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MA in Modern German Studies

**Elsa Bernstein's Dämmerung and
the long shadow of Henrik Ibsen**

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Introduction

Nomen est omen. When the young Elsa Bernstein (1866-1949) decided to adopt a male pseudonym at an early stage of her writing career, as many women authors did in the late 19th century, she chose one that made an unmistakable allusion to the contemporary Norwegian dramatist Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906). Her assumed nom de plume of “Ernst Rosmer” an “audible echo of Ibsen”¹, clearly owed its invention to his play *Rosmersholm*². In this way she signalled her literary affinity with the dominant themes and style (described as Naturalism) favoured by Ibsen during the 1880s and 1890s, when he was establishing his enduring reputation as a masterful writer of social drama. The pen-name, Susanne Kord writes, “defined her as a disciple of one of the major playwrights of her time and simultaneously allied her with the German naturalist movement, which was centrally indebted to Ibsen’s dramatic work”³.

Bernstein’s five-act play *Dämmerung*⁴, originally published in 1893, will serve here as reference text in an attempt to explore some aspects of her subject matter and treatment that may be at least partly attributable to Ibsen’s influence. The characterisation of the two main female roles, in particular, will be considered because the evolving position of women in modern society and the related issue of feminist emancipation from traditional bourgeois constraints formed a recurring topic in Ibsen’s plays, such as *A Doll’s House*⁵, *Hedda Gabler*⁶, and *Little Eyolf*⁷.

The unabated academic and popular interest in Ibsen –the centenary of his death is being widely commemorated this year– is reflected in a plethora of books and articles about him and his works. Although Bernstein may “well be the most accomplished woman dramatist to have used the German language”⁸, she has been largely ignored after some initial excitement during her active writing period (up to about 1910), thus generating very little in the way of secondary literature analysing her works and assessing her place among German authors⁹.

Ibsen in Germany

After leaving his modest village home and spending six years as an apothecary’s apprentice in a small Norwegian port, Ibsen switched to writing and theatre work, initially in Bergen and then in the capital Christiania (now Oslo). For the greater part of his creative period, however, he lived in self-imposed exile in Italy and Germany. He was keenly interested not only in European culture and literature, but also in political, social and economic developments that provided a realistic backdrop for his critical dramas. “The road to world fame”, writes the biographer Edvard Beyer, “began on the stages of Germany, but his original background was a small, provincial town in a small, and in many ways backward, country; and the Norwegian provincial town was to be the setting of many of his best known plays”¹⁰.

In sharp contrast, there was nothing provincial about Elsa Bernstein, who was born in Vienna, the historic centre of the still powerful Austro-Hungarian empire, where her father Heinrich Porges worked as a musician and writer¹¹. While Ibsen's family became impoverished when his father went bankrupt, Porges moved his family to Munich in 1867 to accept an appointment (at the behest of Richard Wagner, no less) as conductor at the celebrated court of King Ludwig II.

And it was in the flourishing cultural community of the Bavarian capital that the life paths of the renowned Norwegian dramatist and the budding German writer were to cross around 1890. Ibsen lived in Munich from 1875 to 1880 and again from 1885 until 1891 before returning to Oslo for the remaining 15 years of his life. Elsa Porges (as she was then) launched her writing career in her hometown in the late 1880s after having spent three years as an aspiring actress in provincial theatres; she gave up her acting career due to an eye affliction that later led to blindness.

They must have met while both were living in the Bavarian capital, possibly introduced by her future husband Max Bernstein, an "ardent Ibsenite"¹², but details remain obscure as nearly all of her personal papers went missing and her name does not appear in Michael Meyer's exhaustive biography of Ibsen¹³.

However, Kord lists him among the leading cultural figures who attended the weekly literary salons arranged for many years by Elsa and Max Bernstein, a lawyer and author¹⁴. As a theatre critic Max Bernstein contributed regularly to a

Munich newspaper and, according to Ulrike Zophoniasson-Baierl, “hat in dieser Funktion wesentlich dazu beigetragen, Ibsen den Weg nach Deutschland zu ebnen”¹⁵.

Although Ibsen spent a long and influential period of his life in Germany (from 1868 to 1891, with a six-year interval in Italy), it took him nearly 20 years to achieve wide acclaim there. *Pillars of the Community* was performed in Germany and Austria in 1878 without making any deep impression, Mary Garland writes, adding that “...it was not until 1887 that Ibsen made his full impact on the German theatre and public as the foremost pioneer of Naturalism”¹⁶. Beyer, on the contrary, reports that *Pillars of the Community* was a huge theatrical success in both the Scandinavian and German speaking countries”¹⁷.

