

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: LOOKING FOR DIONYSUS: HEDWIG
 RAABE AND THE HAUNTING OF THE
 BIRTH OF TRAGEDY

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This thesis explores the relationship of the actress Hedwig Raabe's 1866 performance in Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's play *Die Grille* to the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche's 1872 book *The Birth of Tragedy*. This exploration is structured by theatre scholar Marvin Carlson's concept of *haunting*. I conclude that the haunting of Nietzsche's text by Raabe's performance destabilizes the former and points towards new ways of understanding *The Birth of Tragedy* in the fields of theatre and performance studies.

LOOKING FOR DIONYSUS: HEDWIG RAABE AND THE HAUNTING OF THE
BIRTH OF TRAGEDY

by

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Dedication

For Katie, Erin, and Kerry.

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Chapter 1: Characters and Setting

Friedrich Nietzsche's first book is crowded. "Not only gods but also monsters and giants haunt the opening pages of *The Birth of Tragedy*" writes the philosopher John Sallis in *Crossings: Nietzsche and the Spaces of Tragedy* (14). Leafing through *The Birth of Tragedy*'s opening pages, one finds that his description is accurate, but not all these figures are visible to the naked eye. Hidden in this mob — somewhere amongst the divinities Apollo and Dionysus, dethroned Titans, and slain monsters — is the ghost of a young German actress.

Heralding Hedwig Raabe's U.S. tour, *The New York Times* reported in 1887 that "When but five years old she made her first bow to the public." Since those precocious years, the *Times* continues, she developed "a wonderful power of moving her audiences" ("Hedwig Raabe Coming"). She also developed the power to challenge them. Raabe's performances were perplexing, at least to those who preferred to understand women in passive terms. She imbued her female characters with enough mischievous agency to befuddle the sexist assumptions of her nineteenth-century audiences. Raabe's roguish virgins were active and her playful urchins were intellectually formidable. The characters she brought to life were so different from conventional images of passive women, that young, philosophically-inclined German educated men who attempted to describe her acting often found themselves at a loss for words. Such was the case with the philologist Friedrich Nietzsche and the art historian Eduard Dobbert.



Hedwig Niemann-Raabe

Figure 1 Hans Peter Hansen's 1899 Portrait of Hedwig Raabe

In 1866, Nietzsche was an ardently melancholy student of philology (the study of historical texts) at the University of Leipzig. Musing over the gloomy philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer when he was supposed to be translating ancient Greek, Nietzsche was shocked out of his stupor in June when he saw Raabe act at the Leipzig Stadtheater. Bemused and haunted by the impact of her performances, he wrote her a characteristically hyperbolic piece of philosophical fan mail. This letter foreshadows his thinking, as published six years later in *The Birth of Tragedy*.

Five years Nietzsche's senior, Eduard Dobbert was a medievalist who studied history, philosophy, and literature at the universities of Tartu, Jena, Berlin, and Heidelberg. He was also a journalist with an interest in theater (Dictionary of Art Historians). In 1865, Raabe was a company member at the German language theater of St. Petersburg and the actress Friederike Gossmann was a visiting performer in the

city (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.4: 411). This situation led to wide-spread contentions over which actress was superior. In his *Dramaturgische Versuche* [Dramaturgical Experiments], Dobbert attempted to raise the level of this debate by systematically comparing the performances of Raabe and Gossmann, only to find himself as bemused as Nietzsche when his thinking through simple female figures was shaken by his reflections on Raabe.

Figures of femininity are central to this study. The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes that, etymologically, *figure* comes from the Latin word for feign, and relates to “the form or shape of something as determined by its outline” (205). The word *outline* captures both the simplifying and representational qualities of the process of *figuration*. Figures of the feminine create simplified, and often simplistic, representations of women. As discussed in more depth below, during the nineteenth century, female figures were used to justify the exclusion of women from the gains of the middle class revolutions in Europe.

Characters on nineteenth-century German stages were often stock “types.” These in turn were often versions of established figures of the feminine drawn from the broader cultural context. This study deals with the female figures that male middle-class audience members such as Nietzsche and Dobbert expected to see on stage, and the tactics Raabe used to subvert and go beyond these figures. I argue that Raabe’s transgression of the limits of established representations of women haunts Nietzsche’s use of feminine figures as vehicles for the transgressive force of his philosophy.

This haunting points towards the catalyzing interchange between theater and philosophy, and so provides a timely intervention into recent theater history scholarship that re-centers male writers. Recently, scholars such as David Kornhaber and Martin Puchner have productively described and re-evaluated intersections of theater history and philosophy. Regrettably, philosophy is often cast as an unproblematic point of genesis for various strands of theater history in this emerging discourse. Puchner, for example, theorizes a genealogy of “Dramatic Platonism” whose genesis is Plato, and Kornhaber argues that Nietzsche’s writings were a genesis point of modern drama. To qualify these rehearsals of the pivotal importance of male thinkers, this study focuses on fluid slippage of critical thought between theater and philosophy.

Kornhaber describes one influential trajectory that *The Birth of Tragedy* had in "The Philosopher, the Playwright, and the Actor." In this article, he traces the impact of the book on multiple canonical dramatists of the late 19th century, framing the disciplinary importance of *The Birth of Tragedy* for understanding August Strindberg, George Bernard Shaw, and Eugene O’Neill:

To understand the specific implications for theatrical practice embedded in Nietzsche's broad theatrical concerns is critically important to the theatre historian: it is to understand one of the origin points for the rethinking of the theatrical event that would mark the period of the modern theatre's emergence.

(Kornhaber 2012, 26)

While I agree with the assertion that theatre historians would benefit from understanding Nietzsche's theatrical concerns, I would like to problematize the

seminal nature of *The Birth of Tragedy*. After all, Nietzsche's intervention into theatrical production also speaks to the intervention that theatrical productions themselves made in his thinking. By inverting Kornhaber's narrative of theater's debt to philosophy and focusing on the debt of a philosopher (Nietzsche) to a thespian (Raabe), I aim to highlight the fluidity of the interplay between theater and philosophy. The porousness of the border between the textual critiques of Nietzsche and the embodied critiques of Raabe render *text* and *embodiment* as less distinct categories of performance. This uncertainty disturbs the privileged position of texts, such as those of Nietzsche, within the histories of western consciousness, a tendency exemplified by Kornhaber's scholarship. This destabilization opens up space for historical studies that take into account the creativity and labor of women working in historically less privileged media, such as acting. I contend that centering the interplay between philosophers and women thespians, such as Raabe, in theater history offers more rigorous perspectives on the theater's place in the history of western consciousness.

In this study, I trace the similarities between the disruptive force of the Dionysian in *The Birth of Tragedy* and that of Hedwig Raabe's interpretation of the role of Fanchon from Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's *Die Grille*. I begin by contextualizing Raabe's destabilizing acting through a historical summary of the socio-political forces which affected women in nineteenth-century Germany. I then describe Nietzsche's spectatorship of Raabe based on the available evidence. The body of this paper explains the similarities between Raabe's performing and Nietzsche's thinking in *The Birth of Tragedy*. I do this by describing the parallels between Raabe and Nietzsche's

respective treatments of naming, dualisms, and transformations. Throughout, I argue that the similarities and connections between the work of Raabe and Nietzsche should be understood in terms of “haunting,” a concept I will unpack momentarily. First, though, I contextualize audience expectations and Raabe’s artistic social-critique through a brief overview of the socio-political climate in nineteenth century Germany.

The German middle class spent much of the nineteenth century having its ambitions frustrated. Napoleon’s defeat in 1815 was followed by the Congress of Vienna, an event organized by Austria’s conservative Chancellor Klemens von Metternich. The goal of the congress was to extinguish the embers of liberalism and democracy ignited by the French revolution and disseminated by Napoleon (Beller 114). The Vormärz, or Biedermeier, period that followed the congress was marked by repression of the liberal demands of the European middle classes by politicians, aristocrats, and established economic interests. This occurred even as massive social and economic shifts, including industrialization and the rise of commodity capitalism, took place (Beller 114). Under Metternich’s repressive diplomatic “system,” nationalist political frustration grew in the German states until, in 1848, amidst widespread financial crises and liberal hopes, German cities joined the Spring of Nations (Beller 124).

Raabe and Nietzsche were both born in 1844 and grew up in the 1850s during this period of reactionary repression of liberal ideas in favor of conservative monarchical politics in Germany. In 1862, the liberal and nationalist Otto von Bismarck, Metternich’s nemesis in many ways, was named chancellor of Prussia

(Hagen 143). While the political power of the middle classes stagnated in 1866, massive changes continued to sweep the social, economic, and political landscape of Germany. For no one was this truer than German women, such as Raabe and the Playwright of *Die Grille*, Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer.

The industrialization of Germany catalyzed the rise of the middle class, and with it, stricter gender divisions through the differentiation of the public and private spheres. Women's growing demands for political inclusion were countered by both conservative monarchists and many liberal proponents of the middle class. The latter justified women's political exclusion by arguing that they would too easily be swayed by religious authorities (Hagen 179). Across Europe, women faced broad reductions in mobility as well as social and economic status. In 1850, Prussia passed the Law on Political Associations, banning women from "joining the political discussion" or assembling for political purposes; legislation also was passed across Germany excluding women from crafts-trades (Hagen 179, Pritchett 94-95). While all women in Germany faced waves of repression and sexism after the middle class's frustrations in 1815 and 1848, German actresses experienced added pressures that were unique to their profession.

Actresses faced a German theater shifting from an aristocratic or popular endeavor to a professional one during the 19th century. This professionalization was marked by the hiring of men into stable positions as the writers and director-managers of court and state theaters. As a result, fewer women worked in these same positions. The number of roles written for actresses declined, and those that did continue to exist often fit the more passive models offered by stock figures (Pritchett 68). This

lack of active female roles was compounded as state censorship increased.

