultaneous enactment of and engagement with the performer as a layered subject.

Power and Performance—Performing with and against the Text

The danger of the female stage performer was further amplified at the turn of the century by the increasing presence of dangerous women in modern drama. The prominent leading ladies of the fin-de-siècle stage were notably temptresses and murderesses. In productions like Oscar Wilde's *Salome*, the layered presence of the actress in performance multiplied the sense of female danger on the stage: celebrity and public interest outside of the theater heightened the visibility of the actress as performer, the act of performance engaged deception in a way that was tangible to the viewer, and the figure performed on stage visibly exercised the power of seduction within the dramatic scene.



1.1. Gertrud Eysoldt performing the Dance of the Seven Veils in Oscar Wilde's *Salome* (1902)⁵⁸

That productions like *Salome* were staged in the period's most experimental theaters, furthermore, exaggerated the encounter with the simultaneously operating layers

⁵⁸ MRA #R1420.

of the actress through the heightened experientiality of the modernist theater. Directors like Max Reinhardt shifted their focus away from the primacy of the text and toward the *experience* of the performance, and thus not only the cognitive, but also the affective and corporeal dimensions of the relationship between the audience and the production, and thereby between actor and the viewer, became more immediately apparent.⁵⁹ Erika Fischer-Lichte and other theater historians have extensively documented the ways in which German theater underwent fundamental changes at the turn of the century in both theory and practice. New technologies in stage construction and mechanics, lighting, and theater design fundamentally altered the material means of production. And while new technology made it possible to attend in more focused and purposeful ways to the atmospheric elements of a production, significant innovation also took place at the level of the actor and performance theories and methods.

Fischer-Lichte and others have identified Max Reinhardt as a leading figure in the most radical changes to dramaturgy and production practice in the early twentieth century. Through his early work at the alternative theater *Schall und Rauch* and his most famous productions as a stage director and as the director of the *Deutsches Theater* in Berlin, and the affiliated *Kleines Theater*, and eventually in the laboratory for his *Massenregie* at the *Zirkus Schumann*, Reinhardt accumulated notoriety, international influence, and an adamant fan base among performers and viewers. Reinhardt devoted himself to foregrounding the *experience* of the theater, to thinking of "theater as event," such that every aspect of performance and reception would be taken into account. As Fischer-Lichte explains, "Reinhardt was considered to be the master of the art of creating

⁵⁹ Even before Reinhardt's radical interventions in the theater, the German naturalists had significantly transformed the experience of theatrical performance through their mimetic, and anti-aestheticizing production and acting methods. For more on this, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

atmospheres that the viewer experienced physically. In order to do so he took advantage of the specific possibilities that each space offered and supported it with employment of light, color, music, noises, the instrumentalization of voices, smells, and the physical movement of the actors."⁶⁰

The ability to manipulate the relationship of the viewer to the performance, and consequently, as this section will show, between the viewer and the performer became the primary driving force behind much modernist theater practice. In her 1997 book, *Die Entdeckung des Zuschauers* [The Discovery of the Viewer], Fischer-Lichte examines how Reinhardt's efforts stemmed from a new understanding of the viewer's relationship to the performance, which recognized the viewer as an active participant in the theater. Explaining his interest in directing productions for a smaller, more intimate theater Reinhardt famously said: "Since I've been in the theater I have been hounded and ultimately guided by one single thought: to bring the actor and the audience member together – as close together as humanly possible."⁶¹ This physical proximity in the theater created a heightened awareness and intensified experience of the inherent corporeal dimensions of theater performance for both performer and viewer. And while Reinhardt specifically refers to the actual proximity of bodies in his *Kleines Theater* [Little Theater], his dramaturgy made the corporeal experience of the theater more immediate even in larger arenas.

⁶⁰ Erika Fischer-Lichte, "Berliner Theater im 20. Jahrhundert," *Berliner Theater im 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Erika Fischer-Lichte, Doris Kolesch, and Christel Weiler (Berlin: Fannei & Walz, 1998), 15; 16. Subsequent chapters of this dissertation will examine in more detail how these changes manifested on stage, and how they were registered by actors, viewers, and critics.

⁶¹ In: Leonard M. Fiedler, *Max Reinhardt in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten* (Hamburg: Rohwolt, 1975), 84.



Figure 1.2. Max Reinhardt's *Kleines Theater*, Berlin.⁶²

Reinhardt's emphasis on the theatrical experience threw into sharp relief another important and highly contested dimension of the theater, and of dramatic theater in particular; that is the relative determinant authority of the script. This dissertation will proceed with the contention that the relationship between text and performance in the theater is in no way determinant, and is, rather, always morphing and mutable, always out of control as it is always under the control of multiple agents simultaneously. This understanding of theater performance has been, and remains contested to this day, as theater scholars such as W.B. Worthen have shown. Even at the turn of the century, when the majority of theater critics would privilege the dramatic text with authority over production, the radically new performance practices of the period initiated debates over that relationship.

In his 1908 essay, "Zur Philosophie des Schauspielers" [Toward a Philosophy of the Actor], Georg Simmel presents an alternative to Nietzsche's problem of the actor. For Simmel, rather than a problem the actor presents a riddle.

What the riddle of the actor is for the usual way of thinking: how someone, who is a specific, individual personality, could suddenly become a someone completely

⁶² DDT, 99.

different, become many different people – becomes a deeper problem: that an act, borne by a corporeal-emotional [*körperlich-seelisch*] individual, brought forth and formed by his productive genius, is at the same time *given* word for word in its entirety and in its particularity!⁶³

Simmel lays out the fundamental tension between text and performance in the theater. He takes a strong stand against the prevailing view that the performance on stage is entirely dictated by the dramatic text. In his 1909 essay, "Über den Schauspieler" [On the Actor], Simmel writes that contrary to popular belief, "the actor's output is not... a supplement to that of the author, but rather a transformation of the latter into a new state of being [*Daseinsform*]." ⁶⁴ Ahead of his time in performance theory, Simmel develops a more complex relationship of iteration opposed to a simple hierarchy of determinacy.

As evidence for the independent production of the performer, he contends that no two actors can give the same performance, and argues, moreover, that a given dramatic figure will seem quite different in performances by different actors. He gives the example of two actresses performing the same role: "it becomes immediately evident in that a role, for example the Lady of the Camellias, which Sarah Bernhardt performs to its fullest, would seem unsatisfying and contradictory if presented by a completely different actress, like Duse, in the very same arrangement and production."⁶⁵ Simmel's comparison of

⁶³ "Was für die gewöhnliche Vorstellungsweise das Rätsel des Schauspielers ist: wie jemand, der eine bestimmte, eigene Persönlichkeit ist, auf einmal zu einer ganz anderen, zu vielen anderen werden könnte – wird zu dem tieferen Problem: daß ein Tun, getragen von einer körperlich-seelischen Individualität, aus deren produktiver Genialität hervorbrechend und von ihr geformt, zu gleich doch Wort für Wort, im ganzen wie im einzelnen, *gegeben* ist!" Georg Simmel, "Zur Philosophie des Schauspielers," *Georg Simmel Gesamtausgabe: Aufsätze und Abhandlungen 1901-1908*, eds. Alessandro Cavalli and Volkhard Krech (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1993), 428.

⁶⁴ "[D]ie Leistung des Schauspielers [ist] nicht... eine Hinzufügung zu der des Dichters, sondern eine Übertragung dieser in eine neue *Daseinsform*." Georg Simmel, "Über den Schauspieler (Aus einer 'Philosophie der Kunst)," *Georg Simmel Gesamtausgabe: Aufsätze und Abhandlungen 1909-1918*, eds. Rüdiger Kramme and Angela Rammstedt (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2001), 23.

⁶⁵ "Der Schauspieler ist nicht die Marionette der Rolle. Sondern zwischen der bloßen Wirklichkeitsanschauung und dem Versuch, aus der Literatur herauszupressen, was sie für sich allein nie hergeben kann – steht die schauspielerische Kunst als ein Drittes, aus eigener Wurzel wachsend, weder aus der Wirklichkeit noch aus dem Drama zu erschließen, oder als 'Synthese' zu gewinnen." Georg Simmel,

Bernhardt and Duse illustrates that he does not distinguish between male and female performers in his theory of acting. His use of the masculine *Schauspieler* is only a convention of the time. Simmel thus equally recognizes the autonomy of the actress in performance. And while his example of the Lady of the Camellias refers to the quality of the performance, he firmly asserts that the relationship between the dramatic text and the performance is in no way determinate.

The actor is not the marionette of the role. Rather between the basic appearance of reality and the attempt to extract from the literature that which it could never produce in and of itself the art of acting is a third element, that grows from its own root, and stems neither from reality nor from the drama, nor can it be understood as a "synthesis."⁶⁶

This is not a simple equation of synthesis or interpretation. For him the interplay between the elements of theatrical performance is variegated. Text and performer are related but not interrelated—they stand in a kind of productive tension.

The dynamic exchange among the many agents and object of stage performance is indeed complex, and has remained a point of contention for theater and performance scholars to this day. Some theorists and practitioners have abandoned dramatic theater, insisting that the text imposes limitations on the potential of the performance. Others contest the reduction of dramatic performance to the drama, thinking instead about Worthen has called, "unsettled space of performance."⁶⁷ Like Simmel, Worthen challenges the authority of text over performance, resisting a simple correlation between drama on the page and the performance on the stage. "[M]uch performance-oriented

"Zur Philosophie des Schauspielers," *Georg Simmel Gesamtausgabe: Aufsätze und Abhandlungen 1901-1908*, eds. Alessandro Cavalli and Volkhard Krech (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1993), 424.

⁶⁶ Georg Simmel, "Zur Philosophie des Schauspielers (posthumous addendum)," *Georg Simmel Gesamtausgabe: Postume Veröffentlichungen, Ungedrucktes, Schulpädagogik*, eds. Torge Karlsruhen and Otthein Rammstedt, (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2004), 202.

⁶⁷ Robert Hapgood and W.B. Worthen, "Script and Performance." *PMLA* 14.2 (1999): 227.

criticism of drama, for all its invocation of the theater," he writes, "betrays a desire to locate the meanings of the stage in the contours of the dramatic texts."⁶⁸ Worthen rejects the notion that text dictates performance and, like Simmel, focuses on what a performance *does* with a text. In his influential *Postdramatic Theatre* (2006), Hans-Thies Lehmann imagines a kind of production that "should rather be understood as the unfolding and blossoming of a potential of disintegration, dismantling and deconstruction within drama itself."⁶⁹ While Lehmann contends that this kind of resistance to the dramatic text has only become visible in dramatic performance after Brecht, Simmel's performance theory suggests that the fissures in the determinative authority of the script were already exposed in the theater at the fin de siècle.

From Simmel's perspective, theater performance is always post-dramatic in some way. "The extant theory that the way in which a role should be played is determined by the work of poetry alone," he writes, "is a literary, and not an actorly ideal."⁷⁰ Simmel's distinction suggests that different modes of interpretation are needed to ascertain the mechanisms of drama as literature and drama as script. Worthen challenges the notions of drama and script at an even more fundamental level. "To say that a performance is *of* a text," he writes, "is immediately to recognize that its relation to that text is extremely tenuous: a performance is not usually *of* one text in any direct sense, since a number of different versions of a classic play might be consulted as part of the production process and many scripts are produced and used in the process of shaping a play."⁷¹ The

⁶⁸ W.B. Worthen, "Drama, Performativity, and Performance." *PMLA* 113.5 (1998): 1093.

⁶⁹ Hans-Thies Lehmann, *Postdramatic Theatre*, trans. Karen Jürs-Munby (London: Routledge, 2006), 44.

⁷⁰ "Die bestehende Theorie, daß sich aus der Rolle als Dichtwerk allein ergäbe, wie sie gespielt werden muß, bedeutet ein literarisches Ideal, aber kein schauspielerisches." Georg Simmel, "Zur Philosophie des Schauspielers" (posthumous addendum), 202.

⁷¹ W.B. Worthen, "Drama, Performativity, and Performance." *PMLA* 113.5 (1998): 1100.

instability of the script already at the level of the dramatic text that Worthen suggests becomes readily apparent in modernist productions like Hugo von Hofmannsthal's *Elektra*, which entailed an extensive collaboration between the author, the director Max Reinhardt, and the actress Gertrud Eysoldt, from the drama's very inception.

The personal and working relationship between the Austrian poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal and the Berlin actress, Gertrud Eysoldt was perhaps unique, but it demonstrates how already at the level of textual production any attribution of absolute authority is misplaced. Hofmannsthal and Eysoldt first developed their relationship when the author chose the actress as his muse for his *Elektra* (1903). She was the inspiration for the lead role, and her individual talents and personality were central to his production of the text. Although Eysoldt was a favorite muse for Hofmannsthal, however, in a letter from April 18th, 1907, Hofmannsthal confesses to Eysoldt the importance of the actress to his artistic process. Eysoldt at the time playing the role of Selysette in Maurice Maeterlinck's *Aglavaine and Selysette*, and Hofmannsthal pleads with her to send a letter about the role as he had done before when she played Hedda Gabler: "I'm asking you even more urgently for 'Aglavaine and Selysette,'" he writes. "Please do it. You have to do it. Perhaps you can't understand how desperately I need it." He explains his dire need further, writing,

I am now at the most decisive moment for the development of the new play. [...] I would come to Berlin to see you in the role – but I can't disturb conditions at this point – everything is at stake now. But now I need to feel the actress, to know that someone will be there, to embody it, to feel it – write to me much about Selysette, write to me about the most important things, the underlying actor's secret, that which you draw from your soul – the silent, the deeply buried something that drives your gestures – it would mean so much to me! Please!⁷²

⁷² Gertrud Eysoldt and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Der Sturm Elektra. Gertrud Eysoldt, Hugo von Hofmannsthal Briefe*, ed. Leonhard M. Fiedler (Salzburg: Residenz, 1996), 55.

He also asks her to send some of the more detailed reviews so that he can get a better sense of her performance. Hofmannsthal begs for Eysoldt's input. He wants to understand her process, her thoughts. Hofmannsthal had great respect for Eysoldt's talents and her intellect. He sought her council in his own artistic work and asked for her input on many occasions regarding decisions in theater, particularly casting, and also in his own dramatic work.⁷³

Despite radical shifts in theater production at the turn of the century, chief among which in Germany was the emergence of *Regietheater* [director's theater], prominent actresses exerted notable influence in the theater. Recent scholarship has identified Reinhardt as one of the primary figures in the emergence of twentieth century Regietheater, which is usually characterized by an autocratic director who controls every aspect of the performance.⁷⁴ Yet Reinhardt's own writing, and also testimony from his actors demonstrate that he professed a deeply held belief in collaboration. Reinhardt worked as an actor for many years before taking over direction of the Deutsches Theater,

⁷³ Hofmannsthal's respect for Eysoldt is visible in his reliance on her opinion, and in his professions of admiration and respect. On September 28, 1905, for example, Hofmannsthal asks her opinion about casting her in a number of roles in the same theater season. After conveying his own opinion on the matter, he writes: "We will decide that together. For me you are one of the beings in the world, of whom I always believe that a matter is more important to you than your momentary advantage, and much more important than just a moment." Ibid. 26-27. And while many of Hofmannsthal's letters express an anxious desire to control many aspects of his dramas' productions, he also wants Eysoldt to bring her personal aesthetic to the performances. When she receives the text for her part in *Ödipus und die Sphinx*, a much anticipated and discussed role for her, she asks for Hofmannsthal's directions for the performance. He obliges with an extensive description of how he imagines the character to be played in a letter from December 22, 1905, but concludes by writing, "I won't say anything about the last monologue. I will let that be a gift from you." Ibid., 38. In addition to consulting her about his personal work, Eysoldt's letters were Hofmannsthal's main source of information about the Deutsches Theater more generally. Hofmannsthal lived in Rhodaun for the majority of the time his pieces were in production in Berlin, and he anxiously awaited news from Eysoldt regarding the progress of the productions.

⁷⁴ For more on Regietheater see: Edward Braun, *The Director and the Stage. From Naturalism to Grotowski* (London: Methuen, 1982), Guido Hiß, *Synthetische Visionen. Theater als Gesamtkunstwerk von 1800 bis 2000* (München: epodium Verlag, 2005), Yun Geol Kim, *Der Stellenwert Max Reinhardts in der Entwicklung des modernen Regietheaters. Reinhardts Theater als suggestive Anstalt* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2006), and Olga Taxidou, *Modernism and Performance: Jarry to Brecht* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

and he continued to think of himself first and foremost as an actor.⁷⁵ In his 1901 essay, "Über das Theater wie es mir vorschwebt" [On the Theater as I Imagine It], Reinhardt maintains the primacy of the actor under his direction:

There is only one purpose for the theater: theater, and I believe in a theater that belongs to the actor. The purely literary perspective should no longer rule alone, as it has in the last century. It was that way because the literary types ruled the theater; I am an actor, I feel with the actor, and for me, the actor is the natural epicenter of the theater.⁷⁶

His performers' independence is reflected in a letter from Eysoldt to Hofmannsthal from September 19, 1905, in which she discusses changes that she plans to make in her performance of *Elektra*. "We're restaging 'Electra' for the Deutsches Theater," she writes. "[I]n my last speech to Klytemnästra I want to bring out something new. [...] Everything needs to be quieter, more ardent, deadlier – it needs to have the effect of a silent murder. Am I right?"⁷⁷ In addition to the evident influence of performers like Eysoldt, Reinhardt also incorporated independent artists for music, scene, costume, and lighting design (Lovis Corinth, Max Kruse, Friedrich Bermann, and Max Marschalk). Thus, while he maintained authority within the larger dramaturgical apparatus and aesthetic concept, Reinhardt was only one of many agents in the final production event.

In two short essays published in contemporary journals, Eysoldt corroborates Reinhardt's presentation of himself as a collaborative director, who encouraged the actor's creative license and individuality. In, "Wie Reinhardt mit dem Schauspieler arbeitet" [How Reinhardt Works with the Actor], she compares his stage to a blank

⁷⁵ Reinhardt also continued to perform on stage, taking leading roles in some of his own productions. Contemporary authors and close friends of Reinhardt, Frank Wedekind and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, even wrote parts with Reinhardt in mind to perform them.

⁷⁶ In Hugo Fetting, ed. *Max Reinhardt. Ich bin nichts als Theaterman: Briefe, Reden, Aufsätze, Interviews, Gespräche, Auszüge aus Regiebüchern* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1989), 74.

⁷⁷ DSE, 22.

canvas for the performer: "The stage is empty – a few unrelated set pieces are leaned up on the side. This emptiness on the stage! It's purity! Heart-wrenching for the actor. Like an untouched, stretched canvass for the painter!"⁷⁸ The performers are the painters, the agents of creation and expression. Together with the director, they draw the potential for creation into production: "Fantasy lies about, completely immobile. And we know, we must free it [*sie lösen*]." ⁷⁹ In her second essay, "Reinhardt und die Schauspieler" [Reinhardt and the Actors], Eysoldt again employs the metaphor of freeing [*lösen*] to describe the director's work with the actors: "Himself present in all his senses, he frees [*löst er*] the actor's sense. He emits light, form, color, sound to us and becomes intoxicated by the echo."⁸⁰ The *Klang* [sound] and *Widerklang* [echo], even more closely tied linguistically in the German, encapsulate the multidirectional exchange of the actor and director. The echo comprises the original sound, but its iteration thereof is always different, unique in its own system of production. Eysoldt depicts Reinhardt's directorial style as a symbiotic relationship with the actors: each gives, each receives, each has a part, a contribution: "Reinhardt has his book. We have our roles," she writes. "Each has brought that which is his, elaborated or learned, and he carries it in important hands. And book and role and ideas are recast from the colliding streams of senses, endowed by blood with new meaning."⁸¹ The stage performance becomes a combined production field

⁷⁸ Gertrud Eysoldt, "Wie Reinhardt mit dem Schauspieler arbeitet," *Reinhardt und seine Bühne. Bilder von der Arbeit des Deutschen Theaters*, eds. Ernst Stein and Heinz Herald (Berlin: Dr Ensler & Co., 1918), 134.

⁷⁹ "Die Phantasie sitzt umher, vollkommen unbeweglich. Und wir wissen, wir müssen sie lösen." *Ibid.*, 135.

⁸⁰ "Ganz Sinnesgegenwart selbst, löst er die Sinne des Schauspielers. Licht, Form, Farbe, Klang reicht er uns bewegt zu und berauscht sich am Widerklang." Gertrud Eysoldt, "Reinhardt und die Schauspieler," *Das Junge Deutschland*. 3.92 (1918): 92.

⁸¹ Gertrud Eysoldt, "Wie Reinhardt mit dem Schauspieler arbeitet," 136.

of artistic collaboration. Traces of Reinhardt's influence remain, but the actors claim their own individual performance in each role.⁸²

Even beyond Reinhardt's expressed collaborative approach, theatrical performance always reveals itself to be fundamentally out of the control of any one script or authority. Interventions in the production on stage come from the audience as well. Fischer-Lichte's notion of "co-presence" foregrounds the condition of performance as dependent on the actors *and* the audience to produce the overall experience of each individual event. "A performance generates itself through the interactions between actors and spectators," she writes, and "[f]rom this it follows that its course can neither be fully planned nor predicted. Performance relies on an *autopoietic* process, which is characterised by a high degree of contingency."⁸³ Theatrical performance is thus always constituted through and thus also makes palpable a constantly shifting, and amorphous constellation of power. In the texts that surrounded the fin-de-siècle stage, an active contestation for determinant power becomes visible. In the productions central to this dissertation, that contest simultaneously encompassed claims to authority over performance, and over the ability to determine female subjects.

⁸² Eysoldt writes further: " He is there! Made up of the space between the figures, hidden in a tree branch, a cloud, in the contours of a Moissi, a Wegener, a Höflich. He peeks out from Schildkraut's flowing sleeve and takes form in the helplessly bent head of Pallenberg's figure. He is among them. They are visible – he is recognizable through their being. They materialize him. [...] He makes the gaps between so that things don't collide in space, he stretches himself between the entities." Gertrud Eysoldt, "Reinhardt und die Schauspieler," 92.

⁸³ Erika Fischer-Lichte, "Performance as Event – Reception as Transformation," *Theorizing Performance. Greek Drama, Cultural History and Critical Practice*, eds. Edith Hall and Stephe Harrop (London: Duckworth, 2010), 29-30.

Claiming Power—the Actress and the Critic

Outside of the theater, the active community of German theater critics also maintained a contention for scripting authority. Published reviews demonstrate that critics established multiple points of intervention in reception. They produced literary analyses of dramas, evaluated theatrical performances as productions of dramatic script, and assessed stage performers not only based on their talent but in relationship to the figures they performed, and their lives outside of the theater, interceding at each layer of the performing subject. In the case of the actress, many reviews present a sustained effort to preclude the possibility for female subjectivity.

The famous and highly controversial actress Tilla Durieux garnered a surplus of attention from critics over the course of her career, which spanned seven decades from 1901 to 1970. Durieux was praised as one of the greatest actresses of her time, but she also faced endless criticism for her unconventional and frequently scandalous performances on stage, and for her choices off stage. The public was also fascinated by what they perceived to be her exotic appearance and a distinct eroticism, although it was often noted that she was conventionally beautiful. She writes in her autobiography:

My nature was strange to people. The diverse biological heritage that I was made up of made me seem strange and distant to the masses. Some thought I was exceptional, others confusing, and others simply couldn't stand me. Despite all of the antagonism toward my personality, or perhaps because of it, I was a force to be reckoned with on the German stages for many years.⁸⁴

Durieux experienced, and produced the layered subject of the actress acutely. In many ways the fin-de-siècle critics' reactions to her demonstrate the full extent to which the actress, when claiming power in the theater, incited aggressive responses to assert

⁸⁴ Tilla Durieux, *Meine ersten neunzig Jahre*, 151.

determinative authority and to deny female subjectivity. The success she achieved in her career and her powerful performances (some of which will be discussed in subsequent chapters) also demonstrate how actresses continuously negotiated and undermined the scripts that surrounded them on an off stage.

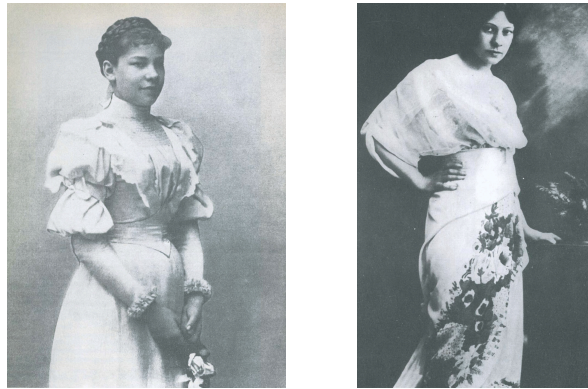


Figure 1.3. Photographs of Tilla Durieux at age eighteen (1898) and age twenty-nine (1909).⁸⁵

In 1913 the prominent Berlin critic Hans Land published a scathing denunciation of what he saw to be Tilla Durieux's disastrous career choices. The article has an almost manic tone, oscillating radically between effusive praise for her talents and vehement assertions that she needed to be subjugated. At his mildest he contended that her abilities needed *Bemessung* (tempering) and *Erziehung* (education). In other instances he was more violent in his assertions. He called for *Zucht*, which translates as "discipline" or "cultivation," but in German most immediately connotes animal breeding; similarly, he claimed that Durieux required *Bändigung* [taming], which also carries zoomorphic dimensions; he also insisted that her talents could only be drawn out by the strictest

⁸⁵ Ibid., 24; 130.

Direktionsgewalt, which literally refers to the power of the director, but also carries the inherent equation of power and violence in the German word *Gewalt*.⁸⁶

Land claims that Durieux is one of the brightest stars of German stage, however, attributes her accomplishments to her director, writing that, "the splendid Berlin actress achieved greatness under Max Reinhardt's strict hand." Land contends that her success drove her hubris, instilling in her the desire to create, "her own empire... in the world of the stage." According to Land, she thus foolishly left Reinhardt's company. "[T]he critics will have to recognize," he declares, "that few other performer individualities require the strict discipline of the director more than this ecstatic wildling, who has been so seduced by the demonic magic of alluring virtuosity." And this was, for Land, her greatest crime, "[b]ecause," he explains, "Tilla Durieux remained rigidly and chastely within her artistic limits as long as she was bound by the iron fist of Max Reinhardt's direction."⁸⁷

Perhaps not surprisingly, Tilla Durieux's memoirs tell a very different story. For her part, she did not break free from Reinhardt's control with ambitions of world conquest. Rather, she had become frustrated with what she saw to be a decline in the theater company, which, in retrospect resulted, one could say, from Reinhardt's increasing empire in the world of the stage.⁸⁸ "In the theater I was faced with

⁸⁶ Hans Land, "Tilla Durieux." *Reclams Universum Weltrundschau* (1913). ADK #581.3-5.

⁸⁷ "[D]ie Kritik [wird] aber immer wieder feststellen müssen, daß kaum eine schauspielerische Individualität in höherem Maße der festen Regie zucht bedarf als dieser ekstatische Wildling, den die Virtuosen allüren mit so dämonischem Zauber reizen. Wir haben das erlebt. Denn Tilla Durieux blieb streng und keusch innerhalb ihrer künstlerischen Grenzlinie, solange Max Reinhardts eiserne Regiefaust sie in Banden hielt." *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Durieux writes that, "success had made Reinhardt overly confident and neglectful. The theaters were full, but after the premier no one concerned himself one bit about the performances. And so they got worse and worse. The business with the two theaters: 'Kammerspiele' and 'Deutsches Theater' sometimes created complications, and thus it was not unusual that entire scenes were left out. [...] The actors, exhausted from daily performances, often did the most ridiculous nonsense, and the audience, who in those days paid twenty Mark for a seat—a price that no other theater demanded—swallowed everything, because it was 'Reinhardt.'" In Durieux, *Meine ersten neunzig Jahre*, 119-120.

unpleasantries," she explains. "My contract ran out and I didn't want to renew it. The neglectfulness in productions after the premier made me querulous." In addition to lower standards in the ensemble as a whole, she had become frustrated with continued favoritism toward Gertrud Eysoldt in castings. "I was also upset that I wasn't given the roles of 'Hedda Gabler' and 'Penthesilea' and instead they were promised to Eysoldt," Durieux confesses. Her relationship with Eysoldt had been strained since the two were cast to share the role of Salome in Durieux's first month under contract with Reinhardt, so at first glance her complaint would seem like the gripe of a jealous rival.⁸⁹ And though hindsight may have tempered her acrimoniousness, Durieux's assessment of the situation looks to be well considered. "I was reasonable enough to not want to play every part," she continues, "but I was also convinced that these figures could be of no benefit for Gertrud Eysoldt. They were as ill-fitted to her as Gretchen in 'Faust' would be to me."⁹⁰

Finally, Durieux sensed increasing tension in professional and personal relationships within the ensemble. Whereas she remembers her early years in Reinhardt's company as harmonious (Eysoldt was the only "tyrant"), disorganization in his growing theater enterprise led to miscommunication and conflict between actors, who were sometimes double cast in the same role.⁹¹ Durieux even suspected that the directors

⁸⁹ "My relationship with Gertrud Eysoldt became very bad after my success. For me she was a star, whom I did not dare to approach because of my humility and shyness. I looked up to her with admiration, and was completely aware of my position as a little beginner compared to her. But she really seemed to hate me, which hurt me deeply because I was young and wanted to adore her. She was a strange and interesting being." Ibid., 64.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 137-138.

⁹¹ "The star who tyrannized all the others: Gertrud Eysoldt. ... Except for Eysoldt, who at all times made us aware of her superiority and her moods, we all had a real camaraderie, because we were all bound by a common feeling: the love and admiration for Max Reinhardt." Ibid., 59. By the time Durieux left the company, Reinhardt's ran three theaters in Berlin with full repertoires simultaneously during the regular season, and also attended festivals and visiting engagements over the summer. As an example of the disorganization, Durieux recounts the absurd tale, for example, of how on one evening an actress, Camilla Eibenschütz, was accidentally slotted to play Gretchen (in Goethe's *Faust*) in the *Detusches Theater* and Wendla (in Wedekind's *Frühlingserwachen*) in the *Kammerspiele* at the same time. The theater managers

intentionally created competition among the actors, "in order to, as the saying went, 'keep the trees from touching the sky.' But we were so humble back then, and in no way wanted to touch the sky," she writes. "The most insignificant extra in a film today gets a bigger ego and makes more demands than Höflich, Wangel or I would have done in those days."⁹²

Durieux also directly addressed the accusation of "virtuosity" [*Virtuosintum*] that was frequently used derisively against successful actresses. At the fin de siècle theater critics deployed the term *Virtuosin* as an epithet against women who achieved fame, adulation, and thus power in the theater (Sarah Bernhardt is the most famous example of this from the nineteenth century). In her memoir, Durieux addresses the absurdity of the insult. She asks,

[w]as virtuosity supposed to be the opposite of dilettantism, or what exactly was the expression supposed to convey? Why this accusation? A virtuoso is an expert and expertise is a condition of being an artist. I had learned to control my voice and body with greater aplomb than many other actors. Performance is hypnosis of the self and the viewer. Should I let a croaking voice get in my way? Should my breath fail me just when I needed to let my temperament run free?⁹³

Durieux's deconstruction of virtuosity reveals it to be an attempt to turn an actress's talent and success against her, a means to reassert external scripting forces when an actress claimed too much authority over herself. Read next to Durieux's own life writing, Land's article appears to be an accusation of virtuosity in long form, attesting to the visibility of Durieux's commanding presence on and off stage.⁹⁴

noticed the error too late to find a replacement and so she ran back and forth trying to play both roles simultaneously, resulting in chaos and confusion for the audience. Ibid, 119-120.

⁹² Ibid., 138.

⁹³ Ibid., 150.

⁹⁴ Land even turns his criticism of her into a cautionary tale to other young actresses who might think to seek too much power in the theater: "This failed experiment should warn the actress and instill a resoluteness against reaching for stardom and wanting to pursue prima donna goals." Land, "Tilla Durieux," ADK #581.3-5.

At the fin de siècle, actresses were conspicuously powerful women. Successful female performers claimed economic independence and openly disregarded many of the social and moral restrictions that shaped both women's and men's lives. They thus enacted a significant degree of self-determinacy outside of the theater. On stage they presented the complexly layered subject of the performer. They also exerted a palpable influence over the affective, corporeal and cognitive experience of the theater, engaging viewers in a direct encounter with and in the coproduction of female subjectivity.

CHAPTER 2

UNDESIRABLE MOTHERS: MÜTTERLICHKEIT AND THE GROTESQUE IN *ROSE BERND*

[M]an braucht nicht gerade reaktionär gesinnt zu sein, um zugeben zu müssen, daß das höchste Ziel der gesunden Frau in der Tat die Mutterschaft sein soll, und daß die Natur ihren Leib und ihre Seele dazu ausersah, Kinder zu gebären und zu erziehen.¹

Max Marcuse, *Uneheliche Mütter* (1910)

FRAU FLAMM. Deine Mutter sagte amal zu mir: meine Rose, das wird ane Kindermutter! Sonste aber, ihr Blut is a wing gar zu heeß! – Ich weebß ja nich: 's kann immer sein, daß se recht hatt'.²

Gerhart Hauptmann, *Rose Bernd* (1903)

Julius Bab was certain of two things about the renowned Berlin actress, Else Lehmann. She was the greatest star on the naturalist stage, and in every performance she embodied femininity through an essential *Mütterlichkeit* [motherliness]. In *Deutsche Schauspieler. Porträts aus Berlin und Wien* (1910), Bab writes³:

What emerges as the specifically feminine in this over-abundantly swelling life—with its organic happy smile, and its animalistic, piercing cry—is the deep *Mütterlichkeit*. It becomes equally apparent in the twitch of her strong lips, in the grasping of her steady hands, and in the swelling tenderness, the sorrowful

¹"One does not need to be a reactionary to admit that the greatest goal of a healthy woman should in fact be motherhood, and that nature designed her body and her soul to bear and raise children." Max Marcuse, *Uneheliche Mütter* (Berlin: H. Seemann Nachfolger, 1906), 101.

All translations are my own unless otherwise specified.

²"Your mother once said to me: my Rose, she will be a mother! Except, her blood is a bit too hot! – I don't know: it could be that she was right." Gerhart Hauptmann, *Rose Bernd*. *Gerhart Hauptmann, Sämtliche Werke. Band II: Dramen*. Ed. Hans-Egon Hass (Frankfurt a.M.: Propyläen, 1965).

II; 211. Lines will be cited by act and page number (act; page).

³Bab co-authored the volume with the Viennese theater critic Willi Handl. Bab wrote about the Berlin performers and Handl addressed the actors from Vienna.

trembling gravity in her voice. It is always some kind of expression of maternal instinct that makes the greatest moments of her artistry so unforgettable.⁴

That Bab takes particular notice of Lehmann's mother figures can be attributed to both the frequency with which she took on such roles, and also to the novelty of the mother's return to the stage at the turn of the century. Mothers and wives were relatively scarce in German drama in earlier epochs; the *bürgerliches Trauerspiel* of the eighteenth century was more concerned with fathers and daughters, and was followed by a turn in the theater to historical dramas and classical reception.⁵ It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the mother emerged as a substantial dramatic character with the ingress of bourgeois realism (in German primarily through Ibsen's plays), and naturalism's subsequent prominence in German theater and drama.

Mothers proliferated in naturalist drama, and, as Bab suggests, Else Lehmann became known for her influence in crafting these roles. In productions of dramas by Gerhart Hauptmann, Germany's premier naturalist author, she was almost always to be found in the lead as a mother. She appeared as Luise Hilse in *Die Weber* (1893), in *Der Biberpelz* she was cast as Frau Wolff (1893), and in *Fuhrmann Henschel* she played Hanne Schäl (1898).⁶ What Bab does not note in his evaluation of Lehmann is that these characters are not only mothers, but also deviant women. Frau Wolff is also a petty, albeit good-natured thief; Luise Hilse becomes a socialist fanatic who is swept away by the weavers' revolt against her husband, the factory foreman's wishes; and Hanne Schäl, mother to an illegitimate child whom she abandons and desperately tries to hide, is a

⁴ Julius Bab and Willi Handl, *Deutsche Schauspieler. Porträts aus Berlin und Wien* (Berlin: Oesterheld & Co, 1908), 79-80.

⁵ See: Renate Möhrmann, *Verklärt, verkitscht, vergessen. Die Mutter als ästhetische Figur*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1996.

⁶ *The Weavers, The Beaver Coat, and Drayman Henschel* respectively.

calculating and manipulative woman who will eventually also commit adultery. Further still, in 1903 Lehmann would take the stage as Hauptmann's most controversial mother with the premier of his infanticide tragedy, *Rose Bernd*. In the role of a lusty farm-girl who transforms into a hysterical murdering mother, Lehmann betrayed the most basic principles of *Mütterlichkeit* that Bab deems foundational to her identity as an actress.

The adulation Lehmann received for her performance in *Rose Bernd* was accompanied by the controversy that the drama incited among viewers and theater critics. During the show audiences supported *Rose Bernd* with energetic applause, or criticized loudly, hissing and yelling. The production also created a critical furor among reviewers who were divided on the merits of Hauptmann's treatment of the infanticide motif—which had a long and venerated tradition in German drama and literature, including work by Goethe, Wagener, and Lessing. Critics also debated the success of Hauptmann's return to the naturalist aesthetic.⁷ A revolutionary force in dramatic literature and theater practice in Germany at the outset, naturalism seemed to quickly reach the limits of its productivity. Hauptmann himself began to experiment with form and style in his dramas by the turn of the century. His 1894 *Hanneles Himmelfahrt* is a "dream poem" [*Traumdichtung*] written in verse, the fantastical *Die versunkene Glocke* (1897) is a "fairytale drama" [*Märchendrama*], and *Der arme Heinrich – Eine deutsche Sage* (1902) is a neo-romantic adaptation of a medieval epic.⁸ Yet, as many of Hauptmann's

⁷ Eminent Berlin theater critics Alfred Kerr and Siegfried Jacobsohn each wrote not one, but two reviews of the play—Kerr penning a second review a month after seeing the premier, and Jacobsohn returning to the drama and its 1903 production nine years later.

⁸ *The Assumption of Hannele*, *The Sunken Bell*, and *Poor Heinrich – A German Saga*, respectively.

contemporary critics observed, in *Rose Bernd* the author rigidly adhered to conventions of naturalism.⁹

Hauptmann's return to naturalism was likely a matter of form following subject. The inspiration for the drama came from his experiences as a juror on an infanticide trial, and the plot in *Rose Bernd* mirrors the details of the case.¹⁰ His intervention in the tradition of German infanticide tragedies, furthermore, was congruent with the naturalists' objective to show with brutal honesty the struggles of the working and lower classes, their investment in the positivist view of social, biological and hereditary shaping forces in human life, and also their particular interest in the *Frauenfrage*, which they shared with their realist forebears. The dramatic plot and characters in *Rose Bernd* encompass concerns central to the *Frauenfrage* through its thematization of the conflict between cultural ideals of *Mütterlichkeit* and the modern woman's desire for sexual choice.

Hauptmann's *Rose Bernd* follows the disastrous ramifications of a love affair between a young farm girl, Rose, and a married landowner, Christoph Flamm, which culminates in Rose murdering her newborn child. The play opens on the affair between Rose and Flamm, in the maintenance of which Rose has long forestalled her engagement to the sickly and tiresome bookbinder, August Keil—her father's chosen suitor, and the man who can save her family from economic ruin. Flamm is drawn to Rose's youth and sensuousness, as his wife, Henriette, who is ten years older than he, suffers from ailments

⁹ In his review for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (November 2, 1903), Ernst Heilborn writes: "In his new drama 'Rose Bernd', Gerhart Hauptmann returned to the world of his earliest dramas—internally and externally, in technique as well as atmosphere. 'Rose Bernd' takes place in the Silesian home country, amongst the rural population. It is thoroughly a naturalist drama." He then reiterates this further stating firmly; "Hauptmann used the naturalist technique quite rigorously in his new drama. Much more rigorously than in his earlier works." BTJ, 549.

¹⁰ See: John Osborne, *Gerhart Hauptmann and the Naturalist Drama*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 1998), 165.

which confine her to a wheelchair. In the first act it becomes apparent that Rose intends to end the relationship with Flamm because she can no longer delay her wedding. Much to Rose's dismay, however, a local womanizer, Streckmann, discovers their tryst, setting events into motion that will lead to her downfall.

Rose learns that she is pregnant with Flamm's child, and tries to hasten her marriage to August to conceal her indiscretion. Her plans to recover her reputation and secure her family's future unravel when the covetous Streckmann uses his knowledge of the affair to blackmail Rose for sex. Desperate to pay him off with money instead, Rose visits Streckmann alone at his home, where he refuses her bribe and rapes her. The dramatic action comes to a head when a subsequent altercation between August and Streckmann provokes Rose's father to take Streckmann to court for slander against his daughter. During the trial Rose perjures herself, denying her affair with Flamm and her encounters with Streckmann. Then, on her way back from the tribunal she gives birth alone in a field, and immediately strangles the infant to death. A neighbor discovers her on the road, weak and delirious, and escorts Rose to her father's home. In the final scene she confesses to infanticide and is taken into custody by a constable.

Portraying a young woman's struggle to negotiate the incompatible socio-cultural expectations for domesticity and her personal desire for sexual choice, *Rose Bernd* intersects with a widespread cultural discourse that developed at the intersection of normative bourgeois morality and women's changing roles in the family and in social, economic and political life in Wilhelmine Germany. Within this discourse, *Mütterlichkeit* and eroticism emerged as central categories in determinative scripts of normal and deviant female sexuality. This chapter examines how the text and performance of the lead

female figures in *Rose Bernd* enacted a grotesque inversion of the socio-cultural scripts that produced determinant binaries of female sexuality. In the two central female characters, Rose and Henriette Flamm, the ideal of *Mütterlichkeit* becomes perversely attached to death, and the denial of female sexual subjectivity transforms erotic allure into repulsiveness.

The following section will investigate the foundational aesthetic and socio-political investments of German naturalism, and consider by what means naturalist drama and performance could engage and produce grotesque affect. Turning to the ways in which the dramatic text draws from and participates in the larger fin-de-siècle discourse complex surrounding female sexuality, the chapter will then excavate how the grotesque operated in the text and performance of *Rose Bernd* to challenge ideals of *Mütterlichkeit* and the double-standards applied to male and female sexual mores. The final sections will show how at the center of the production and reception of the *Rose Bernd* premier in 1903, Else Lehmann's performance both enacted and countered the textual production of the drama, and consider how the actress performed a significant intervention in discourses of female sexual subjectivity.

NATURALISM AND THE GROTESQUE

By the time *Rose Bernd* premiered at the Berlin *Lessingtheater* in 1903 (under the patronage of the *Freie Bühne*), many theater critics and practitioners were already heralding the end of naturalism's reign in the theater. The naturalist project's importance for German drama and theater should not be underestimated, however. Deeply entrenched aesthetic conservatism and state censorship practices in German theater had created a sense of stagnation by the mid-19th century. After the arrival and pronounced

success of realist drama and theater—most notably Ibsen's popularity—German dramatists and theater practitioners saw an avenue to reinvent the form and function of drama, and to radically change the theatrical experience in both its production and reception.¹¹

As with any large aesthetic movement, there is a considerable degree of variability in the naturalist productions. The naturalist movement was, however, relatively programmatic in its aesthetic and socialist agendas, and its proponents were explicit about their ideology and methods (more so than subsequent modernist movements, such as expressionism and symbolism).¹² This section will elucidate the express formal and political objectives of the German naturalists, and investigate the ways in which they succeeded and also necessarily failed to achieve those aims, with specific attention to how the pursuit of total mimesis on the naturalist stage inherently undercut its own mimetic principle.

The common tenets of the naturalist movement in Germany can be distilled to a set of relatively consistent principles for drama and for theatrical production and performance. They established literary-political clubs, and eventually formed a private theater society, in large part, initially, to circumvent censorship, and also to pursue their

¹¹ Many of the basic premises of naturalist drama stemmed from the preceding realist aesthetics. While the dimensions of psychological interiority central to the realist novels and dramas of the nineteenth century took a step closer to a more mimetic vision of social life, however, the naturalists saw the sustained focus on the upper and middle classes as a great limitation. Realism, furthermore, remained largely generically confined to the novel in Germany. Realist dramas primarily came out of Norway with Ibsen, Russia with Chekhov, and America with Miller, Williams and O'Neil. See: Simon Williams, and Maik Hamburger, eds., *A History of German Theater* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008), York-Gothart Mix, *Naturalismus, Fin de Siècle, Expressionismus: 1890-1918* (München: Hanser 2000), Erika Fischer-Lichte, *History of European Drama and Theater* (London: Routledge, 2002), and the Introduction to BTJ.

¹² It is thus possible to identify and examine a specific set of texts and authors, which aimed to achieve certain stated goals via certain means, while maintaining an awareness that these categories are not absolutely delineated. Non-naturalistic elements were certainly present even in the most strictly self-proclaimed naturalist dramas and productions.

mission to expand the theater audience beyond the bourgeoisie to include working- and lower-class viewers. In an affiliated magazine—which shared the name, *Die Freie Bühne* [The Free Stage], with their private theater—representatives of the movement published manifestos and essays on naturalism's aesthetic and theoretical underpinnings. Their approach to reshaping theater and drama was two-fold: they sought to create an aesthetic of raw truthfulness that rejected any artifice or beautification, and they aimed to redirect the dramatic subject matter to encompass what they saw to be the most pressing social concerns, including poverty, crime, and questions related to the *Frauenfrage*. Erika Fischer-Lichte explains that, "with the naturalist drama the theater once again became a public forum in which the burning problems of the age, above all the social question, could be discussed."¹³

Formally, the naturalists privileged the production of total mimesis in theater and drama. This overarching intention led dramatic authors to reject formal conventions, discarding with meter, verse, poetic language, and unnatural speech forms—monologue, soliloquy and aside—in favor of basic dialogue intended to recreate everyday language. Naturalist dialogue often assimilated regional dialect and colloquial expressions.¹⁴ They turned their gaze to the lower and working classes, a paramount distinction from their realist predecessors. For the naturalists, realism remained a primarily bourgeois aesthetic, written for, and about the middle class. They continued the realist's attention to psychological interiority, but they viewed the psychological and social circumstances of

¹³ Erika Fischer-Lichte, "Berliner Theater im 20. Jahrhundert," in *Berliner Theater im 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Erika Fischer-Lichte, Doris Kolesch, and Christel Weiler (Berlin: Fannei & Walz, 1998), 12.