While Ibsen was being widely feted on his 60th birthday in 1888, press comments showed that his standing as a major modern writer continued to be surrounded by controversy not only in Germany but also elsewhere¹⁸. • Garland notes that his social plays, regarded as characteristic portrayals of the European bourgeoisie, “became the subject of exaggerated propaganda on the one hand, and of savage abuse on the other”¹⁹.

The playwright elicited a particularly strong resonance among young people in Germany, who were growing frustrated with the well-worn conventions, burdensome traditions and empty formalities of bourgeois and aristocratic society.

For instance, the German writer Franziska zu Reventlow (1871-1918), a contemporary of Elsa Bernstein and guest at her literary salons, relates in her autobiographical novel *Ellen Olestjeme* that her eponymous protagonist (like Reventlow herself while growing up in Lübeck) was an active member in her local Ibsen-Club, apparently a widespread phenomenon in Germany at the time. Here young people escaped from their bourgeois homes to discuss secretly the latest works published not only by the Norwegian playwright but also by August Strindberg, Gerhart Hauptmann and other progressive writers, who were causing public uproar with their iconoclastic views²⁰.

Women in modern society

The title “father of modern drama” has been bestowed on Ibsen, according to Katherine Kelly, partly because he created “dramatic portraits of middle-class women confronting the social, legal and psychological limits of gender roles—the same roles being challenged by women activists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries”²¹. During that period women in Western Europe and the United States were achieving a considerable increase in direct participation in politics, social affairs, the professions and the arts, in spite of encountering deep hostility from established institutions.

“The impact of Ibsen and the Naturalists on [German] writers was profound,” Chris Weedon writes²². “Whatever genre they chose, most women writers took

women's lives as their main subject matter and wrote about the experience of being a woman and about female subjectivity"²³. One of these emerging authors was Elsa Bernstein, who has been described as "Germany's foremost woman dramatist", whose early plays "showed the influence of Ibsen and Hauptmann"²⁴. More than any other German female author, Kord maintains, Bernstein can be seen "as a representative of her era, since she participated in most major literary movements of her time"²⁵. Her dramatic work is depicted as noteworthy "for her thorough and unconventional characterisation, especially of the female figures, her uninhibited language and treatment of taboo subjects, and her great attention to realistic detail"²⁶.

One of her frequent topics was the culturally sanctioned oppression of women, who are torn between adhering to traditional social norms and fulfilling their own aspirations for personal autonomy. In the end "most of her autonomous heroines are forced back into conventional roles or uphold them voluntarily"²⁷.

In *Dämmerung*, for example, Sabine Graef, the dedicated young doctor, is prepared to sacrifice her promising career as an eye specialist in order to share her life and love with the widowed Heinrich Ritter and care for his blind daughter Isolde. "Ich will meinen Beruf aufgeben. Ganz", Sabine tells him in their final desperate encounter. "Ich will mit Dir gehen—und sie pflegen. Ich will gar nichts für mich brauchen....Nur dass ich bei dir bin"²⁸. When he sadly concludes that he must spurn her offer of subjugation because of Isolde's entrenched opposition,

Sabine leaves to take up an attractive medical appointment in Berlin. Combining a professional career with the pursuit of personal happiness does not appear to be a feasible option—Ritter does not even raise the possibility of negotiating a compromise with both women.

The eternal triangle

Such triangular patterns are repeatedly used by Ibsen as a dramatic device, particularly in *Rosmersholm*, where John Rosmer finds himself at the centre of a rivalry between his (now deceased) wife Beata and Rebecca West. The triangle is dissolved (before the play opens) when Beata is driven to suicide by Rebecca, and, filled by feelings of guilt, Rebecca and John now follow her to the deadly mill-race. In *The Lady from the Sea* Ellida wants to be free to decide between staying in her conventional loveless marriage to Dr Wangel and following the mysterious sailor who beckons her into the adventurous outside world; when her husband concedes her the desired freedom, she chooses to remain with him and his two daughters in their remote village.

In *Little Eyolf* the fraught triangle linking Alfred Allmers, his neglected wife Rita and his presumed half-sister Asta is broken up when the latter feels compelled to desert their joint home (on learning that she and Alfred are not related) to start a new life elsewhere, while Rita and Alfred try to sort out their troubled marriage. The exit in the family triangle in *John Gabriel Borkman*²⁹ occurs through the

onymous protagonist's death on the icy mountain, leaving his widow Gunhild and her twin sister Ella to reconcile their long-standing animosities.