Playwrights who included more dynamic female characters, such as Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and William Shakespeare, were often censored or heavily re-written (Pritchett 68). Even as German actors slowly gained social status, actresses such as Raabe and Gossmann had to navigate the pressure to perform figures of femininity on stage that enacted, and thus justified the declining social status of women.

Such stock figures, which dominated many German audience members' imaginations, included the stuffy old lady [*komische Alte frau*], innocent adolescent [*Backfisch*], and the spicy coquette [*Koketten Pikanten*]. These two-dimensional representations of the feminine offered simplified, passive, versions of women on the whole. Each easily falls in line with one side of typical feminine dualisms, including virgin-whore, innocent-corrupted, and saintly-sinful (Ehrenpreis 484). These dualisms structured easily understandable representations of women, which were used in advertising and propaganda to justify and buttress the emergence of Germany as a capitalist patriarchal state. The ability to name women in simple, dualistic terms justified and propelled both liberal and conservative sexism. The lived experiences and identities of nineteenth-century German women were increasingly understood in the simplistic terms circulated by these stock figures. In theaters, these archetypes were written by the middle-class men who increasingly outnumbered women as these cultural industries professionalized. The cultural production of professional male theater writers and directors reflected their ideologies and thus reinscribed their cultural power and privileges.

Economic processes catalyzed the distribution of simplistic representations of femininity in Germany. The rise of industrial commodity capitalism shifted Germany from a mass literary culture to a mass visual culture in the second half of the nineteenth century (Ehrenpreis 482). Two-dimensional, patriarchal visual images of women in advertisements, prints, and illustrations increased in quantity and circulation during this time period. Increasingly, representations of women that could bolster and support those working for women's equality and liberation — such as Helene Lange and Clara Zetkin, and Helene Söcker — were pushed off stage (Hagen 180). The economic, social, and political forces that worked to constrain and reverse the becoming-subject of women faced a particularly public and popular form of subversion from women thespians through their on-stage performances.

These are the nineteenth-century contexts within which Raabe activated the playwright Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's social critiques of repression based on gender and class. In some ways, the lot of actresses had improved since the eighteenth century. However, by 1866, the association of actresses with prostitutes had not been entirely shaken and the rise of the middle class division of space into public and private meant that actresses faced challenges they had not a century before (Williams 3). Raabe's choice to embody the social-critiques of playwrights such as Birch-Pfeiffer that did make it past the censor was a risky move, and one many other actresses chose not to make.

Friederike Gossmann, the actress to whom Dobbert compares Raabe in *Dramturgisches Versuche*, helped to make Birch-Pfeiffer's works successful in Vienna, and so helped carve out space for women in active roles there (Eisenberg

340). Onstage, her characterizations were aesthetically brilliant embodiments of stock types, ranging from “fresh-faced young women” to witty coquettes, all of whom behaved according to the expectations of male audience members, even when the plot indicated otherwise (Hansen, *Deutsche Biography*). Gossmann played into, and used, passive representations of women to her advantage. Dobbert’s description of Gossmann’s conservative acting highlights the transgressive choices made by Raabe.¹

When considered within the context of the nineteenth-century German theater world — and the growing predilection for passive, simple representations of women — Hedwig Raabe’s performance in *Die Grille* becomes starkly transgressive. Raabe resisted the pressures actresses faced to represent feminine characters as passive. We know from theater records that she chose to appear in plays that afforded her opportunities to perform active female protagonists. Dobbert’s description in his *Dramaturgisches Versuche* of Raabe’s performances points towards her having embraced these opportunities, staging women who resisted simplistic naming, exceeded dualistic understanding, and actively transformed the world around them.

The explicit social critique in Raabe’s bringing a powerful, disruptive, woman on stage haunts Nietzsche’s deconstructive aesthetic critique of philosophy. Raabe’s acting staged female characters who destabilized established tropes of the feminine. *The Birth of Tragedy* also stages feminine concepts that subverted established meanings. Nietzsche saw Raabe perform and wrote to her about her acting in terms that echo his work in *The Birth of Tragedy*. A remarkable parallel exists between the

¹ Gossmann’s success and public image speak to a more complicated history than the one I tell here, and I recommend her correspondences and reviews of her Vienna performances to those interested in more nuanced picture.

destabilizations posed by Raabe's acting and those in *The Birth of Tragedy*. Though offering the potential of compelling insights into Nietzsche's work, studying this relationship is difficult because historical theatrical events, including Raabe's performances, are not directly accessible as objects of study.

The run of Raabe's performances in 1866 is long over. Even the building in which the performances took place, the Leipzig Stadttheater, has been destroyed. These absences are more rule than exception when it comes to theater history. Thomas Postlewait observes in *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography* that,

“Our problems, from a historian's perspective, are epistemological rather than phenomenological. Absence is the given condition. The historian, it is true, may attempt to evoke the memories of the historical participants or eyewitnesses of a performance event, but the historian is not typically one of the eyewitnesses... The historical reconstruction — a negotiation of various clues in the mode of condensation, displacement, and substitution — is not an act of perception or consciousness such as spectators experience at a performance. The historical recovery can be achieved only by reading the latent clues in order to make manifest a version, not a repetition of the past event.” (120)

Dobbert's writings, the Leipzig Stadttheater's records, the scripts of plays Raabe acted in, and Nietzsche's correspondence provide enough “latent clues” to describe a plausible version of Raabe's acting style. If we keep Postlewait's caveats against

certainty in mind, such a reconstruction can provide enough of a glimpse of Raabe's performances that I can describe their parallels to *The Birth of Tragedy*.

Because of the audience's memories of past performances, theater-makers are able to juxtapose, recycle, and *haunt* one production with other, past performances in ways that create meaning. Carlson describes this process, writing that meaning is generated for people encountering works when, "...we recognize within them elements that have been recycled from other structures of experience that we have experienced earlier." This poststructuralist idea emphasizes the importance of relationships between works. Carlson continues, "This 'intertextual' attitude, approaching the text not as a unique and essentially self-contained structure but as an open-ended 'tissue of quotations,' has become now quite familiar" (4-5). Carlson's application of recycling, quotation, and ghosting to theatrical performances — his *inter-performance* attitude — as conceptualized in the term *haunting*, is an invaluable tool when discussing the importance of memory to the study of theater. Carlson transposes the way texts haunt one another through citation to the theater and finds that theatrical productions haunt one another through memories. Yet, could one talk about the memory of Raabe haunting a text rather than another production?

Carlson's book definitively leans towards an affirmative answer to this question. Reviews, parodies, and retrospectives are among the theatrical-textual genres that rely on being haunted by a specific, materially-absent performance. Carlson cites and uses these forms as examples throughout his book, and his broad uses of haunting point towards the appropriateness of its use with respect to texts not primarily concerned with the theater (9, 39, 40, 113). Much like a review, *The Birth*

of Tragedy, as a philosophical text immanently concerned with theater, can be illuminated by exploring those spaces haunted by absent theatrical events. Studying how Raabe's 1866 performances in Leipzig haunt Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy* can thus clarify our understanding of the text.

Studying the relationship between the performances Nietzsche saw and his first book through Carlson's concepts of *ghosting* and *haunting* opens up important questions about Nietzsche's quotation of Raabe's performances: What are the implications if her acting is present in the text? What if it is absent? How would our view of Nietzsche's thought change if it is both present and absent? My goal is not provide a definitive answer to these questions. Rather, I aim to trace the similarities between Raabe's theatrical disruptions and Nietzsche's transgressive Dionysian force, as written about in *The Birth of Tragedy*, thereby locating the spaces of the text where Raabe's ghost appears. This is an important step towards understanding the interplay between theater and philosophy. The first traces of this haunting can be found in a letter from Nietzsche to Raabe that points towards the state theater of Leipzig.

The 21-year-old Nietzsche shuffled through music scores he had written, selected a few, and on the back of a note about his aunt's death, drafted a letter introducing the songs to the actress Hedwig Raabe (*Klassik Stiftung Weimar: "Nietzsche-Briefwechsel," Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.4: 411). "My first wish," he begins, "is that you do not interpret this insignificant, small, tribute of songs as ill-intentioned. Other people manifest their delight in the theatre through clapping and cheering, I do it through songs" (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.2: 133).² The letter becomes

² Translations from the German and French are my own unless noted otherwise. I am responsible for any errors in meaning.

philosophical as Nietzsche's pleasantries transition into his experience of Raabe's performances.³ Halfway through his description of how Raabe's acting affected him, Nietzsche's writing begins to foreshadow the connections he would draw between theater and philosophy in *The Birth of Tragedy*.

The body of the letter begins with Nietzsche assuring Raabe that the homage he offers is not given because she herself has such a noble and wonderful nature. Rather, he reveres her onstage characterizations [*Darstellungen*] (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.2: 134). Seeing these characters' sweetness and pain caused the lost and forlorn spirit of his childhood, which appeared before him as something forgotten but existent, to kick him [*tritt*]. Nietzsche writes that Raabe's "originary and always lifelike, kindhearted, figures," [*Ihre ursprünglichen und immer lebenswahren herzensguten Gestalten*] caused him to reaffirm his belief in the existence of such figures, just as he was beginning to doubt them (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.2: 134). This sentence resounds with echoes of the Apollonian and Dionysian, as well as the power of art to justify life and to act directly on the viewer, all elements articulated in *The Birth of Tragedy*. In this letter, Nietzsche draws a distinction between Raabe the actress and her characters. In so doing, Nietzsche echoes the distinction between the Dionysian actor and the aesthetic dream-form of the Apollonian mask he would formulate in *The Birth of Tragedy* (Nietzsche 45). Raabe's characterizations, described as aesthetic creations, prefigure the masks of Apollo.