¹⁴ Additionally, while structural conventions like act divisions remained in place, naturalist dramatists also began to experiment with the dramatic form. *Rose Bernd*, for example, has no scene breaks, and while its five-act structure would seem to evoke the more traditional dramatic structure, he does not adhere to conventions of the "well made play."

their characters to be the product of environmental and sociological influences that they believed to be shaping forces in the life and fortunes of the working class individual.¹⁵

The aim was to produce art that would be, as the prologue to the first volume of *Die Freie Bühne* (1890) states, "attentive to the natural forces of life and would show the world as it is with a ruthless commitment to truthfulness."¹⁶ Similarly, in his naturalist manifesto, "Die Wahrheit auf der Bühne" [Truth on the Stage] (1886), the prominent critic Maximilian Harden stresses the importance of rejecting aestheticizing conventions of earlier periods, and focusing instead on life's harsh realities:

Naturalism demands the rejection of all convention, the ruthless search for truth free of any compromise: it seeks to represent a piece of nature as it reveals itself in its temperament, without painting a layer of prettifying varnish over the picture. Just as science has recourse to analytical experiments and history turns to a study of source material, so literature should collect 'human documents'. These should present human beings as the result of their living conditions and environment, not as the accidental products of an imagination thirsting after beauty – human beings of solid flesh, perceived by the writer, involved in the sort of relationships, conflicts and passions that occur in the everyday life of each individual – that is the most noble article of faith in the gospel of naturalism.¹⁷

¹⁵ In his defense of naturalism's form and subject matter, Hauptmann writes: "Art of the poor? People should finally stop degrading the art of the Classics as art of the rich with such statements. The people and art belong together, like earth, tree, fruit and gardener." Gerhart Hauptmann, *Die Kunst des Dramas. Über Schauspiel und Theater*, ed. Martin Machatzke (Berlin: Propyläen, 1963), 181. Confronting head-on the critics' argument that naturalism betrayed the classical dramatic traditions so central to German cultural history, Hauptmann reverses their argument, contending that it is, in fact, an insult to the ancients to imply that they were not concerned with the human condition. Hauptmann and his compatriots argued that rather than bastardizing the classical traditions, they were allowing their art form to evolve with the historical, social and cultural changes of modern life. Hauptmann asks: "In cases where we cannot make life fit the dramatic art form: — should we not then make this art form fit life?" Ibid. 183. Hauptmann expresses the prevailing naturalist view that the conventions of dramatic tradition should not take precedence over the goal of drama and theater to have an effect on their audience.

¹⁶ "Sie hat, einem tieferen Zuge dieser Zeit gehorchend, sich auf die Erkenntnis der natürlichen Daseinsmächte gerichtet und zeigt uns mit rücksichtslosem Wahrheitstrieb die Welt, wie sie ist." Julius Bab, *Das Theater der Gegenwart. Geschichte der dramatischen Bühne seit 1870* (Leipzig: J.J. Weber Verlag, 1928), 54.

¹⁷ "Was will der Naturalismus? Er fordert Abwendung von aller Konvention, Umkehr zur rücksichtslosesten Wahrheit ohne jede Kompromiss, er will ein Stückchen Natur schildern, wie es sich in seinem Temperament zeigt, ohne das Bild mit dem Firnis der Schönheitsfärberei zu überpinseln. Wie die Wissenschaft zur analytischen Experimentalmethode, die Geschichtsforschung zum Quellenstudium zurückkehrt, ebenso soll die Literatur 'Menschliche Dokumente' sammeln, um den Menschen als Resultat seiner Lebensbedingungen und Umgebung, nicht als Zufallsprodukt schönheitsdurstiger Phantasie erscheinen zu lassen. Menschen von festem Knochenbau, vom Dichter geschaut, in Verhältnisse, Konflikte,

This ruthless pursuit of human truth led the naturalists to concentrate on poverty, alcoholism, crime and prostitution.¹⁸ Harden's reference to science and scientific methods reflects the growing interest that the naturalists showed in pathological and criminal elements, stemming in large part from the influence of nineteenth-century scientific developments—Darwinism, criminal anthropology, sociology.¹⁹ In their dramas the naturalists thus sought to show the realities of daily life for the lower classes, and also to explore the causes and effects produced by the social and individual conditions specific to their protagonists, who were to be representative of their social milieu.²⁰

The naturalists' appropriation of the modern sciences did not go unnoticed by contemporary scientists. In addition to his work on criminal psychology, Erich Wulffen devoted considerable energy to examining the intersection of art with developments in

Leidenschaften vewickelt, wie sie das tägliche Leben jedes Einzelnen mit sich bringt, das ist der vornehmste Glaubenssatz im naturalistischen Evangelium." In: Erich Ruprecht ed., *Literarische Manifeste des Naturalismus 1880-1892*, (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche, 1962), 108. English translation from: Claude Schumacher ed, *Naturalism and Symbolism in European Theater 1850-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996), 152.

¹⁸ For the naturalists, these realities not only exposed the truth about life in the modern era, they were the elements of life that produced the affect that the theater required. In a diary entry from January 1905, Hauptmann muses: "[t]he sphere of what is called healthy and normal is left behind in affect. A drama without affect is unthinkable, and thus it must always in some way overlap with the pathological." In: Hauptmann, *Die Kunst des Dramas*, 182. Kerr echoes Hauptmann's sentiment, writing that, "the permitted poetry of naturalism lies in morbidity. Because what about everyday life is poetic? The neuroses [*Nervenabsonderlichkeit*] that are more like the non-quotidian. That elevates a figure into endless atmospheric strata while at the same time remaining grounded in reality." In, Alfred Kerr, *Gesammelte Schriften in zwei Reihen. Erste Reihe in fünf Bänden. I. Die Welt im Drama* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1917), 413-14. Hauptmann writes further: "today it is almost more essential that we learn to feel the ugly rather than the beautiful." Hauptmann, *Die Kunst des Dramas*, 187.

¹⁹ David Barnett explains in his contribution to the edited volume, *A History of German Theatre* (2008), that "[t]he then considerable influence of positivism was also an important factor affecting the problems of representing 'real life': the doctrine maintained that knowledge could only be derived from observation and experiment and not from metaphysical speculation. The scientific orthodoxies of the day treated human identity as a product of heredity and environment, and this determinism was an integral part of the worldview championed by the naturalists" (199). Many of Hauptmann's characters were culled from knowledge he gained through his personal relationship with the psychiatrist Professor Forel, with whom he spent an extended period of time in 1888, and who allowed him to visit and observe his patients. See also, Jane R. Goodall, *Performance and Evolution in the Age of Darwin. Out of the Natural Order* (London: Routledge, 2002).

²⁰ Hauptmann's *Rose Bernd*, for example, was drawn from his own experiences as a juror for an infanticide trial.

sexology, criminology and psychology. He felt that turn-of-the-century artistic productions were increasingly bound to the developing sciences, and he wrote multiple essays on the subject.²¹ Wulffen explains in a short publication on Ibsen's *Nora*, from *A Doll's House*, that his aim was to show "how the poet, the dramatist, can deal with issues of jurisprudence and medicine so integrally in the fundamental conception of his artwork, that the 'scientific analysis' also advances our understanding of the poetry."²² Beyond Ibsen's work, Wulffen had a particular affinity for Hauptmann's naturalist dramas, because the author so explicitly incorporated criminal and pathological elements in his central characters. In addition to an article on *Rose Bernd* written for a journal of juridical psychiatry, Wulffen also published a collection of essays on Hauptmann's dramas entitled, *Gerhart Hauptmann vor dem Forum der Kriminalpsychologie und Psychiatrie* (1908) [Gerhart Hauptmann Before the Forum of Criminal Psychology and Psychiatry].²³

In the introduction to this larger volume he asserts that,

Gerhart Hauptmann is foremost among the list of new dramatists in Germany who have, with deep ethical seriousness, tapped into the spirit of the modern natural sciences. [...] Hauptmann weaves the pathological into both his characters and plot and makes it an effective factor in the psychology of his figures. On this foundation of the criminal and pathological, Hauptmann builds a whole series of his dramatic plots. Precisely because he has collected these elements and woven them together deeply, Hauptmann is the poet of the modern, real *Volkstümlichkeit*.²⁴

²¹ His initial method of reading dramas for their criminological, psychological and legal accuracy later developed into an interest in excavating the ways in which art and literature reflect pathologies of the artist/author, as represented in his *Sexualspiegel von Kunst und Verbrechen* [Sexual-Mirror of Art and Crime] (Dresden: P. Aretz, 1928).

²² Erich Wulffen, *Ibsens Nora vor dem Strafrichter und Psychiater* (Halle a.S.: Verlag von Carl Marhold, 1907), 3. Of Hauptmann he asserts that his "dramas have not yet been evaluated scientifically. But their most fundamental content demands such an analysis. His characteristic creative ability is to transfigure the universally human in an aesthetic-scientific cloak." *Gerhart Hauptmann vor dem Forum der Kriminalpsychologie und Psychiatrie* (Breslau: Alfred Langeworts, 1908), 10-11.

²³ He undertook this larger project subsequent to a lecture he gave for the Dresdner Literarischen Gesellschaft in November, 1907.

²⁴ Wulffen, *Gerhart Hauptmann vor dem Forum der Kriminalpsychologie und Psychiatrie*, 9-10. Here I take *Volkstümlichkeit* to mean a sense of the general experience of modern life. The German adjective "volkstümlich" literally translates as, folksy, popular, or demotic. Wulffen frequently deploys the terms

Wulffen viewed naturalist and realist drama by authors such as Hauptmann and Ibsen as having a unique capacity to access and reflect human psychological experience. In some instances, in fact, he indicates that a talented poet could even create not just a fictional character, but an actual person with a human psyche. In *Nora* he writes, "the spirit of the poet becomes flesh and blood by scientific means in an incomparable way. She is not a type, or an embodied idea: she loves and lives. This *Nora* is a real person, an actual woman; her exulting and laughter, her lamentation and her sorrows are truly human sounds!"²⁵

Wulffen's sense that Ibsen's *Nora* constitutes a "real person" speaks to the emphasis on mimesis in realist and naturalist dramas, and also in the extensive changes to theatrical production that accompanied the new literary aesthetic. Stage practitioners sought to transform the theatrical experience to create the same experience of reality that the dramatist worked to instill in their texts. In an effort to fundamentally alter the theatrical experience, directors, actors and stage designers employed new theoretical and technological developments to reinvent production (including set design, lighting, music and other acoustic elements, makeup and costuming) and performance (radically changing modes of verbal delivery and body movement).²⁶ Eliminating stylized design and performance practices, the naturalists aimed to create the illusion of reality, and also

"volkstümlich" and "Volkstümlichkeit" in his reading of Hauptmann's drama, and within the context he uses it in terms of something felt to be generally true by the people (*das Volk*), or something that is true in general experience. In his analysis of *Rose Bernd*, for example, Wulffen writes: "that [Hauptmann] intentionally or intuitively creates from the the criminal depths of the human soul in this way is a *volkstümlicher* move. The power of the evil principle—active in the world and in human beings, from the being of time and into eternity—is felt deeply, if darkly, by the people." *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁵ Erich Wulffen, *Ibsens Nora vor dem Strafrichter und Psychiater*, 18-19

²⁶ Stephen Kern's *Culture of Time and Space* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1983), presents an interesting study of the ways in which these developments in the theater relate to other cultural developments and experiences of temporality and space.

to reduce the viewer's awareness of the theatrical environment. The viewer was to feel that they were looking in on a scene from real life (fig. 2.1). Directors and performers rejected the stylized acting methods pervasive in the theater of previous centuries, advancing instead a mimetic acting style that emphasized "believability" and "authenticity." Their actors should reproduce natural vocal registers, facial expressions, and bodily movements, in order to more closely mirror human behavior in everyday life.²⁷



(Figure 2.1) Set design for *Rose Bernd* by Leo Impekoven (1903)²⁸

This reality effect is not unequivocal, however. At the same time as the naturalist performance on stage produced a carefully constructed experience of reality, it would always be uncanny because mimesis can never be perfect, and performance always reveals itself as performance.²⁹ Despite their intention to control more exactly the

²⁷ The extent of the naturalists' transformation of theatrical production and performance and the profound effect it had on their viewers are evident in theater reviews from the period. Notably, the genre of theater criticism itself began to change along with the new theater. With the introduction of Ibsen and the subsequent influx of naturalist dramas and productions in the theater, critics began to increasingly consider the elements of the stage production and the actors' ability to not only convey the text of the drama, but also the psyche of their characters. See the Introduction to this dissertation.

²⁸ DDT, 90.

²⁹ The prominent fin-de-siècle theater critic Alfred Kerr reflects that the naturalist project of mimesis was flawed in and of itself. Commenting specifically on *Rose Bernd* in a review from November 3, 1903, he contends that the dialogue in the drama is more alienating than familiar, "because indeed life cannot be

production of their dramatic texts through extensive stage directions and notes, and through the expanded authority of a director, to script productions with absolute determinacy, the experience of stage performance inherently undermined the naturalists' intentionality.³⁰ And while the naturalists are famous for constituting the "fourth wall" in the theater, in some ways separating the audience from the performance more explicitly, their acting techniques and stage practices simultaneously created a more immediate visceral encounter with the performance, the actors, and through them the characters on the stage.³¹ In this way, even paradigmatically naturalist productions like Hauptmann's *Rose Bernd*, created an experience of what this chapter will call the grotesque.

Although many scholars have excluded naturalism from the grotesque aesthetic precisely because it is constitutively committed to mimesis, this chapter contends that mimetic performance itself creates an experience of the grotesque.³² The effort to make the performer invisible within the character being performed, to effectively script the performer out of the performance, can never be fully successful, because viewers in the

truly mirrored, because even every 'naturalist' must sort and arrange things – the majority should have been presented more essentially." BJT, 553.

³⁰ See Christopher Innes writes: "In a sense the function of the director is usually thought of as being called into existence only in the latter part of the nineteenth century, through the emergence of naturalism as the dramatic form of the age. This style of drama required objectivity in presentation and individualized characterization and placed significant emphasis on social context, both in environmental and biological terms. On the stage such qualities translated into scenic and psychological detail, creating a demand for something more than a stage-manager." In: "Naturalism, Expressionism and Brecht: Drama in Dialogue with Modernity, 1890-1960," *A History of German Theatre*, eds. Simon Williams and Michael Hamburger (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 171.

³¹ On corporeality and visceral experience in dramatic performance see Chapter 1 of this dissertation. See also: Simon Shepherd, *Theatre, Body and Pleasure* (London: Routledge, 2006).

³² In his 2004 book on theater and the grotesque, *Staging the Savage God*, Ralf Remshardt argues that the principles of naturalism form the foundation of the modern grotesque. He writes that, "[n]aturalism, sick of pallid neoclassical abstractions traversing ideal stage-spaces and of romantic soul operas, clamored for physiological truth. The grotesque character answers this demand: it is fully and terribly physiological, and it can everywhere be reduced to the body because it cannot retreat beyond it." Remshardt does not, however, examine any naturalist dramas or performances, looking instead to examples in which the principle of the naturalist grotesque pushes the subject "either to its physical obliteration or to its aesthetic disappearance." He presents Atreus, Tamurlaine and Ubu as examples of grotesque characters from the modern stage. Ralf Remshardt, *Staging the Savage God. The Grotesque in Performance* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois U.P., 2004), 237.

theater necessarily engage with the performer on stage as a layered subject.³³ Mimetic performance mitigates the viewer's cognitive attention to the actress as layered subject on stage. It is impossible to absolutely erase this cognition, however, and mimetic performance thus produces an uncanny awareness of the performer as simultaneously present and absent. It is at this level that naturalist theater creates an experience of the grotesque.

The grotesque is an inherently slippery aesthetic category. Almost every scholarly work on the grotesque begins with an attempt to outline its complicated history and theoretical cache. Scholars frequently conclude that the grotesque vacillates between something universally recognizable and something seemingly indefinable.³⁴ Wolfgang Kayser's seminal, *Das Grotteske: Seine Gestaltung in Malerei und Dichtung* [The Grotesque in Art and Literature] (1957) has been influential in defining the grotesque. Kayser posits that artists deploy the grotesque as a means to contend with the most problematic elements of a given cultural context, constituting "the attempt to invoke and subdue the demonic aspects of the world" [*der Versuch, das Dämonische in der Welt zu bannen und zu beschwören*].³⁵ What is perceived to be demonic in a given epoch and cultural context is highly variable, however, and the grotesque is consequently fundamentally historically contingent.³⁶

³³ See the Introduction to this dissertation.

³⁴ For an example of scholarship on the grotesque in non-Western cultural productions see: Mark Driscoll, *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque. The Living, Dead, and Undead in Japan's Imperialism 1895-1945* (Durham: Duke UP, 2010).

³⁵ Wolfgang Kayser, *The Grotesque in Art and Literature*. Trans. Ulrich Weisstein (Bloomington: Indiana U.P., 1963), 188; *Das Grotteske: Seine Gestaltung in Malerei und Dichtung* (Oldenburg: Gerhard Stalling, 1957), 202.

³⁶ Kayser finds that the grotesque is evident in the highest concentration in times of great socio-cultural change. He identifies, "the sixteenth century, the age which extends from the *Sturm und Drang* to Romanticism, and the twentieth century," as the eras with the most concentrated appearance of the

Grotesques in Western art and literature since the 16th century have engaged the demonic through elements of the natural world, incorporating animals and plants, frequently with human hybrid elements. With industrialization in the 19th century the grotesque began to encompass mechanical elements, and with the modern human sciences psychological abnormalities such as madness and hysteria also offered themselves readily to the grotesque. Kayser explains that in the grotesque, demonic elements, in whatever contemporary form, are combined with the mundane to create fusion, fragmentation, or distortion. This juxtaposition of demonic and mundane produces an affective response characterized by suddenness and surprise, which can in turn incite laughter or fear. Principally, however, the response of laughter or fear will be inverse to its object—grotesque laughter corresponds to horror or pain, and grotesque fear is not a fear of death, but attached rather to life—creating what Kayser calls, "the estranged world" [*die entfremdete Welt*].³⁷

Though the grotesque is an unsettled category, there are some elements that have maintained a notable consistency over time. In his equally influential analysis of the grotesque in *Rabelais and His World* (1965), Mikhail Bakhtin examines how the human body has always been fundamental to the grotesque. This is not to say that the body is always grotesque, only to elucidate how the body—in its anatomy and its functions—inherently contains elements which can be called upon or emphasized to create grotesque affect. For Bakhtin the openings of the body (mouth, ears, nose, anus) are particularly apt for the grotesque, because "[a]ll these convexities and orifices have a common

grotesque, and attributes this to a sense that, "[i]n these periods the belief of the preceding ages in a perfect and protective natural order ceased to exist." Kayser, *The Grotesque in Art and Literature*, 188.

³⁷ Ibid., 184; 198. This chapter will exclusively focus on grotesque fear, rather than laughter. For an in-depth examination of grotesque laughter, see Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, Trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana U.P., 1984).

characteristic; it is within them that the confines between bodies and between the body and the world are overcome: there is an interchange and an interorientation."³⁸ Transgressing what are perceived to be stable boundaries between things—self and other, human and the environment, the sacred and the profane—produces a sense that the natural order has been violated, and accordingly a feeling of estrangement and disorientation. "Eating, drinking, defecation and other elimination," Bakhtin continues, "...as well as copulation, pregnancy, dismemberment, swallowing up by another body—all these acts are performed on the confines of the body and the outer world, or on the confines of the old and new body. In all these events the beginning and the end of life are closely linked and interwoven."³⁹ Bakhtin's attention to human orifices points to the recognition in more recent feminist scholarship that the specific characteristics of the female body—vagina, womb, menstruation, pregnancy, and birth—maintain a greater potential for such border-crossings and transgressions, and thus also for the grotesque.⁴⁰ Bakhtin writes that, "[t]he grotesque body... is a body in the act of becoming," and continues to explain that, "[t]his is why the essential role belongs to those parts of the grotesque body in which it outgrows its own self, transgressing its own body, in which it conceives a new, second body."⁴¹

Margaret Miles identifies the female body as a uniquely stable presence within the historically mutable grotesque aesthetic, one that has maintained consistency across the

³⁸ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 317.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ One only has to think of the *vagina dentata* myth that has circulated in cultures around the world from antiquity to the present day. See Mary Russo, *The Female Grotesque. Risk, Excess and Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 1994). See also Rebecca Kukla's examination of pregnancy and the female body in her book, *Mass Hysteria: Medicine, Culture, And Mother's Bodies* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005). Kukla outlines the ways in which the female body was thought to be dangerously permeable, particularly during pregnancy.

⁴¹ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 317.

Western Christian tradition in her essay, "Carnal Abominations. The Female Body as Grotesque" (1997).⁴² She writes that, "agreement across the diverse societies of the Christian West on the symbolic valence of female nakedness as representation of sin—and the grotesque—is remarkable." This consistency, she further contends, is particularly striking given that conceptions of gender have changed so radically over time. "[T]he literary and pictorial devices by which these continuities were reproduced," Miles writes, were "often in surprising disjunction from fluctuations in women's roles, opportunities, and contributions within society."⁴³ Thus, while the grotesque has many valences, the female body as grotesque has a significant permanence. Miles contends that this consistency is importantly related to the relative rarity of women's self-representation in dominant culture until more recently, which foregrounds that the grotesque has historically exclusively represented male experiences of the world; as an aesthetic that is centrally tied to fear of the unknown and the uncontrollable, it is not surprising that the female body would maintain a prominent presence.

In her 1994 book, *The Female Grotesque*, Mary Russo also contends that the female body has notably maintained grotesque valences over the history of Western culture.⁴⁴ Russo examines what she identifies to be two different categories of the grotesque that, she argues, have fundamentally attached to women: the carnival (based on Bakhtin's grotesque) and the uncanny (stemming from psychoanalysis). Her definition of the latter form provides one interpretive frame for considering the ways in which the grotesque might be a means to challenge cultural scripts of female sexuality. She writes

⁴² Margaret Miles, "Carnal Abominations. The Female Body as Grotesque," *The Grotesque in Art and Literature: Theological Reflections*, Eds. James Luther Adams and Wilson Yates (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1997).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁴⁴ Mary Russo, *The Female Grotesque. Risk, Excess and Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 8-9.

that, "[t]he image of the uncanny, grotesque body as doubled, monstrous, deformed, excessive, and abject is not identified with materiality as such, but assumes a division or distance between the discursive fictions of the biological body and the Law."⁴⁵ Within this model the theater presents numerous dimensions through which the grotesque might emerge. The layered subject of the actress on stage engages a multiplication of the body not physically, but discursively and experientially. Russo's assessment of the central position held the law within paradigms of the grotesque, furthermore, points to the tensions between script, production and performance that constitutes the theatrical experience.⁴⁶

Women and femininity are markedly consistent objects of the grotesque, but the ways in which they become grotesque in aesthetic and cultural productions has changed over time, bound to the historical contingency of the grotesque's affective dimension. At the turn of the century, the representation and discourse surrounding women took on new valences under the shaping influences of German modernity, including the sciences, the women's movements, urbanization, and changes to the German penal code. The female grotesque developed in this period from questions fundamental to the *Frauenfrage*, arising from practical concerns over prostitution and sexually transmitted disease, and

⁴⁵ Ibid., 8-9.

⁴⁶ Russo specifically refers to Foucault's socio-political model of the grotesque, which also resonates with my reading of the grotesque dimensions inherent to theatrical performance. Ibid. In his lecture from January 8, 1975, published in *Abnormal*, Foucault develops a historico-political category of power which he calls the grotesque or Ubu-esque. Foucault writes: "I am calling 'grotesque' the fact that, by virtue of their status, a discourse or individual can have effects of power that their intrinsic qualities should disqualify them from having. The grotesque, or, if you prefer, the 'Ubu-esque,' is not just a term of abuse or an insulting epithet, and I would not like to use it in that sense. I think that there is a precise category, or, in any case, that we should define a precise category of historico-political analysis, that would be the category of the grotesque or Ubu-esque. Ubu-esque terror, grotesque sovereignty, or, in starker terms, the maximization of effects of power on the basis of the disqualification of one who produces them." [Michel Foucault, *Abnormal. Lectures at the College de France 1974-1975*, eds. Valerio Marchetti and Antonella Salomoni, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2003), 11-12.] While there is certainly an interesting reading of infanticide to be found in this application of the grotesque, my analysis is based in the aesthetic and literary category of the grotesque as explicated by the authors discussed above.

also from the contested discourse fields surrounding gender and desire, hysteria, and the dangerous woman. Precisely these controversial issues and their radical female representatives—feminists, prostitutes, criminal women, *Kindsmörderinnen*—appealed most strongly to naturalist playwrights like Hauptmann. On the naturalist stage, furthermore, women became increasingly prominent and also presented more complex and challenging characters. In a 1909 essay for *Die Frau* Charlotte Engel Reimers notes that, "the soulless and senseless chatter of a pretty puppet lost its effect [*Wirkung*]. On the stage we encounter female characters in their progress and their errors. And thereby, the kinds of assignments and the realm of influence [*Wirkungssphäre*] has expanded quite extraordinarily for the actress."⁴⁷ Reimers contends that the actress gained not only better roles in the naturalist theater, but also greater effect.

SCRIPTS OF FEMALE SEXUALITY – *MÜTTERLICHKEIT* AND EROTICISM

Rose Bernd depicts a fatal encounter between social expectations for *Mütterlichkeit* and the protagonist's attempt to assert sexual subjectivity. In the drama's second act, Rose Bernd's confidant—and also the wife of her lover—Henriette Flamm, muses: "Your mother once said to me: my Rose, she will be a mother! Except, her blood is a bit too hot! – I don't know: it could be that she was right."⁴⁸ Frau Flamm's off hand remark condenses the central conflict in the drama; Rose's mother, it seems, saw in her daughter a hot bloodedness, a willfulness and eroticism that would be incompatible with motherhood. That it is Frau Flamm who presents this view is apropos, because she serves as a foil to Rose, exemplifying the virtues of *Mütterlichkeit* most commonly touted at the

⁴⁷ Charlotte Engel Reimers, "Die Frau im Theaterberuf." *Die Frau* 17.2 (1909): 169

⁴⁸ Hauptmann, *Rose Bernd*, II; 211. Hauptmann's *Rose Bernd* has act but not scene divisions.

turn of the century—modesty, compassion, charity, and an innate impulse to nurture. Indeed, Frau Flamm quite literally embodies the maternal and feminine ideals of domesticity and passivity to an excessive, and as this chapter argues, grotesque degree. Having suffered an unspecified illness after her young son's death, she must be pushed in a wheelchair and is veritably bound to the home. She thus embodies an ideal of *Mütterlichkeit* that will be impossible for Rose to achieve.

At the outset, Rose defiantly attempts to combine *Mütterlichkeit* and sexual freedom. She has long been engaged in a romantic and sexual affair with Henriette's husband, the land owner Christoph Flamm, while also attending to her aging and ailing father, caring for her younger siblings as a surrogate for her mother who died when Rose was still a child, and maintaining her marriage engagement to August Keil. Although Rose is not in the least romantically invested in August, their marriage will bring financial security to her family, rescuing them from immanent poverty. She is very aware of her situation and consciously negotiates her desires and the demands in her life. She fears discovery, but only for practical reasons, knowing that the exposure of her affair would imperil her engagement to August. She is in no way *morally* conflicted about her relationship with Flamm. She tells him with confidence, "I don't regret [*bereuen*] what has happened."⁴⁹ The verb *bereuen* implicitly evokes a moral dimension to Rose's claim; it means to regret, and it also etymologically implies repentance, or atonement. Rose neither regrets her affair with Flamm, nor does she feel that she has a moral obligation to repent. She has given herself to him out of love, and she is motivated to end the relationship by her family's financial need. When she can no longer postpone her

⁴⁹ "Was de geschehn is, bereu' ich nich." Ibid., I; 191.

engagement to August, she is pragmatic: "I've put off [August] long enough," she tells Flamm. "He's been waiting for over two years now. He won't wait anymore! It really can't go on like this anymore."⁵⁰ Flamm complains that August is not a good match for Rose, but she is clear about the financial and familial necessity behind the marriage. She explains: "if you were in the same situation, you would have a different opinion about it. – I know how feeble father is! The landlords are kicking us out. [...] And so he loves to think that we'll finally have things in order."⁵¹ Even though Rose embraces her sexual freedom without moral qualms, the social expectation that she fulfill her roles as daughter, wife and mother outweigh, for her, the desire to assert her independence.

The expectations for familial duty and the ideals of *Mütterlichkeit* are engrained in Rose's consciousness and central to her self-presentation in her social environment. She relies on her reputation as a dutiful and respectable woman to maintain her social standing, despite her affair with Flamm. When Streckmann, a loutish womanizer who has long lusted after Rose, discovers the illicit relationship and threatens to defame Rose's character, she is outraged. She defends herself, "*bewildered, screaming and crying at the same time*. I have been respectable my whole life! Show me one person who can speak ill of me! I raised three little siblings! I got up every morning at three a.m.! I didn't save even a drop of milk for myself! People know that! Every child knows it."⁵² Rose's extreme agitation over Streckmann's discovery is substantiated by the real consequences of a tarnished reputation in their social world. Desperate to convince Streckmann to keep her secret, she threatens suicide, referring to another girl from the village who found no better escape: "I'll go home and hang myself from the rafters! That's what Maria Schubert

⁵⁰ Ibid., I; 190.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., I; 196.

did."⁵³ Streckmann dismisses her panic and fear, declaring that affairs are commonplace, and no cause for drastic measures: "Now look here, it's nothing to go hanging yourself about. There wouldn't be any women left at all if it were! – That's just how it is everywhere: anywhere you look. Anyway... one has to laugh! There's nothing more in it."⁵⁴ Streckmann's cavalier attitude belies his more sinister intentions and the dire consequences that will indeed result from his knowledge of the affair. His own behavior toward Rose is self-contradictory, and his belief in female sexual freedom is predicated on secrecy and the outward maintenance of propriety.

The hypocrisy inherent to Streckmann's lighthearted disregard for Rose's concerns, and his subsequent use of her affair to manipulate and abuse her reflects Hauptmann's engagement with the contemporary *Frauenfrage*. The scripting forces of social reputation and morality had different effects for women and men at the turn of the century. Helene Stöcker—a pioneering and highly influential member of the *Bund für Mütterschutz und Sexualreform* [League for the Protection of Mothers and Sexual Reform]—promoted a feminist agenda to rewrite the scripts dictating sexual life, and to establish a *neue Ethik* [new ethics], that would counter culturally institutionalized male privilege in moral, social and legal matters.

Across Stöcker's feminist essays, collected in the self-edited volume, *Die Liebe und die Frauen* [Love and Women] (first edition 1905), it becomes apparent that challenging the double standard attached to male and female sexual desire was paramount for her *neue Ethik*. In, "Zur Psychologie der freien Hingabe" [On the Psychology of Premarital Sex], first published in *Neue Generation* in 1908, Stöcker contends that the

⁵³ Ibid., I; 195.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

true motivation behind societal sexual prohibitions for women grew out of practical and not ethical concerns, and thus, "we can no longer tolerate that reasons of necessity are confused with moral motives."⁵⁵ Stöcker's distinction between practical and ethical sexual mores resonates with Rose's refusal to regret and repent [*bereuen*] in the drama, reflecting in turn a conflict over female sexual subjectivity. If there is not an ethical distinction between male and female eroticism, then there is also no difference for men and women in sexual choice.

Indeed, Stöcker argues, women are forced into premarital celibacy by the unethical behavior of men. Submitting that "a large part" of married couples admit to having premarital sex, she asks why a woman who is deceived by her male partner should be viewed any differently than one whose lover holds to his word and marries her: "that her abandon was motivated by absolute trust in their love was just as pure, just as moral, as the motives of the more careful and more guarded one. That a man can abuse a woman's trust, and abuse it countless times, certainly does not reflect poorly on her, but rather on him."⁵⁶ Stöcker exposes a discord between the ideologies of sexual morality and everyday sexual practice, intervening in a larger discourse of female sexuality that separated reproduction and pleasure. Her *neue Ethik* rejected this division and instead embraced a construction of female sexuality that was *both* maternal *and* erotic.

Stöcker's ethical reform was not universal to feminist agendas at the fin de siècle, however, and many proponents in the broad spectrum of the organized German women's movements advanced feminist claims from within patriarchal structures of gender and

⁵⁵ "[W]ir können nicht länger dulden, daß man Zweckmäßigkeitgründe mit sittlichen Motiven verwechselt." Helene Stöcker, "Zur Psychologie der freien Hingabe," *Die Liebe und die Frauen* (2nd, expanded edition. Minden: J.C.C. Bruns, 1908), 211.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 209.

sexuality. Members of more conservative branches of the women's movement deployed cultural ideals of motherhood and *Mütterlichkeit* as a means to assert women's cultural and political importance, promoting, as Ann Taylor Allen writes, "the idea of motherhood as a basis for a specifically female ethic... which provided a standpoint for understanding, criticizing, and ultimately changing the world."⁵⁷ In her 1991 book *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800-1914*, Allen explicates the many ways in which concepts of maternity and motherhood were essential to even competing branches of the women's movement.⁵⁸ The ability to bear children, many turn-of-the-century feminists contended, made women essential contributors to the state through the production of future citizens and soldiers. Allen argues that in this way women sought to make the family metaphorically and constitutively central to national well being, and thereby to carve out a necessary role for women in political life. Moreover, feminists claimed that inborn *Mütterlichkeit* made women indispensable for preserving morality, and for tasks related to social welfare and public hygiene. Thus even women who remained childless were valuable to the state and to society.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800-1914* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1991), 3.

⁵⁸ Allen explores the ways in which ideologies of motherhood and maternity were invoked as a powerful tool in the fight for women's equality in this period. She also "analyze[s] ideas of public and private motherhood as part of an evolving intellectual tradition within German feminist movements from the early nineteenth century until the First World War." *Ibid.*, 1. In doing so she highlights the complex ideological landscape that was created by various feminists' uses of at times very different aspects of the maternal discourse. Allen's work is innovative and important in several regards. Her in-depth analysis recognizes the agency and intellectual complexity involved in women's use of rhetoric and ideologies of maternity. Furthermore, she sheds new light on the diversity in the feminist discourse of motherhood, rejecting simple divides between equality vs. difference. Her work thus presents a valuable compliment to my more limited study.

⁵⁹ For more on unwed and childless women in Wilhelmine social and political life, see Catherine Dollard's *The Surplus Woman*. Dollard extensively examines the trope of the single woman in Imperial Germany, demonstrating how a widespread cultural preoccupation with the so-called *Frauenüberschuß* (surplus of women), pervaded public discourse through sociological, political, feminist, and scientific concerns. Dollard explains that while the scale of the *Frauenüberschuß* was grossly exaggerated in the cultural imagination of turn-of-the-century Germany, the anxieties it produced were very real. She writes that,

Even Stöcker's radical *neue Ethik* incorporated traditional views of *Mütterlichkeit*. She espoused an intricately bifold view of female sexual subjectivity, simultaneously touting maternal ideals and advocated for erotic desire and sexual choice.⁶⁰ In an essay on, "Frauenbewegung und Mütterlichkeit" [Women's Movement and Motherliness], originally published in the journal *Freistatt* in 1903, she virulently attacks the prevailing bifurcation of maternal and erotic female sexuality, writing: "Claims are being made about the nature and the feelings of woman, so nonsensical and untenable in nature, that one isn't sure what to be more baffled about: that they can be made at all – or the apodictical manner in which they are made, and the conclusions that are then drawn from them."⁶¹ Rather than establishing a division between erotic desire and reproductive desire, she contends that the two are not only compatible, but also related.

If the externally freed woman were now to become so free internally to feel that her greatest achievement for the world, motherhood, is a precious commodity, if she sees '*Mütterlichkeit*' in the highest sense as the ultimate fulfillment of her being, that in no way means that she would be a sensually dulled and stunted person, who is not as capable of being a lover and spouse as she is a mother.⁶²

"[n]ew developments in population analysis, accompanied by eugenically fueled anxiety about decreasing birth rates, informed the German understanding of the surplus woman problem. Though these statistical studies tended to overemphasize current conditions and did not examine thoroughly the change over time, they still lent an air of empirical credibility to discussions of the *Frauenüberschuß*." Catherine L. Dollard, *The Surplus Woman. Unmarried in Imperial Germany, 1871-1918* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012).

⁶⁰ Tracie Matysik has recognized the ways in which Stöcker's work is particularly apt for considering debates over female sexual subjectivity in this period. See Matysik, "Beyond Freedom. A Return to Subjectivity in the History of Sexuality," in: *After The History of Sexuality. German Genealogies With and Beyond Foucault*, eds. Spector, Scott, Helmut Puff, and Dagmar Herzog (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012).

⁶¹ Helene Stöcker, "Frauenbewegung und Mütterlichkeit," 104.

⁶² "Wenn jetzt die äußerlich freigewordene Frau auch innerlich so frei geworden ist, um ihre große Leistung für die Welt: die Mutterschaft, als ein köstliches Gut zu empfinden, wenn sie in der '*Mütterlichkeit*' im höchsten Sinne die letzte Vollendung ihres Wesens sieht, so folgt daraus doch keineswegs, daß sie ein sinnlich stumpfer und verkümmerter Mensch wäre, der nicht ebenso Geliebte und Gattin wie Mutter zu sein vermöchte." *Ibid.*, 107.

Stöcker reiterates the cultural truism that maternity is woman's highest calling while also maintaining that women can be *both* mothers *and* thinking, feeling, and desiring individuals.

However rapidly social decorum was changing in Wilhelmine Germany, conservative sexual prohibitions for women still held strong sway. The socialist and feminist movements for sexual liberation and the increasing number of independent and socially mobile women came into conflict with persisting binaries of normal-abnormal, maternal-sexual deviant. Stöcker's co-director at the Berlin branch of the *Bund*, Dr. Max Marcuse, a practicing medical doctor and an active proponent of the *Bund's* initiatives, wrote a 1910 contribution to Hans Ostwald's *Grossstadtdokumente* [Documents of the Metropolis], *Uneheliche Mütter* [Unwed Mothers] that straddles a divide between the competing discourses of maternal essentialism and female sexual autonomy.⁶³ Marcuse frames his discussion of female sexuality within a larger argument that asserts women's socio-cultural value through reproduction. He normalizes illegitimate pregnancy by reiterating an essentializing maternal ideal. Motherhood is even more important, he argues, for unwed mothers, who otherwise, as social outcasts, have no way to contribute to the greater good. "[F]or the unwed mother a child is a thousand times more than for the wedded the precondition and requirement not only for her happiness," he writes, "but also

⁶³ The overarching argument in *Uneheliche Mütter* is a call for increased social services and social status for unwed mothers. By removing the stigma from unwed motherhood, and proving the value of unwed mothers and their children, Marcuse aims to bring about an institutional change in services provided to unwed mothers, and cultural change in the way she is labeled as an outsider. *Unwed Mothers* circulated as a hybrid popular-scientific document and was devoted to the causes and social implications of unwed motherhood in Berlin. In it, Marcuse strongly advocates for women's reproductive rights, and for increased social concern for and care of unwed mothers. The foundation for this argument is a two-fold assertion on the one hand pointing to the socio-cultural hypocrisy attached to the outcast status of unwed mothers, and on the other asserting the intrinsic value of motherhood for women, and for the larger social and national body.

for her worth as a useful member of society, as an ethical individual."⁶⁴ The socio-political arm of Marcuse's argument focuses on the intrinsic value of a pregnancy and a child regardless of the legitimacy thereof. He launches a moral critique against denying any woman the right to fulfill her most basic purpose in life. He writes,

one does not need to be a reactionary to admit that the greatest goal of a *healthy* woman should in fact be motherhood, and that *nature designed her body and her soul to bear and raise children*. But where is it written that only a woman who has wed a man before a judge or priest, may fulfill this law of nature? How can anyone explain with reason or justice, that the 56.5 percent of all 20-30 year-old women, who never marry, should remain barred from *the fulfillment of their highest calling?!⁶⁵* [with my italics]

Marcuse argues that a normal woman's primary goal and desire in life is to produce and raise children.⁶⁶ Aligning himself with popular scientific works on female sexuality in his evaluation, Marcuse evokes maternity as the "healthy" and "natural" goal for a woman. He even calls into question the ethics of denying any woman the chance to fulfill her "highest calling," asserting that for a woman not only the body but also the soul is tied to motherhood.

In *Unwed Mothers* Marcuse reflects on the conflict between female sexual subjectivity and *Mütterlichkeit* intrinsically and also addresses it explicitly. He is attentive to the delicate balance at play for modern women in negotiating their status

⁶⁴ Ibid., 58. Marcuse also argues for the potential value of illegitimate children, writing, for example: "We know from the biographies of cultural heroes and great leaders how many of them were 'bastards.'" Ibid., 94. His primary example here is Da Vinci. He further points to the relatively low percentage of illegitimately born men in prison, and to the high percentage of illegitimate children in the army. Ibid., 95.

⁶⁵ "[M]an braucht nicht gerade reaktionär gesinnt zu sein, um zugeben zu müssen, daß das höchste Ziel der gesunden Frau in der Tat die Mutterschaft sein soll, und daß die Natur ihren Leib und ihre Seele dazu ausersah, Kinder zu gebären und zu erziehen. Wo aber steht geschrieben, daß nur das Weib, das vor Standesamt oder Priester einem Manne angetraut ist, dieses Naturgesetz erfüllen darf. Wie kann man mit Vernunft oder Gerechtigkeit die Forderung begründen, daß die 56 ½ Prozent aller 20-30 jährigen Frauen, die, wie die Statistiken nachweisen, unverheiratet sind, und die große Menge derer, die überhaupt nicht zur Ehe gelangen, ausgeschlossen bleiben sollen von *der Erfüllung ihres höchsten Berufes?!*" Marcuse, *Uneheliche Mütter*, 101.

⁶⁶ Here, Marcuse repeats what Dollard has demonstrated to be the grossly exaggerated statistical evaluation of the *Frauenüberschuß*; see Dollard, *The Surplus Woman*.

between freedom and constriction in the social transitions of the modern world. He notes the disparity in the pace at which different aspects of the culture adapted to the changes of modernity. "There are innumerable nuances in the psyche of such a woman, who, affected by today's cultural movements and particularly under the influence of modern literature, seems to be met with ever more appreciation and understanding," he writes. "Could it not in fact only be possible under the legal and moral laws dictated by the 'masters of creation,' that one would forbid women to have the feeling, or at least force her to suppress it, a feeling that for men it is said, 'will break all fetters and overcome every lady!'"⁶⁷ Here Marcuse contends with the ambiguity of guilt and responsibility at the heart of legal and social policies regarding unwed mothers. Marcuse and other feminists struggled to realign moral and cultural values and restrictions against female sexual subjectivity.

The unwed mother compounded competing social and political discourses surrounding female sexuality. She was simultaneously tied to the ideal of *Mütterlichkeit* through her status as a mother, and was also a symbol of deviant female sexuality.⁶⁸ Her both/and position between maternal and erotic sexuality made her a highly contested figure in social and legal discourse, and also a fascinating subject for the naturalist

⁶⁷ Marcuse, *Unheliche Mütter*, 50

⁶⁸ See: Karl Leydecker, "Unmarried Mothers in German Society and German-Language Drama around 1900." *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 38.1 (2002): 37-48. Leydecker traces the appearance of the unwed mother in legal and aesthetic production at the turn of the century. He outlines her conflicted status in the German legal codes around 1900. The *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* (BGB), outlining civil and family law, which went into effect in Germany in 1896 complimented the *Reichsstrafgesetzbuch*, the criminal code made official in 1871. The BGB laid out a number of specific legal codes regarding illegitimate children that limited more than helped unwed mothers; established that the illegitimate child was not legal related to the father (§1589), unless the father and mother later married (§1719). And though the child took its mother's name, she had no legal rights over the child, and could not intervene on its behalf (§1707). The BGB outlined a number of policies to ensure financial support from the father (§1708, §1715), but if the mother was known to have had multiple sexual partners, then all claims were voided by the so-called *conditio plurium* (§1717) – inability to determine paternity with certainty.

authors. In his *Rose Bernd*, Hauptmann exposes the conflict reticent in the shifting social and sexual dynamics of the turn of the century through its most extreme consequence, infanticide.

At the turn of the century infanticide was a topic of public debate. Legal reforms after German unification shifted the discourse of child murder from one of the most heinous crimes, to a concern related to public health, and particularly women's health and social welfare. In 1900, one of the leading women's magazines, *Die Frau*, published an article, "Über Kindesmord und Kindesmörderinnen" [On Infanticide and Child-Murderesses], written by a prison director named Rüstow. In his opening paragraph he writes:

At first glance it may seem strange to discuss such a topic in a magazine whose readership is primarily in the world of women. And yet I believe that it is justified, because, in the first place, infanticide, as it is defined in the German penal code, is the one crime that can only be committed by persons of the female sex, because, moreover, it is unfortunately a crime that is in many ways directly tied to the *Frauenfrage*, and, finally, because welfare work, ideally by women, is what is needed in order to preemptively counteract this evil [*Übel*].⁶⁹

Rüstow highlights the substantially altered criminal status of the murdering mother under the new German criminal code [*Reichsstrafgesetzbuch*]. Interestingly, though, he directs the matter specifically to the readership of *Die Frau* and identifies infanticide as a crime directly related to the *Frauenfrage*. In doing so he manifests the imbricated relationship between socio-cultural norms of gender and morality and the legal and political regulation of sexual life. Acknowledging the broader discourse complex surrounding the representation and cultural reception of infanticide, he writes:

There is hardly another crime besides infanticide, or child murder, that has in different times and in different cultures received such a fundamentally different

⁶⁹ Rüstow, "Über Kindesmord und Kindesmörderinnen," *Die Frau*. 8.3 (1900): 141.

judgment. From its beginning under the concept of parricide, that is the worst kind of common murder, to the exceptional status that infanticide has among crimes against life in almost every nation today.⁷⁰

Here Rüstow highlights the most significant revisions to the legal definition of infanticide in paragraph 217; first, the specific crime of infanticide could only be applied to *unwed* mothers, and second, the crime carried a fairly light sentence (as opposed to murder).⁷¹ The minimum sentence for convicted infanticides was only three years in prison, and a lesser two years when mitigating circumstances were evident.⁷²

Whereas past eras saw the public execution of Kindsmörderinnen who were identified as unnatural and evil, the new legal system incorporated modern theories of psychological, bio-chemical and sociological influencing factors, which explained, and in many ways excused the criminal act by calling the accountability of the mother into doubt. The very notion of criminal accountability was a new intervention of the criminal sciences and psychology in the courtroom. "This moment of diminished responsibility could of course only develop to such a point with the advances in medical science, that it is now, and rightly so, of central importance in the judgment of infanticide, and respectively has had a considerable influence in the development of article 217 in our legal code."⁷³ Due to the new psychological and criminological theories regarding the

⁷⁰ Ibid., 141.

⁷¹ For more on the cultural history of infanticide in Germany see: Jeffrey S. Richter's "Infanticide, Child Abandonment, and Abortion in Imperial Germany." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28.4 (1998): 511-551, Andrea Czelk, *"Privilegierung" und Vorurteil: Positionen Der Bürgerlichen Frauenbewegung Zum Unehelichenrecht und Zur Kindstötung im Kaiserreich* (Köln: Böhlau, 2005), and Kerstin Michalik, *Kindsmord. Sozial- und Rechtsgeschichte der Kindstötung im 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert am Beispiel Preußen* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1997).

⁷² In the Reichsstrafgesetzbuch §217 stated: "Eine Mutter, welche ihr uneheliches Kind in oder gleich nach der Geburt vorsätzlich tötet, wird mit Zuchthaus nicht unter drei Jahren bestraft. Sind mildernde Umstände vorhanden, so tritt Gefängnißstrafe nicht unter zwei Jahren ein." [A mother who kills her extramarital child during or directly after its birth shall be punished with no less than three years in jail. If mitigating circumstances are present, then the sentence shall be no less than two years.]