In *Dämmerung*, which structurally “clearly owes something to Ibsen’s *Ghosts*”³⁰, the triangular conflict also comes very close to ending in death, but Isolde fails in her attempt to commit suicide and instead turns completely blind. Heinrich (a reference to Henrik Ibsen’s first name and/or Heinrich Forges?) now feels dutibound to care for her rather than to build a new life with Sabine, allowing the latter no choice but to pursue her career. In contrast to Isolde, the young Hedvig, who is going blind in Ibsen’s *The Wild Duck*³¹, succeeds in killing herself in order to make what she deems a sacrifice for her beloved (step) father Hjalmar Ekdal. Suicide is seen by Hedda Gabler as the only way out of her unpromising conventional marriage with bourgeois Tesmer (or out of possible triangular involvement with Lövborg or Brack), while in *Ghosts*³², the young artist Oswald is seeking an early death as release from his debilitating illness.

The triangular relationship at the centre of *Dämmerung* develops out of a strictly professional contact when Sabine enters the Ritter household on an emergency call to treat Isolde’s eye ailment. After Heinrich, the traditional male chauvinist, overcomes his initial scepticism about Sabine’s medical competence, they become attracted to each other. Isolde, the frivolous child, opposes her father’s intensifying romantic involvement, because she fears he will devote less time and attention to her than she has enjoyed up to now.

Sabine is presented as a modern highly trained person employed as a specialist doctor in an eye clinic, a most unusual achievement for a young woman at the end of the 19th century. Since female students were not admitted to German universities in those days (up to 1908), she had to go abroad (Zurich) to obtain her formal qualifications. This initial step (first-class degree) and her subsequent career (award of research prize) provide evidence not only of her exceptional talent and self-confidence but also of her strong determination and resilience. Like almost all women in Germany up to this period, Sabine was not pre-destined for such professional advancement, especially as she did not come from a bourgeois background but from a poor family living in a small North Sea fishing village³³ (a hint of Ibsen's youth on the Norwegian coast?)

Although she left many years ago, she has retained her love of the open sea: "Aber vor allem—die Dämmerung. Wenn es [das Meer] daliegt—still in seiner grauen Heiligkeit—man weiss seine Tiefe nicht--aber man fühlt sie"³⁴. The remark echoes Ellida Wangel's yearning for the sea, a symbol not only of freedom and adventure in the wider unknown world but also of powerful and dangerous forces (imminent shipwreck in *Pillars of the Community*, drowning in *Little Eyolf*, suicide in the mill-race in *Rosmersholm*, water pollution in *Enemy of the People*). For Sabine the symbolic significance may lie in the freedom afforded by her rational scientific career as well as in the sacrifice of emotional happiness and sense of belonging in her personal life (she was orphaned as a teenager).

As a highly qualified doctor Sabine can be considered a leading representative of the modern age of science and technology—her surname Graef is an allusion to Albrecht von Graefe (1828-1870), the founder of ophthalmology in Germany³⁵ – but she does not pretend to be an allrounder. In contrast to Heinrich and Isolde she is ignorant of the world of music and art, of fashion and cafe society, so highly prized by the *Bildungsbürgertum*. “Ich war noch nie auf einem Ball,” she tells Isolde, for example. “Ich kann nicht tanzen”³⁶. The spoiled Isolde, having been raised in an artistic and bourgeois household in cosmopolitan Vienna, is familiar with all these things (Heinrich: “Meine Frau führte sie ziemlich früh ein—in die Gesellschaft”³⁷) and uses her knowledge to show up Sabine in a dismissive manner. As a “Mädchen aus gutem Hause” she occupies herself with drawing and painting, she sings and recites poetry, and dreams of romance (“Ich war schon verliebt—hundertmal.”³⁸).