³ For reference sake, the passage in German reads: "Im Grunde verehere ich und sicherlich alle mit mir Ihre Darstellungen: mit der Süßigkeit und dem Schmerz, mit dem meine eigne Kindheit mir vor die Seele tritt als ein Verlorenes aber doch einmal Dagewesenes, denke ich auch an Ihre ursprünglichen und immer lebenswahren herzensguten Gestalten: Mögen diese Gestalten mir auf meinem Lebensweg auch noch so selten begegnen — und noch vor kurzem glaubte ich gar nicht mehr an ihre Wirklichkeit — so ist mein Glaube an sie jetzt wieder festgewurzelt." (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.2: 134).

Both the letter draft and *The Birth of Tragedy* describe an almost-forgotten unity between self and an intense previous state of existence. Nietzsche experienced the intense emotions of his fading childhood during Raabe's performance. In the same manner, the Greeks experienced an ecstatic dissolving of the barriers between men, and between men and the whole of an "alienated hostile or subjugated nature," under the reconciling power of Dionysian intoxication (Nietzsche 1993, 17). It is worth remembering that Nietzsche's childhood was marked by the successive death of his father, brother, aunt, and grandmother in a short span of years (Hayman, 18,25). Nietzsche's relationship to his past was a particularly sensitive one, something he also claims was the case with the Greeks.

Nietzsche writes in the letter that he has re-discovered belief in figures he had previously given up on encountering, and notes that he, and others who carry an overcast view of the world and men, left the theater with brighter faces and friendlier attitudes [...*daß viele, die das Leben und die Menschen trübe genug anblickten, jetzt mit hellerem Gesicht und freundlicher Hoffnung weitergehen*] (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.2: 134). In *The Birth of Tragedy*, the Greeks, who Nietzsche claims to have been exceptionally sensitive, justify their existence in a painful and meaningless universe by choosing to experience their world as an "*aesthetic phenomenon*" through tragedy (Nietzsche 32).

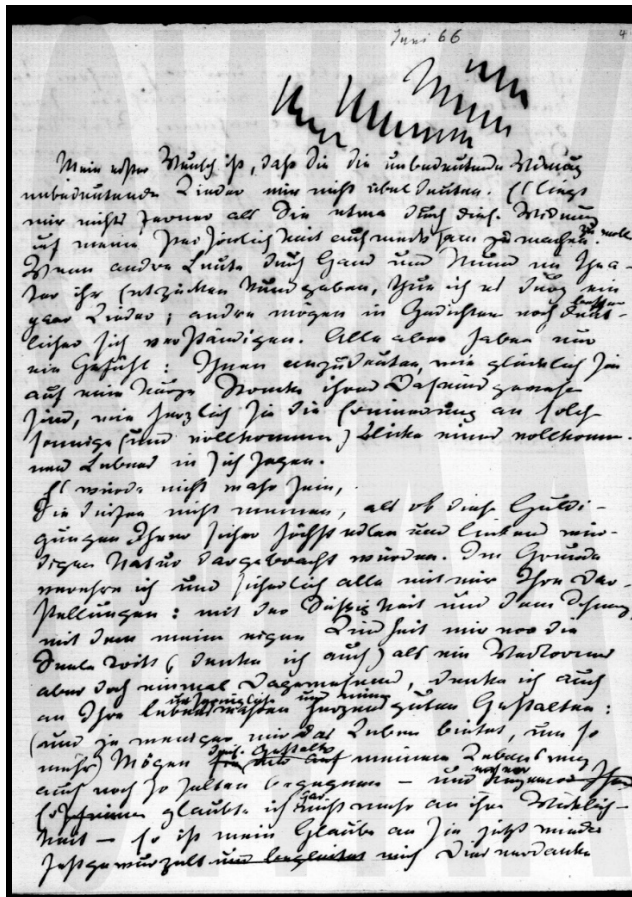


Figure 2 Draft of letter from Nietzsche to Raabe

Nietzsche ends the letter by expressing his hope that Raabe would hear echoes of his appreciative *experience* of her performances in the songs he was sending (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.2: 134). In so doing, he describes an aesthetic event (his music) acting directly on the audience. Later, he would describe the Dionysian ecstasy released by Greek tragedy similarly, arguing that it did not signify anything symbolically, but altered the audience's experience of the world directly. In *The Birth of Tragedy*, “man becomes” something other through an aesthetic experience (Nietzsche 18). Just as Raabe’s performance caused him to suddenly perceive his past, he hopes his music can affect her directly as well.

In both Nietzsche's letter to Raabe and *The Birth of Tragedy*, a theatrical representation evokes a primal experience that justifies a sensitive people, or person's continuing to live. Writings on Nietzsche mention this letter as merely an illustrative anecdote, as if the text contains no new information from a philosophical perspective, though it is widely accepted that Nietzsche was mulling over the ideas that led to *The Birth of Tragedy* in 1866.⁴ Yet, the letter is unique because it describes Nietzsche's philosophical engagements intersecting with Raabe's performance. In "The Philosopher, the Playwright, and the Actor," Kornhaber argues that Nietzsche theorizes this interplay between theater and philosophy himself. "What Nietzsche essentially posits in *The Birth of Tragedy* is theatrical art as the equal-but-opposite antithesis to philosophical reason," Kornhaber writes, "a move that necessarily ascribes to it the same ontological status." (Kornhaber 2012, 244). Nietzsche's letter to Raabe points to this engagement with a theatrical performance as, and in conversation with, philosophy. Nietzsche's letter to Raabe provides a material, historically approachable event that Nietzsche himself conceptualized in terms of the interplay between acting and philosophical thought. However, as explained above, Raabe's nonappearance by name in *The Birth of Tragedy* has necessitated my searching for her through the inter-textual and inter-performance concept of haunting.

My study is built on dramatic texts, historical contexts, and Dr. Eduard Dobbert's unusually detailed analysis of Raabe's acting. We do not know much about

⁴ In 1865, Nietzsche read Arthur Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Representation*, one of the main reference points for *The Birth of Tragedy* (Hayman, 72-73). Thus, Nietzsche's description of his outlook on life in the melancholic terms of Arthur Schopenhauer as "overcast" is no surprise.

Nietzsche was steeped in the Weimar Classicists as well, which influenced his dramatic theorization in *The Birth of Tragedy* (Bishop and Stephenson, 24-29). His division of Raabe's acting into embodied mimesis and aestheticized representation is a classicist division that prefigures the Apollonian and Dionysian division in *The Birth of Tragedy*. Such engagements are the rule, not the exception, for his letters in this period.

the details of Nietzsche's spectatorship in June of 1866. However, we can infer quite a bit from his other letters, theater ledgers, and lists published in retrospectives on theater seasons. My goal is to actively reimagine Raabe's absent performance in order to better understand how they ghost *The Birth of Tragedy*. This requires honing in as closely as possible to the *who, what, where, and when* surrounding Raabe's performing and Nietzsche's spectatorship. In the interest of clarity, I narrate the process by which I arrived at Raabe's performance in *Die Grille* as an exemplary candidate for exploring her acting style as Nietzsche may have seen it. Then, I introduce the source I use to fill in the details of Raabe's absent performance, Dobbert's *Dramaturgische Versuche [Dramaturgical Experiments]*.

Nietzsche does not explicitly say which performances sparked the writing of his letter to Raabe. The philosophically abstract tenor of the letter and its lack of specific references renders the exact performances un-locatable. However, using Nietzsche's correspondence, A. Heinrich's *Deutscher Bühnen-Almanach*, and *Das Stadt Theater zu Leipzig, vom 1. Januar 1862 bis 1. September 1887* (a collection of information on the Stadttheater printed in 1887), we can get a better idea about the productions at the Leipzig *Stadttheater* in which Nietzsche saw Raabe before writing the letter.

The first difficulty is the vague date of the letter, which has "June 1866" scrawled across the top (see figure 1.) (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.2: 133). The explanatory notes in Nietzsche's *Correspondence [Briefwechsel]* state that Raabe performed from the 7th of June to the 7th of July on 17 evenings, in a total of 20 roles (*Briefwechsel*

sect.1 v.4: 411). Raabe is not mentioned in Nietzsche's letters prior to June of 1866, so Raabe's June run was presumably the impetus for Nietzsche's response.

In a letter to his mother Franciska and sister Elisabeth from July, Nietzsche writes that the best thing in Leipzig is Hedwig Raabe who persisted [*fortfährt*] in playing to packed houses during the Austro-Prussian War (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.2: 136).⁵ The use of the word "persisted" indicates that Nietzsche saw Raabe perform multiple times.



Figure 3 The Leipzig Philologist Society in 1866 [Nietzsche 3rd from left in back row]

Nietzsche's having seen multiple performances and the looseness of the date "June 1866" makes it impossible to say which play sparked the letter. He may, in fact, have been responding to a number of performances. This is supported by his praising the style of her characterizations [*Gestalten*] in general, rather than

⁵ The Austro-Prussian war which began June 14th 1866 and lasted seven weeks. Nietzsche tried multiple times to volunteer for the Prussian army, but was unsuccessful. The letter is dated "late July," but the late [*anfang*] probably refers to a post-script that was added later. (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.2: 136-137).

individual, terms (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.2: 134). The abstraction in Nietzsche's letter is philosophical, but might also be caused by his writing about multiple performances. We do not know which plays Nietzsche saw, but we can narrow the scope of possibilities.

A. Heinrich's *Deutscher Bühnen-Almanach* for 1866 lists Raabe as having played 24 roles during her stint at the Leipzig Stadttheater (181). As Raabe was a company member with the German Theater of St. Petersburg, she would only have summers free to perform in Germany (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.4: 720). Heinrich's list of Raabe's roles is, then, a listing of the roles she played in Leipzig during June and July of 1866. These are the 24 parts in which Nietzsche may have seen Raabe.