⁷³ Rüstow, "Über Kindesmord und Kindesmörderinnen," 144.

circumstances surrounding infanticide, legal proceedings for murdering mothers transformed significantly at the turn of the century. Much like the sweeping changes in criminal sciences, which focused increasingly on the criminal and his motives instead of the crime committed, infanticide debates centered on the murdering mother rather than the act of child murder.

The text, performance and reception of Hauptmann's *Rose Bernd* intersected with these social and legal discourses of infanticide by foregrounding the circumstances leading up to the criminal act, and the psychological and physiological transformation of a woman into a murdering mother.⁷⁴ Rose's relationship with Flamm, and Streckmann's subsequent abuse furthermore raised questions about sexual choice, guilt and responsibility, which were central to cultural debates about the criminal accountability of the murdering mother. He does not, however, provide any answers to these questions. Instead the drama develops entirely from ambiguities of choice and guilt. Many critics noted with discomfort that the drama maintains this moral opacity. Even a month after the premier Alfred Kerr was still uncertain about who was to blame for the crimes in the drama. In his second review of *Rose Bernd* from December 1st he is bemused: "what guilt is, no one knows; who is to blame, no one knows; who deserves atonement, no one knows; who is 'bad', no one knows."⁷⁵

Even Rose's confession in the drama does not resolve the matter. Her admission confirms her guilt, but the frantic madness of its delivery simultaneously makes it seem impossible to hold her accountable for her actions.

⁷⁴ Although Rose's crimes drive the plot of the drama, they all take place off stage, out of sight, and peripheral to the staged action. The viewer only hears about the criminal acts after the fact, and witnesses the effects of those acts.

⁷⁵ DWD, 115.

ROSE, *with burning eyes, viciously*. You strangled my child.

AUGUST. What is she saying? What are you saying for heaven's sake?

THE CONSTABLE. *Straightens himself up, looks at her inquisitively, but continues on as though he had heard nothing*. It's about the business with Streckmann.

ROSE, *as before, short, barking*. Streckmann? He strangled my child!

BERND. Girl, be quiet, you're being absurd.

THE CONSTABLE. You don't even have a child?

ROSE. What? – How else could I have strangled it with my hands? – I strangled my child with my hands!!

THE CONSTABLE. Are you possessed or something? What's wrong with you?

ROSE. I'm completely clear! I'm not possessed! I'm wide-awake now. *Cold, wild, horribly firm*. It shouldn't live. I didn't want it! It shouldn't have to suffer my agonies. It should have stayed where it belonged.⁷⁶

Rose finally admits to strangling her newborn baby, but she also returns an admonition to the blindness of those around her. When the constable, her father and August all act as if they don't know what she could mean she cries out: "You don't know! You don't see! You didn't look with open eyes. You can see it behind the big meadow... by an alder... out at the back of the parson's field... by the pond... there you can see the little thing."⁷⁷ Her confession calls her accountability into question, and also draws the viewer into a sympathetic position. Creating a mixture of feelings of repulsion at the act and also pity for the suffering woman before them; she is both perpetrator and victim (fig. 2.2).

⁷⁶ Gerhart Hauptmann, *Rose Bernd*, V; 258

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

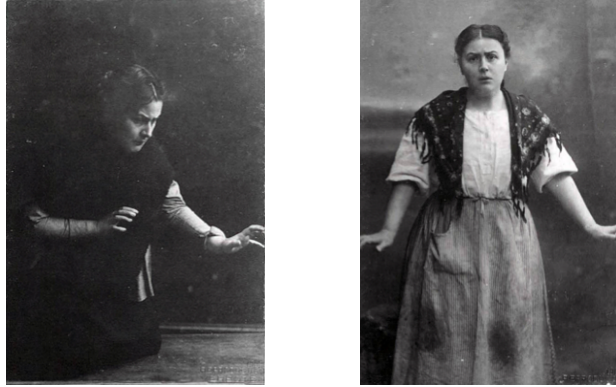


Figure 2.2. Else Lehmann in the role of Rose Bernd (1903)⁷⁸

The drama and its reception resonated with the simultaneity of guilt and victimhood characteristic of the cultural view of infanticide in Germany at the turn of the century. In his *Psychologie des Verbrechers* [Criminal Psychology], Wulffen contends that this ambiguity made it difficult to implement the criminal laws in place. He indicates that "child-murderesses are not infrequently wrongly acquitted by juries (even in cases of flat out confessions!), and the state's attorneys are thus greatly disinclined to try infanticide cases before a jury."⁷⁹ Wulffen notes that Wilhelmine jurors were overwhelmingly sympathetic to unwed mothers who, as they saw, were driven by desperation and temporary madness to murder their newborns.

New psychological and physiological explanations of infanticide also failed to completely dispel the affective dimension of horror and shock that accompanied the crime, however. While both Marcuse and Rüstow are unquestionably sympathetic to the murdering mother, affirming the legal exceptions made in infanticide cases, their texts discursively expose the repugnance that underwrote even the most sympathetic views. Rüstow refers to infanticide as "an evil" [*Übel*], and Marcuse describes it as, "that most

⁷⁸ DDT, 90.

⁷⁹ Erich Wulffen, *Psychologie des Verbrechers*, 404.

horrible crime" [*den scheußlichsten Verbrechen*], and cases of infanticide, "the most terrible tragedies" [*der furchtbarsten Tragödien*], belying the deep ambivalence that the act of infanticide maintained even among those who would declare it commonplace, and contend that the murdering mother was perhaps the most sympathetic of criminals. Infanticide maintained a complex status invoking feelings of abhorrence, fear and also pity.

Reviews from the production of *Rose Bernd* reveal that critics were anything but unanimous regarding the attribution of guilt in the drama. Writing for *Die Frau*, Alfred Wechsler (pennname W. Fred) is overwhelmingly sympathetic to Rose's plight and blames the men in the drama, and Streckmann in particular for the drama's tragic outcome.

Rose is caught in the net of a rapacious man who has discovered her affair, and threatens to expose her. And Rose wants to save herself, to spare her father, to shelter the child that is growing. [...] She goes to Streckmann to buy him off, and yet did not ransom herself. He smelled blood; is jealous, irascible, aggravated, not a sly dog, but rather one who despises women and himself, because he needs them.⁸⁰

Wechsler attributes Rose with genuine and virtuous motives, and sees her as the victim of more powerful and unscrupulous men. Other critics placed all blame squarely with Rose, however, even to the point of exonerating the men in the play by portraying her as a dangerous seductress. In his review for *Bühne und Welt*, Heinrich Stümcke contends that Rose "belongs to that race of creatures that excite an involuntary desire in the men around them, and are soon teasingly pinched in the cheeks or their full arms, and driven about by their blonde braids. And soon enough, they are earnestly wooed at twilight in secluded places, with torridly whispered words, and lusty gestures."⁸¹ For Stümcke, *Rose Bernd* is

⁸⁰ Ibid., 209.

⁸¹ "Rose Bernd, ein schönes, 22jähriges Bauernmädchen, das auf dem Gute des wohlhabenden schlesischen Erbscholteseibesitzers Flamm als Scharwerkerin mithilft, gehört zu jenen Rassegeschöpfen, die den

a coquette whose innocent facade covers over the fact that her very presence arouses an uncontrollable lust in men.

Hauptmann's dramatic text provides no clear answer as to Rose's accountability. The final lines in the play present an opposition for the viewer, constructing a choice rather than an answer; the constable—standing in for cultural sexual norms and the law—is unmoved by Rose's obvious mental and physical anguish, and August—the most compassionate and scrupulous man in the drama—expresses unequivocal sympathy for her, even though of all the characters she has deceived him the most:

THE CONSTABLE. It would be best if you come with me to the headquarters. She can give her confession there. If those aren't just fantasies, it'll be to her benefit.

AUGUST, *earnestly from deep within*. They're no fantasies, constable. The girl... what she must have suffered!⁸²

The curtain falls on August's impassioned cry, and the viewer is left to ponder Rose' fate. Hauptmann provides no authoritative conclusion, and never details the ultimate penal consequences for Rose's perjury and infanticide. Erich Wulffen notes: "If she is healed, if she is condemned, the author leaves us with no answers to these questions."⁸³ The author's careful ambiguity regarding guilt and culpability across the various misdeeds in the drama reveals the complexity he sees in the competing demands and ideologies at play in the relationships and social dynamics presented in the drama.

Defying any intention Hauptmann may have had to produce an ambiguity of guilt in *Rose Bernd*, Wulffen's expressed aim in his study of the drama was to determine the

Männern ihrer Umbeugung unwillkürlich Begierden erregen und bald im Scherz in die Backen oder die vollen Arme gekniffen und an den blonden Zöpfen kutschiert werden, bald im Ernst an abgelegener Stelle in der Dämmerung mit heißen Flüsterworten und brünstigen Geberden umworben werden." Heinrich Stümcke, rev. of *Rose Bernd*, dir. Emil Lessing *Bühne und Welt* 6.1 (1903-4): 164-5.

⁸² Gerhart Hauptmann, *Rose Bernd*, V;259.

⁸³ Erich Wulffen, "Gerhart Hauptmanns *Rose Bernd* vom kriminalistischen Standpunkte," *Juristisch-psychiatrische Grenzfragen. Zwanglose Abhandlungen* 4.3 (Eds. A. Finger, A. Hoche, and Joh. Bresler. Halle a.S.: Verlag von Carl Marhold, 1906), 23.

protagonist's criminal accountability. "Since juridical psychiatry began to successfully make its way into our courtrooms," Wulffen writes, "we experience almost daily how many are considered legally unaccountable [*Unzurechnungsfähige*], or with diminished accountability [*vermindert Zurechnungsfähige*] in every social class. And that a tragic heroine can explain herself out of guilt through her pathological condition is a gripping truth according to our modern psychology."⁸⁴ A juridical-medical advisor, Wulffen was integrally involved with the legal applications of the newest developments in criminology and psychology. Applying his modern medical-legal expertise to *Rose Bernd*, Wulffen determines that she is *unzurechnungsfähig*. Reading through the lens of the latest developments in juridical psychiatry Wulffen thus superimposes an authoritative script when the drama fails to assert determinant force. He claims expertise in the interpretation of *Rose Bernd*, writing that, "[w]hen the dramatist takes as the subject of his art a legal concept, or a conflict with the law, or even just a juridical process," he explains, "then the legal expert has as much right to speak as the art critic" Wulffen contends that Hauptmann's focus on the psychological deterioration of the title figure necessitates his juridical and scientific expertise, writing that the "heavily emphasized psychology of the main character develops... from a series of criminal acts, such that the aesthetic quality of the poetry is closely bound to the criminological meaning of the material."⁸⁵

⁸⁴ "Seit die gerichtliche Psychiatrie ihren siegreichen Einzug auch in unseren Gerichtssälen zu halten beginnt, erfahren wir fast täglich, wie in allen Volksschichten so viele vermindert Zurechnungsfähige und Unzurechnungsfähige sich finden. Und die Schuld einer tragischen Heldin mit aus ihrem krankhaften umstände heraus zu erklären, ist nach unserer modernen Psychologie eine ergreifende Wahrheit." Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 13.

UNDESIRABLE MOTHERS – EROTICISM AND THE GROTESQUE

Wulffen's 1906 essay on *Rose Bernd* was published in the journal, *Juristisch-psychiatrische Grenzfragen. Zwanglose Abhandlungen* [Peripheral Juridical-Psychiatric Questions. Informal Essays]. His main intention is to evaluate Hauptmann's portrayal of the hysterical character type and the juridical process at the center of the play. Although recent scholarship on hysteria largely focuses on the history of the diagnosis and its treatment within the neuro-psychological and psychoanalytic tradition originating in the turn of the century work by Jean-Martin Charcot, Sigmund Freud and Josef Breuer, at the fin de siècle a second influential approach to hysteria, developed by criminologists and criminal psychologists, circulated in scientific and popular discourse.⁸⁶ Wulffen sets out in his article on *Rose Bernd* to analyze the psychological, criminological and juridical aspects of the drama in order to determine how accurately Hauptmann was able to portray the circumstances and behaviors of real criminals and hysterics. Later, in his 1908, "handbook for lawyers, doctors, teachers and intellectuals of all positions," *Psychologie des Verbrechers* [Psychology of the Criminal], he develops an official catalogue of crimes common to female hysterics, including: slander, murder, infanticide, assault, poisoning, kidnapping, vandalism, arson, public indecency, perjury, and shoplifting.⁸⁷

In the figure of Rose Bernd Wulffen sees a "scientifically accurate" replication of his own definition of female hysteria, concluding that "the character of Rose is fully explained on the grounds of hysteria," and that "[t]he author portrayed the picture of the

⁸⁶ Departing from extant scholarship that has read *Rose Bernd* through the lens of psychoanalysis, this chapter thus considers instead the intersections of the drama and its performance with the construction of hysteria put forth by criminal and sexual scientists such as Cesare Lombroso, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, and Erich Wulffen.

⁸⁷ In: Erich Wulffen, *Psychologie des Verbrechers: Ein Handbuch für Juristen, Ärzte, Pädagogen und Gebildete aller Stände* (Gross-Lichterfelde-Ost: P. Langenscheidt, 1908), 172.

illness accurately."⁸⁸ (So much so, in fact, that he refers readers of his *Psychologie des Verbrechers* to his essay on *Rose Bernd* as an axiomatic illustration of hysteria.⁸⁹) In the essay he specifically highlights Rose's inconsistent memory, what he calls her "false" accusation of rape against Streckmann, and finally her perjury and infanticide as typical hysterical behavior. He identifies definitive evidence of Rose's hysterical character in the scenes preceding and following the trial.

After Rose discovers that she is pregnant, and she is sexually assaulted by Streckmann she begins to display what Wulffen identifies as the physical and psychological symptoms of hysteria. In the fourth act of the drama, Rose visits Frau Flamm, who is shocked by Rose's feeble and despondent appearance, "*dressed her best in her Sunday attire, with downtrodden facial expression, in her eyes a sickly gleam.*"⁹⁰ When Rose speaks it is "*shuddering, trembling, inexorable,*" and she "*rings her hands hysterically.*"⁹¹ In addition to what he sees as clear references to hysteria in Hauptmann's stage directions, Wulffen further indicates that Rose's behavior is typical of the disease. Above all, her two explicitly criminal acts—perjury and infanticide—solidify for Wulffen the diagnosis.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 22. For Wulffen's analysis of the trial and its inaccuracies, see pp. 16-20. Wulffen argues that although she does not initially appear to be suffering from hysteria, over the course of the drama she develops the axiomatic characteristics of an hysteric: "We don't find out about any hereditary ailments or illnesses," and her initial vitality and physical strength, "don't cause us to suspect that we are dealing with an hysteric." But the development of her character in the final two acts is consistent with the hysterical character. Hysteria sometimes develops imperceptibly, and appears suddenly." Ibid., 21.

⁸⁹ After an extensive list of typical criminal behaviors of hysterical women (including: slander, murder, infanticide, assault, poisoning, kidnapping, vandalism, arson, public indecency, perjury, and shoplifting) he adds the footnote: "See also my studies from dramatic literature: Ibsen's *Nora* (forgery of documents and fraud) and Gerh. Hauptmann's *Rose Bernd*: perjury and infanticide" Erich Wulffen, *Psychologie des Verbrechers*, 172.

⁹⁰ Ibid., IV; 241.

⁹¹ Ibid., IV; 242-243.

Wulffen does not contend that Hauptmann intentionally constructed this accurate portrayal of hysteria. Rather, he attributes the depiction to a colloquial [*volkstümlich*] familiarity with hysteria: "[a]s we have already characterized it as colloquial that Hauptmann leads his heroine into the territory of the criminal, so too can we find his explanation of her criminality through the illness of hysteria to be colloquially understood."⁹² His emphasis that Hauptmann's portrait of hysteria as *volkstümlich* points to the colloquial status of the disease in German culture at the turn of the century. Wulffen's essay evinces the *volkstümliche* scripts of hysteria—produced through the popular circulation of legal and scientific work like his, and psychological work by Charcot, Freud and Breuer—that acted simultaneously on the production and reception of Hauptmann's *Rose Bernd* at the turn of the century.

The scientific and cultural scripts of hysteria participant in the stage production of *Rose Bernd* created further points of production for dimensions of the grotesque. Russo has discussed the significant overlap between hysteria and performance, looking specifically at Charcot's famous public lectures that included female patients in a highly performative way. Russo also notes an additional multiplication of grotesque performance in, "[t]he famous photographs commissioned by Charcot, which chart the various stages in the patients of Salpêtrière, fix in attitude and gesture, in grimaces and leaps, a model of performance not unlike the fashionable histrionics of the great Romantic actresses and circus artists of the late nineteenth century."⁹³ Through these photographs, Russo contends, the multiplication of hysterical performance produces an

⁹² "Wie wir es schon als volkstümlich bezeichneten, dass Hauptmann seine Heldin auf kriminelles Gebiet führt, so ist auch die Erklärung der Kriminalität durch die hysterische Krankheit wahr und volkstümlich empfunden." Erich Wulffen, "Gerhart Hauptmanns *Rose Bernd* vom kriminalistischen Standpunkte," 23.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 68.

exaggerated experience of the uncanny grotesque. "The photographs of Salpetriere especially strike us as uncanny because of the repetitiveness of the hysterical performance," she writes. "It is not only the content of the hysterical behavior that strikes us as grotesque, but its representation: if hysteria is a display, these photographs display the display."⁹⁴ The stage performance of *Rose Bernd* engaged the viewer in multiple affective layers of the grotesque through the intersection of the drama, the scientific and cultural scripts surrounding hysteria and female sexuality, and most tangibly in Lehmann's performance in the lead. Almost every review of the production conveys a notably visceral experience of Lehmann's presence on the stage.

The influential theater critic, Siegfried Jacobsohn, was generally unimpressed by Hauptmann's infanticide drama. For him it lacked the necessary elements to be a true tragedy, and fell short largely due to Hauptmann's strict adherence to naturalist formal conventions. While the naturalist aesthetic and its production created an exaggerated physical and sensory experience of the theater, Jacobsohn felt that it failed to affect the viewer on a deeper level. After the *Rose Bernd* premier in 1903, he wrote that, "[t]he immediate proximity of life, the realism of the language presses it harder on our bodies. Only it does not bore into our souls."⁹⁵ Although Jacobsohn was disappointed with the drama and its production as a whole, he evaluated Else Lehmann's performance in the lead role separately. In the same review he calls her the "hero of the evening." Elaborating, he writes:

She created the true and resolute image of the poor woman, gasping under the horrible *Nachtalb* of suspicion. She created it bravely and from her entire being, trembling from powerful inner feeling, in a breathless tumultuousness, a quaking

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ "Die unmittelbare Nähe des Lebens, die Naturwahrheit der Sprache rückt ihn uns härter auf den Leib. Allein in unsere Seele dringt er nicht." GSI, 194.

commotion of every fiber... she transmitted gray shades of eerie jesting tones, of terrifying eloquence through the ear and unforgettably into the soul.⁹⁶

His description of Lehmann's performance expresses an intensely visceral encounter with the actress. Employing verbs like "gasping," "trembling," and "quaking," he reports a physical reaction more than a cognitive description. The language of the review recreates an overwhelming feeling of suffocation, evincing Jacobsohn's affective engagement with Lehmann's performance. Describing that experience he inverts his earlier proclamation about the play writ large, declaring that her delivery did indeed pierce unforgettably through to the soul. In his review Wechsler concludes that, "[a]bove all else Rose Bernd demands our sympathy without imputation, and she indeed obtains it through the shock [*Erschütterung*] that the final act produces."⁹⁷ The German, *Erschütterung*, implies shock, and also indicates the physical sensation of a tremor, quaking, or shaking, amplifying the visceral and affective dimensions of the production.

Wechsler attributes the *Erschütterung* he experienced in the theater directly to Lehmann's performance. "I do not think of Lehmann in the role of Rose Bernd as an actress; one felt joy and suffered with this nature, such that the experience of its existence was an *Erschütterung*."⁹⁸ Returning to his thoughts on *Rose Bernd* nine years after its premier, Siegfried Jacobsohn was still haunted by Lehmann's performance.⁹⁹ In a

⁹⁶ "Sie schuf das treue und feste Bild des armen Weibes, das unter dem Nachtalb eines gräßlichen Argwohns keucht, schuf es herzlich und aus ganzem Gemüte, durchzittert von innerer starker Empfindung, in einer atemlosen Erregtheit, einem bebenden Aufruhr aller Fasern. Im schweigenden Spiel verwandte sie graue Farben von schauriger Scherzenstöne von entsetzlicher Beredsamkeit durchs Ohr unvergeßlich in die Seele." GSI, 194.

⁹⁷ "Rose Bernd verlangt vor allem unser vorwurfsloses Mitleid, das erhält sie auch durch die Erschütterung, die der letzten Akt bewirkt." W. Fred (Alfred Wechsler), "In neuer Spiegelung." *Die Frau* 11. 4 (1904): 206-8.

⁹⁸ "[D]ie Lehmann als Rose Bernd nehme ich nicht als Schauspielerin; da freute man sich und litt mit einer Natur, deren Existenz zu spüren eine Erschütterung bedeutet." *Ibid.*, 10.

⁹⁹ Jacobsohn returns to the premier of *Rose Bernd*, because, as he writes, "[o]ne is curious how one will view the play, 'Rose Bernd,' after nine years." GSII, 239.

retrospective essay published in *Die Schaubühne* (1912), his critique, it turns out, is little changed by the years. He still finds the drama to be problematic at best, straddling a line between powerful efficacy and trite conventionality. Still, in his evaluation of title figure, he finds that Lehmann's performance maintains the same powerful, resonating effect.

Describing Rose Bernd he writes:

Then this woman is soiled, this temperament poisoned, this life destroyed, and one has to see how—with such an art of transformation that it erases any trace of artfulness—Lehmann takes the hysterical agitation of the poor creature, her desperate flight into dissimulation, her gasping wretchedness, the commotion of every fiber, and escalates it to the point of collapse.¹⁰⁰

Jacobsohn again foregrounds Lehmann's performance as *experience*, foregrounding the ways in which she coopts the viewer into a particularly intense and distressing encounter with Rose's plight. He focuses here on Rose's transformation from a robust, alluring and innocent farm girl—whom he initially attributes with "beauty" and "naiveté"—to a hysterical, wretched woman. This transformation is driven by the plot of the drama, but for Jacobsohn, Lehmann's performance created an immediate experience, and affective and corporeal encounter with Rose's unsettling metamorphosis.

The ambivalent affective response characteristic of reactions to infanticide thus resonated throughout *Rose Bernd*, and became particularly salient in Else Lehmann's performance. The grotesque affective dimension of Rose's transformation, described by Jacobsohn above, becomes salient on multiple levels of its production. At the most foundational level, the naturalist aesthetic maintained a subtly operative experience of the uncanny grotesque, as previously outlined. The specific elements of *Rose Bernd* engaged a further dimension of the grotesque by inverting cultural norms of female sexuality and

¹⁰⁰ GSI, 240-41.

male desire. Socio-cultural scripts of female sexuality become grotesque through the construction and then estrangement of eroticism and *Mütterlichkeit* in the two main female characters, Rose and Henriette Flamm. Over the course of the drama Rose and Frau Flamm transform from appealing ideal (of health and sexual desirability, and *Mütterlichkeit* respectively) to an inversion or corruption thereof. Whereas Rose's reversal is externally manifest as hysteria, Frau Flamm's perversion of *Mütterlichkeit* is inherent to her character. The drama frames these reversals through Christoph Flamm, who is romantically and sexually connected to both women.

Rose and Henriette Flamm are diametrically opposed through dialogue and actions, and also in Hauptmann's extensive stage directions. In the first act Rose is "*a beautiful and hearty farm girl of twenty-two years,*" and she emerges from the bushes "*excited with reddened cheeks.*" Her flushed face, and her youth and vitality mark Rose as sexually desirable. She is, moreover, conspicuously engaged in elicit behavior; her clothing reveals skin—"*[s]he is barefoot; she wears a skirt and apron, her arms and neck are bare*"—and her disheveled appearance and hair—"*she busies herself with rebraiding one of her blond tresses, which has come undone*"—reveal her sexual exploits even before her lover joins her from behind the hedge, confirming the cause of her disarray and the blush in her cheeks.¹⁰¹ Rose is Flamm's lover, and in the opening scene Christoph Flamm tries to comprehend the contrast between her and his wife. "*[L]ustily adoring,*" he tells Rose:

My girl, you are a beautiful woman! – Oh my girl, you are as pretty as a picture! – Look here: Mother... it's such a strange story with mother and me. It's not so easy to explain. Henriette, as you know, is sick. She's been lying in bed for the last

¹⁰¹ Gerhart Hauptmann, *Rose Bernd*, I; 187.

nine years, or sometimes creeps out in the wheelchair. – But, blast it all, what good is that to me?! *He grabs her by the face and kisses her passionately.*¹⁰²

Flamm is attracted to Rose's youth, beauty and vitality, qualities long since lost to his wife. Rose is seemingly irresistible to him, and until the second half of the drama he will continue to pursue her aggressively, despite her repeated insistence that she must end their affair.

In stark opposition to Rose, the drama introduces Frau Flamm in the second act as "*a matronly looking, attractive woman of forty years.*" Motherly and middle-aged, she is not unappealing but certainly not sexually desirable: "*Frau Flamm's face has large, and imposing proportions. Her eyes are light blue and piercing, the brow is high, the temples broad.*" Whereas Rose is flushed and excited, Frau Flamm is austere and intimidating. Rose's loosed blonde braids contrast conspicuously to Frau Flamm's hair which is "*already grey and thin,*" and which she "*wears... in a precise part. She occasionally presses it back lightly with the fingertips of her flat hand.*"¹⁰³ Finally, while Rose is robust and active, Frau Flamm is bound to a wheelchair and unable to leave the house. Henriette's infirmity makes her sexually unappealing and inaccessible to her husband, and her condition justifies his affair with Rose—for Flamm within the structure of the drama, and also for many viewers in the theater.

Wulffen explains in his essay on *Rose Bernd*, that "[t]he external circumstances excuse this relationship. Flamm is married to a benevolent woman, who is a number of years older than him. She has been paralyzed for some time and uses a wheelchair. Her many years of suffering have made her weak-minded."¹⁰⁴ In his review of the premier,

¹⁰² Ibid., I; 189.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Erich Wulffen, "Gerhart Hauptmanns *Rose Bernd* vom kriminalistischen Standpunkte," 14.

Stümcke (*Bühne und Welt*) also condones Flamm's inability to resist the allure of Rose's youth and beauty: "the spring-fresh health, the blooming life and love, that the lamed wife at home in the wheelchair has long since no longer been able to offer, has completely snuck up on him, that is to say blossomed before his eyes, and it beckons and entices like a sweet, ripe fruit, that is ready to fall from the branch and to satiate his thirst."¹⁰⁵ Stümcke presents Flamm as a victim of his circumstances and his own natural desires. Flamm's wife and his lover seem to fulfill normative scripts of male and female sexuality. Christoph Flamm fulfills his natural desire to have a domestic and erotic female partner, while still maintaining the separation between maternal and erotic female sexuality. In Henriette the feminine ideals of passivity and domesticity become grotesque, however, through their literal manifestation in her confinement to the wheelchair and the home. Furthermore, Frau Flamm's seemingly ideal *Mütterlichkeit* reveals itself to be grotesquely corrupted by the attachment of her maternal affection to a deceased child.

Initially Henriette appears to be the epitome of maternal devotion to home and family, and the complete sacrifice of self to motherhood. She also sees it as her duty to pass these ideals on to Rose. When she learns of Rose's pregnancy, she adamantly encourages her to embrace her maternal nature. When Rose leaves after a long conversation about motherhood, Henriette clutches one of her dead son's shirts and mournfully expounds on the fulfillment of woman's nature through motherhood: "*alone, she looks back as Rose leaves, sighs, picks up the little shirt from her lap, stretches it out in front of her, and says.* So, lass, what you have is a blessing! For a woman there is

¹⁰⁵ Stümcke, Heinrich. *Bühne und Welt*. 6.1 (1903-4): 165.

nothing greater! Hold onto it tightly."¹⁰⁶ Frau Flamm disregards the obvious danger that an illegitimate child would pose to Rose's happiness and well-being, and unquestioningly frames the pregnancy as a blessing. The irony for the viewer is further exaggerated by the knowledge that the child is Flamm's.

Another woman prepares to have her husband's baby, and Frau Flamm will remain childless. Consumed by her grief she does not think of having another baby until she is physically unable to do so. "[I]t's easier said than done, bringing a child into the house!" She tells Christoph. "At first of course it felt like a betrayal! It felt like a betrayal to Kurt, to even think of it. And to me... how should I say it, Flamm! It felt as though we'd be casting him out of the house, out of his little room, and his little bed, and finally out of our hearts."¹⁰⁷ Afraid of betraying her son and her role as his mother, Frau Flamm is left only with the memory of her lost son, which she tends with the maternal devotion she would give to a living child. Frau Flamm's *Mütterlichkeit* is inversely, and thereby grotesquely attached to death and not to life. In the second act, she tells Rose, "[c]hildren and graves are woman's concern. [...] I have learned one thing: namely, how a mother is blessed with anguish on this earth. [...] You see, lass, that is what I learned. I learned it, and the world has forgotten it."¹⁰⁸ From the outset the lesson she has for Rose is one of maternal devotion and self-sacrifice. Yet even her lesson on *Mütterlichkeit* entails a grotesque inversion through the grammatical equation of children and graves. Completely devoted to child, husband and home, Frau Flamm is betrayed by each. Her child is dead and her home is a veritable prison. Worse still, her husband will father another woman's

¹⁰⁶ Gerhart Hauptmann, *Rose Bernd*, II; 213.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, IV; 234.

¹⁰⁸ "Kinder und Gräber sein Weibersachen. [...] Ich hab' ane eenzige Sache gelernt: neemlich was ane Mutter is hier uff der Erde und wie die mit Schmerzen geseget ist. [...] Siehste, Mädle, das hab' ich gelernt. Ich hab's gelernt, und die Welt hat's vergessen." *Ibid.*, II; 212.

baby, and that baby too will die at the hands of the mother that Henriette fails to create in Rose. Despite her best efforts to temper Rose's "hot bloodedness" and to cultivate her *Mütterlichkeit*, she cannot prevent Rose's infanticide. The dramatic figure of Frau Flamm as grotesque undercuts the cultural ideal of *Mütterlichkeit* by rendering it utterly ineffectual and undesirable.

At the other end of the spectrum, *Rose Bernd* also deconstructs cultural norms of erotic desire. Rose, who initially appears to be the epitome of health, vitality, and sexual allure, transforms by the end of the drama into a frightening and repulsive creature. Through this inversion, Hauptmann attacks the bind created for women by the cultural sexual double standard that allows for men to have sexual choice, while denying female sexual subjectivity. When Streckmann discovers Rose's affair with Flamm yet she still denies him, calling him presumptuous for his advances, he declares: "*brutally, angry*. How dare you! I'm not taking liberties with anything! But I'd love to take something for myself: where Flamm's good enough, I'm good enough too."¹⁰⁹ Streckmann views Rose's sexual choice as sexual promiscuity and, accordingly, sexual availability.

Further still, Rose's sexual availability causes the men in the drama to lust after her, but her sexual activity in turn makes them reject her. When Flamm discovers that Streckmann has also had some kind of sexual relationship with Rose, his tender affection turns to utter disdain. Stümcke bluntly declares, "[o]f course Mr. Flamm's world is shattered by Streckmann's confession; he now only sees Rose Bernd as a castoff, a whore who has given herself to anyone who came across her path."¹¹⁰ Rose's physical

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., I; 196.

¹¹⁰ Heinrich Stümcke, rev. of *Rose Bernd*, 166. Even though Flamm is himself married, and presumably has had multiple sexual partners, his opinion of Rose is completely reversed by the knowledge that she has been touched by another man. "FLAMM. Shame on you for every word of it! Why did you lie to the judge? /

transformation makes visible the moral stigma against her, and constructs a grotesque at the extreme of this social double standard. Her outward appearance reflects her inner decline as the once beautiful, healthy farm girl, transforms into a shattered and haggard shadow of her former self (fig. 2.3). The other characters in the drama begin to perceive her as pathetic and even animalistic. Shortly after murdering her newborn and concealing the body, Rose is discovered on the road by her neighbor Kleinert. As he escorts her home he tells her: "You were laying there half dead in the meadow! You were writhing like a worm."¹¹¹ Through the simile of the worm Kleinert constructs a grotesque human-insect hybrid image of Rose. Rose herself develops further zoomorphic analogies, crying: "I ran like a mother cat, with her kitten in its mouth! And then one of the dogs snatched it away."¹¹²



Figure 2.3. Else Lehmann in the role of Rose Bernd (1903)¹¹³

ROSE. I was ashamed!!! I was ashamed!!! / FLAMM. And me? And mother? And August for that matter? Why did you get us all tangled up in it? And probably Streckmann too in the end, and whoever else you've had your dealings with... sure you have a sincere face, but you were rightly ashamed!" Gerhart Hauptmann, *Rose Bernd*, IV; 244.

¹¹¹ "Du lagst ja halb tot dahier hinger a Weida! Du hust dich wie a Wurm gekrimmt." Gerhart Hauptmann, *Rose Bernd*, V; 247.

¹¹² "[D]a is ma gerannt wie ane Katzenmutter, 's Kitschla eim Maule! Nu han's een de Hunde abgejoat." *Ibid.*, V; 257.

¹¹³ DDT, 91.

In the final act, Rose is completely transformed. Weak and sick, hysterical and rambling incoherently, she is terrifying to those around her. Her sister, Marthel, recoils from her in fear, crying: "Oh no, Rose, I'm afraid – just look at you!"¹¹⁴ Marthel frightened by Rose's appearance, and by her wild raving, and ranting. "Well what do I look like, huh, tell me?" Rose demands. "How do I look? Do I really have something on my hands? Is there something branded over my eyes? Everything seems so ghastly to me. *Laughing uncannily*. No, Jesus! Now I can't see your face! Now I see a hand! Now I see two eyes! Now spots! Marthel, I think I'm going blind!"¹¹⁵ And Rose's behavior becomes increasingly unsettling. When her father and August return to the house, followed shortly by a constable who has come to arrest Rose for perjury, she "*laughs aloud with ghastly hysterical irony*"; she glares at her father and August Keil "*with burning eyes*," and she "*barks*" her words.¹¹⁶ Her father is confused and horrified. He contributes a further grotesque layer of disease and contagion to Rose, yelling at her to stay away from his younger daughter, Marthel, lest she be corrupted by Rose's madness: "Don't go poisoning the child as well! – Hands off! – Go to your room, to bed! *Marthel exits crying*."¹¹⁷

In a grotesque reversal, the desirable becomes repulsive, and the maternal murderous. The feeling of estrangement issues from the realization that these disconcerting figures of wife, mother and lover are merely the literal manifestation of cultural norms taken to an extreme. The cultural ideal produces a frigid wife/mother and an outcast erotic lover; within this paradigm, neither wife nor lover is desirable—as a sexual or as a domestic partner. By in fact fulfilling to the letter the scientific and social

¹¹⁴ Gerhart Hauptmann, *Rose Bernd*, V; 248.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ "...lacht heraus mit grausig hysterischer Ironie... mit brennenden Augen... bellt...." Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

scripts of female sexuality, the drama reveals the inherent untenability of absolute determinacy and the erasure of female sexual subjectivity.

AMBIVALENT AFFECT, GROTESQUE PERFORMANCE

The 1903 premier of *Rose Bernd* produced polarized reactions among viewers and critics. Reviews describe the atmosphere in the theater on the night of the premier as raucous. Viewers vociferously expressed their disapproval or support for the play throughout the production. Subsequent debates between theater critics also reveal that theatergoers were anything but unanimous regarding the drama's merits and its overriding message. Some critics wrote that the performance was met with resounding approval, despite the apparent conflicts among the audience. Writing for the *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, Isidor Landau gave the following description: "As on the tempestuous day of 'Before Sunrise,' yesterday it came now and again to fierce confrontations between the parties. [...] But in the end the poet and his work triumphed, the applause, accompanied by the acclaim of a hundred voices, triumphed on all fronts."¹¹⁸ While unable to deny that the performance had indeed been received with thunderous applause, other critics were less ready to accept this as a sign of the drama's success on the stage. In his review for the *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung*, Josef Grünstein admits that, "[f]rom the second act on the supporters of the house called the director and the author repeatedly onto the stage." He rejects this as a sign of true success however, continuing, "[w]hoever has truly experienced resounding success – there are still a few who have, - can hear in the

¹¹⁸ BTJ, 546.

applause the timbre of the audience's captivation. Well, yesterday the whole house was not moved and grateful, but rather only a part of the audience."¹¹⁹

From the most dismissive to the most impressed, however, the critics were unified in their recognition of Else Lehmann's impact in the lead as Rose. In his first review of the premier, Alfred Kerr writes: "her scream—'I was ashamed'—cannot be forgotten for the duration of even a very long life."¹²⁰ Many other reviews echoed this sentiment, and commonly asserted that Lehmann left the most lasting impression from the production. Though critics almost unanimously agreed that the drama itself was a failed tragedy (even Hauptmann's supporters felt that he had been unable to truly produce the tragic in *Rose Bernd*), they felt that Lehmann's performance came the closest to fulfilling the tragic potential of the material. Landau declares that Hauptmann's "Rose Bernd is a modern Gretchen from the village." Where Hauptmann was unable to live up to the tragic potential of the infanticide narrative—as modeled by Goethe, for example—Lehmann engaged her viewers in a full range of affective experience, a produced modern iteration of the tragic murdering mother. Landau professes that, "[i]n Else Lehmann's portrayal the sensuous, laughing, vigorous country strumpet [*Bauerndirne*], who sees no sin in pleasure, was just as real as the terror and the fear in the danger of discovery."¹²¹ Landau's review registers the complex and at times contradictory affective range that Lehmann produced through her performance.

Through the affective dimensions of her performance, Lehmann reiterated and reinstated the ambivalence of pity and fear that is central to infanticide as tragedy. At this

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 548.

¹²⁰ "[I]hr Schrei 'Ich hab' mich geschämt' für die Dauer eines längeren Lebens nicht vergessen werden kann." Ibid., 554.

¹²¹ Ibid., 547.

level she also contested cultural scripts like Wulffen's scientific evaluation of the drama, which sought to resolve the questions of guilt, culpability and choice central to the drama's social critique. Instead her performance on stage magnified the experience of Hauptmann's contradictions and reversals, revealing that Wulffen's very impetus to script absolute categories creates the potential for the grotesque transformation of *Mütterlichkeit* and female eroticism enacted on stage.

In the same year that *Rose Bernd* premiered at the *Lessingtheater*, which was by 1903 one of few theaters in Berlin still committed to naturalism, the *Deutsches Theater* also staged some of the most radically modernist theater productions, featuring some of the most memorable of modern drama's deadly women including *Salome*, *Elektra*, and *Lulu*. Although by contrast *Rose Bernd* seems perhaps to be their lesser country cousin, on the stage Lehmann contested the scripts of normative female sexuality from within the bounds of naturalism. In doing so, Lehmann modeled the ways in which sometimes powerful interventions in performance can be made from within and against the most rigidly determinative scripts. Through the drama she undermined cultural and scientific scripts that sought to determine female sexuality and to erase female sexual subjectivity; from within the drama she also unsettled the scripting force of naturalism by revealing that its operations inherently produced a decidedly anti-naturalist grotesque.

CHAPTER 3
FEMINIST FEMMES FATALES:
PERFORMING JUDITH AND SALOME

[T]he female born criminal surpasses her male counterpart in the refined, diabolical cruelty with which she commits her crimes. Merely killing her enemy does not satisfy her; she needs to watch him suffer and experience the full taste of death.

Cesare Lombroso, *Criminal Woman* (1893)¹

THE VOICE OF SALOMÉ. Ah! I have kissed thy mouth, Jokanaan, I have kissed thy mouth. There was a bitter taste on my lips. Was it the taste of blood? ... Nay: but perchance it was the taste of love... They say that love hath a bitter taste... But what matter? what matter? I have kissed thy mouth.

Oscar Wilde, *Salomé* (1891)²

When the famous Berlin actress, Gertrud Eysoldt, took the stage as Salome in 1903 she both enthralled and frightened her audience in her performance of the iconic *femme fatale*. Eysoldt elevated the eroticism and violence in the figure. Exuding sexual allure and a demonic thirst for blood, she engaged her viewers viscerally through her intense and unprecedented physicality on the stage. Lovis Corinth's 1903 painting, *Gertrud Eysoldt in Oscar Wildes Salome* [sic] (fig. 3.1), captures a visual depiction of Eysoldt's powerful effect in performance. In the painting, a shrouded Eysoldt lours from behind half closed eyes as she fondles John the Baptist's dismembered head. Cradled in her lap in a dish, his severed neck is exposed and bloody. She looks not at the head, but glares

¹ Lombroso, Cesare. *Criminal Man*. Trans. Mary Gibson and Nicole Hahn Rafter. Durham: Duke UP, 2006.

² Wilde, Oscar. *Salome*. Trans. Lord Alfred Douglas. London: Faber and Faber, 1989.

directly out, eyes locked on an unknown observer, red-lipped mouth slightly open, expressing a mixture of eroticism and animal voracity. The painting is composed in muted colors, featuring dull browns, grayish greens, and pale pinks. The lower half of the frame fades into darkness. Corinth's brushstrokes are blurred, and the portrait conveys a sense of uncertainty and boundlessness, contributing its overwhelmingly unsettling atmosphere.

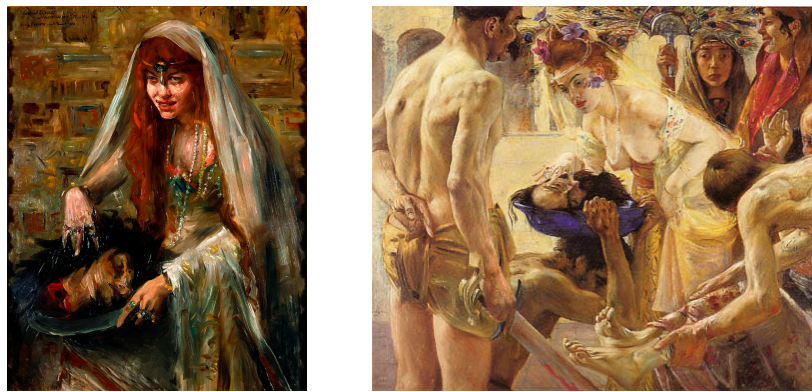


Figure 3.1. Lovis Corinth, *Gertrud Eysoldt als Salome* (1903) and *Salome* (1900)³

In sharp distinction to his 1903 painting of Eysoldt as Salome, Corinth's first *Salome* painting from 1900 is pleasant and alluring. It invites leisurely contemplation as the eye wanders through the various reactions expressed by the individuals who surround Salome in the scene. In the left forefront, the executioner stands with bloodied sword in hand, smiling with satisfaction at the deed accomplished. Salome is flanked by two handmaidens. One holds a peacock-feather fan to shade the princess, and stares languidly back at the viewer. The second woman gazes at Salome fondly, smiling, it seems, at the young girl's fascination with the severed head. The bare-breasted Salome of this earlier

³ Lovis Corinth, *Gertrud Eysoldt als Salome*. 1903. (Klassik Stiftung, Weimar. <http://www.klassik-stiftung.de/>. Web. 15. Sept. 2012), *Salome*. 1900. (Museum zur Bildendenkunst, Leipzig, in *Lovis Corinth*. By Horst Uhr. Berkeley: U of California P, 1990), 179.

painting is youthful, and fair. She looks down to examine the head of John the Baptist with a naïve curiosity, holding his left eye open with her thumb and forefinger and peering into his lifeless face. In the lower right hand corner, the last image to draw the viewer's gaze, two manservants hurriedly drag the decapitated corpse from the scene, clearing the way for Salome's dreamy adoration of the head, the only part of John the Baptist she desired.

Corinth's 1900 painting closely resembles common trends in images of Salome that proliferated at the fin de siècle, which commonly featured warm colors and depicted a young, half-naked Salome within a larger scene, either admiring or dancing before the decapitated head.⁴ The closer framing of Corinth's second portrait from 1903, and his Eysoldt/Salome's demonic glare are thus striking by contrast. The actress fills the entire frame, and the disconcerting effect of her performance radiates beyond the image's borders. It is not an image of Salome, but rather a depiction of Gertrud Eysoldt's Salome. The actress's intervention becomes evident in the space between Corinth's two paintings.

In painting and writing, male artists and their viewers asserted scripting authority over the erotic and violent fantasy of the femme fatale, determining the limits of the deadly woman's power and reasserting the necessity for socially institutionalized patriarchal authority. The same socio-cultural landscape that produced this engagement with femmes fatales in aesthetic media also resonated through popular scientific works. Criminologists and sexologists, in particular, contributed aggressively to the active cultural concern with the *Frauenfrage*, and the related effort to establish norms of femininity and female sexuality. Through the criminological writing of Cesare Lombroso,

⁴ Paintings by Corinth's contemporaries such as, Pierre Bonnaud, Henri Regnault, Leon Herbo, Franz von Stuck, and Gaston Bussiere, all depict a young, bare-breasted Salome, either cradling the severed head, or dancing before it.

this chapter examines how scientific discourse also engaged with the femme fatale fantasy in ways that cultivated a specific corporeality. The chapter argues that Lombroso co-opted the cultural authority of myth by incorporating elements of the femme fatale into his criminal anthropology of the female body. In doing so, he advanced his underlying objective to script masculine authority over female sexuality. Reading Lombroso's scientific analysis of the deadly seductress alongside stage performances of Judith and Salome by Gertrud Eysoldt and Tilla Durieux, this chapter elucidates the ways in which the dimension of corporeality destabilized the determinacy of male fantasy, and opened possibilities for women to pose feminist challenges from within and against the fantasy of the femme fatale.

Les Femmes Fatales – Myth and Authority

Corinth's artwork points to an oversight in much scholarship on turn-of-the-century femmes fatales, which has almost exclusively considered male productions of the figures in painting and literature. The performance history of the femme fatale, moreover, has been notably limited to film. Little research has been conducted on fin-de-siècle stage performances of femmes fatales, with the majority of scholarship focusing instead on literary representations in dramas from the period. While these studies have contributed greatly to understanding the cultural-historical origins and significance of the femme fatale, the ways in which women participated in this production history have been largely overlooked.⁵ Scholars have consistently assigned women a primarily passive role in the

⁵ Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly's 2010 essay, "The Figure of Judith in Works by German Women Writers between 1895 and 1921", published in 2010 *Women and Death 3* (101-115), and her book *Beauty or Beast?*, also published in 2010, are important exceptions. Watanabe-O'Kelly investigates dramatic texts featuring Judith written by women. In his *Idols of Perversity* (1986), furthermore, Bram Dijkstra suggests

femme fatale paradigm—as the object of study, or as a part of a reception audience. Though Corinth's work also represents male fantasy, the Gertrud Eysoldt painting points to the central presence of women, not only as aesthetic objects, but also as active participants in the production and reception of the femme fatale.