Sabine, on the other hand, always had to work hard: “Wenn man immer so viel zu arbeiten gehabt hat wie ich,” she tells Isolde, “—da findet man gar keine Zeit für eine unglückliche Liebe”³⁹. She is unaccustomed to drinking coffee, a luxury item, and could not even afford such a basic commodity as sugar, but she puts a positive gloss on her earlier poverty: “Ich gehörte noch zu den Bevorzugten. Ich hatte Brot”⁴⁰. When Isolde asks “Was thut man denn da? Man weint?”, Sabine replies with self-assurance, “Nein. Man arbeitet”⁴¹, thus expressing a basic difference between her own practical approach to life and Isolde’s emotional

tendencies (reminiscent of the contrast between Dr Wangel's daughters Bolette and Hilde in *The Lady from the Sea* or Asta and Rita Allmers in *Little Eyolf* or Gunhild and Ella Rentheim in *John Gabriel Borkman*).

The female professional

Medical doctors (all male) appear in several plays written by Ibsen (the apothecary apprentice), particularly in *An Enemy of the People*⁴², where the titular idealist hero, Dr Stockmann, as health inspector, fights commercial interests to eliminate water pollution--an ecological subject that remains highly topical more than a century later. As secondary characters Dr Rank in *A Doll's House*, Dr Relling in *The Wild Duck* and Dr Herdal in *The Master Builder*⁴³ are portrayed as rational, sympathetic family friends. In *Dämmerung* the old-fashioned Ritter ("Die Welt ist mir zu modern"⁴⁴) is taken aback one evening when, instead of the expected eminent (male) professor, a young woman doctor arrives at his home to treat his daughter. If this had not been an emergency, he may well have refused her services because she is "ein Frauenzimmer"⁴⁵. He makes disparaging remarks about her ("Fingerhutverstand—höchstens"⁴⁶, "Unkünstlerisch, spontan. Nicht die Energie der Überlegung"⁴⁷), but soon begins to appreciate her outstanding competence, and one thing leads to another...

A telling indication of Sabine Graef's modern no-nonsense approach to her work as a female doctor is her readiness to raise the issue of venereal disease, a

traditional taboo subject, with Heinrich Ritter, a man nearly twice her age. Although he is not her patient, she questions him because syphilis had then been identified as a hereditary affliction that could cause blindness in children, making her inquiry relevant to Isolde's illness. In the wake of Charles Darwin's research into evolution and Gregor Mendel's experiments with hereditary genes, these topics were being widely discussed in the late 19th century. Ibsen thematised the possibility of inheriting debilitating illness in *Ghosts*, where Oswald is struck down by venereal disease passed down by his dissolute father. The drama, which also hints at the taboo topics of incest and mercy killing, was surrounded by controversy after its publication in 1881 and remained unperformed on the main European stages for several years. In *The Wild Duck* Hedvig may well have inherited blindness from her real father, Mr Werle, who seduced her mother when she was working as a maid in his household. In *A Doll's House* Dr Rank succumbs to inherited venereal disease.

In the conscientious pursuit of her duties, Sabine considers herself perfectly justified in bringing up this subject, even if it shocks Ritter, who sees no reason for discussing his lifestyle as a young artist in Vienna, feigns ignorance of possible medical implications and asks her "Genieren Sie sich denn nicht?"⁴⁸. Ever the professional, she persists by repeating pointblank: "Sie sollen mir sagen, ob die Möglichkeit einer spezifischen Belastung väterlicherseits ausgeschlossen ist"⁴⁹.

As Heinrich gets more and more worked up, she tries to calm him down, alluding to her superior clinical knowledge and experience: “Ihre Unkenntnis der Krankheit hat mich irregeführt. Darum musst’ ich fragen. Sie haben geantwortet—ich glaube Ihnen”⁵⁰. None of the twenty (male) doctors previously consulted by Heinrich had dared so ask him this question, he tells Carl, who ventures that perhaps it might have been better if they had. Heinrich responds with an anti-feminist attack: “Keine Spur. Das ist so die richtige Frauzimmereigenschaft Die Sucht nach was Ausgefallenem, Extrawurst—das knallt die kleinen Gehirne auf...”⁵¹.

Sabine’s scientific curiosity about the origin of Isolde’s illness continues to occupy her: “Aus dem Schlafe weckt’s mich auf—und nicht herauszufinden.”⁵². Later she hints at undertaking medical research into this subject: “Ich habe aber bestimmte Forschungen im Auge..”⁵³. Her initial line of inquiry may well have been correct in spite of Heinrich’s protestations. In their recent discussion of Bernstein’s work, Rita Bake and Birgit Kiupel sought the expert opinion of a specialist, Prof Alexander Bialasiewicz, head of the eye clinic at Hamburg University Hospital, who on the basis of the described symptoms and treatment concluded more than 100 years later that syphilis had indeed been the most likely cause of Isolde’s blindness⁵⁴.