This list from Heinrich's *Almanach* appears to be in chronological order. We can infer this because, in a letter to his friend Carl von Gersdorff dated the 12th of July, Nietzsche writes that the best performance yet was one of *Die Waise von Lowood*, which starred Hedwig Raabe and "Devrient" (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.2: 144). According to *Das Stadt Theater zu Leipzig, vom 1. Januar 1862 bis 1. September 1887*, Emile Devrient performed only once in July during the same months Raabe performed. The notes for Nietzsche's correspondence indicate that Emile Devrient played Lord Rowland Rochester on July 5th for a benefit performance with Hedwig Raabe (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.4: 417).⁶ Nietzsche's "Devrient" probably refers to Emile Devrient. Jane Eyre, the role Raabe would have played across from Emile Devrient, is the 21st role on the list in the *Almanach* (181).

⁶ Oddly, the previous note identifies the same "Devrient" mentioned in Nietzsche's letter as Emile's brother Karl, also an actor.

If Raabe's performance as Jane Eyre from *Die Waise von Lowood* was a benefit performance that extended her run, then the three roles listed after it may also have been benefit performances. The 21st role listed in the *Almanach* being a benefit performance resolves the discrepancy between Heinrich's *Almanach*'s listing of 24 roles and the *Briefwechsel*'s 20.⁷ The four extra performances were likely war-time benefits that extended beyond the planned run. This would also explain Nietzsche's happy surprise that Raabe was still performing in his letter to Carl von Gersdorff on July 12th, after Raabe's run was technically over according to *Das Stadt Theater zu Leipzig* (32).

On the 18th of July, Nietzsche mentions that Hedwig Raabe is no longer performing, but that she has not yet returned to the theater in St. Petersburg where she was based (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.2: 146-147). With this letter end the appearances of Raabe in Nietzsche's correspondences from June and July of 1866. She is mentioned in his correspondence later, but these instances do not shed any additional light on origin of the draft letter.

The twenty roles played by Raabe before Jane Eyre are thus the other ones Nietzsche's may have seen before drafting the letter. As Nietzsche's letter is likely a response to more than one performance, we can eliminate Raabe's opening performance in Leipzig. Out of those 19 that remain, I have chosen to deal with *Die Grille* by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer⁸

⁷ The *Briefwechsel*'s number probably came from *Das Stadt Theater zu Leipzig* which lists Raabe as playing 20 Roles on page 32.

⁸ The primary texts suggest another lead that I have chosen not to follow. In Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche Nietzsche's *Friedrich Nietzsche und die Frauen seiner Zeit*, she states that Nietzsche saw Raabe in *She Found Her Heart* [*Sie hat ihr Herz entdeckt*] (42). This is one of the plays listed as having featured Raabe in 1866. However, given Nietzsche's sister's manipulation and

Die Grille recommends itself for two reasons: Nietzsche's probable interest in the piece and the existence of a detailed account of Raabe's performance in 1865. *Die Grille* was written by Birch-Pfeiffer, who adapted *Jane Eyre* into *Die Waise von Lowood*, which Nietzsche praises. Nietzsche also mentions Friederike Gossmann's performance in *Die Grille* in February of 1865 (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.2: 38-39). Given the widespread inclination at the time to compare Raabe and Gossmann, the piece would have been particularly interesting for one who had seen Gossmann perform in this role previously (Dobbert 1-2). Eduard Dobbert's 1865 *Dramaturgical Experiments* [*Dramaturgische Versuche*] provides the aforementioned detailed description (1-20). This document provides an account of Raabe's acting in the role of Fanchon closely contemporaneous to her portrayal of the same role in Leipzig. In this work, Raabe's performing style is compared with that of another rising star, Friederike Gossmann. In summary, we have solid evidence that Nietzsche saw Raabe perform a few times, if not many, that his experiences of her performances led to the writing of the letter, and that *Die Grille* was likely one of the performances he saw.

Dr. Eduard Dobbert's *Dramaturgische Versuche* was an amazing find, as it both describes and mediates on Raabe's acting style in depth. It provides an unusually detailed picture of Raabe's acting, albeit a somewhat patronizing and pedantic one. Additionally, through his analysis, Dobbert provides a glimpse of how Raabe was received by someone in a subject position very similar to that of Nietzsche.

According to the *Dictionary of Art Historians*, Dobbert was a Russo-German art historian, born in 1839, who specialized in medieval Italian and Byzantine art.

falsification of his oeuvre. Her use of the play in *Frauen seiner Zeit* to cast herself as Nietzsche's confidant renders the evidence suspect. She may very well have claimed he saw the piece because it allowed her to comment on how Nietzsche found *his* heart in Leipzig.

Reception is notoriously difficult to gauge, so having a sustained view into the mind of an aesthetically-inclined, twenty-something German male, educated in philology and philosophy at north-German universities, is quite a boon to my study (*Dictionary of Art Historians*, website).

Chapter 2: *Die Grille*

Nietzsche's thinking did not spring from nowhere, but rather it was built on the philosophical critiques of previous philosophers, primarily Schopenhauer. Similarly, Raabe's acting did not generate a destabilizing force on its own, but built on the social critique latent in the plays she performed. Raabe was best known in 1866 for her portrayal of characters written by Birch-Pfeiffer, namely Fanchon from *Die Grille* and Lorle from *Dorf und Stadt* (Grange 35, Dobbert 2). The importance to Raabe's social critique of all the roles that she played warrants some background on Birch-Pfeiffer and her productions.

Echoing most accounts of Birch-Pfeiffer's work, William Grange, in the *Historical Dictionary of German Theater*, writes that she "gave them [audiences] what they wanted within the prevailing confines of censorship practices, and they appreciated it. Her main interest was in any case the acting" (37). Like most accounts of her work, though, this one is based on the writings of a male dramatist, this time Heinrich Laube. When Rinske Van Stipriaan Pritchett engages Birch-Pfeiffer's plays, letters, reviews, etc. in *The Art of Comedy and Social Critique in Nineteenth-Century Germany: Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer (1800-1868)*, she comes to a different conclusion. Pritchett highlights how even the more liberal and leftist "Young Germans," such as Laube, retained patriarchal ideals that left female authors such as Birch-Pfeiffer more inclined to forge an unaligned, though not uncritical, dramatic career (70). Laube's observation about acting does have some truth to it. It was through the opportunities

for actors such as Raabe to play active female protagonists that Birch-Pfeiffer leveled her most destabilizing critique of the social structures of nineteenth-century Germany.

The plot of *Die Grille* is deceptively simple. The expositional scenes establish the rural setting of the play in La Cosse, France. The title character of *Die Grille*, Fanchon, is not introduced until the third scene. By this point, we have learned that she is generally assumed to be a witch, that she is a trickster, and that she lives outside the village with her grandmother. As one might expect, since she is seen as a witch, Fanchon is an outsider and “other” to the villagers of *La Cosse*. The play’s conflict erupts when Fanchon and Landry, one of the sturdiest and most respected of the young villagers, fall in love. When word of this gets out, the village turns against the “little witch.” Fanchon leaves, only to return after having earned a name and fortune (Birch-Pfeiffer). After some incredulity on the part of the villagers, they stop treating her as a witch and start calling her by her birth name, Fanchon. Landry remains the befuddled, but hardy and good-natured peasant throughout the piece. His ability to see and love Fanchon despite her being seen as a witch is his most redeeming trait (Birch-Pfeiffer).

Birch-Pfeiffer wrote *Die Grille* as a veiled social-critique of class and gender divisions, although it was not sufficiently obscured to avoid many brushes with censorship before it opened (Birch Pfeiffer and Sachse iii-iv). The critique of dualisms it contains—which Raabe embodied and Nietzsche saw—was one the playwright repeatedly wrote into her works. Birch-Pfeiffer’s performances were criticized in the press because her body was perceived as too mature for ingénue roles, and she was often relegated to supporting roles, usually as a grumpy elderly

lady, the “comic old” [*komische Alte*] (Pritchett 54). Birch-Pfeiffer responded to these frustrations by becoming a playwright and writing different characters for herself and other women, which she did quite successfully.⁹

Birch-Pfeiffer wrote many plays with active female protagonists, and over a hundred works in total. Grange notes: “Her plays were more frequently performed than any others from the 1840s until her death” (35). This popularity helped Birch-Pfeiffer to carve out a space in nineteenth-century German theater industry for herself and other women.¹⁰

The character of Fanchon from *Die Grille* was one such intervention into a theatrical culture. According to Pritchett, Birch-Pfeiffer’s female characters, including Fanchon, “do not conform to their socially acceptable roles as mothers, wives, and helpmates; neither do they act on the general assumption that women were inferior to men” (70). Rather, Pritchett argues: “These [female] dramatic figures are often more intelligent and sensible than the male figures and they usually initiate the action to overcome the dramatic conflict” (68). By performing and popularizing these roles, Raabe unleashed an implicit social critique, making it explicit on stage. The choices she made that activated and built on this critique are the destabilizing force that ghosts Nietzsche’s Dionysian. Raabe’s embodiment of female characters as powerfully playful, and able to turn a situation on its head at a moment’s notice, may have lodged in Nietzsche’s memories at the Leipzig Stadttheater in 1866.

⁹ In her *Landmarks in German Women’s Writing*, Hillary Brown notes that, among Birch-Pfeiffer’s other accomplishments in a male dominated profession, was her management of the Zürich *Stadttheater* for six years (96).

¹⁰ Although there is not space to go further into the subject here, van Stipriaan Pritchett’s book on Birch-Pfeiffer, *The Art of Comedy and Social Critique in Nineteenth-century Germany*, is a fascinating study.