The deadly seductress was not a nineteenth-century invention. Erotic and dangerous femininity has occupied the Western aesthetic imagination from classical traditions (Medusa, Pandora), historiography (Cleopatra, Messalina), and Judeo-Christian narratives (Eve, Judith, Salome, Delilah) to modern artistic productions. The term "femme fatale," however, refers to a specific engagement with female sexual danger that began in the nineteenth century and has continued to the present. Contemporary scholars generally agree on a number of key factors which contributed to the immense popularity of the figure at the turn of the century, concluding that the fantasy of the femme fatale provided a means to process male anxieties surrounding rapid and profound social and political upheaval in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Virginia Allen (1983), Bram Dijkstra (1986) and, more recently, Elizabeth K. Menon (2006) have identified women's increased social independence and political liberation, threats to socio-economic stability, the perceived loss of patriarchal authority, and changes in socially acceptable sexual practices as constitutive factors. The increased visibility of prostitution in major cities throughout Western Europe, furthermore, made deviant female sexuality a common urban encounter, and tangibly affiliated fears of disease and death with sexual desire.⁶

that women posing for Judith paintings and participating in Judith-themed *tableaux vivants* in the nineteenth century undermined male authority over the fantasy of the femme fatale through subversive facial expressions and posture. Certainly more work could be done in this vein.

⁶ Mario Praz' 1956 *Romantic Agony* presents one of the earliest, and, to this day, most extensive catalogues of femme fatales in literature and painting beginning in the Romantic period. Praz identifies some of the most prominent femme fatale paintings from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and parses out the key

In a changing cultural landscape that seemed to threaten the authority and autonomy of the masculine subject, the femme fatale created a projection through which to engage fantasies of seduction and danger, in which men ultimately maintained control over the construction and expression of female sexuality and power. Accordingly, Dijkstra and Menon have further drawn convincing parallels between the femme fatale fantasy and manifestations of male masochism in turn-of-the-century art and literature.⁷ By projecting himself as the victim of the deadly seductress, and yet controlling the fantasy of his own seduction and abuse, the male imagination reinstates masculine authority over female sexual subjectivity. Central to the assertion of masculine authority was the femme fatale's violence and destructive potential, which called for her suppression. At the center of the fantasy, the femme fatale must necessitate her own

elements in the construction of the femme fatale. He highlights beauty, danger, and exoticism as essential features of the trope. Later works such as Virginia Allen's *The Femme Fatale* (1983), Bram Dijkstra's *Idols of Perversity* (1986), and most recently Elizabeth K. Menon's *Evil by Design* (2010), interrogate the origins and cultural impact of femmes fatales in the visual arts. Menon's extensive study convincingly argues that the cultural preoccupation with dangerous women harkens back to the biblical construction of woman bringing about the fall of man through Eve's first transgression, and that the figure of the femme fatale first emerged and developed in nineteenth century French popular culture—journals, posters, caricature, advertising, literature, etc—and was later incorporated into the high art traditions of Salon painting.

Menon, Allen and Dijkstra identify the rapid growth of women's movements in Western Europe, substantial changes in gender relations, and widespread social, economic and political upheaval in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as the primary impetuses behind the glut of femme fatale images at the turn of the century. Myths of evil women which had maintained cultural relevance through classical traditions and Christian narratives—Eve, Pandora, Medusa, Medea, Cleopatra—gained renewed relevance and cultural traction in male artistic productions as a means to engage male anxieties over women's increased social independence and political liberation, the perceived loss of patriarchal authority, and changes in socially acceptable sexual practices. The increased visibility of prostitution in major cities throughout Western Europe, furthermore, made deviant female sexuality a daily urban encounter, and tangibly associated fears of disease and infection with sexual desire. The femme fatale created a safe projection through which to engage fantasies of feminine seduction and danger, in which men ultimately maintained control over the construction of female sexuality and power. The misogyny at the root of the femme fatale fantasy perpetuated hierarchical social structures through which men could maintain control over female sexuality.

⁷ For an excellent and comprehensive study of manifestations of male masochism at the turn of the century, see Suzanne R. Stewart(-Steinberg), *Sublime Surrender* (1998). Lawrence Kramer's *After the Love Death* (2000), also presents an important study of nineteenth century aesthetic engagements with sexual violence, and identifies this trend as a central component in the development of modern culture.

coercion, and if she cannot be controlled, she demands her own destruction. The fantasy thus writes a desire for patriarchal authority into the fabric of the powerful woman.

Though the *femme fatale* is most readily apparent in aesthetic productions, fantasies of the deadly seductress permeated a diverse array of cultural media at the fin de siècle. Scientists in the emerging fields of criminology, sexology and psychology engaged with the same socio-cultural upheaval and its accompanying anxieties, and produced analogous constructions of female sexual deviance and danger in response. This has been most immediately recognized in scholarship on Otto Weininger, not in the least because he himself incorporates art and literature in his writing.⁸ Although he claims to conduct a scientific study of the *Frauenfrage*, Weininger's prose in his infamous *Geschlecht und Charakter* [Sex and Character] (1903) is unapologetically replete with hyperbole and conjecture. Moreover, Weininger's category of the "absolute prostitute" conspicuously shares characteristic features of the aesthetic *femme fatale*. Weininger's prostitute is, like all women in his analysis, a purely sexual being.⁹ Whereas the mother is sexually motivated by her desire to reproduce, however, the prostitute's sexual desire is entirely destructive. Weininger writes that, "all her other actions also aim at destruction," and he later concludes: "[s]he wants to be annihilated and to annihilate, she wreaks havoc

⁸ See, for example: Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius's, "Constructing the *femme fatale*: A Dialogue between Sexology and the Visual Arts in Germany around 1900." Publishing in the collected volume, *Women and Death: Representations of Female Victims and Perpetrators in German Culture 1500-2000* (2008), 157-185.

⁹ He writes, for example, that "[f]or Woman the state of sexual arousal only means the greatest intensification of her whole existence, which is always and absolutely sexual. W's existence revolves entirely around her sexual life, the sphere of copulation and reproduction, i.e., in her relationship with a man and with children, and her existence is totally absorbed by these things, while M is not only sexual." Otto Weininger's, *Sex and Character. An Investigation of Fundamental Principles*, trans. Ladislaus Löb, eds. Daniel Steuer and Laura Marcus (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2005), 79.

and she destroys."¹⁰ She is the deadly seductress, consumed by a sexual desire that can itself only be all consuming.

While parallels between Weininger's sexological writing and the fin-de-siècle aesthetic discourse of the femme fatale are more immediately apparent, similar engagements appear in a number of scientific works that would seem less apt to integrate elements of fantasy and myth. This chapter takes up the writings of Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso, as authoritative scientific documents from the period. In the introduction to their translation of Lombroso's *Criminal Woman* (1894), Nicole Hahn Rafter and Mary Gibson convincingly argue for the important influence of Lombroso's work in later studies of female criminality. They write: "For decades there existed no other book on the causes of female crime and, indeed, very little other material in any form. *The Female Offender* continued to influence interpretations of female crime until the 1970s.... In contrast, by 1911, when *Criminal Man* finally appeared in English, Lombroso's born criminal theory was already going out of vogue as an explanation of male crime."¹¹ In addition to Lombroso's far-reaching cultural influence, his adamant claim to scientific methodology presents an important opposition to Weininger's generic flexibility.

¹⁰ Otto Weininger, *Sex and Character*, 207-8.

¹¹ Mary Gibson and Nicole Hahn Rafter, "Editors' Introduction," *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*, trans. Mary Gibson and Nicole Hahn Rafter, (Durham: Duke UP, 2004), 4. Comprehensive studies like Richard F. Wetzell's *Inventing the Criminal. A History of German Criminology, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2000), and the edited volume *Criminals and Their Scientists. The History of Criminology in International Perspective*, eds. Peter Becker and Richard F. Wetzell (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), have made strong cases for the foundational status of Lombroso's work generally in late nineteenth and early twentieth century criminal psychology in Germany. In Germany at the turn of the century, the majority of criminal psychology focused on male offenders, and primarily reiterated Lombroso's conclusions about the causes of female criminality in short sections on gender and crime, and prostitution. Erich Wulffen's *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin*, published in 1923, was the first major German study exclusively dedicated to female criminality.

Lombroso's integration of the femme fatale into his criminal anthropology is thus more surprising, and in some ways more telling. Despite his ardent claims to empiricism and scientific rationality, Lombroso develops a strategic interplay between scientism and myth that gives the fantasy of the femme fatale corporeal presence, rooting the danger of the fantasy in woman's physical body. Lombroso asserts scientific authority in both of his major criminological tomes, *Criminal Man* (1887) and *Criminal Woman*, through a meticulously constructed empirical methodology. At the same time, however, he regularly cites narrative, anecdote, and folklore to support his claims.¹² In *Criminal Woman*, Lombroso intersperses his extensive anthropological data with titillating accounts of extreme criminal acts by women and references to archetypal female deviants from classical and historical sources, including Sappho, Messalina, Agrippina, and Joan of Arc. Lombroso provides case studies, for example: "To kill her husband, Rosa Bent...prepared, in his room while he was sleeping, a great caldron of boiling water. When he suddenly woke up, she said that people were calling to him from the street, and when he rushed to the window, still half asleep, she pushed him into the caldron." He also describes five murderesses, writing that, "[t]he first, aged forty, killed her husband with repeated blows of a hatchet while he was skimming milk, then threw his body into a recess under the stairs, and fled during the night with the family money and her own

¹² As Gibson and Hahn Rafter explain in their introduction to Lombroso's *Criminal Man*, his use of a narrative style and his reliance on widely accepted cultural knowledge was an important element of Lombroso's work, and in many ways a key to his popularity and success. They explain that, "[h]owever unscientific this resort to popular opinion might seem, Lombroso 's ideas spread quickly because they were built on what one narrative theorist has called 'preconstructs' or prevailing stereotypes. Rather than detracting from the impact of *Criminal Man*, its many narrative devices multiplied its appeal and accessibility to audiences outside of the academic and legal communities." Cesare Lombroso, *Criminal Man*, trans. Mary Gibson and Nicole Hahn Rafter (Durham: Duke UP, 2006), 25. Lombroso's criminological writing straddled the generic divide between popular and expert readership, and this hybrid approach enabled his work to circulate widely in both communities.

trinkets."¹³ Female criminals from the nineteenth century who received international notoriety in mass media and popular folklore also appear throughout the text, most notably Madame Lafarge, Berland, Gabrielle Bompard, and Bell-Star.¹⁴ In these contemporary cases Lombroso identifies exemplary manifestations of his scientific conclusions, and through them he deploys a mythology of extraordinarily evil women, the myth of the femme fatale.

It may seem contradictory to maintain that myth could bolster scientific authority. In "The Meeting of Myth and Science" (1978), Claude Lévi-Strauss posits that myth and science were necessarily separated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with the emergence of empiricism through the work of scientists such as Bacon, Descartes, and Newton.¹⁵ As Lévi-Strauss contends, the enlightenment sciences were specifically opposed to myth in fundamental ways. With the emergence of scientific disciplines at the turn of the century (criminal anthropology, sexology, psychology), which aimed to understand and quantify elements of human nature, scientists faced new methodological challenges, and the incorporation of myth offered some solutions. Moreover, scientists like Lombroso approached their work with the desire to *prove* a priori conclusions, with specific motives. Primarily, the fin-de-siècle human sciences sought to preserve patriarchal authority and racial superiority with empirical evidence. The authority of myth thus serves an essential function in Lombroso's criminal science. The incorporation of myth enabled Lombroso to write through the manifold contradictions that plagued his extremely deductive approach to scientific analysis.

¹³ Lombroso, *Criminal Woman*, 190.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 140-141 (Berland); 139-41, 172, 182, 188, 191, 239 (Bompard); 163, 189-90 (Bell-Star).

¹⁵ Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Meeting of Myth and Science," *Myth And Meaning: Five Talks for Radio* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1978), 1.

Lombroso's anthropology of female criminality, which, as Gibson and Hahn-Rafter have convincingly shown, is rife with blatant incongruities, was particularly in need of myth's bolstering authority. Where empirical research failed to uphold Lombroso's a priori claims regarding female criminality and female sexuality, the myth of the deadly seductress elided his inconsistencies. As Lévi-Strauss asserts, this is a capacity constitutive of myth: "the purpose of myth is to provide a logical model capable of overcoming a contradiction (an impossible achievement if, as it happens, the contradiction is real)."¹⁶ It is, furthermore, the specific temporality of myth that produces this conciliatory capacity. Lévi-Strauss explains, "[o]n the one hand, a myth always refers to events alleged to have taken place in time: before the world was created, or during its first stages—anyway, long ago. But what gives myth an operative value is that the specific pattern described is everlasting; it explains the present and past as well as the future."¹⁷ Constructions of the femme fatale accrued what Lévi-Strauss has called, "the synchro-diachronical structure of myth," through centuries of aesthetic and intellectual engagement with the figure.¹⁸ At the turn of the century, the femme fatale invoked popular and pervasive myth (particularly in the guise of such notable figures as Salome and Judith) and also manifested in strikingly present ways, accessing contemporary fears and desires through the incorporation of elements of prostitution, sexually transmitted diseases, and socio-cultural anxieties surrounding early feminisms. The fin-de-siècle femme fatale thus enacted a past-progressive temporality which collapsed past, present and future—*so it has always been, so it is, so shall it always be*—in the promise of female sexual danger.

¹⁶ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967), 229.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 209.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 229.

In his *Criminal Woman*, Lombroso invoked a similar temporal collapse, weaving together tales of infamous women from Antiquity to the present day. His deployment of Gabriella Bompard throughout *Criminal Woman*, for example, is representative of his integration of femme fatale myth with contemporary instances of female criminality. Widely known in Western Europe because of the sensational nature of her crimes and subsequent, widespread media attention, the "prostitute, thief, swindler, slanderer and murderer," Bompard would have been immediately recognizable to Lombroso's readers.¹⁹ For Lombroso, Bompard presented a complete representative of his "born criminal woman," encompassing all of the traits—physiognomic, psychological, and behavioral—axiomatic to the category.²⁰ Bompard's story thus provided evidence for Lombroso's scientific conclusions in a preconstructed archetype readily accessible to both his lay and professional readership. Using repetition (he mentions Bompard twelve times in *Criminal Woman*), narrativization, and empirical analysis, Lombroso constructs a figure of Bompard that operates with both mythic and scientific authority to support his theory of the born criminal woman. Importantly, furthermore, through figures like Bompard, Lombroso made the myth of the femme fatale corporeally manifest in actual women, and his anthropological method rooted the origins of female danger in the female body.

Lombroso's criminological text and fin-de-siècle stage performances of *Judith* and *Salome* gave the femme fatale corporeal dimensions that altered the production and

¹⁹ Cesare Lombroso, *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*, trans. Mary Gibson and Nicole Hahn Rafter (Durham: Duke UP, 2004) 182. See also, the editors introduction. *Ibid.*, 275 fn45.

²⁰ Lombroso describes Bompard's physical appearance as exhibiting "all the characteristics of the born criminal, no matter how exceptional they may be in women generally." *Ibid.*, 140. Bompard's legend further included tales of seduction, deception and lesbianism, fulfilling Lombroso's attribution of excessive and abnormal eroticism to criminal woman. Furthermore, as Hahn Rafter and Gibson write, "Lombroso was particularly drawn to Bompard's case by descriptions of her as someone who (like his born criminal) showed total amorality from childhood on." *Ibid.*, fn 45, p 274. Reports of her sexual precocity as a child and the continued entwining of sexuality and criminality in her later offenses perfectly fit Lombroso's conclusion that female eroticism was a sign of hereditary degeneration, directly tied to female criminality.

engagement with the myth. In the case of Lombroso, corporeality enabled the myth to serve his a priori claims, to overcome the contradiction of his anthropology and his predetermined conclusions regarding female criminality. Inversely, this chapter will show how female performers engaged corporeality in the theater in order to subvert masculine authority over the femme fatale fantasy, and to stage feminist interventions in the misogynist trope. Whereas Lombroso engaged the temporality of the femme fatale in a way that concretized the patriarchal mastery fundamental to the misogynist fantasy, the specific corporeality of stage performance dissected the temporality of the femme fatale, engaging and unsettling the synchro-diachronic authority of myth.

Judith and Salome as Femmes Fatales

Among the numerous femmes fatales who appeared in diverse artistic media in Western Europe at the turn of the century, Salome and Judith were perhaps the most iconic, and certainly the most widely reproduced. Mythic figures like Judith and Salome carried the cultural capital of an assumed universal and lasting truth, which persisted through artistic manipulation that made them renewably contemporary and socio-culturally relevant. At the turn of the century, Judith and Salome readily engaged the pervasive fascination with the seductive murderess. By anchoring their Judith and Salome works in the biblical origins and incorporating contemporary anxieties over modernity and the modern woman, late nineteenth and early twentieth-century artists created a hybrid figure that encompassed cultural preoccupations with sexuality, danger and the *Frauenfrage* within the male-authored fantasy of the femme fatale. Furthermore, as artists adapted the figures to their specific cultural-historical moment, remodeling Judith and Salome according to the defining features of the femme fatale, the two became nearly

indistinguishable at the fin de siècle.²¹ The beheadings at the center of each tale draw Judith and Salome into a natural affinity, but as Nadine Sine has argued, in their initial, biblical construction, they were, "diametrically opposed by tradition in purpose, status and moral character."²² Prior to the nineteenth century, Judith and Salome remained distinct in artistic production, and served different ideological ends in painting and literature.

The modernization of Judith and Salome as femmes fatales refitted the figures in important ways. In his 1891 one-act drama, *Salome*, Oscar Wilde radically altered the tale, inventing what is to this day colloquially understood to be the story of Salome. Wilde transformed Salome from the obedient daughter of the bible to a scorned and vengeful seductress. According to biblical accounts, the queen, Herodias, uses her beautiful daughter, Salome, to exact her revenge on John the Baptist when she is unable to persuade her husband, Herod, to execute him.²³ When Salome dances for Herod he promises to give her anything she desires, and, following her mother's instructions, she demands the head of John the Baptist. In this narrative, Salome is nothing more than an obedient daughter, and Herod acquiesces to Salome's request for John the Baptist's head because he is bound by honor to uphold the oath he swears before his assembled guests. Accordingly, Salome's actions are tertiary in importance to Herodias' desire for retribution and Herod's strict adherence to conventions of honor. Wilde's Salome by

²¹ See Nadine Sine, "Cases of Mistaken Identity: Salome and Judith at the Turn of the Century," *German Studies Review* 11.1 (1988). Sine examines, for example, Gustav Klimt's famous *Judith I* and *Judith II* paintings from 1901 and 1910 respectively as representative of a larger trend at the turn of the century. Although Klimt originally titled the paintings "Judith," they were subsequently reprinted and renamed as Salome portraits. Sine sees this "misrecognition" as exemplary of a larger trend in the period and examines further manifestations thereof.

²² *Ibid.*, 21.

²³ The story of Salome is recounted most extensively in the Book of Mark, but is also addressed briefly in the Book of Matthew [Mark 6:16-29; Matthew 14:3-11 KJV].

contrast is motivated by vengeance bred of sexual rejection. When Jokanaan (Wilde's John the Baptist) denies Salome's sexual advances, she devises the seduction of Herod through her dance in order to possess Jokanaan by any means, demanding, as a reward, that she be presented with the prophet's head in a silver charger.²⁴

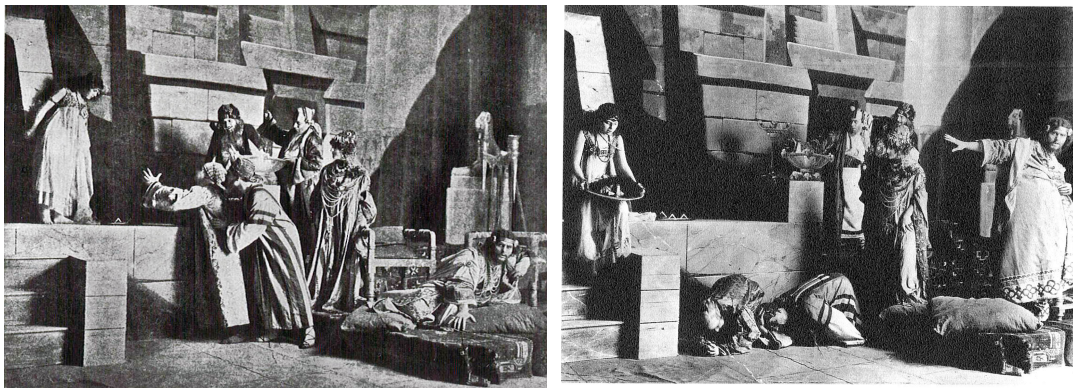


Figure 3.2. Scene photos from *Salome* with Eysoldt in the role of Salome (1902)

In a similar manner, the figure of Judith underwent radical transformations in artistic productions in the nineteenth century. In German reception, Friedrich Hebbel's 1840 tragedy, *Judith*, marks the most significant shift from the biblical narrative.²⁵ Hebbel introduces sexual elements that complicate Judith's motives in the murder of Holofernes. Most radically, in Hebbel's *Judith* it is explicit that Holofernes rapes Judith

²⁴ In his 1891 one-act drama, Wilde centered the plot on Salome's desires and established her own motives for the murder of Jokanaan (Wilde's John the Baptist). Herodias recedes into the background of the action, encouraging her daughter's request for Jokanaan's execution, but no longer directly responsible for the act. Instead, Salome is motivated by vengeance bred of sexual rejection. Upon encountering Jokanaan for the first time, the virgin Salome is overcome with lust for the prophet. When he denies her sexual advances she devises the seduction of Herod—who Wilde reimagines as a gluttonous tyrant with an insatiable lust for his stepdaughter—through her dance in order to possess Jokanaan by any means. Wilde thus transforms Salome from the obedient daughter of the bible to a scorned and vengeful seductress.

²⁵ The Book of Judith is relegated to the apocryphal books in the protestant bible and only included in the Old Testament in Catholic and Eastern Orthodox traditions, yet the story of Judith was widely known from its origins and into the twentieth century. As Margarita Stocker examines extensively in her comprehensive study of Judith reception in Western culture, the figure of Judith is undisputedly a murderess, and she uses her beauty and guile to deceive Holofernes and his guards, but the narrative of the Book of Judith definitively establishes her as a heroic and valiant woman (decidedly not a femme fatale). She is, in fact, a chaste and devout widow, and the savior of the Jewish people. Judith's continued faith enables her to overcome Holofernes without comprising her chastity, and she delivers her city, and, consequently, all of the Israelites from the Assyrian armies. There is no question about her purity, or her status as an agent of God's will.

immediately before she murders him. As Stocker and Watanabe-O'Kelly both discuss, Holofernes' intention to have sex with Judith is made clear in the "Book of Judith," but the success of his seduction has remained contested over the centuries. Through the explicit rape in Hebbel's drama, Judith transforms from a heroic agent of God's will, to a woman motivated by a need for violent retribution.

Both Hebbel and Wilde attribute a personal motivation to the beheadings brought about by their heroines, devising a narrative of violent revenge, and more specifically, of sexual revenge, that was not a part of either biblical account. Visual representations of Salome and Judith transformed the figures in similar ways, heightening elements of eroticism and brutality. Sine convincingly argues that in painting and literature, artists at the turn of the century effectively collapsed Salome and Judith into one figure through the attribution of vengeance and heightened eroticism. Essentially, Salome and Judith gained the characteristic features of the femme fatale fantasy that preoccupied the male imagination in the period. Despite these radical shifts in their construction, however, the transformation of mythical figures like Judith and Salome into femme fatales connected the turn-of-the-century fantasy to an ahistorical archetype, perpetuating the synchro-diachronic temporality, and authority of myth.

Lombroso too develops the myth of the femme fatale through a discursive collapse of numerous figures. In *Criminal Woman* this becomes most apparent in the category of the "born criminal woman." Within this category, Lombroso subsumes case studies of female criminals and legendarily deviant women from cultural and literary history. He elides distinctions between individual women, and in doing so invokes a mythology of the evil woman. In *Criminal Woman*, for example, Gabriel Bompard

frequently appears in shared or adjacent paragraphs to the Roman empress Valeria Messalina, who was popularly remembered for her cruelty, promiscuity, and sexual perversion (fig. 3.3). Lombroso uses Messalina as an example of the correlation between excessive sexuality and female criminality, writing that, "[t]hose who most clearly manifest exaggerated and unceasing lustfulness are both born criminals and born prostitutes; in them lasciviousness intermixes with ferocity, as in the examples of Messalina and Agrippina."²⁶ In the following paragraph he then describes Bompard's sexual precocity in early childhood, writing that "[d]ue to her indecent speech and behavior, the young woman named Gabriella Bompard was expelled from boarding and convent schools." He concludes that, "[s]he was almost like a mature prostitute and told her father, 'I will never marry because one man is not enough for me.'"²⁷



Figure 3.3. Images of Bompard and Messalina in *Criminal Woman* (1893)²⁸

Although Lombroso does not explicitly relate the two figures, the structure of his argumentation draws continuities across historical time, aligning and equating the two women through their fulfillment of his category of the born criminal woman. Throughout

²⁶ Cesare Lombroso, *Criminal Woman*, 171.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 172.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

Criminal Woman, Lombroso syntactically juxtaposes notorious criminal women, rhetorically equating figures that were, in most cases, temporally and geographically distinct. In a subsection on greed as a motive for female criminal acts he writes, for example:

So Bompard instigated Eyraud to murder the porter in hopes of getting a rich plunder; Lavoitte instigated her lover to gain access to a wealthy old woman in order to rob her; and Bouhours, Brinvilliers, Rob., did the same; M., whose greed was such that she became a prostitute (although she did not enjoy intercourse), corrupting minors and blackmailing, and she spent all the money on parties. In history we find Messalina, who coveted the manors and the riches of the most prominent citizens, and so had them killed; Fulvia, who incited massacres, partly for revenge, partly for greed.²⁹

Through parataxis Lombroso makes Bompard analogous with a litany of deviant women from across centuries. Lombroso constructs a synchro-diachronical exchange between ahistorical abstraction and historically specific example, which makes the myth of the evil woman manifest as scientific evidence and social reality. Within this paradigm, each born criminal woman simultaneously stands alone as an individual example, and also functions synecdochally, encompassing the myth of the femme fatale, a myth that appealed to Lombroso for its ability to sustain the contradictions inherent in his own methodology.

Performing Femmes Fatales in the Modernist Theater

The powerful figure of the femme fatale was not only appealing to men at the turn of the century. In the theater, deadly seductresses and deviant women presented some of the most exciting and, subsequently, most coveted roles. A striking majority of the leading female roles in turn-of-the-century theater and drama across Western Europe

²⁹ Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, *La donna delinquente: La prostituta e la donna normale* (Torino: Fratelli Bocca Editori, 1903), 464. My translation from the original Italian with assistance.

were deviant or criminal women—defiant wives (*Nora*, *Hedda Gabler*), feminists (*Major Barbara*), prostitutes (*Moral*, *Reigen*, *Nachtasyl*), and murderesses (*Rose Bernd*, *Salome*, *Judith*, *Erdgeist*). These roles gave actresses a central part in theater productions, and created opportunities to achieve stardom. In Berlin, for example, the notoriety and popularity of Reinhardt's *Salome* production guaranteed instant celebrity for the actress in the lead.³⁰ In addition to social and monetary gain, furthermore, roles like Ibsen's *Nora*, Hebbel's *Judith*, and Wedekind's *Lulu* were significantly more complex and interesting than the minor figures and stock characters of earlier periods.

Actresses were excited by the strong female dramatic characters that occupied fin-de-siècle stages, and they actively pursued parts, and even developed rivalries as they contended for leading roles. When Wilde's *Salome* finally made its way to the stage, actresses worldwide clamored for the chance to star in the exciting role, not in the least because the infamous Sarah Bernhardt held the title role in the drama's world premier in Paris. When Oscar Wilde first wrote his *Salomé* it was met with scandal due to its elicit content. The drama was initially banned in England and first published in France in 1893, and the official English translation by Aubrey Beardsley was not published until 1894. Though the drama circulated in print, it was censored from theatrical production in England and only realized its world premier at the Comédie-Parisienne, Paris five years after its writing.

Women were centrally involved in bringing Wilde's *Salomé* to production on the stage in Germany, for example. Wilde's drama first found its way to publication in

³⁰ Reinhardt's *Salome* was a critical and financial success. Both the innovative production and the scandal surrounding the material and the figure of Oscar Wilde made the performance immensely popular in Berlin. Reinhardt kept *Salome* in the Deutsches Theater repertoire continuously for a full year, and gave over 100 performances.

German in 1900 through a translation by the female Austrian poet Hedwig Lachmann, who translated many of Wilde's works into German. In her short history of early twentieth-century *Salome* performances, published in 1906, Marie Luise Becker also reports that the actress Gertrud Eysoldt was the primary impetus behind the first performance of Wilde's *Salome* on a German stage: "[S]he was... the driving force behind the play's production, and was thrilled about the role before any Berlin theater director had even thought about a production of the play."³¹ Eysoldt worked with theater director Hans Oberländer to privately stage the first German production of Wilde's *Salomé* (using Lachmann's translation) at the Schall und Rauch Theater under the auspices of the *Lessing-Gesellschaft*. (The privatization of the performance was necessary in order to circumvent of the strict Berlin censor. After Oberländer's production, Max Reinhardt, who had recently taken over direction of the Deutsches Theater, spent half a year disputing the censor before he finally gained permission for public performance.) She subsequently enlisted Max Reinhardt in her efforts to remove censorship restrictions from the drama, and starred in his production of *Salome* when it premiered in the Schall und Rauch Theater on September 29th, 1903.

Eysoldt later shared the role with the aspiring young actress, Tilla Durieux. In 1910, Durieux was Reinhardt's first choice for the lead in his production of *Judith*, which he premiered with his Berlin company in residence in Vienna, and later added to the *Deutsches Theater* repertoire where showed 36 times. Durieux was thrilled to be chosen for the role, which, like *Salome*, guaranteed both public exposure as a central part in the production and ensuing critical and popular attention. In her diary she writes: "I was

³¹ Marie Luise Becker, "Salome-Darstellerinnen auf der modernen Bühne." *Bühne und Welt. Zeitschrift für Theaterwesen, Literatur und Musik*. 9.1 (1906/7): 439.

delighted because he thought of me for the title role in Hebbel's *Judith*. [...] Just to be in Munich, this lovely, amusing city, was a pleasant thought, and then to add this magnificent role! I was swimming in happiness."³²

Contemporary theater critics also recognized the novelty and significance of the leading roles for women that began to emerge in the second half of the 19th century. In his 1906 essay on the unique challenge of playing Hebbel's Judith, theater critic Adolf Winds posits that the drama presented the first true lead role for a woman. He writes: "Up to that point dramatic literature was perhaps rich with female figures, but in most cases they stood in the shadow of the male hero, or served as a foil to him. Even Shakespeare, that great portrayer of women, never made a woman the actual center point of any of his dramas."³³ Although Hebbel's *Judith* was first published in 1860, the early twentieth century as the first time in which the theater could present the true complexity of the character. Many of the revisions that Hebbel incorporated to add complexity to his Judith—most directly the overt sexual content—were omitted from early performances due to strict censorship policies in Wilhelmine Germany, and it was not until the early twentieth century that the drama could be publicly performed in its full version.³⁴ Gradual revisions in censorship practices at the turn of the century had a profound effect on the possibilities for actresses in public theaters, expanding the kinds of roles accessible to women, and the ways in which women could perform on stage.

³² Durieux, *Meine ersten neunzig Jahre*, 124.

³³ Adolf Winds, "Über die Darstellung von Hebbels Judith," *Bühne und Welt. Zeitschrift für Theaterwesen, Literatur und Musik* 9.1, ed. E.u.G. Elsner (Berlin: Verlag von Otto Elsner, 1906-1907), 34.

³⁴ Sine writes that, "because of the sexual content and departure from the tradition of depicting Judith as an uncomplicated heroine, the play suffered drastic revision which eliminated the rape, and with it, the real motivation that Hebbel envisioned for Judith's action. Only in 1896, several years after publication of Wilde's play, were all the cuts restored, and within fifteen years Hebbel's original text gained wide recognition and frequent performance." Sine, "Cases of Mistaken Identity," 14.

The fin de siècle was a time of rapid and radical change in theatrical production, and the newness of modernist theater practices should not be underestimated. The literary aesthetics of modern movements like naturalism, expressionism, and symbolism, transformed the theater as much as dramatic writing. Groundbreaking directors like Max Reinhardt incorporated the talents of diverse actors and artists to create an *experience* of theater that incorporated numerous extra-textual elements. Deploying lighting, set design, costume, make-up, unconventional acting techniques, vocal range, music, and staging, Reinhardt's productions created an encompassing sensory encounter. Reviews of performances from the early twentieth century demonstrate that viewers were acutely aware of this new theater aesthetic. Progressive critics and theatergoers embraced and promoted modernist innovations, while more conservative viewers decried the degeneration of one of Germany's prized aesthetic domains. For or against the new theater, however, the majority of reviews register a distinctly corporeal engagement with the performance and with stage performers.

Attending not only to the dramatic text, Reinhardt worked with specialist practitioners on set design, costume, lighting, and music, developing an unprecedented array of theatrical elements. Theater reviews of Reinhardt's productions provide detailed attention to dramaturgical elements hitherto ignored.³⁵ Reviews of Reinhardt's *Salome* include description of the set, lighting, and costume design, and significantly more extensive consideration of the actors' individual performances. Karl Strecker's review,

³⁵ As the reviews of *Rose Bernd* in Chapter Two of this dissertation illustrate, prior to the theatrical modernism of Reinhardt and his contemporaries, theater critics attended primarily to the drama performed rather than the *production* of that drama. Commentary directly related to the extratextual elements (production and performance) were generally limited to a few lines addressing the quality of the acting—in most cases basic praise or criticism—and occasionally minimal consideration of the costume and set design. These elements were evaluated, however, in direct relation to their fidelity to the dramatic text. Reinhardt's chief innovation was not to remove the dramatic text from the theater, but rather to elevate every possible dramaturgical element to the primacy of the text.

published in the *Tägliche Rundschau* the day after the 1903 premier, is exemplary of a new style of critique which aimed to analyze the quality of the drama as well as the *experience* of performance in all of its aspects. He writes:

Of the events on this peculiar evening, quasi soaked in the silver gleam of the moon [*Mondsilberglanz*], it's hard to say what should be praised more: the jewel or its setting, the little masterpiece or the production. Each cannot, if one wants to report the impressions properly, be separated from the other; they were so inextricably linked, so interwoven, interdependent, like the concepts of day and sunlight.³⁶

Strecker's review engages critically and aesthetically with both Wilde's dramatic text and Reinhardt's theatrical production. The poetics of his own rhetoric echoes Wilde stylistically. His use of *Mondsilberglanz* as a descriptor for the experience of the performance overall reflects and evokes the central symbolic presence of the moon throughout Wilde's drama and in the congruent atmospheric effects in Reinhardt's production. Strecker resists separating the text from the performance in the review, describing the event as a perfect interweaving of the two elements. Strecker's review is perhaps the most poetic iteration of this shift in theater criticism, but his inclusion of the theatrical experience in his review is representative of a larger trend that developed in response to Reinhardt's dramaturgical innovations.

³⁶ "Von den gleichsam in Mondsilberglanz vorübergleitenden Ereignissen dieses eigenartigen Abends weiß man nicht recht: soll man mehr das Schmuckstück oder seine Fassung, mehr das kleine Meisterwerk oder die Darstellung loben. Beides ist, will man die Eindrücke richtig wiedergeben, nicht von einander zu trennen; es war so miteinander verschwistert, so in eins verwoben, gegenseitig bedingt, wie etwa die Begriffe Tag und Sonnenlicht." BTJ 525-6.

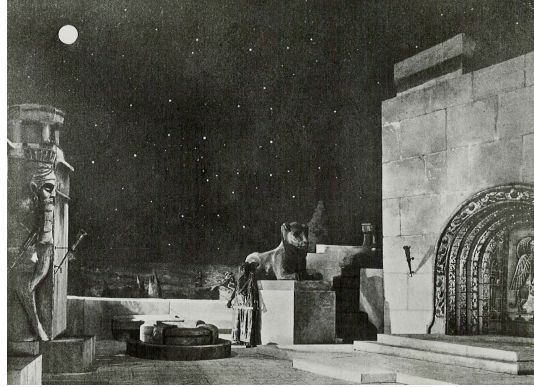


Figure 3.4. Set photograph from *Salome* (1903)³⁷

This is not to say that modernist dramaturgies created a theatrical corporeality that did not exist in prior eras. Performance scholars such as Simon Shepherd have convincingly shown that theater is and has always been an inherently corporeal medium. As Shepherd posits in his *Theater Body and Pleasure* (2006), "[a] performance is thought of as social event, a gathering of bodies as much as minds."³⁸ The theater thus always places the viewer and performer in a corporeal relationship, a visceral exchange that operates alongside the encounter with the dramatic text, and, "[e]ffects are produced in the spectator simply as a result of materially sharing the space with the performance."³⁹ Thus, in the theater, the viewer and the performer are made significantly—if not consciously—aware of a specific kind of corporeal encounter.

Through the figures of Salome and Judith, fin-de-siècle stage actresses thus bridged a gap between the purely fantasy construction of the femme fatale and the corporeal presence of women in their socio-cultural context. Their performances engaged a particularly apparent production of what Fischer-Lichte has identified as a doubled presence of the body on stage, through which the viewer encounters both the actor's

³⁷ MRA #R2721.

³⁸ Simon Shepherd, *Theatre, Body and Pleasure* (London: Routledge, 2006), 36.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 36-7.

semiotic body (the dramatic figure) and the actor's phenomenal body (corporeal presence in space and time).⁴⁰ Within the temporal, spatial and corporeal specificity of the experience of theater, the actress makes visible the temporality of myth at work in the femme fatale figure, and at the same time unsettles the assumed male authorship of that fantasy. In fin-de-siècle productions of *Judith* and *Salome*, this corporeal exchange placed the viewer in a direct and highly sexualized encounter with women's bodies on the stage.

Eroticism and Desire

Sexual allure and eroticism are centrally constitutive elements of the femme fatale fantasy. The deadly seductress uses her beauty and irresistible appeal to attract and ensnare her male victims, who are helpless to resist her. Durieux and Eysoldt enacted overtly physical performances and Reinhardt's atmospheric dramaturgy created an even further exaggerated corporeal encounter with the femme fatale in the theater. A 1904 photograph of Durieux as Salome portrays the actress with her eyes cast away from the viewer to the side (fig. 3.5). Her jaw is set and her mouth is held in a subtle sneer, disdainful and proud. Like Corinth's painting of Gertrud Eysoldt as Salome, the photograph of Durieux simultaneously conveys sexual allure and a threat of violence. The image of Durieux is more direct in its seductiveness, however. The deep scoop in the neck and thin straps of her bustier expose the skin of her chest and shoulders, and the irises in her hair further symbolically emphasize her eroticism.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 33.



Figure 3.5. Photograph of Durieux as Salome (1904)

The attention that critics paid to the actresses' physical presence in reviews of Reinhardt's *Salome* and *Judith* productions is striking. Reviews of Durieux and Eysoldt in their roles as Salome and Judith attended extensively to the performers' physical presence. In a review of Reinhardt's 1910 *Judith*, the critic for the *Berliner Zeitung* writes: "a white wall, a green curtain, and a slender girl with auburn hair standing before it, dressed in black. Snake-thin and lithe, the body as if contorted under the oppressive desires of fallow womanhood. A timid kitty with hidden claws."⁴¹ The critic tangibly depicts how the combination of Reinhardt's dramaturgy and Durieux's individual performance foregrounded corporeality—and subsequently eroticism—in the production. The sparsely dressed stage draws all attention to Durieux's physical presence. The reviewer describes her lean and limber body with overtly sexual overtones. He depicts Durieux as contorted under the suppressed desires of fallow womanhood. Zoomorphic metaphors further imagine Durieux simultaneously as a snake and a cat, exoticising the performer and the figure, and highlighting her eroticism and ferocity.⁴² This review

⁴¹ "Eine weiße Wand, ein grüner Vorhang und ein schmales dunkelblondes Mädchen davor in schwarzem Gewand. Schlangenschlank und biegsam, der Körper wie gewunden unter unterdrückten Süchten bracher Weibheit. Ein scheues Kätzlein mit versteckten Krallen." ADK.

⁴² On Orientalism in *Judith* and *Salome* see: Toni Bentley, *Sisters of Salome* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2002), Gail Finney, *Women in Modern Drama: Freud, Feminism, and European Theater at the Turn of the Century* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989), Sabine Kleine-Rossbach, "Lust am Köpfen. Die Decapitationsmythen von Judith und Salome." *Komparatistik als Arbeit am Mythos. Referate der XII. Tagung der Deutschen*

reveals the ways in which Durieux's performance underscored the sexual desire inscribed in Hebbel's Judith. Through physical manifestation of these aspects of the character Durieux further emphasized her eroticism, creating a corporeal experience of female desire in the theater.

Durieux was harshly criticized for her sexual presence on stage. In his review for the *Vossische Zeitung*, for example, Alfred Klaar expresses disapproval for Durieux's physicality in the performance. He concludes that her corporeality is mismatched for the stateliness and religiosity of the role, but he is intrigued by the erotic elements of the figure.

Miss Durieux was interesting as Judith, without fully reaching the heights of the role. With her lithe, graceful figure and her sphinx-like head [*Sphinxkopf*] she seems ill suited from the outset to embody this imposing woman, who appears to the masses as saint and prophetess. But the psychological sides of the figure were clearly present for her, and in the first scene she captivated with the expression of an uncanny passion that broke through the half-light of arousal.⁴³

Durieux's performance of Judith did not meet Klaar's expectations for the figure of Judith as an imposing leader of the people. In her performance Durieux created a new iteration of Judith tied to the psychological elements of the figure, and rooted in her corporeality and sexuality. Like many of his contemporaries, Klaar directly addresses Durieux's physical appearance, and her corporeality in the performance. He laments that her

Gesellschaft für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft vom 22. - 25. Mai 2003 in Jena, eds. Monika Schmitz-Emans and Uwe Lindemann (Heidelberg: Synchron, 2004), and Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy. Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York: Viking, 1990). On German Orientalism, see: Nina Berman, *Orientalismus, Kolonialismus und Moderne. Zum Bild des Orients in der deutschsprachigen Kultur um 1900* (Stuttgart: Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1997), and Todd Kontje, *German Orientalisms* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2004).

⁴³ "Frl. Durieux war als Judith interessant, ohne völlig auf die Höhe der Rolle zu gelangen. Mit ihrer biegsamen, graziösen Gestalt und ihrem Sphinxkopf scheint sie von vornherein nicht berufen, das imponierende Weib, das den Massen als Heilige und als Prophetin erscheint, zu versinnlichen. Aber die psychologische Seite der Gestalt war ihr offenbar gegenwärtig, und in den ersten Szenen fesselte sie durch den Ausdruck einer unheimlichen Leidenschaft, die aus dem Halbdunkel der Erregung hervorbrach." ADK 1910.

flexible, graceful figure makes her ill suited to the role of the heroic Judith. At the same time, however, Klaar was enthralled by the striking eroticism of Durieux's Judith ["sie fesselte"], and unsure how to reconcile his experience of the performance with his intellectual engagement with the figure and her history. He encounters her desire as something uncanny and penumbral, yet also immediately recognizable and somehow appropriate for Durieux – tied directly to her physical presence.

Klaar was not alone in underscoring Durieux's sensuality, and the eroticism of her Judith. Many critics felt that Durieux completely transformed the figure from Hebbel's dramatic character, and from the biblical Judith, insisting that her exaggerated sexuality overwrote the intended valor of the figure. A.W. writes for *Die Welt am Montag*: "Durieux chopped the role of Judith in to tiny, dainty pieces. The biblical, larger-than-life quality of the figure was missing. What we saw was not the mystical deed of the heroic Hebrew girl, but rather the fate of a sexually aroused, hysterical female, played with an actress's delicacy and intelligence."⁴⁴ The review pathologizes the overt eroticism of Durieux' performance in explicitly scientific terms, drawing on popular psychological theories that circulated widely in the period. The demographic that intersected with this review's readership and the production's viewership would have more than likely been well-read in contemporary scientific discourse on female hysteria, and would have readily followed the logic that directly correlated female sexual deviance and psychological aberration.

⁴⁴ "Die Durieux hatte sich die Rolle der Judith in kleine, zierliche Stücke geschnitten. Das Biblische, Überlebensgröße der Figur fehlte. Was wir sahen, war nicht die mystische Tat des heldischen hebräischen Mädchens, sondern das mit schauspielerischer Delikatesse und Intelligenz gespielte Schicksal eines sexuell erregten, hysterischen Weibchens." ADK 1910.

The femme fatale is not only sexually desirable, however, she is also sexually desirous. Socio-cultural and scientific discourse at the fin de siècle most typically constructed male sexuality as active, and opposed to passive, receptive female sexuality.⁴⁵ The inversion of sexual activity in the fantasy of femme fatale thus evoked the more general pathologization of female sexuality in the scientific discourse of the period. In *Criminal Woman* Lombroso fundamentally divides normal and criminal women on the basis of their sexual desires and practices. He first writes that the normal woman "is naturally and organically monogamous and frigid."⁴⁶ By contrast, "[e]roticism is the nucleus around which [female born criminals'] other characteristics revolve."⁴⁷ For Lombroso, furthermore, female sexual desire is not only characteristic of the criminal woman, it is also causal in female criminality. In *Criminal Woman* he writes: "This exaggerated eroticism, which is abnormal in most women, forms the starting point for vices and crimes. It turns female born criminals into unsociable beings, preoccupied entirely with the satisfaction of their own desires, like lustful savages whose sexuality has not been tamed by civilization and necessity."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Weininger's *Sex and Character* presented one of the first challenges to this model of active/passive male/female sexuality. Weininger posits that women are purely sexual beings either motivated by the desire to reproduce (in the case of the mother), or the inverse desire to destroy and be destroyed (in the case of the prostitute). Weininger contends that while men are also sexual beings, they are also rational and capable of ethical action not motivated by sexual desire. See Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

⁴⁶ Cesare Lombroso, *Criminal Woman*, 60.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 185.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 185. Lombroso provides both mythic examples, and contemporary cases. He writes: "I remember one case of an epileptic—a thief and prostitute—who started thinking about sex the minute she saw a male, squeezing her legs together. Magnan cites the cases of two women who from the time they were children engaged in oral and anal intercourse with their own brothers. Another woman spent all day masturbating and attempting to have coitus, falling into fits when someone tried to stop her. Tardieu tells us of a girl of fifteen-and-a-half years who, when boys were nearby, undressed and sat on their stomachs, forcing them to have sex; in a few months she had corrupted twenty young men. She also attempted to seduce a road inspector, and when he refused, she writhed on the ground yelling, 'Oh, I want him so badly.'" In: *Criminal Woman*, 171. In doing so he establishes an unquestioned precedent and also makes his theory a tangible, daily reality.