Fanchon, Raabe's role in *Die Grille*, enters the play with a balancing act that literally disturbs everyone else's equilibrium. Entering stage left in pursuit of a chicken, she climbs through a window and soon traps the bird in the rafters of the Barbeaud family's home (Birch-Pfeiffer). Fanchon then stacks a chair on a table, and a stool on the chair and clambers up the tower to grab her chicken (Birch-Pfeiffer). The Barbeauds freeze, nearly caught discussing the appropriateness of Fanchon's pejorative nicknames, which range from witch to cricket. The family is surprised and staggered [*Die Anderen (haben ihr überrascht und erstaunt zugesehen)*] by her sudden appearance in their midst, standing above them on a stool, chair, and table (Birch-Pfeiffer). The plot of *Die Grille* tips into motion as Fanchon takes note of what she has disrupted from her precarious, but elevated, position.

The disruptive forces in *The Birth of Tragedy* are closely ghosted by the memory of Raabe on a stool, on a chair, on a table, mischievously surveying the conversation she surprised. In his letter to Raabe, Nietzsche distinguishes between her roles, which he identifies as her creations, and herself, which he identifies as noble, although he states that he would not presume to write about her nature (*Briefwechsel* sect.1 v.2: 134). In Nietzsche's philosophy such distinctions are rare. The subjectivity of women such as Raabe usually fail to appear, although femininity is a central force and figure in his thinking. The memory of Raabe that ghosts *The Birth of Tragedy* is not just one of abstract transgressive power, but of the actress Hedwig Raabe's transgressions of the limits constraining women's subjectivity on Leipzig's stage in nineteenth-century Germany. Charting Raabe's ghosting of *The Birth of Tragedy* allows us to set

Nietzsche's feminine, which is problematically faceless and eternal, against the feminine disruptions of a real, embodied German woman.

References to women in *The Birth of Tragedy* are mostly absent, but the feminine is present throughout the book. As Oppel notes in *Nietzsche on Gender*:

The feminine is in fact overwhelmingly signified in the text, but rarely “as such”—that is, as “woman.” It is signified by the figures and images used to connote the concepts nature, will, music, myth, and tragedy, and by the metaphors of the Apollonian and especially, the Dionysian “art drives of nature.”

(64)

In his introduction to *Nietzsche and the Feminine*, Burgard similarly claims that “woman, variously equated with life, nature, truth, lie, music, wisdom, etc., constitutes the or at least a moment of the excessive identity in his [Nietzsche's] philosophy” (15). Burgard links this “excessive identity” of women to the Dionysian of *The Birth of Tragedy*, writing:

Woman is inscribed in Nietzsche's first major articulation of the principle of excess—his formulation of the Dionysian principle . . . More significantly, woman . . . can be held to figure the *beyond* of philosophy that Nietzsche seeks.

(15)

Both Oppel and Burgard associate Dionysus with the feminine. Dionysus' identity is not a woman, but the metaphor of Dionysus as an art drive is gendered in *The Birth of Tragedy* in a manner that Oppel and Burgard argue is largely feminine.

Nietzsche's feminine Dionysiac drive is a destabilizing force. It exceeds established meanings and liberates those in its thrall. Burgard characterizes the

“principle of excess” as central to Nietzsche’s philosophical project. Specifically his mission to go *beyond*, “beyond good and evil, beyond all conventional values, beyond philosophy itself” (13). It is no small thing, then, for the feminine to be the central figure of this excess. Burgard places “woman” squarely at the center of Nietzsche’s deconstructive philosophy. Oppel takes a similar view, stating that “The Dionysian is clearly feminine” and noting its destabilizing powers in terms of creation and liberation: “it is a womb; it gives birth to myth; it liberates body and mind; it dissolves the self into a spirit of oneness with all that exists” (75). The force of the feminine-Dionysian-excess in *The Birth of Tragedy* functions as a destabilizing, transgressive, and creative power for Nietzsche. This force in Nietzsche’s work is ghosted by Raabe’s destabilizing, transgressive, and creative power as an actress, specifically, her destabilization and creation of meaning on stage. The following section focuses on Raabe’s performance in *Die Grille*. I argue that Raabe’s use of the dramaturgical structures of *Die Grille* to disrupt meanings haunts the Dionysiac drive of *The Birth of Tragedy*.

Raabe and her performances were intertwined with, and within, the embattled subjectivity of women in nineteenth-century Germany. As I explore below, these performances illustrate her wrestling with dualisms, the power of naming, and self-creation. Lynne Tirrell’s chapter in *Nietzsche and the Feminine*, “Sexual Dualism and Women’s Self-Creation: On the Advantages and Disadvantages of Reading Nietzsche for Feminists” addresses the crossings of these contemporary concerns with Nietzsche’s thought. Thinking through Nietzsche’s provocations, Tirrell argues for a

measured use of his thinking at these intersections. Modeling one possible utilization, she writes guidelines for action, which:

... suggest that we [women] develop our own perspectives and establish our own values through action. We will do this by taking the power of naming into our own hands, and thus we will cease to be silenced by the debilitating effects of the contradictions of sexual dualisms. (175)

Raabe's portrayal of Fanchon can accurately be described in Tirrell's terms. Raabe's choices, (1) interrupted Fanchon's naming by other characters and claimed it for herself, (2) actively troubled dualisms both on and off stage, and (3) affirmed the legitimacy of Fanchon's perspective as a woman and her ability to transform the world based on this perspective. Raabe's playful subversion of her appellations in *Die Grille* thus ghosts the Dionysian's interruption of naming in *The Birth of Tragedy*.

Naming

"The abominable witch! Ugh, Mother!" [*Die greuliche Hexe! Pfui, Mutter!*] spits the incredulous Landry at his mother's suggestion that he ask Fanchon's grandmother for help, to which his father nods knowingly: "A witch she is, and a wicked dragon as well" [*Eine Hexe ist sie, und ein böser Drache dazu*] (Birch-Pfeiffer). She is, of course, neither, but thus begins *Die Grille* in the home of the Barbeaud family. The old Fadet is called a witch because of a dispute between her and a wealthier villager. Forty years on, the old Fadet has embraced being known as a witch because it allows her to charge more for her healing practices and the villagers of La Cosse have started to believe in the veracity of their name-calling (Birch-Pfeiffer). Within the dramaturgical world of *Die Grille*, the act of christening

someone, for example calling Fadet a witch, gradually changes them into their new designation. A similar process can be found in Nietzsche's thinking on naming, for example, of half of humanity as "woman."

Woman is not a natural idea with any essential meaning for Nietzsche.¹¹

Rather, as Tirrell notes, for Nietzsche man makes woman "in the same way he creates the word... through the power of naming" (Burgard 171). Women are not denied the power of naming totally, but their lower position in asymmetrical structures of relation results in their having few opportunities to exercise this power (170). In Simon de Beauvoir's terms, men named those born female "woman" and "Other," and named themselves "man" and "Self." Then they enforce compliance with these roles. For Nietzsche, the name or appearance of something alters its essence, so man became synonymous with self while women transformed into "Other." As will be explored later in this study, and as Tirrell notes, the result of this process is that women are robbed of their own perspective. Since, for Nietzsche, truth changes based on one's perspective, this means women are denied their own truths (172). For now, it is sufficient to note the similarities between the dramaturgy of the play by Birch-Pfeiffer that Raabe made one of her signature roles, and the ontology of naming in Nietzsche's thought.

Raabe built on Birch-Pfeiffer's implicit critique of naming by adding a playfully subversive side to the active intelligence Fanchon was given by the playwright. We know Raabe played Fanchon's introductory scene with a powerfully

¹¹ However, the constant struggle and competition between the sexes is, unlike the idea of woman or femininity, an unavoidable and, in fact, laudable process in Nietzsche's thinking. For more on the competition between the sexes, the differences between sex and gender, and the limits of Nietzsche's thought on the subject, see Janet Lungstrum's "Nietzsche writing woman / woman writing Nietzsche: the sexual dialectic of palingenesis" in *Nietzsche and the Feminine*.

mischievous edge because of Dobbert, who describes her as having an “indestructible childlike excitement” [unverwüstliche kindliche Heiterkeit] (3). Raabe’s acting during these scenes bemuses Dobbert, and his reactions indicate that the “indestructible” Fanchon of Raabe hit a nerve. When read with Raabe’s mischievousness in mind, the third scene of *Die Grille*’s critique of the gendered politics of naming comes to the fore.

In Birch-Pfeiffer’s text, Fanchon is known primarily by her many nicknames. In lieu of consulting with the “witch” directly about their missing son, Frau Barbeaud suggests that Landry consult with her granddaughter, Fanchon. The response is the first litany of nicknames we get for her,

<p>Landry (in response). The mischievous <i>sprite</i>? God forbid, I would rather deal with the <i>old witch</i> than with the <i>young</i>.</p> <p>Father. The young man is not mistaken. She is a very malicious and sinister <i>creature</i> and the <i>plague</i> of all the respectable people in the village. She is curious as a <i>robin</i>, talkative as a <i>magpie</i>, ugly and lazy like a <i>cricket</i>.</p> <p>Mother (interrupting). But also <i>funny</i> as one, it is also for this reason that she has the nickname...</p>	<p>Landry (<i>fährt zurück</i>). <i>Den boshafsten Kobold? Gott bewahre, lieber noch will ich mit der alten Hexe zu thun haben als mit der jungen.</i></p> <p>Vater. <i>Da hat der Junge nicht unrecht. Das ist eine ganz boshafte unheimliche Kreatur und die Plage aller ehrbaren Leute im Dorf. Sie ist neugierig wie ein Rotkehlchen, geschwätzig wie eine Elster, häßlich und faul wie eine Grille.</i></p> <p>Mutter (<i>einfallend</i>). <i>Aber auch lustig wie diese, darum hat sie ja auch den Spottnamen.</i></p>
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[emphasis mine] (Birch-Pfeiffer)

Over the course of two lines, seven different figures are used to describe Fanchon, and only Frau Barbeaud's spin on her name has any positive connotations. The Barbeaud men, superstitious and self-assured, are mistaken again, but this time it is they who suffer from their naming, as Fanchon does know the whereabouts of their missing son. This is revealed soon after she hops through their window.