In addition to the sexual motivations for crime and violence, Lombroso explains that the criminal woman uses sex as a means to carry out her criminal acts. He logic reiterates the paradigm of the femme fatale, according to which female sexuality is corrupts both through desire and through seduction. "Lasciviousness often plays a part in the crimes of these offenders, who tend to be lustful and immodest. It is natural that, in planning a crime, they often decide to use sexuality to achieve their ends."⁴⁹ As evidence for his claim, Lombroso characteristically presents a contemporary example: "Often the female criminal instigates her accomplice by promising sex. D...., who gave herself to everyone, refused only one admirer, the weakest most suggestible. When she had in this way reinforced his desire, she promised to give herself to him if he killed her husband."⁵⁰ In this account, the careful calculation behind D... 's sexual manipulation, and the weakness of the man she seduces are Lombroso's chief concerns. D... 's sexual promiscuity is not incidental or uncontrollable; rather, she specifically uses her sexuality to manipulate her male accomplice. Through the promise of sex, she wields the physically stronger male as a weapon for her violent crime. The man's inability to resist her seduction also enables the woman to usurp his power and autonomy. That Lombroso insists in his account that D... specifically targeted the weakest and most suggestible admirer is important. While he outlines the danger and power of the sexual woman, he implies that men also play a part in their own seduction. The quoted passage implicates both the criminal woman, and her male accomplice, placing him ambivalently between victimhood and culpability.

Lombroso's construction of the criminal woman's power to seduce, much like the

⁴⁹ Ibid., 190.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

figures of Salome and Judith, inverts the gender expectations of feminine passivity and masculine activity. Moreover, his account of seduction introduces a new element of male passivity, and loss of control. The deceit and seduction employed by the born criminal woman to carry out her crimes requires a male counterpart who can be seduced and overpowered. Of the criminal woman's Lombroso writes: "Characteristically, her part in a joint crime is that of an *incubus*, to use Sighele's term; she incites her partner, deploying him with calculated evil."⁵¹ Lombroso's passing reference to Sighele's *incubus* (he provides no further analysis or explanation of the term or its function in his criminological theory) is worth examining in further detail. The term cannot be divested of its sexual implications. Incubus and succubus centrally connote the masculine and the feminine respectively. Lombroso's attribution of the role of incubus to the female criminal thus presents an inversion of the gender specificity of the term. His assignment of the masculine role of the incubus to the criminal woman conversely places her male lover in the feminized role of the succubus.

Suzanne R. Stewart-Steinberg's "The Secret Power of Suggestion: Scipio Sighele and the Postliberal Subject," provides a summary of Sighele's specific use of the terms. Sighele theorized that a suggestive relationship can exist psychologically between two or more individuals. "[T]he suggestive relation...can be broken down into two positions," Stewart-Steinberg writes, "that of the 'incubus' and that of the 'succubus,' that is, a position that thinks and instigates (the head) and a position that submits and acts (the arm), one that loves and one that is loved. The incubus, in loving, incites; the succubus,

⁵¹ Ibid.

in passively being loved, acts."⁵² In Sighele's original formulation, these roles are not specifically assigned as male or female. Rather, the incubus-succubus relation of influence can develop between any pair or group of individuals, regardless of gender. Although Sighele does not assign his roles of incubus and succubus to men or women specifically, through the attribution of activity and passivity the terms still implicitly maintain a connection to constructions of masculinity and femininity respectively.

Lombroso's very use of "incubus" and "succubus" also inherently imbues this mode of influence with a sexual dimension. In a footnote to this passage, Stewart-Steinberg provides an extensive etymology of the terms. Her explication is worth examining in detail. Stewart-Steinberg first points to the integral presence of sex in the root of the terms: "Incubus and succubus rely on the idea of two bodily positions in a supine state: *incubare* 'to lie on top'; and *sucubare* 'to lie on the bottom.'"⁵³ Furthermore, the terms carry the cultural-historical implications of their mythological iterations. As Stewart-Steinberg explains, "*Incubo* in medieval demonology is an evil spirit of nocturnal oppression, imagined as a demon who either sits on the chest of a male or female sleeper (whence the contemporary standard meaning of nightmare) or descends upon a female sleeper to seek carnal intercourse with her."⁵⁴ This demonological element echoes Lombroso's earlier inclusion of categories of evil and the demonic in defining the parameters of the criminal woman. Sighele's succubus also derives from demonology. As Stewart-Steinberg explains, "*succube* or *succubo*...is a masculine noun, but refers to a female spirit, first appearing in the sixteenth century, who, it was believed, sought sexual

⁵² Suzanne R. Stewart-Steinberg, "The Secret Power of Seduction: Scipio Sighele and the Postliberal Subject," *Diacritics* 33.1 (2003): 69.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

intercourse with men by lying under them. She is thus the female counterpart to the incubus."⁵⁵ The convergence of the masculine and feminine in the term is particularly relevant to Lombroso's later use. In his dichotomy of female seduction, the male accomplice submits sexually to the criminal woman, taking on the passive, feminine role of the succubus. The man who gives into the criminal woman's seduction thus occupies both the masculine and the feminine position, sharing both with his seductress. Fittingly, Stewart-Steinberg points out that "[i]n a second meaning, *succubo* also refers to a weak and will-less man who is subjected to the power of a woman."⁵⁶

As this complex etymology demonstrates, there are in fact several elements at work in Lombroso's seemingly perfunctory reference to Sighele's incubus. The reference condenses a diversity of elements present throughout Lombroso's discussion of female cruelty, and the union of sex and violence in the criminal woman. First, naming the criminal woman as the incubus further reveals Lombroso's divergence from his empirical Darwinism in favor of an approach that engages elements of fantasy and fear. Lombroso elaborates on dangers of cruelty and sexual predatoriness in women, both normal and criminal, through stylistically sensationalized and affective narratives and hypothesis. The criminal woman becomes a mythical demon, fulfilling the potential for true evil that Lombroso describes in earlier passages. Additionally, the instability of gender assignment to the roles of incubus and succubus further underline the danger in the criminal woman's power of seduction. Finally, the mythology of the incubus entails a sleeping, and thus vulnerable and unknowing victim. In this aspect, Lombroso identifies the most insidious danger of the criminal woman, and, moreover, in woman categorically. According to

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

Lombroso, all women, normal and criminal, have the ability and propensity to deceive and manipulate. The criminal woman uses sex as a means to gain power over a male accomplice, and the normal woman hides her natural, inextinguishable cruelty behind a façade of charity. In either case, the male victim is likely unaware of the threat directly before him.

Through his anecdotal evidence and references to the incubus/succubus relationship, Lombroso engages myths of female seduction and the usurpation of male power that engaged prevalent contemporary cultural anxieties over the perceived loss of masculine authority and virility. Like Lombroso's incubus/succubus inversion, Judith and Salome perform a reversal of authority through their seduction of Holofernes and Herod respectively. At the same time, the turn-of-the-century constructions of Holofernes and Herod in performances of Wilde and Hebbel's dramas create the possibility for their own loss of power through their all-consuming desire for Salome and Judith.

Seduction and Power

The femme fatale's seduction produced the means to acquire power over her male viewer. In the theater, Durieux and Eysoldt enacted a parallel seduction of their viewers through performance. Karl Strecker writes in his review in the *Tägliche Rundschau*, "the Salome of the great Gertrud Eysoldt, a fiery, oriental intoxication of colors, captivating and exhaling heavy perfumes, with dark bushes in the background, through which animal eyes gleam."⁵⁷ Rather than approaching her performance analytically, Strecker conveys the effect of the performance rhetorically through a sensual description rife with vocalic

⁵⁷ "[D]ie Salome der großen Gertrud Eysoldt, ein glühender morgenländischer Farbenrausch, berückend und schwere Düfte hauchend, mit dunklen Gebüsch im Hintergrunde, aus denen Tierenaugen funkeln." BTJ 525-6.

alliteration. Acoustically and pictorially Strecker's description of Eysoldt's performance engages the reader sensually and affectively, much like Corinth's painting of the actress. More than presenting analysis or critique, the language of the review reiterates the visceral experience of the performance, its seductive quality. In this register, the actress asserts performative authority over the experience of the production.

Wilde's *Salome* was particularly apt for this kind of performative encounter. The themes of eroticism and violence central to the drama inherently engage corporeality, and this was combined with the minimal poetic dialogue of Wilde's Symbolist aesthetic, which elevated the importance of extra-textual elements in the staging. This is nowhere more apparent than in Salome's dance at the center of the drama, which was most often performed as an erotic striptease. In her 1906 essay, "Salome-Darstellerinnen auf der modernen Bühne" [Salome Performers on the Modern Stage], Marie Luise Becker notes that the dance of the seven veils was as much a seduction of the audience as of Herod: "We can't ignore the fact that we need to truly convince the viewer that Herod coveted Salome's dance more than anything else. [...] A few gestures or a little nudity won't cut it – the main thing is that the magic that holds the tetrarch in its spell also effects the viewer."⁵⁸ As Becker explains, the conceivability of the entire scenario in Wilde's retelling of *Salome* hinges on the visceral experience of Salome's dance. The actress must seduce her audience through her performance, engaging the viewer corporeally, in order to make the remainder of the dramatic action feasible. Durieux and Eysoldt asserted authority in the theater both through the dances seduction of the audience, and also in

⁵⁸ Marie Luise Becker, "Salome-Darstellerinnen auf der modernen Bühne," *Bühne und Welt. Zeitschrift für Theaterwesen, Literatur und Musik* 9.1, ed. E.u.G. Elsner (Berlin: Verlag von Otto Elsner, 1906-1907), 440.

their authority over the dance itself. Wilde's dramatic text indicates only, "*Salome dances the dance of the seven veils,*" leaving wide room for interpretation to the performer.⁵⁹



Figure 3.6. Gertrud Eysoldt in the Role of Salome (1902/3), Tilla Durieux in the role of Salome (1904)

The actresses' autonomy in performance is evident in reviews of *Salome*, for which Eysoldt and Durieux shared the leading role. In voice, gesture and demeanor, the actresses developed unique iterations of the figure, and their individuality was widely noted in reviews of the play's many performances. Several critics directly compare Durieux and Eysoldt in their shared role as Salome, highlighting the differences between their performances and the subsequent effects thereof. The critic for the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* lists the qualities and failures of Durieux's performance in opposition to Eysoldt's:

From the outset [Durieux's] Salome simply does not have the suggestive, compelling tone and presence of Miss Eysoldt's Salome creation. She does not have the same immediacy in her effect. From the outset more of the demonic seems to smolder in the fragile figure of Salome-Eysoldt. At moments, however, Miss Durieux's Salome does have more regal pride. The former takes Jochanan's rejection as an offence to her femininity; the latter is also insulted as a princess.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Oscar Wilde, *Salome*, trans. Lord Alfred Douglas (London: Faber and Faber, 1989), 54.

⁶⁰ "[Durieux's] Salome hat freilich nicht von Anfang an das Suggestive, Zwingende in Ton und Wesen wie die Salome-Schöpfung des Frl. Eysoldt, sie wirkt nicht wie jene unmittelbar. In dem zerbrechlichen Figürchen der Salome-Eysoldt scheint von Anfang an mehr Dämonie zu lodern, die Salome des Frl. Durieux hat dafür in einigen Momenten mehr Hoheitsgefühl – jene empfindet es als eine Schmach nur ihres

The reviewer perceives Durieux as an imposing and unstoppable force, while he describes Eysoldt's performance as more subtle and insidious, echoing the macabre Salome of Corinth's 1903 painting. By contrast, Durieux presents a proud and powerful presence. Such documents provide key insight into both the autonomy exercised by actresses in their individual performances, and also into the viewers' acute awareness of these individualities. These stage femmes fatales were not fixed, but rather ever changing, depending on the performer and the given performance.

Salome's dance provided an additional means by which Durieux and Eysoldt could assert their authority and individuality in performance. Choreographing the dance presented both a challenge and an opportunity for turn-of-the-century directors and actresses, who faced strict censorship in Germany. Becker explores the different ways in which German actresses approached Salome's dance: "While Ms. Eysoldt ... cleverly used oriental fabrics to replicate Indian silks, and the audience---who took a little trip into the immoral through the *Salome* production---seemed quite excited and astounded that the ladies would take the stage with bare feet, Miss Durieux appeared as, or at least in the illusion of, a naked Salome."⁶¹ Through the role of Salome, actresses openly challenged the authority of government censors, and pushed social bounds of propriety on stage. The scandal created by the illusion of bare feet and even full nudity drew crowds to the theater and incited widespread public debate (fig. 3.7).

Mädchentums, von Jochanan verschmäht zu sein, diese fühlt auch die Prinzessin in sich beleidigt." ADK 1903.

⁶¹ Marie Luise Becker, "Salome-Darstellerinnen auf der modernen Bühne," 440.



Figure 3.7. Scene photograph of *Salome* with Tilla Durieux in the role of Salome, Kleines Theater (1904)⁶²

For Tilla Durieux, the role of Salome presented a chance to create a sensation, and to make a statement about the status of the actress within and beyond the theater. As an activist for female performers, Durieux wrote essays and gave speeches on the history and current socio-cultural status of actresses in Germany. She believed that an actress could fully embrace the sensuality and eroticism of a figure like Salome in performance, as artistic expression, and still maintain her propriety outside of the theater. For Durieux the erotic dance was thus much more than the fulfillment of a male sexual fantasy. Through the deliberate display of her body on stage, Durieux performed a socio-political intervention, publicly challenging what was acceptable for female stage performance, and asserting an artistic autonomy and independence for actresses.

Durieux's feminist agenda provides insight into one way in which actresses staged subversive interventions through the figure of the femme fatale. More generally, however, the performance itself was always already destabilizing within the misogynist male fantasy. Through the performance of an erotic seduction on stage the actress took control of elements central to the preservation of male authority in the fantasy. The

⁶² MRA #R2923.

attraction of the femme fatale hinged integrally on the ability of the male imagination to maintain authorship over his own seduction. As reviews indicate, Eysoldt and Durieux produced visceral reactions that viewers could not necessarily control. The actress's assumption of agency in the performance of the femme fatale is not insignificant within the paradigm of a fantasy centrally contingent on the reiteration of masculine authority over the deadly seductress.

The stage performances of Judith and Salome also unsettled the imperative for violence at the root of the femme fatale's seduction. Whereas the Judith and Salome fulfilled the promise of violence, Eysoldt and Durieux enacted the intervention of seduction without brutality. Their corporeal enactment of the femme fatale thus destabilized the authority of the myth on multiple levels. In his *Criminal Woman*, by contrast, Lombroso was invested in maintaining the paradigms of the femme fatale that necessitated masculine authority over female sexuality. Lombroso thus emphasizes the danger inherent to woman's seemingly innocuous exterior. He asserts that in acts of cruelty and revenge, criminal women compensate for their inferior strength with cunning and malice. Furthermore, he contends that the desire and capacity for revenge is present as a chief characteristic of all women, not just criminal women. He suggests that the constitutional element of cruelty in *all* women is more evident in "the demoniacal atrocities of certain queens and criminals", but it is also still visible in "the smaller vulgarities of spitefulness and daily persecutions" of normal women.⁶³ These acts are more than merely violent; they are spiteful and calculatedly sadistic. Lombroso explains that this particularly brutal ruthlessness is a unifying feature of femininity as such. "The

⁶³ Cesare Lombroso, *Criminal Woman*, 68.

common element is woman's tendency to inflict the largest possible amount of pain—not to obliterate her enemy but to martyr him slowly and paralyze him with suffering."⁶⁴ Here it is important to note that Lombroso emphasizes the intent behind woman's cruelty. Her extreme brutality is not accidental; women are intentionally savage. They take pleasure in the punishment they mete out, and, moreover, in the suffering of their victims.

According to Lombroso, criminal women and prostitutes may be more likely to enact the full violence and evil of their desire for revenge, but the impulse to cruelty is present in all women, barely kept in check by the demands of evolution and civilization. "When piety and maternal feelings are replaced by strong passions and intense eroticism, muscular strength and superior intelligence, then the innocuous semi criminal who is always present in the normal woman is transformed into a born criminal more terrible than any male counterpart."⁶⁵ Woman's ability to hide this "substratum" of extreme ruthlessness only makes her more dangerous. The power of her cruelty is always within reach. Within this logic, mythologies of female seduction and violence, like those of Salome and Judith, are thus merely expressions of the danger inherent to the female sex as such.

Violence and Vengeance

Turn-of-the-century femme fatale paintings generally foregrounded the eroticism of the figure while diminishing the counterpoint of danger. The fantasy allows for the perceived threat of danger that importantly always remains under the control of the male erotic imagination. Violence thus operates in the femme fatale fantasy at two interrelated

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 183.

levels. The femme fatale is constructed as a violent and destructive force, and, at the same time, this danger creates the need for her own violent suppression. The femme fatale's violence, furthermore, is senseless, purely motivated by a lust for destruction. In the modernized versions of Wilde's *Salome* and Hebbel's *Judith*, however, violence is complicated by its manifestation as revenge. In their performances, Eysoldt and Durieux further elevated the narrative of revenge, and their interventions become evident in the debates that arose between critics over the appropriateness and impact of their performances. Durieux's interpretation of Judith's act of vengeance, in particular, was extensively discussed in theater journals and reviews in 1910. In her memoir Durieux recounts the furor of interest surrounding her performance of Judith. She writes: "People were amazed to see a simple woman on the stage, who managed, however, to sweep them away with the storm of her emotions. The audience and critics didn't know what to think, but people rushed to the theater and that was, after all, what we wanted."⁶⁶

The reactions amidst this whirlwind of interest were mixed. Many critics held Durieux responsible for what they perceived to be a corruption Hebbel's dramatic heroine. Josef Bondy laments in the *Nationalzeitung, Berlin*: "To be sure, her Judith does not contain even a trace of a theater heroine."⁶⁷ Critics from numerous publications discussed the ways in which Durieux failed to meet their expectations for the dramatic figure. They generally agreed that her Judith was too sexualized and too savage. A review from the *Berliner Zeitung* depicts Durieux's Judith as a woman driven mad by desire:

Judith has heroism; she strides and resounds. Ms. Durieux creeps about; her grey eyes shimmer with malice; she gasps; she hisses with anger; she shows both rows of her teeth – and when, clad in a red robe, she stumbles into the passions of the Assyrian general, the dark blonde of her hair flowing over her neck, shaken with

⁶⁶ Durieux, *Meine ersten neunzig Jahre*, 125.

⁶⁷ ADK 1910

dread and trembling all over with desire, then the heroic motive to her deed is transformed into the convulsion of a hysterical girl. [...] A wild kitty has bitten through the lion's jugular.⁶⁸

According to this review, Durieux transforms Hebbel's stately and imposing heroine into a slinking, animalistic predator. Hissing and baring her teeth, Durieux is again zoomorphically linked to the cat, symbolically evocative of erotic desire and feminine danger. The reviewer also valorizes Holofernes as a lion, making him the victim of Judith's revenge. In this way, the reviewer attempts to disavow Durieux's complication of the figure and her motives. He returns the myth of the femme fatale to its most basic form, insisting on a perpetrator-victim binary that solidifies female sexual deviance and male valor.

In Lombroso's construction of woman, this excess of sex and violence, woman's imagined boundless capacity for cruelty in the myth of the femme fatale, is transformed into physical potentiality through the continuous synchro-diachronic collapse of narrative. He writes: "In a band of assassins known as La Taille, the women were worse than the men in torturing captives, especially female captives. The woman Tiburzio, having killed a pregnant friend, bit her ferociously, tearing away pieces of flesh and throwing them to the dog. Chevalier killed a pregnant woman by driving a pair of scissors through her ear and into her brain."⁶⁹ The cruelty of Tiburzio and Chavlier is exaggerated and sensationalized through the fact that their victims are pregnant women. Lombroso engages a shared cultural expectation of maternal charity in women, and relies on the

⁶⁸ "Judith hat Heldenmaß; sie schreitet; sie tönt. Fräulein Durieux schleicht sich heran; in den grauen Augen schrillert eine Tücke; sie haucht; sie zischt auf in Wut, sie zeigt beide Reihen der Zähne – und wenn sie, im roten Gewand der Lustnacht des Assyrerfeldhern hereintaumelt, das Dunkelblond des Haars den Nacken überfließend, grauengeschüttelt und lustdurchbebt – da wandelt sich der heroische Anlauf zur Tat in einen Krampf eines hysterischen Mädchens. [...] Ein Wildkätzlein hat dem Löwen die Gargel durchbissen." ADK 1910.

⁶⁹ Cesare Lombroso, *Criminal Woman*, 183.

shock at such radical departure therefrom in these narrative accounts.⁷⁰ In his use of anecdotal rather than empirical evidence the authority of affective response replaces the authority of scientific expertise. The descriptions are short but markedly graphic and he provides no sources for the relatively unconnected series of accounts. He also includes little analysis, assuming instead that the proof of cruelty in the examples is self-evident. The narrative account foregrounds the extreme cruelty, ferocity and callousness of the women and aims to evoke shock and horror in the reader.

Lombroso addresses the cruelty of the born criminal woman in narrative constructs throughout *Criminal Woman*. While other characteristics of the female criminal are presented as evidence of hereditary flaws and atavism—cranial and genital malformation, facial asymmetry, and a predominance of masculine traits⁷¹—Lombroso views the born criminal woman's sadistic cruelty as a sign of monstrosity. He surmises

⁷⁰ In addition to identifying maternity as the root component of the normal woman, Lombroso posits that motherhood and maternal instinct neutralize woman's inherent criminal impulses, producing what he calls an "anticriminogenic effect." He thus presents maternity as a sort of "cure" for the criminality which is inherent to every woman, and suggests that maternity can negate that criminal impulse. He writes: "...maternity works as a sort of moral vaccine against evil, dampening a mother's resentment because her main fear is separation from her children. [...] Moreover, maternity is preeminently a normal physiological phenomenon while criminality, no matter how derived from passion, is pathological, and the two are rarely able to combine." *Ibid.*, 204. For Lombroso criminality and maternity are mutually exclusive, and the maternal instinct is dominant as it is more natural. The lack of maternal feelings, on the other hand, is a clear sign as well as a cause of criminality in women.

⁷¹ Her inability to resist the most dangerous feminine impulses is added to the presence of masculine traits in female criminals. The masculinity of the Born Criminal woman can manifest outwardly in physical anomalies such as hair growth, physiognomic and corporeal traits, and a lower voice, all of which Lombroso attributes to evolutionary degeneration. "Because the criminal is above all a reversion to a primitive evolutionary type, the female criminal naturally presents the two most salient characteristics of primitive women: precocity and similarity to the male. Her lesser differentiation from the male manifests itself in her stature, cranium, brain, and muscular strength, the latter of which is far greater in her than in the modern female" (*Ibid.*, 150). Furthermore, the Born Criminal woman can demonstrate masculinity through excessive strength and/or an overly developed sexual appetite: "...sexuality can be exaggerated in female born criminals; this is one of the traits that makes them similar to men" (*Ibid.*, 185). Lombroso writes further: "In general, the moral physiognomy of the born female criminal is close to that of the male. The atavistic diminution of secondary sexual characteristics which shows up in the anthropology of the subject appears again in the psychology of the female offender, who is excessively erotic, weak in maternal feelings, inclined to dissipation, and both astute and audacious. She dominates weaker people, sometimes through suggestion, sometimes through force. Her love of violent exercise, her vices, and even her clothing increase her resemblance to man." (*Ibid.*, 192) Physically and psychologically the female born criminal demonstrates a large presence of masculine traits.

that, "the criminal woman is a true monster. Honest women are kept in line by factors such as maternity, piety, and weakness; when a woman commits a crime despite these restraints, this is a sign that her power of evil is immense."⁷² By characterizing the born criminal woman as monstrous and evil, Lombroso engages a purely affective response to the imagined excesses of the born criminal woman. She fits neither the category of normal woman nor the typical deviation thereof in the prostitute. She is "the double exception," the rarest and most frightening manifestation of woman. In *Criminal Man*, Lombroso concludes: "Everyone agrees that the few violent women far exceed men in their ferocity and cruelty. The brigand women of southern Italy and the female revolutionaries of Paris invented unspeakable tortures. It was women who sold the flesh of policemen; who forced a man to eat his own roasted penis; and who threaded human bodies on a pike."⁷³ Here, again, Lombroso relies on popular belief and sensational accounts to support his claims of female cruelty. He invokes the authority of shared opinion by claiming that "everyone agrees" on the extremity of female cruelty. His examples require no further evidence, because they are universally recognized as representative of woman's true nature—they invoke the authority of myth.⁷⁴

Although Lombroso delineates a specific category for the most violent female deviants, he repeatedly reminds his reader that the born criminal woman is merely the most extreme fulfillment of woman's inherent capacity for evil. The excessive violence and cruelty the criminal woman exercises is inherent to woman's nature, and becomes

⁷² Ibid., 185.

⁷³ Lombroso, *Criminal Man*, 67.

⁷⁴ Lombroso's reference to Shakespeare as an authoritative cultural document is also representative of his larger methodology. Along with folklore and anecdote, Lombroso employs many examples from literary and cultural history as evidence in both *Criminal Man* and *Criminal Woman*. Although it is Macbeth who carries out the violent acts in Shakespeare's tragedy, Lombroso identifies Lady Macbeth as the true source of evil behind his plots.

visible in the "inclination toward revenge" that can reveal in all women, normal and criminal, an "inexorable executioner."⁷⁵ In his description of the "normal woman,"

Lombroso writes:

Woman reveals herself in revenge, a feeling that...is more developed in her than in man. She pours torment on her victim drop by drop and at great length, sometimes while joking. Moreover, due to her more impulsive nature, woman's vengeful reactions follow stimuli more rapidly than do those of men and thus stand less chance of being reined in by willpower. This makes it dangerous for men to grant women wide powers and the liberty to tell men what to do.⁷⁶

Lombroso reduces the female act of revenge to a simple fulfillment of inherent cruelty. He assigns trivial motives to woman's revenge: vanity, jealousy, competition for a man's affection, and rejection. The capriciousness of woman's vengeance and her inability to restrain her desire to punish her offender, furthermore, reiterates the need for men to restrict women's authority and volition, just as the excessive cruelty Lombroso identifies as inherent to woman's nature must be subdued by maternity and domesticity.

While Lombroso's myth of the vengeful woman simplifies the motives behind her revenge and legitimizes and even necessitates her suppression, turn-of-the-century performances of Judith complicate this simplified paradigm of revenge. Even if her contemporary critics viewed the murder committed by Durieux's Judith as a hysterical reaction, the biblical Judith still asks: *Do I not have a right to repay with violence the violence done to me?* In addition to this inherent appeal, Durieux's performance gave the figure psychological and corporeal complexity, challenging any reduction of the murder to an irrational impulse. As the review from the *Berliner Zeitung* indicates, however, the move away from a reductive logic of female violence met resistance from male critics. With the critic's implication that Judith approaches his tent with her own sexual motives,

⁷⁵ Cesare Lombroso, *Criminal Woman*, 186, 65.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 65.

the rape is transformed into a fulfillment of her desires. The legitimacy of her revenge is thus undermined, and interpreted instead as a hysterical manifestation of her own excessive sexuality. This review from the *Berliner Zeitung*, and many other similar pieces, reveal a backlash from the male viewer against the actress's claim over the figure. By delegitimizing the motive for Judith's revenge, the review hystericizes the figure and the actress, categorizing the performance as a corrupted misappropriation of Hebbel's tragedy, and thereby returning authority over the figure to the male author.

More conservative reviews echoed the derision found in the *Berliner Zeitung*, yet other critics were impressed by Durieux's adaptation, and recognized her imprint on the figure as a distinctly modern iteration. The reviewer for the *Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung* finds Durieux's Judith to be fascinating and innovative. He describes her performance not as tarnishing Hebbel's dramatic character, but rather complicating the figure with the addition of psychological depth and complexity:

Tilla Durieux's Judith, with her nervous, sophisticated undertone successfully fuses the heroic motif at the very root of her act with the outrage of a woman who sees herself treated like an object. This Judith reaches for the avenging sword with the feeling of deepest degradation and debasement.⁷⁷

The critic admires Durieux's ability to combine the heroic motives inscribed in Hebbel's Judith with her own interpretation of the figure as an assaulted woman. He reads her performance as a complex display of emotions. In this view, her Judith is not hysterical or irrational; she has suffered violence and she takes up the sword to punish Holofernes for the crime he commits against her.

⁷⁷ "Die Judith Tilla Durieux' mit ihrem nervösen, mondänen Unterton, verschmolzt aufs glücklichste das heroische Motiv, das ihre Tat zu Grunde liegt, mit der Empörung des Weibes, sich als Sache behandelt zu sehen. Diese Judith greift in dem Gefühl tiefster Erniedrigung und Entwürdigung zum rächenden Schwert." ADK 1910.

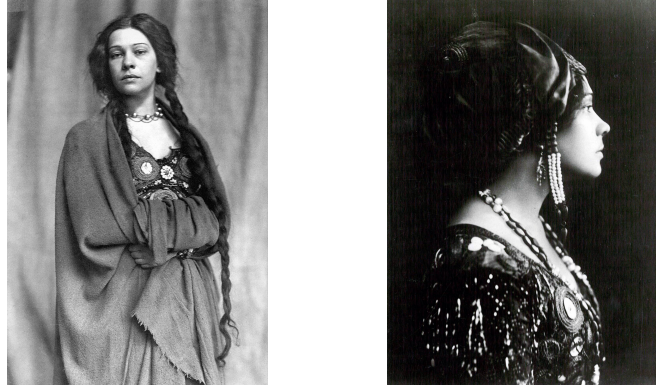


Figure 3.8. Photographs of Tilla Durieux as Judith, (1910)⁷⁸

Even Bondy, who was, in general, highly critical of the production of *Judith* and of Durieux in particular, also recognized that Durieux's performance of Judith was something remarkable. He writes:

It was precisely Durieux who [Reinhardt] needed for the role of "Judith," in order to show us how "modern" this drama is, as far as that which concerns the secret and mysterious life of a woman. He had to portray her with Durieux, because of all the actresses we have seen, in any ensemble, and not just Reinhardt's, she is the most perceptive, the most sophisticated, the "most modern."⁷⁹

Bondy cannot reconcile Durieux's performance with his expectations for Hebbel's *Judith*, yet still he acknowledges that Durieux creates something new in her performance of lead role. He views her Judith as something truly "modern"—somehow revealing elements of the secret and unknowable aspects of modern femininity. Bondy's review simultaneously recognizes the depth and complexity of Durieux's performance and his own inability to fully understand it. Though he does not see the artistic value of Durieux's performance of Hebbel's Judith, he does see value in the exploration of the modern woman's psyche in the performance of *her* Judith. Through the stage performance, Bondy engages with both the femme fatale fantasy *and* the appearance of a modern woman on the stage. His

⁷⁸ MRA #R2921, #R2924.

⁷⁹ "[Reinhardt] mußte gerade mit der Durieux die ‚Judith‘ geben, um uns zu zeigen, wie 'modern' diese Dichtung ist in allem, was des Weibes geheimstes, rätselhaftestes Leben angeht. Mußte sie geben gerade mit der Durieux, weil diese Schauspielerin von allen nicht nur seines Ensembles, sondern soweit wir sie übersehen können, die feinnervigste, differenzierteste, 'modernste' ist." ADK Durieux #520.

recognition of elements of the psychological and social condition of the "modern woman" in the figure complicates the temporal collapse enacted by the femme fatale fantasy. Rather than a simultaneity of mythical and perceived present danger, Bondy engages with a parallel reading of the femme fatale and the modern woman. The actress's performance has thus begun to untangle the imbricated temporalities of myth and modern in the figure.

"Modern" Women in the Theater

In the end, the fin-de-siècle stage still saw the violent demise of the femmes fatales. Salome is crushed to death when Herod, realizing with horror what she has made him do, commands his soldiers to kill her. And Judith foretells her own death when she commands that she be killed, should she become pregnant with Holofernes' child. Although Salome and Judith thus both fulfill the imperative for submission, destruction, or death, that anchors masculine authority over the femme fatale fantasy, the performance of the figure had already unsettled the legitimacy of that imperative.

Women in the audience were also captivated and intrigued by Eysoldt's and Durieux's performances of Judith and Salome. In the theater they encounter both the dramatic figures and the actresses who embodied them on stage. Judith and Salome were powerful women who commanded authority over their own bodies, and over the men around them, and the actress assumed this power through performance. Eysoldt and Durieux embraced and emphasized the erotic and violent aspects of Salome and Judith in their performances, claiming authority as actresses, and imbuing the characters with that authority as well.

The interest that female audience members showed in these powerful women was unsettling to some of their male contemporaries. In his review of *Salome* for the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, the conservative critic Gustav Zieler mused, astounded:

One is confronted with a riddle, when one hears how women and even young girls earnestly debate over the relationship between lust and cruelty, how, with complete peace of mind, they expound on the realm of sexual perversity, and find such performances wonderful and magnificent. One can only think: they know not what they do. But criticism is obligated to douse this unhealthy and unnatural hothouse with a healthy, cold shower.⁸⁰

Zieler is shocked and baffled by the excitement the performances engendered in women in the audience. He is particularly disturbed by the open discussions of sexuality and eroticism---which Zieler calls "sexual perversity"---in which women engaged after viewing the production, and also by their admiration for the performances. He further asserts the need for masculine authority to intervene in the discussion and excitement in order to stop the unnatural interest women showed in the lurid matters presented on stage.

Zieler imagines the women in the audience as naïve and misguided ("they know not what they do"), and he fears that they do not comprehend the destructive potential in the "unhealthy and unnatural" environment to which they have been exposed. Instead they revel in the corruption and allow themselves to be caught up in the seduction of the powerful and deadly women displayed on stage. Finally, Zieler identifies the male critic as a bastion against this corruption, declaring that it is his duty to douse the women's feverish excitement with a cold stream of critic's sensibility. The urgency of Zieler's injunction belies the authority he claims in his review. He posits that the actresses on

⁸⁰ "Man steht vor einem Rätsel, wenn man hört, wie Frauen und gar junge Mädchen ganz ernsthaft über den Zusammenhang von Wollust und Grausamkeit disputieren, wie sie sich mit aller Seelenruhe über das Gebiet der sexuellen Perversität verbreiten und derartige Darstellungen wundervoll und großartig finden. Man muß sich sagen: sie wissen nicht, was sie tun. Die Kritik aber hat die Pflicht, in diese ungesunde unnatürliche Treibhausluft einen gesunden kalten Wasserstrahl zu senden." ADK #520.

stage might infect their female viewers with licentiousness, but it seems, rather, that what he fears more is that what he presumed to know about the female viewers' interests and investments does not hold true.

Zieler's anxiety reveals the instability of his authority over the play's reception, and reflects the disruption of patriarchal paradigms at work on the stage as Durieux and Eysoldt claim authorship in the fantasy of the femme fatale. Ultimately, his aggravation thus attests to the autonomy that actresses like Eysoldt and Durieux claimed in performance as they publicly challenged discourses of sexual and gender normalcy, and staged alternative modes of feminist intervention in paradigms of masculine authority. Through the corporeal and temporal complexity of stage performance, actresses dissected the synchro-diachronic authority of myth, opening a space in the femme fatale fantasy to female intervention by both the actress and the female viewer.

CHAPTER 4

THE SEX AND CHARACTER OF HOFMANNSTHAL'S *ELEKTRA*: TEMPORALITY, SUBJECTIVITY AND PERFORMANCE

ELEKTRA. ohne Brautnacht
bin ich nicht, wie die Jungfrau'n sind, die Qualen
von einer, die gebärt, hab' ich gespürt
und habe nichts zur Welt gebracht, und eine
Prophetin bin ich immerfort gewesen
und habe nichts hervorgeholt aus mir
und meinem Leib wie Flüche und Verzweiflung.¹

- Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Elektra* (1903)

[Das Weib] repräsentiert das Nichts, den Gegenpol der Gottheit, die andere Möglichkeit im Menschen. [...] Und so erklärt sich auch jene tiefste Furcht im Manne: die Furcht vor dem Weibe, das ist die Furcht vor der Sinnlosigkeit: das ist die Furcht vor dem lockenden Abgrund des Nichts.²

- Otto Weininger, *Geschlecht und Charakter* (1903)

Hugo von Hofmannsthal wrote his *Elektra* specifically for the Berlin actress, Gertrud Eysoldt. She, in turn, felt a deeply personal connection with the role, and not only because it was intended for her. She imagined it to be an extension of herself, penned somehow by Hofmannsthal from her own life's blood. On September 29th, 1903, shortly after reading the script for the first time, and only a month before the premier at

¹ "[...] without a wedding night / I am not as virgins are, I have / felt the agony of giving birth / and I have brought nothing to the world, / and I, ever a prophet, / have brought forth nothing from myself / and my body but curses and despair." Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Elektra. Tragödie in einem Aufzuge. Frei nach Sophokles," *Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Sämtliche Werke VII. Dramen 5*, eds. Klaus E. Bohnenkamp and Mathias Mayer (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1997), 103; 29-35. All translations of *Elektra* are my own, citations include page number and line numbers from the *Sämtliche Werke* [pg; l-l].

² "Woman represents nothingness, the opposite of divinity, the other possibility in the human" (my translation). "[...] And this also accounts for the deepest fear in Man: the fear of Woman, that is, the fear of meaninglessness, the fear of the tempting abyss of nothingness." Otto Weininger, *Sex and Character. An Investigation of Fundamental Principles*, trans. Ladislaus Löb, eds. Daniel Steuer and Laura Marcus (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2005), 268.

Reinhardt's *Kleines Theater*, the actress wrote feverishly to the author. In her letter she declares, "it seems you have been writing for the last few months from my burning life – out of my blood you formed all manner of wild dreams – and I lived here blithely, and only thought of you in cheerful, brightly colored hours – waited unsuspecting for the event that you would bring me."³ The drama would be an event for Eysoldt, for Hofmannsthal and Reinhardt, and also in the theater world, inciting fierce debates between critics. Eysoldt's sense that the role was somehow from and of her life would also be borne out in the production's reception at the turn of the century. In reviews from the performance Eysoldt and Elektra often discursively appear as one and the same being; for viewers the play created an acutely tangible experience of the layered subject on stage.

Eysoldt, too, consciously engaged with her own performance as polyvalent. Her letter to Hofmannsthal conveys a collapse of past and present and future in her relationship to Elektra. Through the figure she felt a sense of her lived experience, reading the drama she was immersed in its intensely distressing immediacy, and, at the same time, she envisioned suffering in the performances to come. She writes, "I lie here shattered from it – I suffer – I suffer – I cry out from this violence – I'm afraid of my own power – of this torment that awaits me. I will suffer terribly from it. I feel as though I can only play the part once. It makes me want to escape from myself."⁴ This layering reflects Eysoldt's personal engagement with Elektra, and also the central presence of temporality as a structuring element of the drama itself. In his *Elektra*, Hofmannsthal constructs each of the three central figures—Elektra, Klytämnestra, and Chrysothemis—according to

³ DSE, 9.

⁴ Ibid.

distinct and evident orientations to time. Each woman is bound to an absolute present, past, or future. In contemporary reception and in scholarship since, the extreme shaping force of time for each woman has been read as a form of madness, most commonly of hysteria (fig. 4.1).⁵



Figure 4.1. Gertrud Eysoldt in the role of Elektra (1903)⁶

Scholarship concerned with madness and hysteria has been important to uncovering many dimensions of *Elektra's* production and reception. This chapter contends, however, that this predominant paradigm has overshadowed an intersection of temporality and subjectivity central to the drama and its stage production, and also to cultural discourse surrounding shifting perceptions of temporality, and a "crisis" of identity particularly associated with the *Wiener Moderne*. The multiform production of crisis at the fin de siècle responded to a number of concerns related to social and political change, shifting aesthetic paradigms, and the many dimensions of the *Frauenfrage*. The multiform production of crisis at its most fundamental level imagined a significant threat

⁵ Much scholarship has focused on the parallels between Hofmannsthal's *Elektra* and Freud's and Breuer's *Studien über Hysterie*. Some scholars have even contended that the drama amounts to a literary translation of the psychological work. This chapter will not consider parallels to turn-of-the-century work on hysteria, and instead examines an engagement with temporality and subjectivity in the drama.

⁶ MRA #R4707; DDT, 110.

to male subjectivity, initially spurred by the philosophical interventions of, most notably, Friedrich Nietzsche and Ernst Mach. Hofmannsthal and many other modernists found inspiration in the idea of a destabilized subject, experimenting with the inability to access and understand the world and the self through categories formerly thought to be stable, including language, the senses, and time. Other fin-de-siècle intellectuals were, by contrast, contributed to the production of "crisis" by constructing means to reaffirm the unified male subject, turning in some cases to the new disciplines of anthropology, psychology, and sexology for scientific authority. Among the proponents of the latter approach, Otto Weininger's theories gained considerable traction and influence.⁷

Weininger is most known for his largest work, *Geschlecht und Charakter* [Sex and Character] (1903), which was his only manuscript to be published during his lifetime.⁸ Knitting together the language and methodologies of biology, psychology, and philosophy the author conceived of this investigation as an answer to the *Frauenfrage*.⁹ Ultimately, his answer to the *Frauenfrage* would be to identify woman as "non-being," a living abyss [*Abgrund*]. The central principle that Weininger develops to substantiate the unified male subject is thus the disavowal of female subjectivity. While the central axis

⁷ Although its reception history is highly contested, scholars have convincingly demonstrated that *Sex and Character*, and Weininger's theories of gender and sexuality enjoyed wide circulation and popularity with his contemporaries. Allan Janik has argued that Weininger's work was more important and influential in the period than Freud's, despite Freud's more lasting influence. *Essays on Wittgenstein and Weininger* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1985), 103-108. On Weininger's influence at the turn of the century see also: Chandak Sengoopta, *Otto Weininger. Sex, Science, and Self in Imperial Vienna* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2000).

⁸ In fin-de-siècle cultural studies it has been difficult to locate female voices in the predominantly male-authored text field surrounding gender and subjectivity. Recent scholars like Tracy Mastysik and Kirsten Leng have contributed significantly to amending this gap by foregrounding feminist writing on sexuality and science. As their work has demonstrated, prominent feminists and the feminist organizations they created, contributed directly to the philosophical and scientific texts that circulated widely in this period. See: Tracie Matysik, *Reforming the Moral Subject. Ethics and Sexuality in Central Europe 1890-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2008), and Kirsten Leng, "Contesting the 'Laws of Life': Feminism, Sexual Science and Sexual Governance in Germany and Britain, c. 1880-1914" [Diss. University of Michigan, 2011], and articles forthcoming.

⁹ See the Introduction to this dissertation.

of gender in Weininger's work has been studied in detail by current scholars, a largely overlooked aspect of his theory of subjectivity asserts that the abyss of woman is also fundamentally a temporal abyss. The central function of temporality in his more encompassing vision only becomes apparent in his essay, "Über die Einsinnigkeit der Zeit" [On the Unidirectionality of Time], which was published posthumously.¹⁰ Read together, the essay and the larger work encompass an important triadic relationship between his constructions of gender, subjectivity, and temporality.

This chapter reads Weininger's work with and against Hofmannsthal's *Elektra*, in order to excavate the dimensions of gender, temporality and subjectivity at work in each, and to interrogate scripting authority deployed along these axes. The chapter also engages critically with the stage production of the drama, contending that the experience of theatrical performance, which inherently manipulates and disrupts any static model of temporality, constituted a significant intervention in the scripts of gender and subjectivity produced by the scientific and literary texts. At the center of this stage performance, moreover, Gertrud Eysoldt maintained the most substantial authority over the production of competing temporalities. She produced a layered subject through and against the figure of Elektra that was tangible in the theater, producing a cognitive, affective and visceral encounter that engaged the viewer in the recognition and co-production of female subjectivity.

¹⁰ On several occasions the essay refers back to his *Sex and Character*, positioning the essay as a supplement to the larger work. While the essay on time provides additional philosophical underpinning for his earlier *Sex and Character*, the larger book informs the fundamental gender characterology at work in the essay. Otto Weininger, "Über die Einsinnigkeit der Zeit und ihre ethische Bedeutung nebst Spekulationen über Zeit, Raum, Wille überhaupt," in *Über die letzten Dinge* 4th ed (Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1918), 93-109.

Temporality, Subjectivity and Performance

Stephen Kern has convincingly argued that a number of cultural influences from the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century unsettled previously held certainties about the nature of time and human experience. Kern suggests that technological and cultural developments combined to change perceptions of time in lived experience, and also theories of temporality in philosophical and psychological approaches to cognition and self-understanding.¹¹ Otto Weininger, whose intellectual curiosity reached into a wide array of disciplines, took a serious interest in the relationship between temporality and subjectivity developing his own philosophy of time. In his essay, "On the Unidirectionality of Time," Weininger establishes an ethics of time that distinguished masculine and feminine temporalities according to the driving force of the will.

Weininger determines that linear time constitutes an ethical progression that constantly struggles against the regressive forces of cyclical time. "The unidirectionality of time, that is the non-recurrence of what is past," he writes, "is the basis for all of the aforementioned phenomena of struggle against backward, rotating forms of movement. This form of movement is, as it turns out, unethical."¹² Circular movement is unethical, he explains, because it is the manifestations of temporal stasis, a failure of intentionality.¹³ Linear progression, on the other hand, is a force of the will, and

¹¹ Kern specifically lists, "the telephone, wireless telegraph, x-ray, cinema, bicycle, automobile, and airplane" as the "material foundation," and "the stream-of-consciousness novel, psychoanalysis, Cubism, and the theory of relativity," as developments that directly effected consciousness. For more on this see: Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1983).

¹² "Die Einsinnigkeit der Zeit, d.h. das Nie-Wiederkehren des Vergangenen, ist aber der Grund aller jener besprochenen Phänomene des Widerstrebens gegen rückläufige, drehende Bewegungsformen. Diese Form der Bewegung ist, wie sich herausstellte, unethisch." Weininger, "On the Unidirectionality of Time," 102.

¹³ In his most concrete example, he points to dance—which, he argues, is unethical because of its reliance on spinning and rotation—contending that it is an activity preferred by women and disdained by men. As evidence that cyclical, regressive time, epitomized by dance, is clearly unethical, he further notes, "you will

accordingly he contends, "the unidirectionality of time is thus identical with the fact that the human is essentially a willing being. The I as will is time."¹⁴ It is herein that Weininger establishes definitively the gender of unidirectional time as masculine, because for him only man has an intelligible self, an "I," and only man has the ability to assert individual will.¹⁵ Women, by contrast, "have no development, because they have no will to value: this justifies what I all too abruptly claimed before," he continues, referring to his earlier work in *Sex and Character*: "that for women time is not directional."¹⁶ With the essay on time, Weininger closes the circular reasoning begun in *Sex and Character*, that makes subjectivity exclusive to man: linear time is a force of will; will can only be asserted by the intelligible self; knowledge of the self is gained through the continuity of memory, which is only accessible through linear progression.¹⁷

Weininger prepares the groundwork for this logical progression in *Sex and Character*. In a chapter on "Memory, Logic, Ethics," Weininger purposefully works toward the absolute disavowal of female subjectivity. He first establishes that the capacity for memory is constitutive of consciousness as such. He then asserts that women have a minimal capacity for memory, and, more specifically, are incapable of

find that the more a woman likes to dance, and the better she is at it, the more of the prostitute she has in her." Ibid., 97-98.

¹⁴ "Die Einsinnigkeit der Zeit ist sonach identisch mit der Tatsache, daß der Mensch zutiefst ein wollendes Wesen ist. Das Ich als Wille ist die Zeit." Ibid., 104.

¹⁵ Weininger derives his notion of the intelligible self from his own idiosyncratic reading of Kant's *Critique of Practical Reason*, which he believed to be grossly misinterpreted by the majority of his contemporaries. A side project of *Sex and Character* is a kind of recuperation of Kant's work. As Weininger explains, "The 'intelligible' self, which is different from any empirical consciousness, has been defined as the origin and legislator of morality by the most sublime book in the world, the *Critique of Pure Reason*." In: Weininger, *Sex and Character*, 132. For more on Weininger and Kant, see: Sengoopta, *Otto Weininger*; and Janik, *Wittgensteins Vienna*.

¹⁶ Weininger, "On the Unidirectionality of Time," 106.

¹⁷ In *Sex and Character* he writes, "as I have said, even if a woman begins to have an inkling of her own determined nature, this still cannot be called a clear *consciousness* or an assessment and understanding of it, because that would require the *will* to a self." 251.

maintaining continuity in their memories. "Genuine Woman totally lacks this sense of identity in all the situations of her life," he explains,

since her memory, even if it is conspicuously good, as happens in isolated cases, *is always devoid of any continuity*. [...] Women, looking back on their earlier life, *never* understand themselves, and *have no desire to understand themselves*, as can immediately be seen from the scanty interest they show in the words of a man who tells them something about themselves.¹⁸

By denying woman any continuous memory, Weininger also denies the existence of female self-knowledge. His argument then progresses to eliminate the possibility of each category—memory, logic, ethics—for women, based on the absence of the others. Having also established that these are the three primary categories of the intelligible self, he thus surmises, "the conclusion that [W] lacks a suprasensory personality is perfectly justified. [...] Absolute Woman has no self [*kein Ich*]."¹⁹ For Weininger, the human experience of time is thus foundational to categories of experience, knowledge and self.

Scientists were not the only parties invested in the forms and applications of temporality for subjectivity at the turn of the century. In the theater, Hofmannsthal, Reinhardt and Eysoldt purposefully manipulated the experience of time through stage performance, a form of experimentation heightened by the temporal specificity of the theater, what Erika Fischer-Lichte has called the "the inherent paradox of performance." As she explains, performance "is ephemeral and transitory; however, whatever happens and takes shape in its course comes into being *hic et nunc* (here and now) and is

¹⁸ "Dieses Gefühl der Identität in allen Lebenslagen fehlt dem echten Weibe völlig, da sein Gedächtnis, selbst wenn es — das kommt in einzelnen Fällen vor — auffallend gut ist, stets alle Kontinuität vermissen läßt. [...] die Frauen verstehen sich, wenn sie an ihr früheres Leben zurückdenken, nie, sie haben aber auch kein Bedürfnis sich zu verstehen, wie man schon aus dem geringen Interesse entnehmen kann, das sie den Worten des Mannes entgegenbringen, der ihnen etwas über sie selbst sagt." Weininger, *Sex and Character*, 128.

¹⁹ "Also ist der Schluß vollkommen berechtigt, daß ihm auch die übersinnliche Persönlichkeit fehlt. [...] Das absolute Weib hat kein Ich." *Ibid.*, 161.

experienced by the participants as being present in a particularly intense way."²⁰ Thus, in the theater, the viewer and the performer are made significantly—if not consciously—aware of a specific kind of temporal encounter and exchange. Theater performance engages the viewer in a heightened present tense of creation in space and time. Along with other recent performance scholars like Simon Shepherd, Fischer-Lichte has further drawn attention to the fundamental co-production of the theatrical experience, constituted through what she identifies as the "co-presence" of performers and viewers. The contingency of live performance engages the actors *and* the audience in the production of the theatrical experience. As Fischer-Lichte explains, "[t]he participants in a performance experience themselves as subjects co-determining its course and, at the same time, being determined by it."²¹

How consciously aware or experientially engaged the audience will be with elements of co-presence and temporal immediacy in live performance is dependent on the cultural-historical context and on the dramaturgies of a given production. In the 1903 production of *Elektra* the temporal and experiential components of performance were specifically at hand for Hofmannsthal, Reinhardt and Eysoldt, and thus heightened in the theatrical performance. The radical newness of modernist theater practices, furthermore, made the audience particularly cognizant of the performance as a multi-layered experience engaging sensory, visceral, intellectual and affective dimensions.

Critics reflected consciously on their *experience* of Reinhardt's unique production, and often outlined the various mechanisms that drew them into a notably visceral

²⁰ Erika Fischer-Lichte, "Performance as Event – Reception as Transformation," *Theorizing Performance. Greek Drama, Cultural History and Critical Practice*, eds. Edith Hall and Stephe Harrop (London: Duckworth, 2010), 31.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

encounter with the performance. They specifically mention that Reinhardt ensured that his audience would have an uninterrupted encounter with his production by prohibiting latecomers from entering the theater. The review for *Die Post* notes that Reinhardt was enforcing a new policy of closing the doors at the beginning of the performance to prevent any disturbances—the critic writes with excitement: "[t]he auditorium doors will be locked at the beginning of the performance!"²² Although this may seem to be trivial point, the effects were in fact significant. As the existence of a separate notice to announce this new policy suggests, Reinhardt's hindrance of late arrivals or early departures was an unprecedented injunction. Previous conventions of theater etiquette would have permitted unencumbered traffic and accompanying disturbances, that would continuously drawing the viewer's attention from the stage. The new closed-door policy created a sensory vacuum within the theater that maintained the viewers continual engagement with the performance on the stage, their physical presence in the space of the theater and in relationship to the actors and other viewers.

The production also intervened in conventions of theatrical time by omitting the customary intermission. In the *Schlesische Zeitung*, one reviewer writes with consternation about the performance, which, "in its hour and a half duration was not halted or disrupted by any breaks or intermissions."²³ The audience was thus quite literally held captive by the performance. And Reinhardt used this time to bombard his viewers with sensory input. The critic for *Vorwärts* notes that in addition to the lack of a formal intermission, the production abandoned any stylistic conventions that would vary the intensity of the performance:

²² MRA, #R8485.

²³ MRA #R8510.

The tempest of Greek drama is beneficially interrupted throughout the narrative by the chorus. There are moments of quiet in which one can catch his breath, moments that allow a perspective which elevates the senses to a higher level that reminds us of the greater powers of fate that steadily prevail even in the turmoil of hatred. All of this is eliminated in Hofmannsthal's drama. His work races and storms and wails without refrain. The somber courtyard, tightly contained within the mighty stone walls of the palace, into which a free, liberating breeze could never penetrate, is a symbol of the atmosphere.²⁴

The *Vorwärts* review conveys a distinct feeling of claustrophobia imparted by the production aesthetic and the performance dramaturgy.²⁵ (Fig. 4.2) The viewer was, in effect, locked in the theater, set before a confined scene on the stage—which never changed over the course of the production; all of the staged action takes place within the small courtyard—and then presented with an hour and a half of continuous and intensely physical performance.

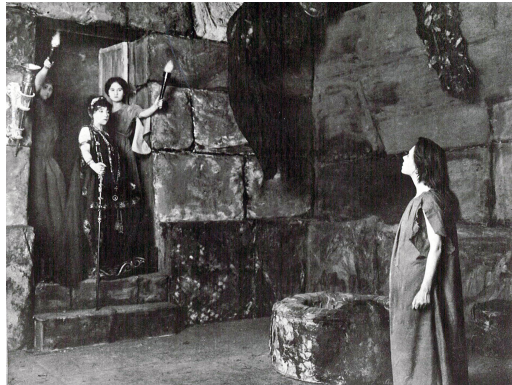


Figure 4.2. Scene Photograph from *Elektra* (1903).
From left, Rosa Bertens in the role of Klytämnestra and Gertrud Eysoldt in the role of Elektra.²⁶

Eysoldt and her fellow performers used the close proximity constructed in Reinhardt's theater to fully engage their viewers both affectively and viscerally. Several reviews, both positive and derisive, note that the audience was enthralled or entranced by

²⁴ MRA #R8518.

²⁵ Hofmannsthal conspicuously omitted a chorus from his *Elektra* in line with his larger intention to purposefully counter classical traditions.

²⁶ MRA #R1349.

the performance. The reviewer for the *Schlesische Zeitung, Breslau* declares: "the viewer did not break from the atmosphere for even a second."²⁷ In the *Berliner Lokal Anzeiger* a correspondent from the ensemble's guest performance in Vienna reports that the production: "exercised a deeply felt effect. Apparently the audience was captivated by the spell of the drama from the first minute. But it was as though the horror had escalated too much. At the end they had to quiet protests against the play, however weak, before the overwhelming applause, which the actors and the director had earned, could break through."²⁸ The conflict between enthrallment and horror outlined in this review is representative of the way in which the corporeal dimensions of the production ensnared even the most unwilling viewers. It was not until the play had ended, and the spell was broken, that dissenters could register protest or disavowal.²⁹ The viewer was thus doubly present in the moment of the production, captive in the visceral exchange constructed by the performance, and also cognitively and corporeally participating in the immediate present, and present-progressive temporality of the performance. At the center of this engagement was the figure of Eysoldt/Elektra.

Hofmannsthal carefully chose Eysoldt to perform in *Elektra*; indeed, he wrote the lead role specifically for her and for Reinhardt's theater.³⁰ Hofmannsthal first met

²⁷ MRA #R8510.

²⁸ MRA #R8521.

²⁹ It would not have been unusual for audience members to vocally protest *during* the performance at this time. Audience participation was customary in the theater. It is thus striking that reviewers note the audience's absolute silence until the end of the production.

³⁰ Prior to this first encounter with Reinhardt and Eysoldt, Hofmannsthal had long been interested in writing a modern version of Sophocles' *Electra*, but he had lacked the necessary inspiration. In Gertrud Eysoldt's performance of *Nastja* he finally saw his muse, the actress who could realize the lead role as he envisioned it. In Reinhardt, too, he found a director who shared many of his own aesthetic investments and goals. In his diary, he writes: "In early May, 1903, I saw Eysoldt in 'The Lower Depths' [*Nachtasyl*] and then at breakfast. At this breakfast I promised Reinhardt that I would write him an 'Elektra' for his theater and for Eysoldt." DSE 115-6. The newly formed collaboration between Hofmannsthal, Eysoldt, and Reinhardt would quickly develop into an intense and intimate bond that encompassed personal, professional and artistic life for all three. Their symbiotic relationship provides valuable insight into the

Reinhardt and Eysoldt when they traveled to Austria for guest performances with the ensemble from the Deutsches Theater, Berlin, in the summer of 1903. Hofmannsthal saw their production of Maxim Gorki's *Nachtsyl*, and felt an aesthetic communion with Reinhardt's modernist theater direction and with Eysoldt's striking performance in the role of Nastja. He recognized his own artistic interests and investments at work in the production's radical departure from conventional dramaturgical practice. He would later write to Eysoldt in a letter from September 21, 1905: "Do tell Reinhardt sometime that I am also very fond of him, in a very special, incomparable way; him and his strength (his inner strength I mean), and that I believe absolutely that all of us – the three of us at least – were put on this earth for one another."³¹ Their meeting at Hermann Bahr's home the morning after the performance of *Nachtsyl* would solidify this belief, and begin a long and intimate friendship and creative partnership between Hofmannsthal, Reinhardt and Eysoldt. The three artists developed a passionate communion of spirit, intellect and aesthetics, and their collaborations would produce some of the most influential theatrical interventions in the early twentieth century, the first of which was *Elektra*.³²

Reinhardt was the ideal director for Hofmannsthal's drama because his theater engaged dramaturgical components far exceeding the text, creating an experiential encounter for the viewer, and producing artistic expression that was not only dependent on language. The extra-textual elements of theater that Reinhardt exploited appealed to

development of modernist aesthetics in the early twentieth century, and into the shifting status of each role—playwright, director, actress—within theatrical production. In their working and personal relationships, long-held hierarchies of text over production and director over performance were unsettled and reimagined. Each individual depended on the others for input, direction and inspiration, and the resulting productions reflected the equally valued craftsmanship of each artist, as well as their collaboration together.

³¹ DSE, 24.

³² Their collaborative productions of Hofmannsthal's *Oedipus und die Sphinx* (1906), and *Jedermann* (1911) were also revolutionary in design, performance and reception.

Hofmannsthal's increasing investment in the limits of language as a means to apprehend and convey human experience—what has been thematized as his *Sprachskepsis*.³³ Their collaborative production of *Elektra* was the first of many experiments in the possibilities for expression and shared experience within and beyond language. In the dramatic text of *Elektra*, Hofmannsthal rejected contemporary conventions of realistic dialogue, and also departed from classical verse forms. Instead he wrote poetic text that only loosely and rather atmospherically formed a narrative plot. The drama itself is a meditation on language dismantling from within the signifying potential of language. In the end the drama gives up on language entirely, silencing its characters and dissolving into a "nameless" dance.³⁴

Eysoldt was a striking stage presence, despite her slight frame and delicate figure. Perhaps even because her stature was relatively unimposing, her viewers took particular note of her physicality in performance. In an essay for *Bühne und Welt* written in 1903 (only a few months before the premier of *Elektra* at the Kleines Theater), the theater critic Marie Luise Becker describes Eysoldt, writing that she is: "harmonious and rhythmic in every movement, every quiver of a nerve, every heartbeat submits to her. Her wishes and passions animate her body, each muscle, each limb plays along."³⁵ Although Becker reports that Eysoldt is fragile, and even troubled with physical ailments, she

³³ On Hofmannsthal and *Sprachskepsis* see: Jacques Le Rider, *Modernity and Crises of Identity*, and his *Hugo Von Hofmannsthal: Historismus und Moderne in der Literatur der Jahrhundertwende*. Trans. Leopold Federmaier (Wien: Böhlau, 1997); Hermann Broch, *Hofmannsthal Und Seine Zeit: Eine Studie* (München: R. Piper, 1964), Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin, *Wittgenstein's Vienna* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), and C.A.M. Noble, *Sprachskepsis: Über Dichtung Der Moderne* (München: Edition Text+Kritik, 1978).

³⁴ Hofmannsthal, *Elektra*, 110.

³⁵ "[I]n jeder Bewegung harmoisch, rhythmisch, jedem Nervenzucken, jedem Pulsschlag nach gebend. Ihre Wünsche und Leidenschaften beseelen ihren Körper, jede Muskel, jedes Glied spielt mit." Marie Luise Becker, "Berliner Bühnenkünstler. Gertrud Eysoldt." *Bühne und Welt. Zeitschrift für Theaterwesen, Litteratur und Musik*. 5.2 (1903): 635.

declares that: "her energy, her burning passion and artistic power strengthens this delicate female body, this all too exquisite instrument that she was given to play. She plays it like a master violinist with an Amati,³⁶ and the audience doesn't sense any broken strings."³⁷ Becker's attention to Eysoldt's use of body, gesture and expression beyond language is also echoed in published reviews of Eysoldt's performance in many different roles. Time and again theater critics describe the effect of Eysoldt's physical presence on the stage and her particular embodiment of the figure she portrays (Fig. 4.3). The prominent and sustained critical discourse surrounding the tangible *effects* of Eysoldt's corporeal presence on stage strongly indicate that viewers were acutely aware of an immediate visceral relationship with Eysoldt through performance.



Figure 4.3. Gertrud Eysoldt in the role of Elektra (1903)³⁸

Exaggerated by the closed space of the small theater and the claustrophobic set, Eysoldt's presence was electrifying. She occupied the courtyard for the entirety of the play, filling the stage with wild movements, pacing and jumping about, and accompanied

³⁶The Italian Amati family was famous for making highly revered violins.

³⁷ Becker, "Berliner Bühnenkünstler," 635.

³⁸ MRA #R4707.

by her violent, wrathful language.³⁹ Reinhardt's production aesthetic further accentuated Elektra's fearsome mood and speech with special lighting techniques that flooded the stage with a blood red gleam. Fritz Engel, critic for the *Berliner Tageblatt* writes: "Glowing light spreads across the stage. The priestly atmosphere has fled; this red is the color of blood, and a bloody atmosphere dominates everything from now on."⁴⁰ The blood red lighting gave the perfect backdrop to the production. And although there was no physical violence on the stage—the two murders take place behind the palace doors—the at times gruesome dialogue, and the intensity of Eysoldt's performance led critics to recount the production with gory descriptions. Julius Hart writes for *Der Tag*, that Elektra is a being who "circles greedily around fantasies of blood and murder, wallowing, raving in desolate, horrible and abominable images. It wants to sink its hand and mouth into twitching intestines, rummage into, beat, whip and rip bloody flesh."⁴¹

The critics' qualitative assessment of Hofmannsthal's unconventional adaptation of *Elektra*, Reinhardt's radically modernist production, and Gertrud Eysoldt's striking

³⁹ Her performance polarized critics, continuing an on-going debate about the actress's merits and her career path. Several reviews drew direct connections between Reinhardt's production of Wilde's *Salome*, and Hofmannsthal's *Elektra*. The comparison was particularly apropos given Eysoldt's central involvement in both pieces, as the lead actress and in the production process. Isidora Landau writes, for example, in her review of the *Elektra* premier: "[t]he Greek material here seems to me to be about as freely and strangely handled as the biblical in Wilde's 'Salome'." Commenting specifically on Eysoldt's performance, she notes further: "as with the naïve corruptness in *Salome*, Ms. Eysoldt performs the blind fury of Elektra's thirst for revenge spectacularly, only with greater expenditure of actorly methods, with more impetuosity, more power and passion." MRA #R8464. While Landau notes a progression in Eysoldt's performance, some reviews expressed concern over the future of Eysoldt's career, given her seeming affinity for highly controversial roles, which included *Elektra*, *Salome*, *Lulu*, and *Nastja*. Arthur Eloesser writes, "Ms. Eysoldt yet again played the demonic woman for the third time, after 'Raush' and 'Salome.' A specialization that will, in the long run, not be advantageous for her. She managed the repulsiveness, also the base allure of the elemental being born from the ooze with her artistic intelligence, but she also relies too much on the ladylike, the deceptive appearance of femininity." MRA #R8468.

⁴⁰ "Glühendes Licht liegt über der Bühne. Die priesterliche Stimmung ist verflogen, dieses Rot ist die Farbe des Blutes, und Blutstimmung beherrscht von jetzt an alles." BTJ, 533.

⁴¹ "...kreist gierig um nichts als um Vorstellungen von Blut und Mord, schwelgt, rast in Bildern – wüst grausamen und entsetzlichen. Es will Hände und Munde in zuckende Eingeweide versenken, in blutigem Fleisch wühlen, schlagen, peitschen, zerreißen." BTJ 539-540.

performance of the lead figure were varied and impassioned.⁴² The drama and its production's relationship to their cultural precedents was a point of particular contention. Subtling his drama "a tragedy in one act, freely adapted from [*frei nach*] Sophocles," Hofmannsthal invited a direct comparison to the Attic model. The contrast would, however, only reveal the author's radical departure from that original piece, both formally, and in his construction of the central figures.⁴³ By invoking and then radically altering Sophocles' *Electra* Hofmannsthal provoked those critics who held fast to Germanic traditions of classical Greek reception, and excited those who supported modernist experiments in the new theater, and this was, indeed, Hofmannsthal's intention.⁴⁴

⁴² The intensity of debate in theater reviews after the premier of *Elektra* at the Deutsches Theater on October 30th, 1903, cannot be overstated. The extreme division of critics along conservative and progressive lines was not, however, unprecedented – as earlier chapters have shown. The early twentieth century, marked by radical innovations in production design, theater aesthetic and acting style, as well as stylistic and formal elements of dramatic works, forced critics to develop a new style of writing in response to productions, and also created an exaggerated rift between critics who embraced and promoted the new theater, and those who decried the loss of a long-championed German cultural traditions of Goethe and Lessing. Hofmannsthal, Reinhardt and Eysoldt were all particularly controversial figures in the changing landscape of Germanic theater and drama.

⁴³ In later printed editions of the drama Hofmannsthal removed this subtitle. This was likely a response to deter the critics' ardent focus on this one aspect of the drama, as it came at the exclusion of other considerations.

⁴⁴ The fascination with Antiquity in Germanic culture has been well researched and documented by scholars in a variety of disciplines: literature, art history, philosophy, theater, and archeology. See: Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *Blood for the Ghosts: Classical Influences in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Duckworth, 1982); Suzanne Marchand, *Down from Olympus. Archeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1996); Alex Potts, *Flesh and Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven, Conn., 1994); and Esther Sofia Sünderhauf, *Griechensehnsucht und Kulturkritik: die deutsche Rezeption von Winckelmanns Antikenideal 1840-1945* (Berlin: Akademie, 2004). The "Winckelmanian" of the eighteenth century was the starting point for what would be a distinct cultural legacy of Greek reception, firmly rooted in the evolution of a German cultural identity, and also in Germany's cultural institutions. In addition to the Greek counterpoint, several critics also invoked Goethe's *Iphigenie* as a counterexample to Hofmannsthal's mode of classical reception. Hofmannsthal himself names Goethe as a key influence for his *Elektra* [alongside Sophocles and Hamlet]. Rather than emulating Goethe's model of classical reception, however, Hofmannsthal sought to construct his *Elektra* as a counterpoint to Goethe's *Iphigenie*. In his journal entry on July 17th, 1904, he reminisces: "The style that I had in mind was to make something in opposition to *Iphigenie*." Published in, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Sämtliche Werke*, 305. In the theater, viewers were further prompted to compare the piece directly to *Iphigenie* through the inclusion of music from Christoph Willibald Gluck's opera *Iphigénie en*

Reinhardt worked collaboratively with Hofmannsthal to further break from institutionalized theatrical traditions.⁴⁵ In the "Szenische Vorschriften zu Elektra" [Stage Directions for Elektra], which he wrote separately from the dramatic text, for example, Hofmannsthal rejects the usual set pieces associated with Attic tragedies. He writes: "The set design should be entirely devoid of those pillars, those wide steps, and all of those classical banalities that are more likely to disillusion than to have a suggestive effect."⁴⁶ And Reinhardt engaged the artist Max Kruse to design scenery that would fulfill Hofmannsthal's prohibition against any trite and expected classical references. Kruse drew the simple courtyard that was the basis for the set (figure 4.4).



Figure 4.4. Set design for Elektra, Max Kruse (1903)⁴⁷

For critics like Engel and Hart, the comparison to Sophocles made Hofmannsthal's modern aesthetic more blatant, and, for them, more disappointing.

Tauride, as an overture to the performance. For more on this see: Simon Goldhill, *Who Needs Greek? Contests in the History of Hellenism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002).

⁴⁵ Like Hofmannsthal, Reinhardt's choice of productions for the theater so imbued with cultural expectations enabled him to present a radical contrast in a particularly effective way. The viewers' pre-established vision for a production of a classical Greek tragedy, or a Shakespearean work, for example, doubled the impact of Reinhardt's rejection of the established theatrical models of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and of the more recent developments related to naturalism, which already sought to reinvent the theatrical experience. Hofmannsthal and Reinhardt chose each other for collaboration because of these and other similarities, in great part because of their shared investment in the creation of a truly radical experience in the theater.

⁴⁶ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Szenische Vorschriften zu *Elektra*," DSE, 95-98.

⁴⁷ DDT, 110.

Hofmannsthal's *Elektra* only mirrored modern "degenerates", the worst of which was the drama's namesake, Elektra. Hart calls Hofmannsthal's kind of artistic production, "ever more pronounced criminal art, representations of states of insanity, excruciating dreams of atrocity and horror, of lust and savagery."⁴⁸ Similarly, Engel insists that Hofmannsthal's drama perverts the classical drama through his construction of sensual, animalistic characters: "In the place of power, there is a quivering nervousity. In the place of preserved dignity, even in the criminal act, there is a completely unrestrained passion and overly aroused sensuality. In the place of the sonorous Hellenic tones of the cathedral, there is the husky and hollow roar of people who pounce on one another like predators."⁴⁹ Engel concentrates on the construction (or, rather, destruction) of the tragic figures. For him, whereas Attic tragedy models an ideal subject, characterized by restraint and dignity, Hofmannsthal presented only a representation of corruption and licentiousness. Engel's use of terms like *Nervosität* (nervosity), *Verbrechen* (crime), and *Sinnlichkeit* (sensuality) align him with broader cultural criticism of modernist art and modern masculinity as decadent and degenerate, evoking the anxiety of the destabilized male subject.⁵⁰ Worse still, Sophocles' Elektra was not only corrupted by Hofmannsthal's modernist aesthetic, she was then enacted through Eysoldt's excessive performance.

⁴⁸ *Der Tag* 1 Nov. 1903. BTJ 539-540.

⁴⁹ "Da tritt an die Stelle der Kraft eine bebende Nervosität, an Stelle der selbst im Verbrechen noch bewahrten Würde eine völlig zügellose Leidenschaft und überhitzte Sinnlichkeit, an Stelle des sonoren hellenischen Staatskirchentones das heisere und dumpfe Brüllen von Menschen, die wie Raubtiere auf einander stürzen." BTJ, 533-535.

⁵⁰ See: Max Nordau, *Entartung* (Berlin: C. Duncker, 1895). For scholarship on decadence and degeneration see: Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration. A European Disorder, c. 1848 – c. 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989), and Charles Bernheimer, *Decadent Subjects. The Idea of Decadence in Art, Literature, Philosophy, and Culture of the Fin de fin Siècle in Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2002.

Being in Crisis

Before she set foot on the stage, Eysoldt's association with the production of *Elektra* would have carried an effect with audiences. In 1903 the actress was already famous for portraying the most controversial and deviant female figures in modern drama, including Nastja, Lulu, and Salome.⁵¹ Eysoldt became an emblem as the popular trope of the dangerous woman circulated in discussions ranging from aesthetics to sociological concerns, as the deadly seductresses of the modernist art and literature were assimilated into larger cultural discourses of the "modern" woman. In her 1902 article on Eysoldt, Becker writes:

They say after the success of last winter that Gertrud Eysoldt is best suited for the roles of women of modern decadence. Those who scatter around them that secret, wildly sensual and unspeakable bliss and a nameless debauchery. These female figures, the demons and witches of our time—this will turned woman, which modern man seems to fear—are the heroines of the young dramatists. Earthspirits, abhorred by the bourgeoisie just as they were burned centuries ago, rise up before the poet out of the fog and haze. Gertrud Eysoldt makes them human.⁵²

Becker points to the inextricable combination of fascination and fear produced by the modern women of the stage, dramatic figures and actresses both. She contends that the fantasy produced by male authors spoke to fear of female power. "Today [men] tremble before the demon of the female spirit," she declares.⁵³ The deadly seductress presented a figure of endless possibility for male authors, and a means to incorporate cultural concerns not only with the "modern woman," but also anxieties over economic, political and social change.

⁵¹ Eysoldt's starred as Hennriette in Strindberg's *Rausch*, Salome in Oscar Wilde's *Salome*, Nora in Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, Lulu in Wedekind's *Erdgeist*, and Nastja in Maurice Maeterlinck's *A Night's Lodgings*.

⁵² Becker, "Berliner Bühnenkünstler. Gertrud Eysoldt," 638.

⁵³ Ibid.

For many scholars of the fin de siècle, and Vienna in particular, the concept of "crisis" has come to serve as a defining condition for the modern bourgeois male subject. Jacques Le Rider and Carl Schorske, most notably, have collected a large base of texts and cultural productions that evince a significant and pervasive anxiety over the status of the subject, and the relationship of gender to subjectivity in the period.⁵⁴ In his lengthy excursus on the etymological history of "crisis" in Western Europe, Reinhart Koselleck has, furthermore, posited that in addition to a conceptual frame, "'crisis' becomes a structural signature of modernity."⁵⁵ He notes a linguistic shift in the eighteenth century that draws crisis from its origins as a medical concept into different modes of historical thinking. Interestingly for the purposes of this chapter, he foregrounds the polyvalent temporality of "crisis" at the turn of the century, explaining that it was used "as a permanent or conditional category pointing to a critical situation which may constantly recur or else to situations in which decisions have momentous consequences," and also, "to indicate a historically immanent transitional phase."⁵⁶ The sense of a destabilized male subjectivity, this crisis, was thus tied to a sense of temporal flux.

In Weininger's Vienna, the confluence of social, political and cultural upheaval created an environment in which intellectuals registered and contributed to a discourse of multiple crises that, as Koselleck writes, "reveal attempts to develop a single concept limited to the present with which to capture a new era that may have various temporal beginnings and whose unknown future seems to give free scope to all sorts of wishes and

⁵⁴See Jacques Le Rider, *Modernity and Crises of Identity. Culture and Society in Fin-de-Siecle Vienna*, trans. Rosemary Morris (Cambridge: Polity, 1993), and Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna. Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1980).

⁵⁵ Reinhart Koselleck, "Crisis." Trans. Michaela W. Richter. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67.2 (2006): 372.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

anxieties, fears and hope."⁵⁷ In his *Eros and Inwardness in Vienna* (2003), David Luft points to the philosophical challenges posed by Nietzsche at the end of the 19th century as a crucial point of germination for the anxieties over modern male subjectivity characteristic of the fin-de-siècle sense of crisis.⁵⁸ Luft argues that Weininger's *Sex and Character* responds directly to Nietzsche's philosophical dismantling of the modern male subject. Chandak Sengoopta, in his seminal *Otto Weininger: Sex, Science, and Self in Imperial Vienna* (2000), furthermore, has foregrounded the dissolution of absolute faith in the autonomous male subject as a defining feature of this period.⁵⁹ Sengoopta highlights Ernst Mach's argument, "that there was no such thing as a coherent, unified self," and his incendiary proclamation that, "the self is irrecoverable" [*das Ich ist unrettbar*], as highly influential for the intellectual elite in Vienna: "Some intellectuals and artists, such as Arthur Schnitzler, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, or Robert Musil, were stimulated or even exhilarated by Mach's demolition of the self. Others, such as Otto Weininger and Hermann Broch, felt deeply threatened."⁶⁰

For Weininger, the embodiment of that threat was woman, the representative of the irrecoverable *Ich*, "the deepest fear in Man: the fear of Woman, that is, the fear of meaninglessness, the fear of the tempting abyss of nothingness."⁶¹ Weininger's *Sex and Character* is fraught with expressions of fear and anxiety over the socio-cultural status of women, and, more importantly, over the definition, or perhaps more accurately, the possibility of defining masculinity and femininity. His aim in the tome is to resolve this

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ David S. Luft, *Eros and Inwardness in Vienna: Weininger, Musil, Doderer* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2003).

⁵⁹ Chandak Sengoopta, *Otto Weininger. Sex, Science, and Self in Imperial Vienna* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2000), 24.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 25.

⁶¹ Weininger, *Sex and Character*, 268.

fear by securing its inverse, by establishing beyond question an immutable masculine subjectivity. This goal forms the basis for the intricate argument regarding gender, subjectivity and temporality outlined at the beginning of the previous section.

The "demon of the female spirit" that Becker sees inspiring male dramatic authors at the fin de siècle thus also became the focal point for Weininger's scientific and philosophical text, but for him she was a "tempting abyss of nothingness." Establishing woman as void, in fact, forms the basis of Weininger's theory of male subjectivity. Just as linear progressive time becomes masculine in opposition to feminine cyclical time, male subjectivity is produced in opposition to female nothingness. In his essay, "Otto Weininger, or, 'Woman doesn't exist'" (1994), Slavoj Žižek contends that the structure of Weininger's argument reverses itself, writing that "far from expressing the subject's fear of a 'pathological' stain, of the positivity of an inert object, Weininger's aversion to woman bears witness to the fear of the most radical dimension of subjectivity itself: of the Void which 'is' the subject."⁶² Weininger's avid contention that what appears to be woman's subjectivity is in fact merely that which is imprinted upon her by the shaping force of man, reveals an anxious need to displace his suspicion that what he imagines to be his own subjectivity is also the void around which he has constructed a sense of self. "What causes such uneasiness," Žižek continues, "is the impossibility of discerning behind the masks a consistent subject manipulating them: behind the multiple layers of masks is nothing; or, at the most, nothing but the shapeless, mucous stuff of the life-substance."⁶³ The lack of a discernable core within woman's endlessly variable façade makes her truly unknowable, and thus truly dangerous. Reminiscent of the theory of the

⁶² Slavoj Žižek, "Otto Weininger, or, 'Woman Doesn't Exist,'" *The Metastases of Enjoyment. Six Essays on Woman and Causality* (London: Verso, 1994), 145.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 150.

actress developed by Nietzsche and common to nineteenth-century theater theory (see Chapter 1 of this dissertation), Weininger sees the danger in woman's mutability, and therein her ability to deceive, to seem to be what she is not, and to in fact be nothing more than what she seems.

To gain authority over the amorphous "mucous stuff of the life-substance" that is, for him, represented by woman, Weininger attempts to create a positivist system of gender identity. In many texts from the turn of the century, scientism appears as a ready tool in the face of uncertainty. To categorize and quantify provides a sense of understanding, and thereby also dominion. In *Sex and Character* Weininger sets out to construct a scientific characterology of gender, a system intended to script absolutely the limits and possibilities of each individual according to a quantitative scale. He first defines the poles of masculinity and femininity—Man (M) and Woman (W)—between which, he claims, each individual exists. The absolute poles of M and W are not, he initially claims, ever manifest in living men and women, rather, each individual is born with a given proportion of M and W, and then appears and acts according to the instincts and imperatives of the dominant character traits.⁶⁴

Man and Woman, then, are like two substances divided between the living individuals in different proportions, without the coefficient of one substance ever reaching zero. One could say that *in empirical experience there is neither Man*

⁶⁴ Weininger claims to develop the entirely theoretical poles of absolute Man [*Mann (M)*] and absolute Woman [*Weib (W)*], which he posits do not actually exist in embodied reality. Whether or not Weininger constructs and applies his characterology to the abstract ideals of M and W, or to actual, living men and women has been contested in the scholarship on *Sex and Character*. Janik, for example, disputes what he views to be Le Rider's reductive and overly simplistic reading of *Sex and Character* as an overtly anti-feminist and anti-Semitic manifesto, insisting instead, that Weininger be taken at his word to analyze theoretical and not sociological constructions of gender; in Allan Janik, *Essays on Wittgenstein and Weininger* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1985). Sengoopta, on the other hand, maintains that within Weininger's own contradictory arguments, the lines between his designated poles of M and W, and his discussions of, and anecdotal evidence drawn from observations of men and women blur in significant ways, revealing the artificiality in Weininger's claims to a strict divide between ideal and actual types; in Sengoopta, *Otto Weininger*.

nor Woman, but only male and female. Thus one must no longer call an individual A or an individual B simply a "man" or a "woman," but each must be described in terms of the fractions it has of *both*.⁶⁵

In order to determine the ratio of male/female in a given individual, Weininger then argues, he must first establish the "ideal" types of M and W that set the limits of the scale; "[e]verything depends on knowing M and W," he explains, "on correctly establishing the ideal Man and the ideal Woman (ideal in the sense of typical, without implying any evaluation)," and he concludes that, "[o]nce it has been possible to recognize and construct these types their application to the individual case and its representation by quantifying the proportions in the mixture will be as easy as it will be fruitful."⁶⁶

The necessary premise for Weininger's characterology is an assumption that each individual is composed of a congenital gender composition that is identifiable and quantifiable, and thus fixed. Weininger's gender paradigm is thus predicated on a conception of the self as a static being. He contends that a person's appearance, behavior and intellect are determined by the percentage of M and W that composes being. Weininger's sliding scale of gender aligns him with the more radical of his contemporary theorists of gender and sexuality, such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Rosa Mayreder, who advanced concepts of sexual intermediacy. Whereas Mayreder imagined liberating feminist potential in a model of variable gender identity, Weininger's approach is constrained because his theorizations remain at the absolute poles of M and W, despite his initial claim to construct them only as a means to understand the realm between. He builds the definition of these poles largely from anecdotal evidence, truisms, and

⁶⁵ Weininger, *Sex and Character*, 14.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

commonly circulating stereotypes about masculine and feminine traits. And though in the early sections of *Sex and Character* he professes a scientific model, the mutability evinced by his subsequent conclusions leads him to turn instead to a philosophical approach, focusing on time, memory, ethics, and logic, as the components of subjectivity (the intelligible self).

In the second, philosophical arc of *Sex and Character*, Weininger builds an equally unstable foundation for his theory, however. His intention to concretize linear temporality and memory as the basis for an exclusively masculine subjectivity is undermined by the inherent ephemerality of the human relationship to both. It was, in fact this very intangibility that drew modernist artists like Hofmannsthal to the same categories for aesthetic experimentation. In his *Elektra* extreme variation in the relationship to time and memory is a structuring component for the three central characters, Elektra, her sister Chrysothemis, and their mother Klytämnestra. Each is trapped and undone by an absolute temporal orientation and relationship to memory; Elektra is bound to an unchanging present, Chrysothemis is blinded by an unreachable future, and Klytämnestra is tortured by an inescapable past. Weininger's goal of establishing immutable categories amounts in *Elektra* to the very dissolution of the subject.

The question of memory becomes integral to the drama in the first dialogue between Chrysothemis and Elektra. The sisters espouse contrary perspectives on the importance of the past. Their discussion is framed in the negative form of *vergessen* [forgetting]. Chrysothemis implores Elektra to forget the past, and move forward to a new life: "Can't you forget?/ My head is always empty. From today to tomorrow/ I can't

remember anything." She concludes, "If I were away from here,/ how quickly I would forget all these evil dreams –."⁶⁷ Chrysothemis has no use for memories. She thinks only of escaping to a future in which she can become a wife and mother. She declares: "I want to escape! I don't want to sleep here / every night until death. Before I die, / I want also to live!"⁶⁸ Life for her is not possible in the present moment, which in her proclamation is characterized by sleep, and life for her can only be hindered by the past. She tells Elektra,

I want to conceive and bear children
who know nothing of this, I will wash
my body in every water, submerge myself deep
in every water, I will wash everything thing
off of myself, I will wash the hollows of both
eyes clean – they shan't be afraid
when they look their mother in the eyes!⁶⁹

Chrysothemis' wants to wash away her memories, to purge herself of any trace of the past. The image of washing the hollows of her eyes graphically depicts an erasure, and she also expresses the desire to erase the past for her children. Chrysothemis' absolute vision of the future traps her in a temporal stasis, however, that prevents her from engaging meaningfully in the present moment. She will be of no help to her sister, and of no consequence to the life of the palace.

In stark opposition, Elektra is bound to an eternally present moment. The courtyard in which she is physically bound is also a manifestation of the temporal void from which she is unable to break. Her static present is delineated by memory, she is bound by the imperative to exact revenge for her father's murder, a requirement that she is unable to fulfill. She is incensed by Chrysothemis' pleas to forget, and rebukes her:

Forget? What! Am I an animal? Forget?

⁶⁷ Hofmannsthal, *Elektra*, 71; 20-22, 31-32.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 70; 12-19.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 72; 20-26.

The beast falls asleep with its half-eaten prey
hanging from its lips, the beast forgets itself
and starts to chew, meanwhile death
already sits upon him, strangling him. The beast forgets
what crawled out of his body, and sates its hunger
on its own child – I am no beast, I cannot
forget!⁷⁰

In Elektra's impassioned speech, memory emerges as a defining feature of humanity as such. Evoking Nietzsche's metaphor of the unhistorical cattle, Hofmannsthal's Elektra ascribes forgetting to the animal, her allegory of the beast condemning *vergessen*.⁷¹ Elektra is driven by memory, but she is not trapped in the past. For her memory is a shaping force of the present and future. She cannot move forward from the present moment, however, until the promise of the past is fulfilled. To avoid the danger of forgetting, she must honor the memory of her father's murder with bloody revenge.



Figure 4.5. Scene photograph from *Elektra* (1903). From left, Gertrud Eysoldt in the role of Elektra and Lucie Höflich in the role of Chrysothemis.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 71; 34-72; 3.

⁷¹ In "The Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life," Nietzsche writes: "[c]onsider the cattle, grazing as they pass you by: they do not know what is meant by yesterday or today, they leap about, eat, rest, digest, leap about again, and so from morn till night and from day to day, fettered to the moment and its pleasure or displeasure, and thus neither melancholy nor bored." He later concludes: "the animal lives *unhistorically*: for it is contained in the present, like a number without any awkward fraction left over; it does not know how to dissimulate, it conceals nothing and at every instant appears wholly as what it is; it can therefore never be anything but honest. Man, on the other hand, braces himself against the great and ever greater pressure of what is past: it pushes him down or bends him sideways, it encumbers his steps as a dark, invisible burden which he can sometimes appear to disown and which in traffic with his fellow men he is only too glad to disown, so as to excite their envy." Friedrich Nietzsche, "The Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life," *Untimely Meditations*, ed. Daniel Breazeale (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 60-61.

Elektra's eternal present moment has no progression, and no promised future until the demands of the past have been assuaged. She makes no plans beyond vengeance, and has no other purpose than this. Elektra muses:

I am not a mother, and have no mother,
I am not a sibling, and have no siblings,
I lie before the door but I am not the guard dog,
I talk, but am not part of the discussion, live
and don't live, I have long hair but I feel
nothing of what women, so they say, feel.⁷²

Elektra can only define her position through negative statements; she is neither mother, nor sister, nor dog; she is not living or dead; she is feminine but not a woman. Her lament that she lays before the door was mirrored in the 1903 stage production, as the entirety of the one-act drama took place in the courtyard before the palace doors. Elektra is no longer allowed to enter the domestic space of the palace interior, and is, instead, banished to the courtyard like a dog. As she further contemplates, however, she is also not a guard dog. She is somewhere in between, in a liminal space of the eternal present.

Klytämnestra's present moment is also determined by memory, but unlike Elektra she is entirely bound to the past. She is haunted by her past actions, the deceit and murder of her husband Agamemnon, and plagued by horrific visions and nightmares that give her memories life in the present moment. Yet Klytämnestra's memory is unreliable. In her visions of the past she sees herself as a disembodied actor, present and not present in the same moment. She asks,

Am I not then
the one who did it? And if! Done, done!
Done! What kind of word is that
for you to put into my mouth. He stood there,
the one you always talk about, he stood there

⁷² Hofmannsthal, *Elektra* 96; 37-97; 4.

and I stood there and there Aegisth and from our eyes
our gazes locked: at that point it had
not yet happened! and then your father's
expression changed as he died so
slowly and horridly, but still his gaze
held mine – and then it was done:
in between there is no space! First it was before,
then it was over – in between I did not do
anything.⁷³

In this monologue Klytämnestra disavows her own agency, and in doing so binds herself to the past. She claims no memory of the murder, and writes herself only the part of a removed observer. Klytämnestra's corrupted memory binds her to the past, driving her to an incessant cycle of ritual sacrifice, as she attempts to pay with blood the price of her own crimes. The three central women of the play are thus all determined by their temporal orientation to past, present, or future.



Figure 4.6. Tilla Durieux in the role of Klytämnestra (1903)

The Power of Becoming

Hofmannsthal's palace stagnates in a temporal stasis, bound to the inability of his three central figures to resolve their absolute production of a singular temporal mode. The temporal stasis is enacted through the dominion of speech [*sprechen*] over action [*tun*].

⁷³ Ibid., 82; 15-32

The void of action is also a void of temporal progression, and, like Weininger, Hofmannsthal seems to present this as an abyss created by women. The drama is almost exclusively occupied by women, and these women only speak and never act.⁷⁴ The act of revenge, for example, would fulfill Elektra's obligation to the past, freeing her from her temporal stasis, but she herself is unable to act. She cannot carry out the murders alone, and her sister, only concerned with the future, refuses to help her. In Hofmannsthal's narrative the only acting subject will be Orest, the active male subject.

In his *Sex and Character*, Weininger constructs a philosophy of gender that eliminates even the potential for independent female action based on her lack of subjectivity. In this way, he attributes the potential for growth and change only to the character of Man, which in predominance pushes men toward greatness. Man has the ability to give form to himself and his life, which in Weininger's theory of time translates to the production of linear, progressive time through the imposition of the will. Man is an acting subject. Woman, on the other hand, has no will, and is thus only an object. Weininger writes that "[t]he epistemological contrast between subject and object corresponds to the ontological opposition between *form* and *matter*." He explains further, "[m]atter, that which is absolutely unindividualized, that which can assume any form but has no definite and permanent qualities of its own, lacks essence in the same degree as

⁷⁴ Orest appears only in the last moments of the play, and before his arrival the only men mentioned are either absent (Orest and Agamemnon) or highly feminized (Aegisth). Elektra refers to her mother and Aegisth as: "The two women" [*Die beiden Weiber*] when speaking to Chrysothemis, and explains further: "Yes, my mother / and that other woman, the coward, aye / Aegisth, the courageous assassin, he/ who only performs heroic deeds in bed." Ibid., 68; 28-36. In this passage Hofmannsthal uses the word, *Meuchelmörder*, which translates approximately to "assassin," but which in German historically maintains a distinctly feminine implication referring to a woman who secretly murders or conspires to murder her husband, employer, child, etc.

mere sensation, the raw material of experience, in its turn lacks existence."⁷⁵ In Hofmannsthal's *Elektra*, it seems that a similar paradigm emerges, one that scripts women as *sprechen*, and men as *tun*.

It is easy, in a sense, to map Weininger's construction of gender and subjectivity directly onto Hofmannsthal's *Elektra*. One could imagine Elektra as the matter of revenge, awaiting the return of Orest to give form to that matter, to take action where she is passive, to transform her status as object into an acting subject. In the dramatic text, Elektra becomes a placeholder for Orest, maintaining the will to revenge through speech (*sprechen*), but unable to carry out the deed (*die Tat*) herself. And yet, only action (*tun*) can release Elektra from her temporal stasis. When Chrysothemis asks what they must do, Elektra replies: "What? The task that has now / fallen to us, because [Orest] cannot come / and it cannot remain undone."⁷⁶ Elektra's arguments to Chrysothemis to inspire her to action against Klytämnestra and Aegisth revolve around the primacy of *tun*, and yet she herself is trapped in words, and the task remains perpetually undone. The very phrasing of her injunction is revealing in its negative formulation: "and it cannot remain undone" [*und ungetan es ja nicht bleiben darf*]. Elektra's language reveals her own inability to act, and she is also consciously aware of the inadequacy of *sprechen* to resolve her predicament. When Chrysothemis is left speechless by her plan for revenge, Elektra sneers: "Stay quiet. Speaking is nothing. / There is nothing to consider but: how?

⁷⁵ "Was erkenntnistheoretisch der Gegensatz des Subjekts zum Objekt, das sagt ontologisch die Gegenüberstellung von Form und Materie. Sie ist nur die Übersetzung jener Unterscheidung aus dem Transcendentalen ins Transcendente, aus dem Erfahrungskritischen ins Metaphysische. Die Materie, das absolut Unindividualisierte, das, was jede Form annehmen kann, selbst aber keine bestimmten und dauernden Eigenschaften hat, ist das, was so wenig Essenz besitzt, wie der bloßen Empfindung, der Materie der Erfahrung, an sich schon Existenz zukommt." Ibid., 263-4.

⁷⁶ Hofmannsthal, *Elektra*, 90; 30-32.