Die Grille translates to "the cricket" in English. It is Fanchon's primary nickname, and when Fanchon leaps through the Barbeaud family's window after her chicken, Frau Barbeaud calls her "Grille" while Herr Barbeaud calls her a puckish sprite [*Kobold*] (Birch-Pfeiffer). Fanchon's response is to suggest that she be referred to, not as a demon or insect, but rather by her Christian name. "Boldly laughing" [*keck lachend*] she informs them that "by the way my Christian name is Fanchon, in case you should ever desire to call me" [*Übrigens bin ich Fanchon getauft, wenn Ihr sonst einmal Lust haben solltet, mich zu rufen*] (Birch-Pfeiffer). By the time she delivers this line, she is setting the table back in order in an efficient and finished manner (Birch-Pfeiffer). This invitation by Fanchon to refer to her by her Christian name, when declaimed in mischievous mock-formality as by Raabe, flips the power dynamic of the scene. Such a delivery of Fanchon's lines would highlight Herr Barbeaud's use of impolite, childish words, thus flipping the youthful and impolite behavior in the scene onto the Barbeauds, who derive their power from their age and politesse. Exiting the scene, Fanchon, tells the family to talk to her grandmother about their missing son, but cautions them mockingly that she is "in fact a witch" [*die ist ja eine »Hexe«*] (Birch-Pfeiffer), invoking (and mocking the farmers with) the power of

her relative's misnaming. Raabe's Fanchon exits, unscathed by name-calling, while the Barebeaud's remain, and look rather foolish.

When Raabe performs Fanchon in this scene as an active female who subverts the wealthy Barbeaud men's naming of her, Dobbert experiences an uneasiness. Raabe's subsequent infantilization of this name-calling proves to be too much. In the telling move infantilizing her, Dobbert contradicts both the play's dramaturgy and his other descriptions of Raabe as grown in an effort to diffuse his discomfort.

Dobbert repeatedly refers to Raabe as a child. Over the course of one paragraph, he describes her as "childlike" [*kindliche*] and "unconcerned" [*unbekümmert*], as well as writing "The Grille of Miss Raabe is that of the happy hearted wild nature-child" [*Die Grille des Fräulein Raabe ist das von Herzen fröhliche wilde Naturkind...*] (3). Dobbert's conception of an ideal woman as passive, informed by nationalist sexism and middle class morality within which he was raised as a doctor's son, requires him to apologize for enjoying Raabe's behavior. His response is to take a highly paternal stance, and frame her behavior as childlike. Whereas as the impertinence of a woman is dangerous, that of a child is acceptable, even cute.

As amusing as Dobbert's description of Raabe in this scene is, it is also useful for understanding how Raabe activated Birch-Pfeiffer's social critique (3). The Fanchon of Raabe refuses to be cowed by Herr Barbeaud's name-calling, and through this gesture she makes the assumption that men wield the power to know and to name appear explicitly on stage. When this version of Fanchon then names herself and asks others to recognize that she possesses the power to name, she is playing with the

Barbeaud's gesture and claiming their authority for herself. The Fanchon of Gossmann, on the other hand, undermines the critiques embedded in the text of *Die Grille*. Dobbert is more comfortable with Gossmann's performance of the same scene. This difference in his relation Raabe and Gossmann's acting illuminates the text's helplessness without a critically-minded actress.



Figure 4 Adolf Dauthage's 1857 Lithograph of Friederike Gossmann as Fanchon

Gossmann's Fanchon is described by Dobbert in much bleaker and more passive tones than Raabe.¹² Gossmann's lack of playfulness in the role diffused the play's critique of naming. Dobbert describes Gossmann as passionate

¹² To clarify, this is Dobbert's interpretation of Gossmann's dance. We have indications Gossmann played into stereotypes and aesthetics of femininity that were desired and expected by many of her male viewers, however the politics of her very material success and acquisition of power makes her choices less reactionary than indicated by the binary Dobbert draws between Raabe and Gossmann.

[*leidenschaftlicher*] and as playing this scene with pride and cold contempt [*Stolz und kalte Verachtung*] (3). When played by Gossmann, Fanchon's intelligence becomes an irrational force, and the character changes from active commentator to passive victim. Dobbert describes Gossmann's wit as flashing out of the thunderstorm of her mood [*aus deren gewitterschwerer Stimmung der zündende Blitz des Witzes hervorbricht*] (3). In this iteration, Fanchon cannot intervene when she is named negatively. Rather, she becomes more and more like that which has been called. The names Herr Barbeaud calls Fanchon work differently with Gossmann's choices because now Fanchon, a reactive and erratically violent force on stage, really could be experienced by the audience as "malicious and sinister." Gossmann's interpretation in this scene starts passionately [*Frau Gossmann ist von Anfang an leidenschaftlicher*] and continues to be so throughout the scene, while that of Raabe is "unconcerned" (3). This detachment and the active freedom to play with names — to make them mean new things — resembles Nietzsche's thinking on labels and creation.

The power to name in *The Birth of Tragedy* belongs not to Dionysus, but to Apollo. The distance of the sun god gives him the power to name, to identify, to distinguish, to differentiate, and to separate (Nietzsche 1993, 16). Nietzsche emphasizes that when women become the priestesses of Apollo they "keep their names as citizens" (Nietzsche 1993, 43). Apollo is the god of self-contained, self-knowing individuals, and the naming of his priestesses reflects this. On the other hand, the maenads and satyrs, Dionysus' frenzied, dancing, followers, lose their individual identity, forget their names, their roles, and their positions in hierarchies.

Dionysian intoxication collapses life towards “the mysterious primal oneness,” erasing the barriers between things in the process (Nietzsche 1993, 17). This power to subvert names by revealing their illusory nature in *Birth of Tragedy* is ghosted by Raabe’s destabilizing of the names she is called while playing Fanchon in the window and dancing scenes of *Die Grille*. In Fanchon’s introductory moments, we find a similar crumbling of names, as Raabe refuses, dodges, and subverts Herr Barbeaud’s Apollonian naming gestures.

The haunting of the name-transgressing force of the Dionysian in *The Birth of Tragedy* by Raabe’s performances points towards a debt Nietzsche’s text owes to Raabe’s embodied, and performed, social-critique. Although it lies beyond the scope of this study, it is important to note such hauntings of a canonical text by an obscured theatrical event could provide fruitful points of access for those looking to deconstruct the myths of male-genius that surround canonical texts. If even the untimely thinker Nietzsche owes so much of his “original” thinking to an individual who history has largely forgotten, then there likely are numerous other hauntings of canonical western texts. These hauntings might similarly destabilize their authors’ mythic statuses and open the space to study labor and creativity that have been central to the history of western consciousness that was done by people, such as Raabe and Birch-Pfeiffer, who have not been centered during the writing of that history.

Raabe’s transgressive performances are not separable from the roles she favored and the play texts with which she consistently worked.¹³ However, as the

¹³ Dobbert’s description of Raabe in Birch-Pfeiffer’s *Dorf und Stadt* and Heinrich von Kleist’s *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn* in the *Dramatragisches Versuche* indicate that her performances in other roles maintained the critical edge she depicted in *Die Grille*. There is also a political side to the

differences between Raabe and Gossmann's acting illustrate, the political force of a text remains only potential until staged by other artists using their own critical strategies. Raabe's active Fanchon challenged patriarchal structures on and off stage, whereas Gossmann's seems to have reinforced them. Birch-Pfeiffer's crafted a latent social critique in her writing of Fanchon that remained latent with Gossmann. Raabe, on the other hand, performed this critique and brought to it a disruptive force. It is Raabe's activation of critique, not the more general social critiques of Birch-Pfeiffer's text that parallels Nietzsche's Dionysian by subverting, and in fact exceeding the meanings of names. Scene twelve of *Die Grille* illustrates the power of Raabe's choices beyond the Birch-Pfeiffer's text.

Dobbert's ability to read Gossmann in patriarchal terms, and inability to pin down exactly what is happening with Raabe, illuminate the latter's destabilizing choices. Scene twelve finds Fanchon alone on stage after telling Landry where to find his lost twin in exchange for a favor. She decides to exchange the favor for a dance with Landry at the village festival, and then dances with her shadow (Birch-Pfeiffer). Dobbert approves of Gossmann's interpretation of this scene. He states that Gossmann's desire to dance [*Tanzlust*] was full of "demonic joy" [*damonische Freude*], which gave a glimpse into the depths of the passions [*tiefe Leidenschaft*] that possess Fanchon (4). Dobbert can easily make sense of this scene because of the well-rehearsed narratives of original sin and woman as controlled by desire. The matter of fact way he associates Fanchon's desire with abyssal demonic passion points to his internalization of paternalist narratives. Gossmann's choices render

immense popularity she achieved while acting in plays with active female protagonists at a time when such pieces often faced censorship.

Fanchon passive in the face of her desires, a passivity that is compounded by the end of the scene.

Landry and Didier enter at the end of the dance and spy on Fanchon (Birch-Pfeiffer). This on-stage audience of the demonic dance opens up the opportunity to render Fanchon even more passive as the dualism of knowing-male-viewing-subject and known-female-viewed-object plays out. The experience of desire makes Gossmann's Fanchon into an object to be perceived rather than a perceiving subject.