/ How we will do it [*wie wir es tuen*]."⁷⁷ Elektra's claim that talk is meaningless reveals the true bind of Hofmannsthal's tragedy. She herself is trapped in language, an excess of *sprechen*. The dramatic text is saturated with her seemingly endless monologues, and she is unable to transform that *sprechen* into the necessary *tun*.

Orest, by contrast, is almost entirely a manifestation of *tun*. In opposition to Elektra's prolix monologues, Orest speaks in short, assertive phrases. His use of language is, furthermore, entirely directed at impending action. Whereas Klytämnestra speaks of *tun* as a hazy memory, an inaccessible past, and Elektra's *tun* is an unrealizable future desire, Orest's speech interrogates the past and marks the course of action for the immediate future. He is able to break through the static mire of past and present that has trapped the women of the palace.

ELEKTRA. You will do it? Alone? You poor thing.
Did you not bring any friends?

OREST. Let it go, don't speak of it. My old servant
came with me. But the one who will do it, is I.⁷⁸

In this pronouncement Orest commands an end to Elektra's incessant dialogue. Moreover, he unwaveringly asserts and acting self, an I [*Doch der es tuen wird, bin ich*]. Orest's resoluteness promises to break the temporal stasis that has mired Elektra for so long.

After learning of Orest's determined plan for action Elektra laments:

He is blessed
who can act! Action is like a bed
on which the soul can repose, like a bed
of balsam, on which the soul can rest,
the soul which is a wound, a fire, an infection
and a flame!⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Ibid., 91; 11-13.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 102; 24-35.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 104; 32-37.

It is Elektra who has sustained her father's memory, condemned her mother's crimes, pronounced and pursued a death sentence as retribution for the murder of Agamemnon, but it is Orest who will carry out the execution. Elektra will have no part in the *Tat*. It is only after Orest has entered the palace to find and kill Klytämnestra and Aegisth—something Elektra is never able to do in the course of the drama, she will never leave the courtyard—that Elektra realizes she has forgotten to give her brother the dagger used to kill their father. The dagger, which she had long kept hidden to use as the weapon of revenge, would have symbolically enjoined her in the act. Yet even this has escaped her. When she realizes her oversight she is devastated:

ELEKTRA (*alone, in unbearable suspense. She paces back and forth in front of the door with her head down, like a caged animal. Suddenly she stands still and says*)
I didn't have a chance to give him the dagger!
They went and I didn't give him
the dagger. There are no
gods in heaven!⁸⁰

In this moment it becomes clear to Elektra that her attempts to transform *sprechen* into *tun* have failed, and thus the dramatic text denies the figure access to the only means she has for resolution through claiming *sein*. While the tragedy in Sophocles' drama emerges from the conflict between the moral obligation to avenge the father and the moral imperative against matricide, the tragic for Hofmannsthal resides in Elektra's final inability to enact her only desire, to act. Orest, the autonomous masculine figure, usurps the subject position Elektra has pursued throughout the entire drama, and carries out the revenge in her place.

Although it would seem that Hofmannsthal's drama scripts the same gendered limitations to subjectivity as Weininger's text, the inertia of language is not absolute in

⁸⁰ Ibid., 106; 8-14.

Elektra. Elektra is bound by the stone walls of the courtyard, but within that space she develops an excess potential for self-determination. She describes to Orest her metamorphosis from woman into agent of revenge. In her graphic narrative, she depicts herself as the victim of a sexual assault orchestrated by her father's covetous spirit:

The dead
are jealous: and [Agamemnon] sent me hatred,
hollow-eyed hatred as a bridegroom.
And I had to let the monster, breathing
like a viper, on top of me in my
sleepless bed, and he forced me
to know everything that happens between
a man and a woman. Those nights, woe those nights
in which I understood it! My body was
ice cold and yet scorched, burnt in my
very core. And when I finally knew it all,
and I was wise, the murderers –
mother, I mean, and the one who is with her –
couldn't stand a single look from me!⁸¹

Hofmannsthal's *Elektra* conveys a strange tension between loss and gain in these lines. She is robbed of her innocence by force, but knowledge empowers her against her enemies. Elektra figuratively destroys her virginity, the hallmark of feminine passivity and domesticity—the traits so completely embodied by her sister Chrysothemis (and Elektra makes much of her sister's virginity in the drama).

In this way, Elektra claims self-knowledge and self-determination. She expresses a keen awareness of her lost femininity, and, indeed, asserts that she actively destroyed her feminine traits in service to her mission of vengeance. Elektra further describes her transformation to Orest in a second simile of rape:

... I had to abandon
everything, that I was.
Even shame [*die Scham*], which is sweeter

⁸¹ Ibid., 102; 10-23.

than all else, and which, like the milky,
silver mist of the moon, surrounds every woman
and keeps horrors away from her and her soul!
I sacrificed my shame, it was like
being set upon by thieves who tore from my body
every last piece of clothing.⁸²

In this narrative, Elektra sacrifices her femininity in order to pursue a path of knowledge and violence. The sexualized imagery in her monologue emphasizes the double meaning of *Scham*, as both shame and vulva. Elektra again describes the loss of her innocence, the violent desecration of her *Scham*, as rape.⁸³ And yet, at the same time, she names herself as the agent in the destruction of her femininity. Her former identity was not taken from her; she chose to abandon it [*hingeben*]. And her purity was not violated; she sacrificed it [*geöpfer*]. In each claim Elektra is the subject of the sentence. Opposed to Chrysothemis' incognizance and passivity, Elektra actively claims subjectivity in her transformation, in a continuous process of becoming. Acting through, alongside and against the dramatic text, in the stage production of *Elektra* Eysoldt's performance multiplied the production of the eponymous figure's subjectivity and self-construction.

After Orest takes her role as the acting agent of revenge, it seems all that is left for Elektra is to listen from without, as her brother murders their mother and step-father. She stands at the palace door, ear pressed to the wall, excitedly awaiting the revenge (fig. 4.7). When the task is complete, she shrieks with malicious satisfaction. She, "[s]creams like a demon, Strike again!" Which is followed by "[a] second scream from within" as

⁸² Ibid., 103; 21-29.

⁸³ This highly sexualized language and imagery was certainly not lost on the audience, and, indeed, came to occupy a central place in reviews of the production. Echoing the very language of the above-quoted passage [103;21-29], Alfred Klaar writes in his review for the *Vossische Zeitung*: "Hofmannsthal's Elektra is a degenerate child, out of place in her noble surroundings, perverted by the savage visions that intoxicate her hatred, physically deteriorated by humiliation and abuse, robbed even of her shame [*Scham*]; because the horror she witnessed and explored to its very core made her knowing, and, at the same time, killed the femininity in her." MRA #R8517.

the second murderer is brought to justice.⁸⁴ The revenge fulfilled Elektra then erupts into a strange dance, advancing toward the audience until she collapses, which Eysoldt performed on stage to unsettling effect. Lerch details the scene, writing that Elektra, "hears Orest murder first their mother, and then the lover Aegisth. The gruesome sounds of the death cries, and then the dull thud of corpses carries through the thick walls to her ear. That is her liberation. The tension in her soul has intensified to the point of paroxysm. Dancing, she floats on the tips of her toes and then suddenly she falls to the floor dead."⁸⁵ The dance becomes an expression of action [*Tun*], fulfilling Elektra's greatest desire, and releasing her from the eternal present temporality of the drama before this point. Dance, an immediate, experienced progression in space and time, enacts a purely physical process of becoming.

In a retrospective essay entitled, "Zur Schauspieler ist man geboren" [One is Born to be an Actor], Eysoldt describes a core characteristic of an actor as the: "drive and instinct toward that which is becoming [*zum Werdenden*], toward [*Entwicklung*]."⁸⁶ Eysoldt's understanding of performance as a process of becoming bespeaks the specific temporality, or rather, temporal experimentation at work in theatrical performance, which fundamentally manipulates the viewer's experience of time and space. The modernist theater of the early twentieth century became a vehicle through which artists such as Reinhardt and Eysoldt specifically aimed to contend with modes of human experience and perception. In a production of a drama like Hofmannsthal's *Elektra*, which in and of itself is centrally concerned with the experience of subjectivity in a temporal abyss, the

⁸⁴ Hofmannsthal, *Elektra*, 106;15-19.

⁸⁵ BTJ, 537.

⁸⁶ Published in: Carsten Niemann, *Das Herz Meiner Künstlerschaft Ist Mut: Die Max-Reinhardt-Schauspielerin Gertrud Eysoldt* (Hannover: Theatermuseum und -archiv der Niedersächsischen Staatstheater, 1995), 14.

temporality of performance became integral to the reception of the drama and its production. The shifting temporal consciousness and related threat to unified subjectivity characteristic of modernity found resonance on the stage, and performance became a means to experiment with and intervene in new formations and conceptions of selfhood.

Eysoldt's autonomy in performance, and her active collaboration with Hofmannsthal and Reinhardt, enabled the actress to claim authority over the figure of Elektra on multiple levels. Her performance became a production of the text, of the performance, and also an evident production of the layered subject on stage [PERFORMER-PERFORMANCE-PERFORMED]. Eysoldt very much viewed her work as an actress in terms of collaboration. She imagined a continuous and active exchange between herself, her character, the other actors, Reinhardt as director, the dramatic text, and with Hofmannsthal. Their work together on Elektra engendered a long and intense friendship and partnership between the actress and the author. Their frequent letters evince a mutual respect and dependence, as Eysoldt became Hofmannsthal's muse for many roles, and Eysoldt relied on Hofmannsthal to produce work that would allow her to explore her talents to their furthest extent. In a letter dated August 25th, 1904, almost a year after the premier of *Elektra*, Eysoldt writes to Hofmannsthal to request that he create another role for her. His poetry granted her access to a world of performance and of emotion that fulfilled her artistic temperament:

If only you knew how much youthful, most robust soil lies ready within me for your seed. Don't leave me barren. I am withering artistically. Write for me again. I want to have my hour again. I want to experience myself anew in happiness and suffering, damnation and redemption, tenderness and ignominy and misery. Whatever it is –, I welcome all of life.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ DSE 10-11.

She then surmises: "I want to stir and stretch myself according to the breath of your temperament. I will be everything that you want – I will be able to do everything – that you want. I only want to create and be created."⁸⁸ What emerges in Eysoldt's letters to Hofmannsthal is that their artistic and personal relationship most fully enabled her to realize the balance of *schaffen und geschaffen werden* in which she anchored her artistry.

The exchange between Eysoldt and Hofmannsthal encompassed more than their theatrical lives. In their letters they were able to imagine and construct multiple selves, exploring possibilities for their relationship and for their subjectivity beyond the restrictions of social conventions. Eysoldt and Hofmannsthal carefully and intentionally held their personal relationship suspended between real and imagined encounters, and in their letters each seems eager to maintain this ethereal quality. After leaving the theater without greeting Eysoldt personally, Hofmannsthal explains in a letter dated September 1st, 1904:

I talk with you so often, sometimes long, a quarter of an hour long – with you, or to you. We mustn't make any account of it nor separate the phantom from reality. What for? Nor is it necessary to see each other often or much. We only need to know that the other exists, and that can sustain us for another few years. It would be terribly hard to have to do without it.⁸⁹

In her letters, Eysoldt affirms Hofmannsthal's understanding of their bond, and shares his desire to keep the distance that makes the intensity of their relationship possible. In her reply from February 10, 1905 Eysoldt writes: "We understand each other very well – darling. I also could have come down to the parquet – when you were at the rehearsal – I knew you were leaving – and didn't come."⁹⁰

⁸⁸ "Regen und dehnen möchte ich mich nach dem Hauch Ihres Naturells. Alles werde ich sein, was Sie wollen – alles werde ich können – was Sie wollen. Nur schaffen will ich und geschaffen werden." Ibid., 11.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 11.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 18-19.

In their imaginary exchanges and often intentionally ambiguous letters, each could create his or herself as she or he chose. As Hofmannsthal writes on February 2nd, 1905: "We want to send each other *Gestalten* [figures] again and again, and nothing but *Gestalten*. How much more wonderful is that than words, or even glances and all the rest."⁹¹ Detached from the social realities and conventions of daily life, they could reimagine the possibilities for communication, self-expression and self-invention. In their letters they could create an equal partnership and mutual understanding. On April 26th, 1907, Eysoldt confides:

My relationship with you is very dear to me – it is completely consistent, but yet not at all simple. There is something about that I particularly love. I can't really figure out what it is. I don't even want to know. In fact it is something – that I like in myself – when you are with me. It has something to do with tenderness, and secrecy and greatness – but the most important thing is the combination of these things."⁹²

In many ways Eysoldt's impression of their friendship reflected her approach to acting. Her bond with Hofmannsthal was deeply personal, but also remained always bound to their artistic and professional connection, just as it had begun with *Elektra*. Years later in a letter from October 29th, 1913, she repeats this sentiment, writing: "it is this kindred spirit of temperament, the dark something that drove you to write Electra, – that seized me and shook me to my core. – This is what my love for you is like."⁹³

The letters between Hofmannsthal and Eysoldt straddled and often collapsed a complex divide between the personal and the professional, lived experience and artistic production. In November, 1905, Hofmannsthal writes to Eysoldt after spending time with her in the *Kleines Theater* in preparation for the premier of his *Jedermann* with Reinhardt

⁹¹ Ibid., 17.

⁹² Ibid., 62.

⁹³ Ibid., 91.

[with my italics]: "But first I want to say this: that the loveliest thing in all of these days was to feel your presence again, *your doubled presence, the person and the actress*, so pure and strong and more beautiful than ever."⁹⁴ Hofmannsthal's observation points to the interplay of lived and performed experience that Eysoldt balanced in her life and in her career as an actress, to the layering of subjects and subjectivities that she always enacted on the stage. In her letters to Hofmannsthal, and in other personal documents, Eysoldt often commented on the interplay and overlap between her life and her art. She was cognizant of her own acting methods, and always interested in understanding the mechanisms of performance and self-expression. In a later letter from April 26th, 1907, Eysoldt contemplates her performance method, writing: "People think it is an artistic display – no one thinks to consider it as something personal. The sources for these roles all lie within me – each tone, each smile – all the quiet earnestness and all of the courage of suffering come from afar from my life and celebrate their resurrection."⁹⁵ Eysoldt speaks from her own lived experience, but her thoughts elucidate a central element of the intricate temporal layering of dramatic performance, which combines and simultaneously enacts multiple subject layers and layers of subjectivity, making apparent in each moment the presence of the text, the figure, and the performer.

In the stage production of *Elektra* Eysoldt's layered presence in performance worked alongside the text to undermine the scripted disavowal of Elektra's ability to become an acting subject. In her performance Eysoldt engaged an excessive physicality and activity. Describing Eysoldt's performance in the role of Elektra, the critic Paul Lerch

⁹⁴ "Aber vorher möchte ich noch dies sagen: dass es das Schönste in allen diesen Tagen war, Ihr Wesen, Ihr doppeltes, den Menschen und die Schauspielerin, wieder so rein und stark und schöner als je zu spüren." Ibid., 34.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 58.

writes: "she crawls and hops around on the stage before us, she shoots up like an arrow and then cowers, she crouches, throws herself on the ground."⁹⁶ A large number of the reviews concerned with Eysoldt's performance of Elektra specifically note her extreme physicality, remarking on the strong impact it made with the viewers. Reviews comment as much, or more on Eysoldt's performance and Reinhardt's production atmospherics as on Hofmannsthal's drama. Through these reviews it becomes evident that the audience was significantly engaged not only with Hofmannsthal's text, but also with the corporeal experience of the stage production. On stage Eysoldt thus both enacts and counters the textual production of the figure, Elektra. Through the dual creation and presence of phenomenal and semiotic bodies on the stage, the viewer engaged with the layered presence of both the figure of Elektra and also that of Eysoldt as performer and as a woman.

Dancing in the Abyss

In a diary entry from July 17, 1904, Hofmannsthal writes that Elektra's death was, for him, unavoidable. He describes the mandate for her bitter end in a graphic metaphor. "The ending also became instantly clear: that she could not continue to live, that when the final stroke fell, her life and her viscera would extravasate, like a drone when it impregnates the queen, with the impregnating stinger its viscera and its life extravasate."⁹⁷ If Elektra's only deliverance can come from the transformation of *sprechen* into *tun*, then the death that Hofmannsthal imagines is indeed inevitable. Within

⁹⁶ BTJ, 537.

⁹⁷ "Auch das Ende stand sogleich da: dass sie nicht mehr weiter leben kann, dass wenn der Streich gefallen ist, ihr Leben und ihr Eingeweid ihr entstürzen muss, wie der Drohne, wenn sie die Königin befruchtet hat, mit dem befruchtenden Stachel zugleich Eingeweide und Leben entstürzen." In: *Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Sämtliche Werke VII*, 304.

the constraints of the text, Elektra's only form of action, her excessive movement, cannot fulfill the requirement for the symbolic act of revenge. In the text Elektra remains in a static loop that can only find its resolution in death. In performance, however, Eysoldt transformed the figure of Elektra into a manifestation of progressively subsumptive activity, finally culminating in the purely physical expression of dance.

After the final blow falls, and Klytämnestra and Aegisth are murdered at last, Elektra has nothing more to say. She is alone on the stage and she rises from where she has been crouched before the palace door: "*She strides down from the threshold. She throws her head back like a Maenad. She throws her knees, she stretches her arms out; she strides forward in a nameless dance.*"⁹⁸ It is a *nameless* dance; it has no prescribed steps, no expected pattern, no choreography, no script to determine its form or its meaning. Silence fills the stage and pure movement, illegible and uninterpretable, takes the place of language, which once so completely occupied the space of the courtyard.

Elektra dances until Chrysothemis returns to the door, followed by a host of servants, men and women, who peer out from the shadows behind her, captivated by Elektra's strange movements. Chrysothemis cries out her name, "Elektra!"⁹⁹ And Elektra will allow no other form of expression into this space. She proclaims:

Be quiet and dance. Everyone must
come! Come, join me! I carry the burden
of joy, and I dance before you.
Only one thing is fitting for whoever is so happy as we are:
silence and dancing!¹⁰⁰

Chrysothemis and the servants have no choice but to obey her command. Elektra silences her viewers in the scene, and at the same time, Eysoldt imposed silence on her viewers in

⁹⁸ Hofmannsthal, *Elektra*, 110; 18-20.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 110; 23.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 110; 25-29.

the theater. In his review Eduard Engel writes that, "[a]s the curtain slowly fell after Elektra, the murder's instigator, performed her gruesome dance of triumph, the hushed crowd was rapt and awestruck with such solemn emotion as I, in my extensive experience as a theater critic, have never yet seen and experienced [*mitgeföhlt*]." ¹⁰¹

The imposition of silence, and Engel's profound experience of her performance attest to Eysoldt's power in Elektra's dance. It was the power that Hofmannsthal saw in her as a person and a performer, as a layered subject. Writing Elektra's dance into the drama he wrote his own authorship out of the script, fully accepting Eysoldt's authority over the stage. Hofmannsthal's interest in dance began long before he wrote *Elektra*, and was closely tied to the *Sprachskepsis* that characterized so much of his work. ¹⁰² Dance presented a means of expression not tied to language and its inherent failures as a means to convey the human experience. Eysoldt's dance deployed the extra-textual modes of the theater against the retractions of text, the determinacy of the script.

Recent dance scholarship has shown that the dancing body does a particular kind of political work. Dance resists the scripting forces of cultural discourse surrounding the various aspect of the body, enacting its own paradigm of unscriptable expression and visceral engagement. The motions of dance are derived from everyday movement, recognizable as such, and also at the same time estranged from its customary context. In this way, as dance scholar, Mark Franko contends, "dance can absorb and retain the effects of political power as well as resist the very effects it appears to incorporate within

¹⁰¹ "Als der Vorhang sich nach dem schauerlichen Triumphtanze der Mordanstifterin Elektra langsam senkte, verharrte die schweigende Menge in so wehevoller Ergriffenheit, wie ich sie in meinem an Theater-Erfahrungen doch ziemlich reichen Berichterstatterleben noch nie gesehen und mitgeföhlt habe." *Hamburger Fremden-Blatt* (November 1 1903), in BTJ, 537-8.

¹⁰² For a comprehensive catalogue of Hofmannsthal's writing on dance, see: Susanne Marschall's *TextTanzTheater. Eine Untersuchung des dramatischen Motivs und theatralen Ereignisses "Tanz" am Beispiel von Frank Wedekinds Böhse der Pandora und Hugo von Hofmannsthal's Elektra* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1996).

the same gesture. This is what makes dance a potent political form of expression: it can encode norms as well as deviation from the norms in structures of parody, irony and pastiche that appear and disappear quickly, often leaving no trace."¹⁰³ The very ephemerality of dance, like Fischer-Lichte's temporal paradox of stage performance, is what produces its lasting effect.

Dancing as Elektra, Eysoldt completely enthralled her audience. Alfred Kerr describes Eysoldt's dance according to its effect on the viewer. He writes that it is,

[a]n arduous, raving dance of death. Something orgiastic that in its Denouement elicits feelings of desire, unfettered temperaments, and a heavy sigh; a compulsive, perhaps animalistic catharsis – without regard for any ideology [*Weltanschauung*]; the impression is so powerful, as the theater so seldom can achieve. Whoever watches will be swept away by the triumph of this artistic purposefulness... an arduous, raving dance of death.¹⁰⁴

Hofmannsthal's premonition that Elektra could not survive his drama is enacted on the stage, but what dies with her final collapse is not the figure but the possibility for the figure's confinement. Eysoldt's performance fills the space of the theater with the physical performance of unscripted becoming, creating a void of language in the place of excessive speech. In the temporal void of the courtyard, bound again within the temporal void of Reinhardt's closed theater and uninterrupted production, Eysoldt commands her viewers' attention absolutely, drawing attention to the conditional co-presence in the production of meaning in the theater.

¹⁰³ Mark Franko, "Dance and the Political: States of Exception," in *Dance Discourses. Keywords in Dance Research*, eds. Susanne Franco and Marina Nordera (London: Routledge, 2007), 14.

¹⁰⁴ "Ein steiler Totenrasetanz. Etwas Orgiastisches, das am Ausgang Lustgefühle, befreite Stimmungen, Aufatmen hervorruft; eine triebmäßige, vielleicht tierhafte Katharsis – ohne Rücksicht auf jede Weltanschauung; der Eindruck ist so mächtig, wie das Theater ihn allzuoft nicht geben kann. Wer zuschaut, wird in den Sieg dieser Künstlerentschlossenheit mitgerissen ... Ein steiler Totenrasetanz." Alfred Kerr, "Elektra," *Gesammelte Schriften in zwei Reihen. Erste Reihe in fünf Bänden. Band I. Die Welt im Drama* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1917), 93.

Eysoldt's performance in the role of Elektra is a powerful enactment of self in process, of subjectivity as becoming, rather than being. The layered subject of Eysoldt/Elektra, and Eysoldt's enactment of subjectivity through the role and her own performance powerfully contest the very impetus of Weininger's desire for an immutable subject. She enacts what Žižek a century later would so aptly demonstrate in his reading of Weininger, that the very attempt to establish a notion of subjectivity as *sein*, as something that is fixed and absolutely knowable, undoes itself from within.

In performance nothing is absolute. Eysoldt, as layered subject, and in her private production and stage performance of layered subjectivity is always in between, at the edge, transgressing, becoming something else. And in the void of silence she has created, the viewer is captivated by that process of becoming. In dance Elektra finds the escape from her prison of *sprechen*, and Eysoldt enacts a pure expression of being in becoming on the stage.

CONCLUSION

STAGING THE DEADLIER SEX: LULU'S PERFORMANCE LEGACIES

Since the early twentieth century there is perhaps no other role on the German stage that becomes more intimately bound to its performer than Frank Wedekind's Lulu. Most famously played by Wedekind's wife, then Tilly Newes, the role also carries for different people very distinct associations with particular actresses.¹ For some it is Gertrud Eysoldt, who starred in the Berlin premier of *Erdgeist*. Others might think of Tilla Durieux, who scandalized Munich audiences in the controversial battle against state censors to stage *Die Büchse der Pandora*. For connoisseurs of German film the name Lulu is practically synonymous with Louise Brookes. And over a century after Wedekind penned his deadly seductress, Susanne Lothar and Fritzi Haberlandt would compete for the status of the most iconic Lulu of the present age.

Each successive actress contended with the notoriety of her forebears, and each became famous for making Lulu her own. In a review of Durieux's 1913 performance of Lulu in Munich, the critic for *Die Schaubühne Berlin* compares the three fin-de-siècle actresses who shared the role:

Eysoldt, who for me exhausted the Lulu character most completely, gave the refined mixture of child and scoundrel with the matter-of-factness of a natural spectacle. Tilly Wedekind, whose performance perhaps came the closest to the author's own intentions, tried to embody the naive woman of instinct, simple, beautiful, sensual and passively awaiting that which approaches her from the

¹ Tilly Wedekind's autobiography is tellingly entitled, *Lulu – die Rolle meines Lebens* (München: Scherz, 1969).

shadows of fate. Durieux made Lulu into a figure with tragic greatness for the first time. Both snake and lion at once, with the utmost ability to enjoy, to please, to torment and to suffer. Her beauty and her arts of seduction stem from clever self-awareness. She resonates with pleasure and with pain, and is also capable of the deepest feelings and the greatest suffering.²

The *Schaubühne* critic was not alone in his strong sense that each actress created a distinct iteration of the figure to unique effect, and such documents provide key insight into both the autonomy exercised by actresses in their individual performances, and also into the viewers' acute awareness of these individualities.



Figure 5.1. Gertrud Eysoldt as Lulu (1902), and Tilly Wedekind as Lulu (1914)³

In his *Postdramatic Theatre*, Hans-Thies Lehmann describes a kind of theatrical performance that has the potential to counter the scripting authority of the dramatic text.⁴ He outlines techniques and examples of theater practice that enable performers and directors intentionally to interfere with the determinant power of text in the theater. For Lehmann this kind of theater practice first truly developed after Bertolt Brecht's radical innovations through his Epic Theater. Prior to the specific intention to undermine the

² AKB Durieux #520.

³ MRA#R4805-6.

⁴ Hans-Thies Lehmann, *Postdramatic Theatre*, trans. Karen Jürs-Munby (London: Routledge, 2006).

dramatic text's dominance over production and reception, he contends, the disruptive potential of theatrical performance was limited by fidelity to the text.

Michael Thalheimer's 2004 production of Wedekind's *Lulu* dramas at the Thalia Theater in Hamburg presents an exemplary model of the kind of theater that Lehmann imagines; in the production, Thalheimer deployed numerous techniques and elements of theatrical experience to meticulously dismantle the text through the stage performance. The most immediately evident assault on the text was his casting of Fritzi Haberlandt in the lead role. Haberlandt herself did not expect to get the part. In fact, at the acting school she attended in Berlin she was told that she would surely have an impressive career, but the one role she would never play was *Lulu*.⁵

In an interview after the premier of the play Haberlandt told a reporter, "[t]hese clichés that immediately come to mind with *Lulu*: the prototypical feminine, the great seductress. I don't see myself like that as a person."⁶ Yet she was one of the primary inspirations for Thalheimer's *Lulu*. Thalheimer recounts,

Suddenly I knew that I absolutely wanted to do *Lulu* with Fritzi Haberlandt. [...] As Fritzi Haberlandt just said herself in her interview, she was very surprised that she got the role. Especially here in Hamburg where Peter Zadek's production with Susanne Lothar is still very present. I know the production, but of course Fritzi Haberlandt is a completely different actress than Susanne Lothar, just as I am a completely different director than Peter Zadek.⁷

In her physique and in her demeanor Haberlandt as *Lulu* invoked neither sex-goddess nor femme fatale. She is slender to the point of boniness, with an almost boyish face. In Thalheimer's production her hair had a choppy pageboy cut that exaggerated her strong

⁵ Ortrud Gutjahr ed., *Lulu von Frank Wedekind: GeschlechterSzenen in Michael Thalheimers Inzenierung am Thalia Theater Hamburg* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2006), 126.

⁶ Ibid., 117.

⁷ Ibid., 125.

jaw and her angular features. Her girlish dresses and her six-inch heels looked more like items from a child's costume chest than the trappings of a seductress.



Figure 5.2. Fritzi Haberlandt in the role of Lulu (2004)

At the beginning of the production, even before the house lights dimmed, Haberlandt strode directly to center stage and assumed an anatomical pose. Standing alone on an empty stage she stared blankly and aimlessly to the side. There is not even a hint of eroticism in her pose or her gaze. In his review of the production Peter Kümmel writes, "Fritzi Haberlandt is a wisp of a Lulu, the idea of lust more than its embodiment."⁸ After standing perfectly still long enough for the audience to take her in and register surprise at her ill-fitted Lulu, Haberlandt then began to speak – or rather chatter.

A certain sense of childish naiveté certainly belongs to the list of adjectives normally attributed to Lulu, but in Thalheimer's production it becomes Lulu's defining characteristic, and it is devoid of the seductively playful quality that appears in the dramatic text. It is striking how many reviewers characterize Haberlandt's Lulu as a prattling and drastically moody child. Her actions seemed to be motivated by stubborn

⁸ "Fritzi Haberlandt ist der Hauch einer Lulu, die Idee der Lust eher als ihre Verkörperung." Peter Kümmel, "Die kostbare Blöße." *Die Zeit* 3 Apr. 2004.

will and irrationality more than anything. Armgard Seegers writes, "Fritzi Haberlandt, who is now incarnating the lead role in Michael Thalheimer's production at the Thalia Theater, is not a hot-blooded woman, but rather an abused, stubborn child, who looks on astonished, shocked and agitated as the men, who are her toys and who intend to play with her, get broken."⁹ In Haberlandt's performance, the calculated seduction of the femme fatale was thus notably absent. Her expression was generally either one of confusion and disappointment or manic, child-like delight.



Figure 5.3. Fritzi Haberlandt in the role of Lulu (2004)

In addition to this radical reversal of the lead figure in Haberlandt, Thalheimer deployed numerous material and performative elements to continuously relegate the dramatic text to a secondary or tertiary importance. With only occasional exception, the actors spoke all of their lines in rapid succession, often to the point of incomprehensibility. Additionally, the performers resisted conventional speech patterns, and invoked a mode of speech unique to the production. In some scenes the actors spoke simultaneously, or timed their dialogue so that it seemed as though they were speaking

⁹ Armgard Seegers, "Eine Kindfrau unter Schlappschwänzen." *Hamburger Abendblatt* 01 Mar. 2004.

with themselves and not with one another. This was further enhanced by the extremity of the vocal range employed by the actors – they screamed, shouted, whispered, screeched, and rarely simulated an everyday vocal range. In this way Thalheimer denied the dominance of Wedekind's text as a mode of meaning making for his production. What and how the characters spoke was related to Wedekind's texts, but not determined by that text.

Beyond the text, Thalheimer's production became famous for the particular, and peculiar ways in which he choreographs bodies on the stage. Critics consistently report a sense that they felt overwhelmed by the sheer physicality of the performers, and by a hyper-awareness of the presence of the body on stage. Thalheimer left the stage entirely empty, drawing all attention to the performers and their bodies.¹⁰ Ronald Meyer-Arlt's description of the stage in his review for the *Frankfurter Gazette* is revealing. "There is nothing: no table, no chair, no bed," he writes. "There are only the figures, the men and this woman who drives them crazy, and who perishes in the end. They have nothing to hold onto, nothing to hide behind, nothing with which they could play. They only have their bodies, but they don't have those either, because actually on the contrary, their bodies have them."¹¹

¹⁰ Gutjahr writes, "[w]hen we enter the auditorium in the Thalia Theater and glance toward the stage, there is no curtain covering the scene. With full lighting we see into the empty, black stage, at the very back of which is merely a monochromatic, white wall." Gutjahr, *Lulu*, 68. With the house lights up and the stage fully lit, the audience is confronted with the void that is Thalheimer's stage. The curtains are, and remain open throughout the entire performance, and the only feature of the set that changes is that the immense white wall at the back of the stage gradually moves forward between each act, until in the final scene the actors are left with only a sliver of space between the wall and the edge of the stage. The only thing that fills the shrinking void throughout the production are the actors' bodies, and at times their shadows. The harsh lighting of Thalheimer's set design mercilessly glares onto the actors, and casts distinct shadows across the white wall behind them.

¹¹ Ronald Meyer-Arlt, "Das weiße Quadrat." *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung* 29 Feb. 2004.

Thalheimer pushed the physicality of his production even further by choreographing a stunning two hours of excessive movement. This corporeal excess undercut the semiotic primacy of the dramatic text twofold; in addition to drawing attention away from language, and foregrounding physical expression, the actors' movements did not necessarily correspond directly to the dramatic dialogue or plot. Lulu, who was almost always at the center of activity, strode back and forth across the stage; she ran and jumped, sat, stood, crumpled to the floor. Her actions often seemed to be motivated more by some whim or impulse than anything related to what was happening around her. In near acrobatic moments, her male counterparts also lifted and carried her around the stage, often slamming her into the wall. They grasped at her violently as she passively, and disenchantedly awaited release, or wildly struggled for freedom.¹²



Figure 5.4. Fritzi Haberlandt in the role of Lulu (2004)

In stark contrast to this energetic movement, but equally powerful in adding to the hyper-corporeality of the production was the display of dead bodies on the stage. Several characters die over the course of Wedekind's Lulu dramas, and in Thalheimer's

¹² Furthermore, though Lulu remained fully dressed throughout the production, several of the male characters seemingly uncontrollably discarded their clothing as they pursued Lulu in rabid sexual excitement. The half naked men then stood helplessly exposed as Lulu denied their advances. Thus the body was often doubly exposed in its excessive physicality and through nudity.

production they would invariably be left on stage, slumped over in a heap on the floor as the remaining actors carried on with their performances around them. The dead were only removed between acts. As Kümmel writes, "[t]here are a few dead bodies in this plot, with Thalheimer they remain sack-like on the stage, like marionettes whose strings have been cut. Human flesh is seen from the dissecting table, the stage is a mortuary."¹³ Thalheimer does not dramatize these deaths with stage-blood or special effects, but merely drains the body of its former hyper-activity, and leaves it lifeless and limp before the audience. These inert bodies on the stage contribute their own corporeal presence and serve as a counterpoint that exaggerates the extreme physical activity of the still-living figures.

After two hours without intermission Thalheimer's actors were truly exhausted, as were their viewers. When Fritzi Haberlandt appeared on stage one final time to acknowledge the effusive applause she appeared depleted and visibly bruised from her physically demanding performance. Beyond the theater Haberlandt's stunning performance maintained its effect through countless reviews, and, later, in a large body of theater scholarship on the production and on her performance. Critics and scholars recognized Thalheimer's and Haberlandt's achievement in subverting the authority of Wedekind's drama, and also in countering the scripting influence of the infamous productions and performances that preceded them.

To read this production through Lehmann's theoretical model, it would seem that Thalheimer's postdramatic aesthetic and production practice created an unprecedented opportunity for the actress in the lead role to counter, defy and exceed the determinacy of

¹³ "Es gibt einige Tote in diesem Stück, bei Thalheimer bleiben sie sackartig auf der Bühne hocken wie Marionetten, denen die Fäden geklappt wurden. Das Menschenfleisch wird vom Seziertisch her gesehen, die Bühne ist eine Leichenhalle." Kümmel, "Die Kostbare Blöße."

the dramatic figure, Lulu. The numerous techniques that Thalheimer and Haberlandt deployed intentionally and aggressively dismantled the dramatic text and created a radically autonomous event.

Yet to accept this would be to contend that the actresses who played Lulu at the fin de siècle were in some way, as Georg Simmel might say, merely marionettes of the text, entirely subject to the scripting forces of the drama.¹⁴ And the evidence I have collected in this dissertation refutes such a conclusion.

In roles like Lulu, turn-of-the-century actresses carried stage productions in a highly determinate way. In a review of one of the earliest performances of *Erdgeist* starring Gertrud Eysoldt, the critic for the *Deutsche Tageszeitung* contends that,

[t]he play depends entirely on the performance of the Lulu role, which again yesterday gave Ms. Eysoldt the opportunity to let her great artistry have its effect on the viewer. One must see it himself, and experience in person how this artist, who is not really known for being physically attractive, can convince the viewer of the beauty that is so central to the dramatic figure, such that one completely falls under the spell of the personality that the actress portrays on stage. Ms. Eysoldt truly does not miss any effect inherent to the role.¹⁵

The reviewer recognizes Eysoldt not only as the center of attention on stage, but also that his sense of the entire production is dependent on her performance. Furthermore, the critic's use of verbs like *wirken* (effect) and *erfahren* (experience) and descriptive phrases like *vollständig in den Bann... geschlagen* (to completely fall under the spell of), evinces the kind of polyvalent experiential engagement—cognitive, corporeal, affective—that Eysoldt enacted in her performance. This language of effect, experience and enthrallment

¹⁴ See Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

¹⁵ "Das Stück steht und fällt mit der Darstellung der Rolle der Lulu, die gestern wieder Frau Eysoldt Gelegenheit gab, ihre große Künstlerschaft so recht auf die Zuschauer wirken zu lassen. Man muß es selbst sehen und an sich erfahren, wie diese Künstlerin, die doch wirklich nicht durch körperliche Reize ausgezeichnet ist, dem Publikum selbst die Schönheit, die der Dichter bei der Gestalt voraussetzt, zu suggerieren versteht, so daß man vollständig in den Bann der Persönlichkeit geschlagen wird, welche die Künstlerin auf der Bühne darstellen soll. Es gibt wohl keinen Effekt, der in der Rolle liegt, welchen Frau Eysoldt sich entgehen läßt." MRA #R7452.

is visible in numerous reviews of *Erdgeist*, and in each case the critic clearly identifies the actress as the author of that experience.

I suggest that comparing Haberlandt's twenty-first century Lulu to fin-de-siècle performances like Eysoldt's reveals only that the means by which the actress intervened in the scripting authority of the drama had changed. Thalheimer's and Haberlandt's efforts to counter the text are overt. This postdramatic theater is an antidramatic theater, emerging from decades of theoretical and practical engagement with the dominion of text over performance. The intention of the postdramatic theater is not to produce the text, but rather to destroy, cover over, and erase its intentions. And this kind of production and performance practice is, indeed, powerfully effective, as reviews from Thalheimer's *Lulu*, and also my own experience of the production confirm.

I maintain that Gertrud Eysoldt's performance of Lulu—or Tilla Durieux's or Tilly Wedekind's—was powerful precisely because it was dramatic. Because the text was so prominent, its operations as script became more visible; in turn, the ways in which actress's enacted *and* unsettled that script's authority became more tangible. This dissertation has shown how both dramatic and scientific texts operated as scripting forces that acted upon women at the turn of the century. Despite vast generic and formal differences, these scripts shared a common intention to determine the production and reception of normal and deviant constructions of femininity. Through performance, and in their complex negotiation of life within and beyond the theater, actresses made visible the mechanisms and limitations of these scripts.

On the stage every act of performance is manifest as a decision from within or against the scripting forces of the dramatic text and the dramaturgies of the theater. The

experience of modernist stage productions that featured deadly, dangerous and powerful women thus became an experience of the actress's polyvalent negotiation of competing authorities over her performance, and thus also a tangible refutation of any absolute claim to authority by a text acting as script. The complexly layered female subjects that appeared on the fin-de-siècle stage, made visible the ways in which female subjectivity palpably negotiated and contested from *within* the many scripts—dramatic, socio-cultural and scientific—that competed for determinative authority over the actress, and over women.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PUBLISHED SOURCES

Allen, Ann Taylor. *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800-1914*. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1991.

---. "Mothers of the New Generation: Adele Schreiber, Helene Stöcker, and the Evolution of a German Idea of Motherhood, 1900-1914." *Signs* 10.3 (1985): 418-438.

Allen, Virginia M. *The Femme fatale: Erotic Icon*. Troy: Whitston, 1983.

Aschaffenburg, Gustav. *Crime and Its Repression*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1913.

---. ed. *Monatsschrift für Kriminalpsychologie und Strafrechtsreform*. [PUB]

Bab, Julius. *Die Chronik des deutschen Dramas*. Berlin: Oesterhold & Co., 1921.

---. *Die Frau als Schauspielerin*. Berlin: Oesterhold & Co., 1915.

---. *Der Mensch auf der Bühne*. Berlin: Oesterhold & Co., 1910.

---. *Das Theater der Gegenwart. Geschichte der dramatischen Bühne seit 1870*. Leipzig: J.J. Weber Verlag, 1928.

---. *Das Theater im Lichte der Soziologie*. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1974.

Bab, Julius, and Willi Handl. *Deutsche Schauspieler. Porträts aus Berlin und Wien*. Berlin: Oesterheld & Co, 1908.

Bade, Patrick. *Femme Fatale. Images of Evil and Fascinating Women*. New York: Mayflower Books, 1979.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World*. Trans. Helene Iswolsky. Bloomington:

- Indiana U.P., 1984.
- Balk, Claudia. *Theatergöttinnen: Inszenierte Weiblichkeit. Clara Ziegler, Sarah Bernhardt, Eleonora Duse*. Frankfurt a.M.: Stroemfeld, 1994.
- Banes, Sally. *Dancing Women. Female Bodies on Stage*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*. Trans. Annette Lavers. New York: Hill and Wang, 1972.
- Bäumer, Gertrud, and Helene Lange. *Handbuch der Frauenbewegung*. Berlin: W. Moeser, 1901-1906.
- Bebel, August. *Die Frau unter Sozialismus*. Stuttgart: J. H. W. Dietz, 1894.
- Becker, Marie Luise. *Der Tanz*. Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1901.
- Becker, Peter, and Richard F. Wetzell, eds. *Criminals and Their Scientists. The History of Criminology in International Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007.
- Bentley, Toni. *Sisters of Salome*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2002.
- Berman, Nina. *Orientalismus, Kolonialismus und Moderne. Zum Bild des Orients in der deutschsprachigen Kultur um 1900*. Stuttgart: Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1997.
- Bernheimer, Charles. *Decadent Subjects. The Idea of Decadence in Art, Literature, Philosophy, and Culture of the Fin de fin Siècle in Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2002.
- Bernheimer, Charles, and Claire Kahane, eds. *In Dora's Case. Freud – Hysteria – Feminism*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia UP, 1990.
- Bial, Henry, and Scott Magelssen, eds. *Theater Historiography. Critical Interventions*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2010.
- Blackadder, Neil. *Performing Opposition. Modern Theater and the Scandalized*

- Audience*. London: Praeger, 2003.
- Blazina, Chris. *The Cultural Myth of Masculinity*. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2003.
- Bloch, Iwan. *Die Prostitution*. Berlin: Louis Marcus Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1912.
- Boa, Elizabeth. *The Sexual Circus. Wedekind's Theatre of Subversion*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987.
- Boeser, Knut, and Renata Vatková, eds. *Max Reinhardt in Berlin*. Berlin: Hentrich, 1984.
- Brath, Klaus. "Gerhart Hauptmann (1862-1946): Von der Sozialkritik zur Verklärung der Krankheit." *Deutsches Ärzteblatt* 109.46 (2012): 2302-05.
- Braudy, Leo. *The Frenzy of Renown. Fame and its History*. New York: Vintage Books, 1997.
- Braun, Edward. *The Director and the Stage. From Naturalism to Grotowski*. London: Methuen, 1982.
- Breuer, Joseph, and Sigmund Freud. *Bruchstück einer Hysterie-Analyse*. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1998.
- . *Studien über Hysterie*. Leipzig: Franz Deuticke, 1895.
- Broch, Hermann. *Hofmannsthal Und Seine Zeit: Eine Studie*. München: R. Piper, 1964.
- Buci-Glucksmann, Christine. *Baroque Reason: The Aesthetics of Modernity*. Trans. Patrick Camiller. London: Sage Publications, 1994.
- Buth, Werner. "Repertoireverzeichnis." *Das Lessingtheater in Berlin unter der Direktion von Otto Brahm (1904-1912). Eine Untersuchung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der zeitgenössischen Theaterkritik*. Diss. Freie Universität Berlin. München: Dissertations-Druckerei Charlotte Schön, 1965. 92-98.
- Butler, Judith. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*. New York:

- Routledge, 1993.
- . *Excitable Speech: a Politics of the Performative*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- . *Undoing Gender*. Boca Raton, [Fla.]: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2004.
- Canning, Kathleen. "The Body as Method? Reflections on the Place of the Body in Gender History." *Gender & History* 11.3 (1999): 499-513.
- Case, Sue-Ellen, ed. *The Divided Home/Land: Contemporary German Women's Plays*. Ann Arbor: The U of Michigan P, 1992.
- . *Performing Feminisms: Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1990.
- Cixous, Hélène, and Catherine Clement. *The Newly Born Woman*. Trans. Betsy Wing. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1986.
- Clauss, Elke-Maria. *"nur Schaffen Will Ich Und Geschaffen Werden": Zum Verhältnis Zwischen Schauspielerin und Dichter Am Beispiel Von Gertrud Eysoldt und Hugo Von Hofmannsthal*. Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Univ, 2001.
- Colvin, Sarah. *Women and German Drama*. Rochester: Camden House, 2003.
- Corinth, Lovis. *Gertrud Eysoldt als Salome*. 1903. Klassik Stiftung, Weimar.
<http://www.klassik-stiftung.de/>. Web. 15. Sept. 2012.
- . *Salome*. 1900. Museum zur Bildendenkunst, Leipzig. *Lovis Corinth*. By Horst Uhr. Berkely: U of California P, 1990. 179.
- Cowen, Roy C. *Hauptmann: Kommentar zum dramatischen Werk*. München: Winkler, 1980.
- Cowgill, Rachel, and Hilary Poriss, eds. *The Arts of the Prima Donna in the Long*

- Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012.
- Czelk, Andrea. *"Privilegierung" und Vorurteil: Positionen Der Bürgerlichen Frauenbewegung Zum Unehelichenrecht und Zur Kindstötung im Kaiserreich*. Köln: Böhlau, 2005.
- Daffner, Hugo. *Salome. Ihre Gestalt in Geschichte und Kunst. Dichtung – Bildende Kunst – Musik*. München: Hugo Schmidt Verlag, 1912. 298-388.
- Davis, Tracy C. *Actresses as Working Women. Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Dickinson, Edward Ross. "Policing Sex in Germany 1882-1982: A Preliminary Statistical Analysis." *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. 16.2 (2007): 204-250.
- Dijkstra, Bram. *Evil Sisters: the Threat of Female Sexuality and the Cult of Manhood*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996.
- . *Idols of perversity: fantasies of feminine evil in fin-de-siècle culture*. New York: Oxford UP, 1986.
- Doane, Mary Ann. *Femmes Fatales: Feminism, Film Theory, Psychoanalysis*. New York: Routledge, 1991
- Dohm, Hedwig. *Der Frauen Natur und Recht*. Berlin: Wedekind & Schweiger, 1876.
- . *Die Mütter. Beitrag zur Erziehungsfrage*. Berlin: S. Fischer, 1903.
- . *Die wissenschaftliche Emancipation der Frau*. Berlin: Wedekind & Schwieger, 1874.
- Diamond, Elin. "Mimesis, Mimicry, and the 'True-Real.'" *Women in the Theatre*. Spec. issue of *Modern Drama* 32.1 (1989): 58-72.
- Dollard, Catherine L. *The Surplus Woman. Unmarried in Imperial Germany, 1871-1918*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2012.

- Durieux, Tilla. *Meine ersten neunzig Jahre. Erinnerungen*. Berlin: F.A. Herbig Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971.
- Düring, E. v. *Prostitution und Geschlechtskrankheiten*. Vortrag: Leipzig, 1905.
- Ellis, Havelock. *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft. Grundzüge einer Soziologie des Geschlechtslebens*. Würzburg 1910/11.
- Elsaesser, Thomas. "Lulu and the Meter Man: Pabst's *Pandora's Box* (1929)." *Screen* 24.4-5 (1983): 4-36
- Esslin, Martin. "Max Reinhardt: 'High Priest of Theatricality.'" *The Drama Review: TDR* 21. 2 (1977): 3-24.
- Evangelista, Stefano, ed. *The Reception of Oscar Wilde in Europe*. London: Continuum, 2010.
- Evans, Richard J. *The Feminist Movement in Germany 1894-1933*. London: Sage Publications, 1976.
- . "Prostitution, State and Society in Imperial Germany." *Past and Present* no. 70 (Feb 1976):106-129.
- Eysoldt, Gertrud, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and Leonhard M. Fiedler. *Der Sturm Elektra: Gertrud Eysoldt, Hugo Von Hofmannsthal Briefe*. Salzburg: Residenz, 1996.
- Farfan, Penny. *Women, Modernism, and Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004.
- Feinman, Clarice. *Women in the Criminal Justice System*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994.
- Felski, Rita. *The Gender of Modernity*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1995.
- Ferris, Lesley. *Acting Women: Images of Women In Theatre*. Washington Square, N.Y.: New York UP, 1989.

- Fetting, Hugo, ed. *Max Reinhardt. Briefe, Reden, Aufsätze, Interviews, Gespräche, Auszüge aus Regiebüchern*. Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1974.
- . *Von der Freien Bühne zum politischen Theater. Drama und Theater im Spiegel der Kritik*. Band 1. Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1987.
- Fiedler, Leonard M. *Max Reinhardt in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten*. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1975.
- Finney, Gail. *Women in Modern Drama: Freud, Feminism, and European Theater at the Turn of the Century*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989.
- Fischer-Lichte, Erika. "Berliner Theater im 20. Jahrhundert." *Berliner Theater im 20. Jahrhundert*. Eds. Erika Fischer-Lichte, Doris Kolesch, and Christel Weiler. Berlin: Fannei & Walz, 1998. 9-42.
- . *Die Entdeckung des Zuschauers. Paradigmenwechsel auf dem Theater des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Tübingen: Francke, 1997.
- . *History of European Drama and Theater*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- . "Der Körper des Schauspielers im Prozess der Industrialisierung. Zur Veränderung der Wahrnehmung im Theater des 20. Jahrhunderts." *Literatur in einer industrielle Kultur*. Eds. Großklaus and Lämmert. 1989. pp. 468-486.
- . "Performance as Event – Reception as Transformation." *Theorizing Performance. Greek Drama, Cultural History and Critical Practice*. Eds. Edith Hall and Stephen Harrop. London: Duckworth, 2010. 29-42.
- . *The Show and the Gaze of Theatre. A European Perspective*. Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 1997.
- . *Theatre, Sacrifice, Ritual: Exploring Forms of Political Theatre*. London: Routledge,

- 2005.
- . *The Transformative Power of Performance: A New Aesthetics*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- . "Verkörperung/Embodiment. Zum Wandel einer alten theaterwissenschaftlichen in eine neue kulturwissenschaftliche Kategorie." *Verkörperung*. Ed. Erika Fischer-Lichte, Christian Horn, and Matthias Warstat. Tübingen: A. Francke, 2001. 1-25.
- Fischer-Lichte, Erika, Doris Kolesch, and Christel Weiler, eds. *Berlin Theater im 20. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: Fannei & Walz, 1998.
- Flashar, Hellmut. *Inszenierung der Antike. Das griechische Drama auf der Bühne. Von der frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. (Zweite, überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage). München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2009.
- Florack, Ruth. *Wedekinds 'Lulu'. Zerrbild der Sinnlichkeit*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1995.
- Florack, Ruth. "Erotik als Provokation und Projektion: zu Frank Wedekinds *Lulu*." *Lulu von Frank Wedekind: GeschlechterSzenen in Michael Thalheimers Inzenierung am Thalia Theater Hamburg*. Ed. Ortrud Gutjahr. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2006: 19-28.
- Foley, Helene P. *Female Acts in Greek Tragedy*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2001.
- Foucault, Michel. *Abnormal. Lectures at the College de France 1974-1975*. Eds. Valerio Marchetti and Antonella Salomoni. Trans. Graham Burchell. New York: Picador, 2003.
- . *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.

- . *History of Sexuality*. Vol. 1. Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.
- Franco, Susanne, and Marina Nordera, eds. *Dance Discourses. Keywords in Dance Research*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Franko, Mark. "Dance and the Political: States of Exception." *Dance Discourses. Keywords in Dance Research*. Eds. Susanne Franco and Marina Nordera. London: Routledge, 2007. 11-28
- Frederiksen, Elke, ed. *Die Frauenfrage in Deutschland 1865-1915: Texte und Dokumente*. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1981.
- Freud, Sigmund.
- Freud, Sigmund, and Elisabeth Young-Bruehl. *Freud On Women: a Reader*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1990.
- Freydank, Ruth. *Theater in Berlin. Von den Anfängen bis 1945*. Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1988. 286-419.
- Fritzsche, Peter. *Reading Berlin 1900*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1996.
- Gale, Maggie B., and Viv Gardner. *Auto/Biography and Identity. Women, Theatre and Performance*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2004.
- Gallagher, Catherine, and Thomas Lacquer, eds. *The Making of the Modern Body. Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1987.
- Gallwitz, S.D. "Bühnen Elend und Bühnennimbus." *Die Frau* 12.12 (1905): 727-732.
- Gardner, Viv. "By Herself: The Actress and Autobiography, 1755-1939." *The Cambridge Companion to the Actress*. Eds. Maggie B. Gale, and John Stokes. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007.

- Garner, Stanton B., Jr. *Bodied Spaces. Phenomenology and Performance in Contemporary Drama*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994.
- Geitner, Ursula, ed. *Schauspielerinnen. Der theatralische Eintritt der Frau in die Moderne*. Bielefeld: C. Hauz, 1988.
- Gibson, Mary, and Nicole Hahn Rafter. "Editors' Introduction." *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*. By Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero. Trans. Mary Gibson and Nicole Hahn Rafter. Durham: Duke UP, 2004. 3-33.
- Gilde, Alexandra. *Die Stellung der Frau im Reichsstrafgesetzbuch von 1870/71 und in den Reformentwürfen bis 1919 im Urteil der bürgerlichen Frauenbewegung*. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1999.
- Gilman, Sander L. "Salome, Syphilis, Sarah Bernhardt and the 'Modern Jewess.'" *The German Quarterly*, 66.2 (1993): 195-211.
- Gilman, Sander L., et al. *Hysteria Beyond Freud*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1993.
- Glenn, Susan A. *Female Spectacle: the Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2000.
- Goellner, Ellen W., and Jacqueline Shea Murphy, eds. *Bodies of the Text. Dance as Theory, Literature as Dance*. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1994.
- Goldhill, Simon. *Who Needs Greek? Contests in the History of Hellenism*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002.
- Goodall, Jane R. *Performance and Evolution in the Age of Darwin. Out of the Natural Order*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Gossman, Lionel. "Anecdote and History." *History and Theory*. 42.2 (2003): 143-168.
- Grossman, Julie. *Rethinking the Femme Fatale In Film Noir: Ready for Her Close-up*.

- Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Greven-Aschoff, Barbara. *Die bürgerliche Frauenbewegung in Deutschland 1894-1933*.
Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981.
- Gutjahr, Ortrud, ed. *Lulu von Frank Wedekind: GeschlechterSzenen in Michael
Thalheimers Inzenierung am Thalia Theater Hamburg*. Würzburg: Königshausen
& Neumann, 2006.
- Hacking, Ian. *The Taming of Chance*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990.
- Hadamowsky, Franz, ed. *Max Reinhardt. Ausgewählte Briefe, Reden, Schriften und
Szenen aus Regiebüchern*. Wien: Georg Prachner, 1963.
- Hanson, Helen and Catheine O'Rawe, eds. *The Femme Fatale: Images Histories,
Contexts*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Hapgood, Robert, and W.B. Worthen, "Script and Performance" *PMLA* 11.42 (1999):
225-226.
- Harden, Maximilian. "Judith." *Die Zukunft*. nr. 27, 2.April 1910. Berlin: Verlag der
Zukunft. 11-34.
- . "Die Wahrheit auf der Bühne." *Der Kunstwart*, I Heft 15, 1887-1889. Reprinted in:
Ruprecht 1962. 108; and in translation in: Schumacher, 1996. 152.
- Hardenberg, R. "Die Stellung der Frau beim Theater." *Die Frau* 4.# (1897): 174-178;
215-219; 265-269.
- Harpham, Geoffrey Galt. *On the Grotesque. Strategies of Contradiction in Art and
Literature*. Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1982.
- Harris, Ruth. "Melodrama, Hysteria and Feminine Crimes of Passion in the Fin-de
Siècle." *History Workshop* no. 25 (Spring, 1988): 31-63. Oxford UP.

- Harrison, Jane Ellen. *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1908.
- Hart, Lynda, and Peggy Phelan, eds. *Acting Out: Feminist Performances*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1993.
- Hauptmann, Gerhart. *Die Kunst des Dramas. Über Schauspiel und Theater*. Ed. Martin Machatzke. Berlin: Propyläen, 1963.
- . *Rose Bernd. Gerhart Hauptmann, Sämtliche Werke. Band II: Dramen*. Ed. Hans-Egon Hass. Frankfurt a.M.: Propyläen, 1965. 183-259.
- . *Vor Sonnenaufgang*. Berlin: S. Fischer, 1905.
- Hayman, Ronald, ed. *The German Theatre. A Symposium*. London: Oswald Wolff, 1975.
- Hebbel, Friedrich. *Judith*. Leipzig: M. Hess, 1905.
- Helleis, Anna. *Faszination Schauspielerin: Von der Antike bis Hollywood. Eine Sozialgeschichte*. Vienna: Braumüller, 2006.
- Herve, Florence, ed. *Geschichte der deutschen Frauenbewegung*. Köln: PapyRossa, 1995.
- Herzog, Dagmar. *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth Century History*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011.
- Hewitt, Andrew. *Social Choreography. Ideology as Performance in Dance and Everyday Movement*. Durham: Duke UP, 2005.
- Hibberd, J.L. "The Spirit of the Flesh: Wedekind's Lulu." *The Modern Language Review* 79.2 (1984): 336-355.
- Hilbig, Antje, Claudia Kajatin, and Ingrid Miethe Eds. *Frauen und Gewalt: Interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen zu geschlechtsgebundener Gewalt in Theorie*

- und Praxis*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2003.
- Hindson, Catherine. *Female Performance Practice on the Fin-de-Siècle Popular Stages of London and Paris: Experiment and Advertisement*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2007.
- Hiß, Guido. *Synthetische Visionen. Theater als Gesamtkunstwerk von 1800 bis 2000*. München: epodium Verlag, 2005.
- Hoffmann-Curtius, Kathrin. "Constructing the *femme fatale*: A Dialogue between Sexology and the Visual Arts in Germany around 1900." *Women and Death: Representations of Female Victims and Perpetrators in German Culture 1500-2000*. Eds. Helen Fronius and Anna Linton. Rochester: Camden House, 2008. 157-185.
- Hofmannsthal, Hugo von. "Elektra. Tragödie in einem Aufzug. Frei nach Sophokles." *Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Sämtliche Werke VII. Dramen 5*. Eds. Klaus E. Bohnenkamp and Mathias Mayer. Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1997.
- . "Szenische Vorschriften zu *Elektra*." *Der Sturm Elektra. Gertrud Eysoldt Hugo von Hofmannsthal Briefe*. Ed. Leonhard M Fielder. Salzburg: Residenz, 1996. 95-98.
- Horch, Franz, ed. *Die Spielpläne Max Reinhardts 1905-1930*. München: R. Piper & Co., 1930.
- Horowitz-Barnay, Ilke. "Frauenberuf und Bühne." *Bühne und Welt* 5.1 (1903): 278-281.
- Hume, Kathryn. *Fantasy and Mimesis. Responses to Reality in Western Literature*. New York: Methuen, 1984.
- Izenberg, Gerald N. *Modernism and Masculinity. Mann, Wedekind, Kandinsky through World War I*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2000.

- Jacobsohn, Siegfried. *Gesammelte Schriften. Band I: Das Theater der Reichshauptstadt. Schriften 1900-1909*. Eds. Gunther Nickel and Alexander Weigel. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005.
- . *Gesammelte Schriften. Band II: Schrei nach dem Zensor. Schriften 1909-1915*. Eds. Gunther Nickel and Alexander Weigel. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005.
- Jaffe, Aaron. *Modernism and the Culture of Celebrity*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005.
- Jakobson, Renate. *Rosa Bertens: Entwicklung einer Schauspielerin im deutschen Theaterleben der Jahre 1874-1929*. Berlin, 1969.
- Janik, Allan. *Essays on Wittgenstein and Weininger*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1985.
- Janik, Allan, and Stephen Toulmin. *Wittgenstein's Vienna*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973.
- Jaron, Norbert, Renate Möhrmann and Hedwig Müller, eds. *Berlin – Theater der Jahrhundertwende. Bühnengeschichte der Reichshauptstadt im Spiegel der Kritik (1889-1914)*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1986.
- Jelavich, Peter. "Art and Mammon in Wilhelmine Germany: The Case of Frank Wedekind." *Central European History*, 12. 3 (1979): 203-236.
- . *Munich and Theatrical Modernism: Politics, Playwriting, and Performance, 1890-1914*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1985.
- Johnson, Eric A. *Urbanization and Crime. Germany 1871-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995.
- Kaplan, Ann, ed. *Women in Film Noir. New Edition*. London: British Film Institute, 1998.
- Kayser, Wolfgang. *Das Grotteske: Seine Gestaltung in Malerei und Dichtung*. Oldenburg:

- Gerhard Stalling, 1957.
- . *The Grotesque in Art and Literature*. Trans. Ulrich Weisstein. Bloomington: Indiana U.P., 1963.
- Keinzl, Hermann. "Die Schauspielerin im sozialen Kampf." *Bühne und Welt* 7 (1909-10): 528-530.
- Kern, Stephen. *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1983.
- Kerr, Alfred. *Gesammelte Schriften in zwei Reihen. Erste Reihe in fünf Bänden. I. Die Welt im Drama*. Berlin: S. Fischer, 1917.
- . *Mit Schleduer und Harfe. Theaterkritiken aus drei Jahrzehnten*. Ed. Hugo Fetting. Berlin: Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1981.
- Kim, Yun Geol. *Der Stellenwert Max Reinhardts in der Entwicklung des modernen Regietheaters. Reinhardts Theater als suggestive Anstalt*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2006.
- Kleine-Rossbach, Sabine. "Lust am Köpfen. Die Decapitationsmythen von Judith und Salome." *Komparatistik als Arbeit am Mythos. Referate der XII. Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft vom 22. - 25. Mai 2003 in Jena*. Eds. Monika Schmitz-Emans and Uwe Lindemann. Heidelberg: Synchron, 2004. 211-221.
- Koberg, Roland, Bernd Stegemann, and Henrike Thomsen eds. *Max Reinhardt und das Deutsche Theater*. Berlin: Henschel, 2005.
- Kontje, Todd. *German Orientalisms*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2004.
- Kord, Susanne. *Murderesses in German Writing, 1720-1860. Heroines of Horror*.

- Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009.
- Koselleck, Reinhart. "Crisis." Trans. Michaela W. Richter. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67.2 (2006): 357-400.
- Krafft-Ebing, Richard von. *Psychopathia Sexualis: Mit Besonderer Berücksichtigung Der Conträren Sexualempfindung. Eine Klinischforensische Studie*. 9th ed. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1894.
- . *Psychopathia Sexualis: With Especial Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct: A Clinical-forensic Study*. Ed. Brian King. Burbank, Calif.: Bloat, 1999.
- Kramer, Lawrence. *After the Lovedeath: Sexual Violence and the Making of Culture*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1997.
- Kukla, Rebecca. *Mass Hysteria: Medicine, Culture, And Mother's Bodies*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.
- Kultermann, Udo. "The 'Dance of the Seven Veils'. Salome and Erotic Culture around 1900." *Artibus et Historiae*, 27. 53 (2006): 187-215.
- Lambropoulos, Vassilis. *The Tragic Idea*. London: Duckworth, 2006.
- Lange, Helene. *Die Frauen und das politische Leben*. Berlin: W. Moser, 1909.
- . *Weltanschauung und Frauenbewegung*. Berlin: W. Moeser, 1900.
- Laqueur, Thomas. *Making Sex. Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1990.
- Laqueur, Walter. "Fin-de-siècle: Once More with Feeling." *Journal of Contemporary History* 31.1 (1996): 5-47.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *Introduction to Modernity*. Trans. John Moore. London: Verso, 1995.
- Lehmann, Hans-Thies. *Postdramatic Theatre*. Trans. Karen Jürs-Munby. London:

- Routledge, 2006.
- Leng, Kirsten. "Contesting the 'Laws of Life': Feminism, Sexual Science and Sexual Governance in Germany and Britain, c. 1880-1914." Diss. University of Michigan, 2011.
- Lenman, R.J.V. "Art, Society, and the Law in Wilhelmine Germany: the Lex Heinze." *Oxford German Studies*. 8, 1973: 88-113.
- Lennartz, Knut. *Theater, Künstler und die Politik: 150 Jahre Deutscher Bühnenverein*. Berlin: Henschel, 1996.
- Le Rider, Jacques. *Hugo Von Hofmannsthal: Historismus und Moderne in der Literatur der Jahrhundertwende*. Trans. Leopold Federmair. Wien: Böhlau, 1997.
- . *Modernity and Crises of Identity. Culture and Society in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*. Trans. Rosemary Morris. Oxford: Polity Press, 1993.
- Le Rider, Jacques, and Norbert Leser, eds. *Otto Weininger. Werk und Wirkung*. Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1984.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. "The Meeting of Myth and Science." *Myth And Meaning: Five Talks for Radio*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1978.
- . *Structural Anthropology*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967.
- Leydecker, Karl. "Unmarried Mothers in German Society and German-Language Drama around 1900." *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 38.1 (2002): 37-48.
- Loeper, Heidrun, Ina Prescher, and Andrea Rolz eds. *Tilla Durieux. "Der Beruf der Schauspielerin"*. Berlin: Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste, 2004.
- Lombroso, Cesare. *Criminal Man*. Trans. Mary Gibson and Nicole Hahn Rafter. Durham: Duke UP, 2006.

- Lombroso, Cesare, and Guglielmo Ferrero. *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*. Trans. Mary Gibson and Nicole Hahn Rafter. Durham: Duke UP, 2004.
- . *La donna delinquente: La prostituta e la donna normale*. Torino: Fratelli Bocca Editori, 1903.
- Lorenz, Dagmar. *Wiener Moderne*. 2nd Edition. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2007.
- Luft, David S. *Eros and Inwardness in Vienna: Weininger, Musil, Doderer*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2003.
- Mainon, Dominique, and James Ursini. *Femme Fatale: Cinema's Most Unforgettable Lethal Ladies*. New York: Limelight Editions, 2009.
- Malkin, Jeanette R., Freddie Rokem, eds. *Jews and the Making of Modern German Theatre*. Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 2010.
- Mann, Heinrich. *Die Schauspielerin*.
- Manning, Susan. *Ecstasy and the Demon: Feminism and Nationalism in the Dances of Mary Wigman*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1993.
- Marcuse, Max. *Uneheliche Mütter*. Berlin: H. Seemann Nachfolger, 1906.
- Marschall, Susanne. *TextTanzTheater. Eine Untersuchung des dramatischen Motivs und theatralen Ereignisses "Tanz" am Beispiel von Frank Wedekinds Büchse der Pandora und Hugo von Hofmannsthal's Elektra*. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1996.
- Martens, Lorna. "The Theme of Repressed Memory in Hofmannsthal's *Elektra*." *The German Quarterly* 60.1 (1987): 38-51.
- Marx, Peter W. *Max Reinhardt: vom bürgerlichen Theater zur metropolitanen Kultur*. Tübingen: Francke, 2006.

- Marx, Peter W., and Stefanie Watzka, eds. *Berlin auf dem Weg zur Theaterhauptstadt. Theaterstreitschriften zwischen 1869 und 1914*. Tübingen: Francke, 2009.
- Matysik, Tracie. "Beyond Freedom. A Return to Subjectivity in the History of Sexuality." (Spector, Puff, and Herzog, eds: 185-201).
- . "In the Name of the Law: The 'Female Homosexual' and the Criminal Code in Fin-de-Siècle Germany." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 13.1 (2004): 26-48.
- . *Reforming the Moral Subject. Ethics and Sexuality in Central Europe, 1890-1930*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2008.
- Maurer, Warren R. *Understanding Gerhart Hauptmann*. Columbia: U of South Carolina P, 1992.
- May, Ursula ed. *Theaterfrauen. Fünfzehn Porträts*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1998.
- McAuley, Gay. *Space in Performance: Making Meaning in the Theatre*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1999.
- McCarren, Felicia. *Dance Pathologies. Performance, Poetics, Medicine*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998.
- McCombs, Nancy. *Earth Spirit, Victim, or Whore? The Prostitute in German Literature 1880-1925*. New York, 1986.
- McGuinness, Patrick. *Maurice Maeterlinck and The Making of Modern Theatre*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000.
- McMullen, Sally. "From the Armchair to the Stage: Hofmannsthal's 'Elektra' in Its Theatrical Context." *The Modern Language Review* 80.3 (1985): 637-651.
- Menon, Elizabeth. *Evil by Design. The Creation and Marketing of the Femme Fatale*. Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006.

- Michalik, Kerstin. *Kindsmord. Sozial- und Rechtsgeschichte der Kindstötung im 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert am Beispiel Preußen*. Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1997.
- Miles, Margaret. "Carnal Abominations. The Female Body as Grotesque." *The Grotesque in Art and Literature: Theological Reflections*. Eds. James Luther Adams and Wilson Yates. Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1997. 83-112.
- Mix, York-Gothart. *Naturalismus, Fin de Siècle, Expressionismus: 1890-1918*. München: Hanser, 2000.
- Möhrmann, Renate. *Verklärt, verkitscht, vergessen. Die Mutter als ästhetische Figur*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1996.
- Möhrmann, Renate, ed. *Die Schauspielerin: zur Kulturgeschichte der weiblichen Bühnenkunst*. Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1989.
- Mueller, Rüdiger. *Sex, Love, and Prostitution in Turn-of-the-Century German-Language Drama*. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2006.
- Nestriepke, S. *Geschichte der Volksbühne Berlin. I. Teil: 1890 bis 1914*. Berlin: Volksbühnen-Verlags-Und-Vertriebs-G.M.B.H., 1930.
- Niemann, Carsten. *Das Herz Meiner Künstlerschaft Ist Mut: Die Max-Reinhardt-Schauspielerin Gertrud Eysoldt*. Hannover: Theatermuseum und -archiv der Niedersächsischen Staatstheater, 1995.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich. *The Gay Science*. Ed. Bernard Williams. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001.
- . *Untimely Meditations*. Ed. Daniel Breazeale. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997.
- Noble, C.A.M. *Sprachskepsis: Über Dichtung Der Moderne*. München: Edition

- Text+Kritik, 1978.
- Nordau, Max Simon. *Entartung*. Berlin: C. Duncker, 1895.
- Oosterhuis, Harry. *Stepchildren of Nature. Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry and the Making of Sexual Identity*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2000.
- Orrells, Daniel. *Classical Culture and Modern Masculinity*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011.
- Osborne, John. *Gerhart Hauptmann and the Naturalist Drama*. 2nd ed. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 1998.
- Pankau, Johannes. *Sexualität und Modernität: Studien zum deutschen Drama des Fin de Siècle*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005.
- Phelan, Peggy. *Unmarked. The Politics of Performance*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Pick, Daniel. *Faces of Degeneration. A European Disorder, c. 1848 – c. 1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989.
- Pilgram, Pascal. *Der Schauspieler als Symbol moderner Kultur bei Simmel, Kracauer und Plessner*. Nürnberg: Filos, 2010.
- Praz, Mario. *The Romantic Agony*. Trans. Angus Davidson. New York: Meridian, 1956.
- Preuß, Joachim Werner. *Tilla Durieux: Porträt der Schauspielerin. Deutung und Dokumentation*. Berlin: Rembrandt, 1965.
- Pullen, Kirsten. *Actresses and Whores: On Stage and in Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005.
- Reassessing Orientalism in German Studies. *Seminar. A Journal of Germanic Studies*. XLI, 3 (Sept. 2005).
- Reimers, Charlotte Engel. "Die Frau im Theaterberuf." *Die Frau* 17.2 (1909): 65-72;164-173.

- Reinelt, Janelle. "Feminist Theory and the Problem of Performance." *Women in the Theatre*. Spec. issue of *Modern Drama* 32.1 (1989): 48-57.
- Reinhardt, Max. *Ausgewählte Briefe, Reden, Schriften und Szenen aus Regiebüchern*. Ed. Franz Hadamowsky. Vienna: G. Prachner, 1963.
- Remshardt, Ralf. *Staging the Savage God. The Grotesque in Performance*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois U.P., 2004.
- Rennert, Hellmut H, ed. *Essays On Twentieth-century German Drama And Theater: an American Reception, 1977-1999*. New York: Peter Lang, 2004.
- Richter, Jeffrey S. "Infanticide, Child Abandonment, and Abortion in Imperial Germany." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28.4 (1998): 511-551.
- Roberts, Mary Louise. *Disruptive Acts: The New Woman in Fin-de- Siècle France*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2002.
- Ross, Corey. *Media and the Making of Modern Germany. Mass Communications, Society, and Politics from the Empire to the Third Reich*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008.
- Rothe, Hans, ed. *Max Reinhardt 25 Jahre Deutsches Theater*. München: R. Piper & Co., 1930.
- Rothe, Wolfgang. *Deutsches Theater des Naturalismus*. München: Langen Müller, 1972.
- Rötscher, Heinrich Theodor. *Die Kunst der dramatischen Darstellung*. Berlin: Erich Reiß, 1919.
- Ruprecht, Erich, ed. *Literarische Manifeste des Naturalismus 1880-1892*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche, 1962.
- Russo, Mary. *The Female Grotesque. Risk, Excess and Modernity*. New York: Routledge,

- 1994.
- Rüstow. "Über Kindesmord und Kindesmörderinnen." *Die Frau*. 8.3 (1900): 141-147.
- Scheffler, Karl. *Die Frau und die Kunst*. Berlin, 1908.
- Schmidt, Dennis J. *On Germans and Other Greeks. Tragedy and Ethical Life*.
Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2001.
- Schönefeld, Christiane. *Commodities of Desire. The Prostitute in Modern German Literature*. Rochester: Camden House, 2000.
- Schumacher, Claude, ed. *Naturalism and Symbolism in European Theater 1850-1918*.
Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996.
- Schorske, Carl E. *Fin-de- Siècle Vienna Politics and Culture*. New York: Alfred A.
Knopf, 1980.
- Scolnicov, Hanna. *Woman's Theatrical Space*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994.
- Scott, Jill. *Electra after Freud. Myth and Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2005.
- Segel, Harold B. *Body Ascendant. Modernism and the Physical Imperative*. Baltimore:
The Johns Hopkins UP, 1998.
- Seidel, Gerhard, ed. *Frauenkörper – Medizin – Sexualität*. Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1986.
- Sengoopta, Chandak. *Otto Weininger. Sex, Science, and Self in Imperial Vienna*.
Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2000.
- . "The Unknown Weininger: Science, Philosophy, and Cultural Politics in Fin-de-
Siècle Vienna." *Central European History* 29.4 (1996): 453-493.
- Shapiro, Ann-Louise. *Breaking the Codes: Female Criminality in Fin-de-Siècle Paris*.
Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996.
- Shepherd, Simon. *Theatre, Body and Pleasure*. London: Routledge, 2006.

- Showalter, Elaine. *Hystories. Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture*. New York: Columbia UP, 1997.
- . *Sexual Anarchy. Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle*. New York: Viking, 1990.
- Sieg, Katrin. *Exiles, Eccentrics, Activists: Women In Contemporary German Theater*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1994.
- Simmel, Georg. "Der Schauspieler und die Wirklichkeit." *Georg Simmel Gesamtausgabe: Aufsätze und Abhandlungen 1909-1918*. Eds. Rüdiger Kramme and Angela Rammstedt. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2001. 308-315.
- . *Schriften zur Philosophie und Soziologie der Geschlechter*. Eds. Heinz-Jürgen Dahme, and Klaus Köhnke. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1985.
- . "Über den Schauspieler (Aus einer 'Philosophie der Kunst')." *Georg Simmel Gesamtausgabe: Aufsätze und Abhandlungen 1909-1918*. Eds. Rüdiger Kramme and Angela Rammstedt. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2001. 22-27.
- . "Zur Philosophie des Schauspielers." *Georg Simmel Gesamtausgabe: Aufsätze und Abhandlungen 1901-1908*. Eds. Alessandro Cavalli and Volkhard Krech. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1993. 424-432.
- . "Zur Philosophie des Schauspielers" (posthumous addendum). *Georg Simmel Gesamtausgabe: Postume Veröffentlichungen, Ungedrucktes, Schulpädagogik*. Eds. Torge Karlsruhen and Otthein Rammstedt. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2004. 192-219.
- Sine, Nadine. "Cases of Mistaken Identity: Salome and Judith at the Turn of the Century." *German Studies Review* 11.1 (1988): 9-29.
- Skrodzki, Karl Jürgen. *Mythopoetik. Das Weltbild des antiken Mythos und die Struktur*

- des nachnaturalistischen Dramas*. Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1986.
- Smith, Sidonie. *A Poetics of Women's Autobiography. Marginality and the Fictions of Self-Representation*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1987.
- . *Subjectivity, Identity, and the Body. Women's Autobiographical Practice in the 20th century*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1993.
- Spector, Scott. "Beyond the Aesthetic Garden: Politics and Culture on the Margins of *Fin-de-Siècle* Vienna." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59.4 (1998): 691-710.
- Spector, Scott, Helmut Puff, and Dagmar Herzog eds. *After The History of Sexuality. German Geneologies With and Beyond Foucault*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2012.
- Stegmann, Monica, and Ingrid Kaech. *Frauen im Rampenlicht. Lebensberichte berühmter Schauspielerinnen*. Frankfurt a.M.: Insel, 2004.
- Stewart[-Steinberg], Suzanne R. "The Secret Power of Seduction: Scipio Sighele and the Postliberal Subject." *Diacritics* 33.1 (2003): 60-79.
- . *Sublime Surrender: Male Masochism at the Fin-de-Siècle*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1998.
- Stocker, Margarita. *Judith: Sexual Warrior: Women and Power in Western Culture*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998.
- Stöcker, Helene. *Bund für Mutterschutz*. Berlin: Pan [n.d.]
- . *Die Liebe und die Frauen*. 2nd, expanded edition. Minden: J.C.C. Bruns, 1908. [First ed. 1905]
- Stöcker, Helene, ed. *Mütterschutz. Zeitschrift zur Reform der sexuellen Ethik*. I. Jahrgang. Frankfurt a.M.: J.D. Sauerländers, 1905.

- Stümcke, Heinrich. *Die Frau als Schauspielerin*. Leipzig: Friedrich Rothbarth, G.m.b.h., 1905.
- Styan, J.L. *Max Reinhardt*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982.
- Sully, Jess. "Challenging the Stereotype: the *Femme Fatale* in Fin-de-Siècle Art and Early Cinema." *The Femme Fatale: Images Histories, Contexts*. Eds. Helen Hanson and Catheine O'Rawe. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 46-59.
- Sünderhauf, Esterh Sophia. *Griechensehnsucht und Kulturkritik. Die deutsche Rezeption von Winckelmanns Antikenideal 1840-1945*. Berlin: Akademie, 2004.
- Swain, Virginia. *Grotesque Figures. Baudelaire, Rousseau, and the Aesthetics of Modernity*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins U.P., 2004.
- Szondi, Peter. *An Essay on the Tragic*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002.
- . *Theorie des modernen Dramas*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1959.
- . *Versuch über das Tragische*. Frankfurt a.M.: Insel, 1961.
- Taxidou, Olga. *Modernism and Performance: Jarry to Brecht*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Tebben, K. ed. *Frauen – Körper – Kunst. Literarische Inszenierungen weiblicher Sexualität*. Göttingen, 2000.
- Thoma, Ludwig. *Magdalena. Ludwig Thoma Gesammelte Werke*. München: R.Piper & Co, 1936.
- . *Moral. Ludwig Thoma Gesammelte Werke*. München: R.Piper & Co, 1936.
- Todd, Janet, ed. *Women and Film*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1988.
- Turner, Graeme. *Understanding Celebrity*. London: Sage Publications, 2004.
- Uhr, Horst. *Lovis Corinth*. Berkely: U of California P, 1990.

- Viering, Jürgen. "Die Schauspielerin als Vertreterin der 'Modernität'. Über die Darstellung der Schauspielerin im Frühwerk Heinrich Manns und das Bild der 'modernen' Schauspielerin in der zeitgenössischen Theaterkritik." *Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik*. 18.2 (1986): 8-75.
- von Ankum, Katharina, ed. *Women in the Metropolis. Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1997.
- Wager, Jans B. *Dangerous Dames. Women and Representation in the Weimar Street Film and Film Noir*. Athens: Ohio UP, 1999.
- Walkowitz, Judith. *City of Dreadful Delight. Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1992.
- Ward, Philip. *Hofmannsthal and Greek Myth: Expression and Performance*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2002.
- Watanabe-O'Kelly, Helen. *Beauty or Beast? The Woman Warrior in the German Imagination from the Renaissance to the Present*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010.
- . "The Figure of Judith in Works by German Women Writers between 1895 and 1921." *Women and Death 3: Women's Representations of Death in German Culture since 1500*. Eds. Clare Bielby and Anna Richards. Rochester: Camden House, 2010. 101-115.
- Wedekind, Frank. *Die Büchse der Pandora*. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jr., 1989.
- . *Erdegeist*. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jr., 1989.
- Wedekind, Tilly. *Lulu – die Rolle meines Lebens*. München: Scherz, 1969.
- Weigel, Alexander. *Das Deutsche Theater: Eine Geschichte in Bildern*. Berlin: Propyläen, 1999.

- Weininger, Otto. *Geschlecht und Charakter. Eine prinzipielle Untersuchung*. Elfte unveränderte Auflage. Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1909.
- . *Sex and Character. An Investigation of Fundamental Principles*. Trans. Ladislaus Löb. Eds. Daniel Steuer and Laura Marcus. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2005.
- . *Über die letzten Dinge*. 4. Aufl. Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1918.
- Wetzell, Richard F. *Inventing the Criminal. A History of German Criminology, 1880-1945*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2000.
- Wiehr, Josef. "The Naturalistic Plays of Gerhart Hauptmann." *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*. Eds. Gustaf E. Karsten, and James Morgan Hart. 6.1, 6.4 (1906-7): 1-71, 531-576.
- Wilcke, Joachim. "Repertoireverzeichnis." *Das Lessingtheater in Berlin unter Oscar Blumenthal (1888-1898)*. Diss. Freie Universität Berlin. Berlin: Ernst-Reuter-Gesellschaft, 1958. 49-58.
- Wilde, Oscar. *Salome*. Trans. Lord Alfred Douglas. London: Faber and Faber, 1989.
- Wiles, David. *A Short History of Western Performance Space*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003.
- Williams, Simon, and Maik Hamburger, eds. *A History of German Theater*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008.
- Wilson, Ann. "History and Hysteria: Writing the Body in *Portrait of Dora* and *Signs of Life*." *Women in the Theatre*. Spec. issue of *Modern Drama* 32.1 (1989): 73-88.
- Wiltschnigg, Elfriede. "Judith von der Volks-Heldin zur femme fatale." *Frauen und*

- Gewalt. Interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen zu Geschlecht in Theorie und Praxis.*
Eds. Antje Hilbig, Claudie Kajatin and Ingrid Miethe. Würzburg: Königshausen
& Neumann, 2003. 61-75.
- Winds, Adolf. "Über die Darstellung von Hebbels Judith." *Bühne und Welt. Zeitschrift
für Theaterwesen, Literatur und Musik.* IX. Jahrgang, 1906-1907, I. Halbjahrs
Band. Ed. E.u.G. Elsner Berlin: Verlag von Otto Elsner. 34-36.
- Wolff, Larry. *Child Abuse in Freud's Vienna: Postcards from the End of the World.*
New York: Atheneum, 1988.
- Worthen, W.B. "Disciplines of the Text/Sites of Performance." *TDR – The Drama
Review.* 39.1 (1995): 13-28.
- . "Drama, Performativity, and Performance." *PMLA* 113.5 (1998): 1093-1107.
- . "Text, Tools, and Technologies of Performance: A Quip Modest, in Response to R.A.
Foakes." *Shakespeare* 2.2 (2006): 208-219.
- Wulffen, Erich. *Gerhart Hauptmanns Dramen. Kriminalpsychologische und
pathologische Studien.* 2. aufl. Berlin: P. Langenscheidt, 1911.
- . *Gerhart Hauptmann vor dem Forum der Kriminalpsychologie und Psychiatrie.*
Breslau: Alfred Langeworts, 1908.
- . "Gerhart Hauptmanns Rose Bernd vom kriminalistischen Standpunkte." *Juristisch-
psychiatrische Grenzfragen. Zwanglose Abhandlungen.* 4.3. Eds. A. Finger, A.
Hoche, and Joh. Bresler. Halle a.S.: Verlag von Carl Marhold, 1906. PG#s
- . *Ibsens Nora vor dem Strafrichter und Psychiater.* Halle a.S.: Verlag von Carl
Marhold, 1907.
- . *Psychologie des Verbrechers: Ein Handbuch für Juristen, Ärzte, Pädagogen und*

- Gebildete aller Stände*. Gross-Lichterfelde-Ost: P. Langenscheidt, 1908.
- . *Sexualspiegel von Kunst und Verbrechen*. Dresden: P. Aretz, 1928.
- . *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin; ein Handbuch für Juristen, Verwaltungsbeamte und Ärzte, mit kriminalistischen Originalaufnahmen*. Berlin: Dr. P. Langenscheidt, 1923.
- Wurms, Renate. "Kein einzig' Volk von Schwestern. Von 1890-1918." *Geschichte der deutschen Frauenbewegung*. Köln: PapyRossa, 1995.
- Žižek, Slavoj. "Otto Weininger, or, 'Woman Doesn't Exist'." *The Metastases of Enjoyment. Six Essays on Woman and Causality*. London: Verso, 1994. 137-164.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES & THEATER REVIEWS

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

- Barkany, Marie, ed. "Die Schamhaftigkeit auf der Bühne. Eine Rundfrage." *Bühne und Welt*. 9.1 (1906): 416-422; 448-452; 515-517.
- Becker, Marie Luise. "Berliner Bühnenkünstler. Gertrud Eysoldt." *Bühne und Welt. Zeitschrift für Theaterwesen, Litteratur und Musik*. 5.2 (1903): 635-641.
- . "Salome-Darstellerinnen auf der modernen Bühne." *Bühne und Welt. Zeitschrift für Theaterwesen, Literatur und Musik*. IX. Jahrgang, 1906-1907, I. Halbjahrs Band. Ed. E.u.G. Elsner Berlin: Verlag von Otto Elsner. 439-447.
- Eysoldt, Gertrud. "Reinhardt und die Schauspieler." *Das Junge Deutschland*. Heft 3: 92, 1918.
- . "Wie Reinhardt mit dem Schauspieler arbeitet." *Reinhardt und seine Bühne. Bilder*

- von der Arbeit des Deutschen Theaters. Eds. Ernst Stein and Heinz Herald. Berlin: Dr Ensler & Co., 1918. 134-137.
- . "Zur Schauspieler ist man geboren." In: Carsten Niemann, *Das Herz Meiner Künstlerschaft Ist Mut: Die Max-Reinhardt-Schauspielerin Gertrud Eysoldt*. Hannover: Theatermuseum und -archiv der Niedersächsischen Staatstheater, 1995. 10-15.
- Gallwitz, S.D. "Die Kunstkritik und die Frauen." *Die Frau* 12.3 (1904): 165-170
- Harden, Maximilian. "Judith." *Die Zukunft*. nr. 27, 2. April 1910. Berlin: Verlag der Zukunft. 11-34.
- . "Die Wahrheit auf der Bühne." *Der Kunstwart*, I Heft 15, 1887-1889. Reprinted in: Ruprecht 1962. 108; and in translation in: Schumacher, 1996. 152.
- Hardenberg, R. "Die Stellung der Frau beim Theater." *Die Frau* 4.# (1897): 174-178; 215-219; 265-269.
- Horowitz-Barnay, Ilke. "Frauenberuf und Bühne." *Bühne und Welt* 5.1 (1903): 278-281.
- Jhering, Herbert. "Tilla Durieux." *Die Schaubühne* 6.1 (1910): 697-699.
- Karloff, Liesel. "Die Frau auf der Bühne." (1910) ADK #581.1
- Keinzel, Hermann. "Die Schauspielerin im sozialen Kampf." *Bühne und Welt* 7 (1909-10): 528-530.
- Land, Hans. "Tilla Durieux." *Reclams Universum Weltrundschau* (1913). ADK #581.3-5
- "Die Leipziger Frauenwoche." *Leipziger Abendzeitung* Leipzig, 3. Juli 1914 ADK #581.8
- Nowak, Karl Friedrich. "Tilla Durieux." *Die Hilfe Berlin* 27 April 1911. ADK #581.2
- Reimers, Charlotte Engel. "Die Frau im Theaterberuf." *Die Frau* 17.2 (1909): 65-72;164-173.

Rüstow. "Über Kindesmord und Kindesmörderinnen." *Die Frau*. 8.3 (1900): 141-147.

Schievelkamp, Max. "Die Frau in der Bühnenkunst." *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* 28

June 1914. ADK #581.10

"Sollen Künstlerinnen heiraten? Eine Rundfrage." (1907) ADK Theatralia #16.

Stümcke, Heinrich. "Die Eroberung der Bühne durch die Frau." *Bühne und Welt* 7.22

(1904-5): 950-956.

THEATER REVIEWS

Chapter 2: *Rose Bernd*, directed by Emil Lessing (1903)

Grünstein, Josef. *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* 1 Nov. 1903. (BTJ 548-49)

Heilborn, Ernst. *Frankfurter Zeitung* 2 Nov. 1903. (BTJ 549-551)

Jacobsohn, Siegfried. *Die Welt am Montag* 26 Oct. 1903. (GSI 192-96)

---. *Die Schaubühne* 26 Dec. 1912. (GSII 239-241)

Kerr, Alfred. *Der Tag* 3 Nov. 1903. (BTJ 551-54)

Landau, Isidor. *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 1 Nov. 1903. (BTJ 546-548)

Stümcke, Heinrich. *Bühne und Welt*. 6.1 (1903-4): 164-167.

W. Fred (Alfred Wechsler). "In neuer Spiegelung." *Die Frau* 11. 4 (1904): 206-8.

Chapter 3: *Salome*, directed by Max Reinhardt (1903-1904)

Mahn, Paul. *Tägliche Rundschau*, 1903. (ADK Durieux #520)

Stahl, Fritz. *Berliner Tageblatt* DATE 30 Sept. 1903. (BTJ 524-5)

Strecker, Karl. *Tägliche Rundschau* 30 Sept. 1903. (BTJ 525-6)

Unknown. *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, 1903/904. (ADK Durieux #520)

Unknown. *Allgemeine Zeitung, München* 18 Nov. 1903. (MRA #R8301)

Unknown (ADK Durieux #520)

Zieler, Gustav. *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, 30. Sept. 1903. (ADK Durieux #520)

Chapter 3: *Judith*, directed by Max Reinhardt (1910)

A.W. *Die Welt am Montag*, 1910. (ADK Durieux #520)

J.A.B. (Josef Adolf Bondy) *Nationalzeitung Berlin* 1910. (ADK Durieux #520)

Klaar, Alfred. *Vossische Zeitung* 1910. (ADK Durieux #520)

Unknown. *Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1910. (ADK Durieux #520)

Unknown. *Berliner Zeitung*, 1910. (ADK Durieux #520)

Unknown. *Die Schaubühne*, 1910. (ADK Durieux #520)

Chapter 4: *Elektra*, directed by Max Reinhardt (1903)

Engel, Eduard. *Hamburger Fremden-Blatt* 1 Nov. 1903. (BTJ 537-538)

Engel, Fritz. *Berliner Tageblatt*, 31 Oct. 1903. (BTJ 533-535)

Hart, Julius. *Der Tag* 1 Nov. 1903. (BTJ 539-540)

Jacobsohn, Siegfried. *Die Welt am Montag* 2 Nov. 1903. (GSI 196-200)

Kerr, Alfred. 1 Dec. 1903. (*Die Welt im Drama*, 113-18)

Klaar, Alfred. *Vossische Zeitung* 31 Oct. 1903. (MRA #R8517)

Landau, Isidor. *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 31 Oct. 1903 (MRA #R8464)

Lerch, Paul. *Germania* 1 Nov 1903. (BTJ 536-537)

L.V. *Schlesische Zeitung, Breslau* 8 Nov. 1903. (MRA #R8510)

R.P. *Die Post* 31 Oct. 1904. (MRA #R8485)

Strecker, Karl. *Tägliche Rundschau* 31 Oct. 1903. (BTJ 541-542)

Unknown. *Vorwärts* 1 Nov. 1903. (MRA #R8518)

Unknown. *Berliner Lokal Anzeiger* 14 May 1905. (MRA #R8521)

Chapter 5: *Lulu*, directed by Michael Thalheimer (2004)

A. Alf. *Der Reichsbote* 25 Sept. 1904. (MRA #R7432)

Bazingar, Irene. "Lulu – eine Kannibalin der Sinne." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*
3 Jan. 2004: 36.

Eloesser, Arthur. *Vossische Zeitung* 18 Dec. 1902.

Hart, Heinrich. *Der Tag* 19 Dec. 1902. (BTJ 492-493)

Kümmel, Peter. "Die kostbare Blöße." *Die Zeit* 3 Apr. 2004.

Meyer-Arlt, Ronald. "Das weiße Quadrat." *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung* 29
Feb. 2004.

Shiller, Maike. "Lulu, legendär und fabelhaft." *Hamburger Abendblatt* 10 Jan. 2006.

Schmalmack, Birgit. "Unverstellte Begierden." 3 Feb. 2004. *Hamburg Theater* 6 Apr.
2007 <<http://www.hamburgtheater.de/Frame1462.html>>

Seegers, Armgard. "Eine Kindfrau unter Schlappschwänzen." *Hamburger Abendblatt* 01
Mar. 2004.

Stein, Philipp. *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 18 Dec. 1902. (BTJ 488-489)

Unknown. *Deutsche Tageszeitung* 24 Sept. 1903. (MRA #R7452)

Unknown. *Leipziger Tageblatt* 27 Sept. 1904. (MRA #R7469)

Unknown. *Die Schaubühne* 1913. (ADK Durieux #520)