Raabe, on the other hand, is not rendered passive by an insatiable desire, but actively decides to move between desires when one is foiled. Dobbert describes Raabe as going through a series of changes over the course of the scene. First, Fanchon deals with an imaginary Landry, then she resigns herself to his absence, and finally decides instead to dance with her shadow, thus "softening her desire by mixing it with the joy of dancing" [*und sich in diese Lust allenfalls ein wenig von der Freude mischt*] (Dobbert 4). This Fanchon views her own melancholy experience of desire and, based off of the truth of that experience, decides to do something she enjoys. The difference from Gossmann is that Raabe's Fanchon possesses a perspective based on a self-aware reflection on her own experience. Because Raabe affirms Fanchon's point of view she is positioned to comment on and play with her own naming later in the scene. While she is dancing, Fanchon sings a song about her nickname, *Grille* (Birch-Pfeiffer). The song begins:

Funny, Shrille	<i>[Lustig, schrille,</i>
Small Cricket!	<i>Kleine Grille!</i>
Is also ugly, black, and small	<i>Bist auch häßlich, schwarz und klein]</i>

(Birch-Pfeiffer)

Raabe's playful self-awareness and previous interventions sets the content of this song at a distance, and allows her to comment on Fanchon's naming. The juxtaposition of these lyrics with the complexities of Raabe's performance would confront the audience with two perspectives on Fanchon's namings, Fanchon's and the villagers'—both seeming to have claims to some form of truth.

Raabe, a woman who destabilized the names, language, definitions, meaning-making structures that would render her legible in terms of sin and irrationality, haunts Dionysian destabilization. This destabilization is not total destruction, though, but rather paves the way for new relations within the village. These new relations require the dualisms that structure the old to be unmade, something Raabe's Fanchon does with relish. This unbinding of dualisms is a Dionysian practice in Nietzsche's terms, and one the ghost of Raabe haunts closely.

Dualisms

In *The Birth of Tragedy*, Dionysus initially appears in dualistic terms as part of the pair Apollo-Dionysus. The book's first sentence ends, "art derives its continuous development from the *duality* of the *Apolline* and *Dionysiac*; just as the reproduction of species depends on the duality of the sexes" [emphasis mine] (Nietzsche 1993, 14). However, before the first section of the book has ended, this dualism has already spins itself into a more complicated relation. Nietzsche identifies the Dionysian with a "primal Oneness" so basic it precedes even Apollo's desire for images and dreams (Nietzsche 1993, 18). However Nietzsche also formulates his argument such that, without the Apollonian veil of illusion, there is nothing for the Dionysian to

transgress, so the Apollonian seems to come first (Nietzsche 1993, 17-18). Either way, the relationship is not a dualistic one. Opiel argues in *Nietzsche on Gender*, that the usual divisions drawn between the *Apolline* and *Dionysiac* “are not oppositions at all but contiguous relations, metonymic rather than antonymic” (80). The relationship is thus re-arranged, but not collapsed. Concepts are no longer held in opposition, but neither are their differences erased in a total chaos. For example, when it comes to the apparent dualism of dreaming and intoxication, Opiel writes: “The text emphasizes that *both* gods represent ‘artistic impulses of nature’; both dream and intoxication are of the body (BT1)...” (80). That which is a binary when examined metaphysically, develops a new, much more complex relation when it is considered in terms of an artist’s material body, which both dreams and drinks. The collapse of dualities is the work of Dionysus throughout the book: self and other (Nietzsche 1993, 18), subject and object (85), knower and known (94). These anti-dualist gestures in *Birth of Tragedy* are ghosted by Raabe’s destabilization of these same oppositions while playing Fanchon in the village scene of *Die Grille*. The plot of *Die Grille* sets up dualisms and provides an actress such as Raabe with the opportunity to destabilize them.

The village dance that follows Raabe’s solo dance is the first large group of scenes with Fanchon and the rest of the village. These scenes are structured around various dualisms with the villagers on one side and Fanchon on the other, notably “witch” and not witch, “wealthy” and “beggar,” and “smart” and “ignorant” (Birch-Pfeiffer). The villagers taunt Fanchon, calling her a witch and pushing these dualisms towards oppositional binaries (Birch-Pfeiffer).

As Dobbert describes Raabe's characterization, her Fanchon's reacts to the dualisms that structure her mockery rather than the mockery itself. The character is disturbed by the taunts of the villagers, and counters them by inverting and destabilizing the terms of their aggression with wit (3). Rather than resigning herself to perform that which she is called (a poor, stupid, witch), Raabe emphasizes Fanchon's ability to subvert the terms of her exclusion. When the villagers name themselves rich and Fanchon poor, she notes how often storms destroy wealth (Birch-Pfeiffer). When they foreground their beauty against her rags, Fanchon muses about the effects of disease on a healthy countenance (Birch-Pfeiffer). Fanchon subverts each dualism by noting material circumstances that would render them no longer functional. Raabe's Fanchon remains in more of a Socratic dialogue with the villagers, and like Socrates, she threatens the foundations of the village's social structure. Dobbert describes Raabe doing this in playfulness, never quite letting the peasants get to her (3). Played this way, the scene stages the possibility of new relations between the peasants and Fanchon. Indeed, this functions as a form of foreshadowing, as different relationships do emerge out of her labor later in the play (Birch-Pfeiffer). Raabe destabilizes the dualistic terms that structure the scene by highlighting Fanchon's ability to subvert established meanings. Raabe's Fanchon sets the dualism of witch (other) and villager (subject) into play by toying with the categories of knower and known that structure this dualism in the scene. Dobbert brushes over this scene quickly, likely because it made him uncomfortable watching the female Fanchon make a village that is comfortable with its ideas of who is other, witches, and class lose their grip on their beliefs.

This interpretation differs from that of Gossmann. According to Dobbert's description, Gossmann's interpretation of Fanchon in the village scene is firmly grounded in "despair" or "resignation" (3). This passive interpretation undermines the active independence Birch-Pfeiffer wrote into Fanchon. Gossmann, unlike Raabe, interprets Fanchon along the lines of an established female figure, that of the damsel in distress. Dobbert sees this damsel in Gossmann's Fanchon so clearly that when Landry enters the scene and steps between the villagers and Fanchon, Dobbert calls him a "knight" (3). While not part of Birch-Pfeiffer's dramaturgy, Gossmann's staging of Fanchon within the dualism of the unhappy damsel and gallant gentleman was clearly expected by Dobbert, and, presumably, much of the audience including, perhaps, Nietzsche.

Unsurprisingly, since he is thinking within the damsel-knight dualism, Dobbert is most bemused when Fanchon proves to be the vehicle of her own happiness. His confusion is sparked by a moment that Birch-Pfeiffer added to the original story, in the village scene when the peasants accusing Fanchon of witchcraft are tricked by her into exposing their spiritual illiteracy (Pritchett 42). The script thus provides an opportunity for an actress like Raabe to challenge the power dynamics on-stage that are built on the duality of knower and known. Raabe's ability to activate such moments in the village scene hits a nerve with Dobbert.

Raabe's choices staged the young Fanchon tearing apart the meaning-making structures of early nineteenth-century rural French society. Yet, while Fanchon can diffuse the power of naming and break dualisms apart, her own perspective is not acknowledged by other characters, although she speaks of her experiences with

clarity and wit. However, like the Dionysian force that shakes up names and dualisms, Rabbe's Fanchon is also one who changes the world around her. Birch-Pfeiffer's plot has Fanchon leaving the village for the city until she returns, newly capable of activating her previous destabilizations in order to transform the village itself.

Transformations

Fanchon transforms her own appearance twice during *Die Grille*, once, during act four, scene four when she refuses the rags her grandmother had made her wear, and once during act five, scene five when she returns from a year in the city (Birch-Pfeiffer). These transformations of Fanchon's aesthetics and mannerisms do not reflect a shift in her personality. During the final act, Fanchon returns from the city with a quieter air than before and in tasteful mourning for her grandmother's funeral (Birch Pfeiffer). Her confrontation with Herr Barbeaud, who is an obstacle to her relationship with Landry, speaks to Fanchon's power to change the world around her. The characters understand this strength, and now experience her differently. In one moment, Herr Barbeaud wipes the sweat from his face nervously [*sehr gequält, sich den Schweiß abwischend*], while Fanchon's eyes sparkle [*mit funkelnden Augen*] (Birch-Pfeiffer). In the final scene, Herr Barbeaud apologizes and hails Fanchon as she asked at the beginning of the play, saying, "Mademoiselle Fanchon Vivieux, called Grille, here stands an old man who has done you much wrong" [*Mademoiselle Fanchon Vivieux, genannt Grille , Ihr seht hier einen alten Mann, der Euch viel Unrecht angethan*] (Birch-Pfeiffer).

Fanchon is the protagonist, but unlike an Aristotelian plot where the main character changes, the story of *Die Grille* is not one of Fanchon changing, but one of her changing the world. *Die Grille* typifies Birch-Pfeiffer's plays as Pritchett understands them; Fanchon is without a doubt "more intelligent and sensible than the male figures," and her struggle with the limits imposed on her is the centerpiece of the play's action (68). Needless to say, the conservatively-inclined Dobbert finds the plot bemusing.

When Fanchon's appearance changes, Dobbert, thinking through the female character types he is acquainted with, thinks everything about her is transforming. Dobbert notes that Raabe strikes tones [*Töne anschlägt*] of childlike lightheartedness [*kindliche Fröhlichkeit*] throughout the play (5). He applauds this, because it provides what he sees as consistency not provided by the play itself, and mediates between "Fanchon the wild goblin and Fanchon the gentle young woman" [*Fanchon dem wilden Kobold und Fanchon der sanften Jungfrau*] (Jungfrau has heavy overtones of both virginity and marriageability) (4). These character types have little grounding in the script, except for in the name-calling of Fanchon by the villagers. Dobbert brings his expectations about how the feminine performs to the theater with him, but Raabe's Fanchon, activating the dramaturgy of *Die Grille*, in which a woman is complex enough to wear three different outfits and have them still reflect a single will, sets his expectations adrift. He keeps hold of his child-sprite and young-virgin categories, but they do not quite stick to Raabe. Somehow, her lighthearted playfulness manages to avoid them and render them a little strange.

In *The Birth of Tragedy*, the Dionysian is possessed of a similar kind of playful trickery. Indeed, the Dionysian in the book is associated directly with the play of Schopenhauer's concept of the will (Nietzsche 1993, 115). Mihai I. Spariosu argues in *Dionysus Reborn: Play and the Aesthetic Dimension in Modern Philosophical and Scientific Discourse*, that the ideas of play, becoming, and Dionysus are closely linked in Nietzsche's thinking, especially his early writings (79). Raabe's playfulness, the underlying mischief that exceeds and refuses names, ghosts *The Birth of Tragedy*. In her acts of choosing how to be addressed, as with Herr Barbeaud, and naming herself, as with her dancing, she also participates in the Apollonian processes of individuation that *create* a named self as an aesthetic object, rather than essential identity.

The power of Fanchon's underlying playfulness as represented by Raabe, her ontological stability beyond the names she is called or the figures she is expected to embody, contrasts with the lack of complexity in Gossmann's Fanchon within the images she embodies. How, Dobbert wonders of Gossmann's performance, "can Fanchon's demonic character disappear so quickly?" [*Wie hat das Dämonische aus dem Wesen Fanchon's so schnell verschwinden können?*] (4). If one read Birch-Pfeiffer's script only, this question would seem odd. Nowhere is Fanchon actually characterized as demonic. Gossmann's interpretation of Fanchon was one that capitalized on the legibility of established stage types of the feminine. On top of Birch-Pfeiffer's play, she imposed the expected figures of the sexual-temptress and the tamed and moral virgin with great public success.

The figures of the temptress and virgin were naturalized enough in the theater that Dobbert sees their lack of functionality as character types in *Die Grille* as a failure on the part of the playwright. He accuses Birch-Pfeiffer of writing Fanchon poorly, arguing that the playwright did not provide the “necessary mediation” [*notwendigen Vermittlung*] between Fanchon the wild, but nonsexual child and Fanchon, the eligible virgin (4). The common sense tone he adopts about the applicability of these tropes to Fanchon hints at the pervasiveness of the assumptions that were brought to the theater by audience members like Dobbert. That he notices the continuity of the character when played by Raabe despite these assumptions speaks to the impact of her performances.

Fanchon changes the perspectives of every other character in *Die Grille*, shifting the very dramaturgical structure of the play. Similarly, Raabe intervened in the social dramaturgy of nineteenth-century Germany. She performed active female protagonists who refused to be named by men, smashed dualisms, and created the world they desired around them. In so doing, Raabe not only represented another possible reality, but challenged the very structures of thinking about women that worked to deny them these powers. Raabe was immensely popular throughout her theatrical career. When contextualized, her ghost looms large over *The Birth of Tragedy*, pointing to the limits of even Nietzsche’s limit-surpassing Dionysian. I touch briefly on how Raabe’s performance destabilizes the limits of Nietzsche’s philosophical critique in the conclusion. Before this I would like to note that, while Carlson’s concept of haunting has helped illuminate the spectral ties between Raabe’s performances and Nietzsche’s text, it also points towards an important space of

inquiry for theater and performance studies. That is, the space between audience and performer. I believe that once we are better able to parse out the problematics embedded in questions such as: *what is the relationship of the consciousness of an audience member to that of a performer?* and, *how do critical performances translate into critical thought?* we will be better equipped to unpack relations such as that of Raabe and Nietzsche. Until the scholarly apparatuses of theater and performance studies are better able to leap, or collapse, the distance between *embodiment* and *cognition*, concepts like ghosting will be an invaluable assets for marking the debts of historically privileged forms of consciousness to all the rest.

Chapter 3: Openings

Raabe's haunting of *The Birth of Tragedy* points towards new questions for theater scholars and, perhaps, philosophers to ask the book. Nietzsche used feminine figures as one of the principal vehicles for his destabilizing critique of western philosophy. When it came to undermining western philosophy's use of the of the feminine as a concept abstracted from the lives of women such as Raabe, Nietzsche's use of the feminine to surpass the limits of western thought lacked depth. Raabe's embodied critique of the social, economic, and political repression women faced in nineteenth-century Germany ghosts *The Birth of Tragedy*, and haunts the limits of Nietzsche's critique.

The Dionysian, Maenads, Actresses, and other feminine figures in Nietzsche's thought exceed and challenged their boundaries. Nietzsche writes that the moment the Dionysian takes over, "Now the slave is a free man, now all the rigid hostile boundaries that distress, despotism or 'impudent fashion' have erected between man and man break down" (Nietzsche 1993, 17). But, although it breaks down, this border does not disappear. Indeed, it is only because the boundaries around the slave exist that they *can* break down. The ruins of this boundary are what makes the category of *free man* possible. Sallis notes that in *The Birth of Tragedy*, "transgression is only possible in relation to the limit; that is one can only be outside oneself if the self within continues to be delimited" (55). For Nietzsche, feminine forces exceed their limits, but in so doing they also reinscribe these same boundaries. Susan Bernstein

argues as much in “Fear of Music? Nietzsche’s Double Vision of the ‘Musical Feminine,’” asking what happens to the “I” after Dionysian or feminine excess cause it to overflow its limits. Her answer is that: “The named figure, ‘I,’ holds, even when its place is put into question” (105). This implies that there is a conservative side to Nietzsche’s first book because of the limits it imposes on the destabilization of categories through excess. This cycle of limiting, exceeding, and limiting again generates an aesthetic justification for living, but it does not remold the world into one worth living in. Thus, for Bernstein “The critique of the ‘I’ continues to rely on the stability of the very name it thematizes as destabilizing” (105). Raabe’s performances haunt this limit of Nietzsche’s thought because her performances did more than thematize the disruption of the same categories they exceeded. Raabe’s destabilizations re-wrote the feminine self into a position of more freedom and power. It was then that audience members such as Dobbert, and perhaps Nietzsche, who needed to reinscribe the limits of women’s subjectivity.

Raabe was not merely the figure of a performative, deconstructive force, but a historical person with an identity, subjectivity, and material body. Raabe’s ghosting of Nietzsche’s reified, figurative feminine troubles *The Birth of Tragedy* through the specificity and materiality of Raabe’s critique. The parallels between her artistic interventions into the realities of nineteenth-century Germany raise the problematic suggestion that there is more to the interplay between theatrical performance and philosophical performative thought than meets the eye.¹⁴ Nietzsche may have done well to follow the advice he wrote to himself in his notebooks for *The Birth of*

¹⁴ It also evokes related questions of whether artistic creation should be credited with a more substantial place in the history of western consciousness, and what that would mean for those re-thinking the role of female performers in this history.

Tragedy, and trace tragedy to its mothers (*Kritische Studienausgabe*: vol 7 p 93).¹⁵

He may have owed more than is usually acknowledged in theater classrooms to the women he saw perform.

Hedwig Raabe is not the only actor who could be studied in order to better understand the hauntings in *The Birth of Tragedy*. Nietzsche was a consistent and opinionated play-goer and left behind many traces of his theatrical experiences in his writings. Seeking out the ghosts of other actors may reveal fruitful new intersections between Nietzsche's spectatorship and philosophy.

Nietzsche's correspondence contains numerous passages on performances. Prior to the publication of *The Birth of Tragedy* in 1872, I found references to twenty different actors.¹⁶ Some of these, such as Klara Ziegler and Eduard Devrient, are only mentioned in passing. Others, such as Friederike Gossmann and Jenny Bürde-Ney, appear multiple times along with comments on their performances. Some are off-stage acquaintances, such as the actress Susanne. Some elicited quite telling reactions from Nietzsche, such as his response to Felicitas von Vestvali's swashbuckling prowess in her performances of traditionally male roles.

Raabe's haunting of the disruptive power of the Dionysian is only one example of the intersections between theater history and philosophy. This study was framed with a critique of the mythic-male-author centric studies of Kornhaber and Puchner. In lieu of these, I would like to highlight the advantages of more open-ended

¹⁵ Citation found on page 63 of Oppel's *Nietzsche on Gender*.

¹⁶ Actors mentioned include: Jenny Bürde-Ney, Eduard Devrient, Karl August Devrient, Johann August Förster, Josefine Gallmeyer, Friederike Gossmann, Susanne Göthe, Susanne Klemme (Nietzsche often refers to her as Γλαυκιδιον), Karl Koberstein, Marie Niemann-Seebach, Adelina Patti, Hedwig Raabe, Louis Schneider, Ludwig Friedrich Schröder, Felicitas Von Vestvali, Theodor Wachtel, H. Zech, and Klara Ziegler. Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm, et al. *Briefwechsel : Krit. Gesamtausg. 1 Ab. 2,4 Bn.* Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975.

methodologies, such as the one adopted by Freddie Rokem in *Philosophers and Thespians*. Rokem's emphasis on conversations and the spaces between thespians and philosophers leaves room for the ambiguities that haunt their communication. Such methodologies open the spaces *between* Raabe and Nietzsche for study.

Studying the *interplay* between theater and philosophy in a way that neglects or renders it impossible to account for the labor and creativity of women such as Raabe, risks re-inscribing the father figures of western consciousness and art. Nietzsche's philosophy can reveal a new perspective on the history of theater, and critical histories of nineteenth-century theater can do the same for philosophy. Raabe's transgressive performances haunting Nietzsche's destabilizing performative thinking in *The Birth of Tragedy* constitutes an important example of the rich spaces of ambiguity and absence that ghost the relationship between theater and philosophy

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