Contrast of North vs South

In a symbolic way the personality differences between Sabine vs Heinrich and Isolde Ritter can be ascribed to their geographical and psychological *Heimat*, the fundamental contrast between North and South that was thematised by Thomas Mann in his novel *Tonio Kröger*⁵⁵. Here the unusual combination of the exotic southern name of Tonio with the solid northern surname of Kröger alludes to the inherent conflict between artistic life and bourgeois society. The intellectual Tonio with his southern roots feels like an outsider among the pragmatic people of the North. Mann (1875-1955) grew up in Lübeck in northern Germany, but as a young man he moved South to Rome (like Ibsen) and subsequently also settled in Munich (where he attended Bernstein's literary salons).

Sabine left her native North Sea village to study in the South (Switzerland), then lived in cosmopolitan, artistic Paris before coming to Bavaria to gain practical experience, but her progressing career eventually pulls her back to the North (Berlin). As an educated representative of modern science and technology, she can be identified with rational behaviour, hard work and practical determination—all qualities that have often been attributed to people living in the cool and rigorous North. Heinrich and Isolde, in contrast, come from Austria in the bright, warm and cheerful South, symbolising the artistic side of life, more emotional and romantic, less organised and pragmatic. As a well-known conductor and composer, Heinrich is a typical figure of the creative world, and his daughter

enjoys music, dancing, painting, and socialising. Sabine's willingness to take singing lessons from Heinrich and her subsequent aspiration to share his life (on his terms) can be regarded as attempts to cross this North/South barrier, a sign of her gradual acclimatisation.

This symbolic contrast between North and South is also evident in Ibsen's biography and dramas. After spending his childhood and early adulthood in coastal Norway, he left his home country at the age of 36 and, apart from two visits, lived and worked the next 27 years in the South, in Italy and Germany (Dresden and Munich). In several plays he portrays female characters who yearn to escape the long dark nights, persistent coldness and austere living conditions obtaining in the most northern region of Europe. In *The Lady from the Sea* Ellida is attracted by the tempting offer to sail away from her lonely existence in a remote village but in the end decides against joining the sailor beckoning her to a new life in the South. Her stepdaughter Bolette wants "to know about the world"⁵⁶ and longs "to get away"⁵⁷, while her sister Hilde roams the mountains before visiting Solness, *The Master Builder*, to remind him of his promise years ago that he would buy her a kingdom and make her a princess: "To Spain, or something like that"⁵⁸. In *John Gabriel Borkman* Mrs Wilton departs for warmer regions: "Yes, I'm going south. Abroad", taking young Erhart Borkman and pianist Frida Foldal with her: "I want her to go abroad and learn more about music"⁵⁹. In *Pillars of the Community* Dina Dorf, an orphan like Sabine, packs her bags in Norway to marry and settle into a more enticing life in the New

World. After having lived eleven years in the South, Sabine, too, is packing her bags—but heading North as she forsakes doomed romance for more hard work.

Conclusion

In her book on *Ibsen's Women* Joan Templeton remarks that the many years of pain and hardship endured by Ibsen's mother “would echo through her son's work in unremitting portrayals of suffering women”⁶⁰. They include Helene Alving of *Ghosts*, Hedda Gabler, Ellida Wangel, Gina Ekdal in *The Wild Duck*, Rita Allmers of *Little Eyolf*, and Ella and Gunhild Rentheim of *John Gabriel Borkman*, all trapped in loveless marriages or used by ambitious men. Among younger educated women with modern views who eventually encounter hardship are Dr Stockmann's daughter Petra, Lona Hessel in *Pillars of the Community* and Rebecca West in *Rosmersholm*. Both Sabine and Isolde are suffering women in the Ibsen mould, the former momentarily despairs when her romantic dream collapses (“Aber ich sterbe ja, ich sterbe ja”⁶¹), the latter endures lifelong bodily disability. Like many of Ibsen's female characters, Sabine also presents a contradictory image: on the one hand, she is strongly focused on advancing her career; on the other, she shows herself willing to give it all up in favour of romantic love and marriage. Isolde attempts suicide as the ultimate way out of her emotional and physical predicament, then triumphs when she secures her father's undivided care and attention by depriving him of a happy future with Sabine. Was Ritter's unconditional commitment to his daughter's welfare in the end

perhaps prompted by subconscious feelings of remorse aroused by Sabine's inquiry into the cause of the eye disease?⁶²

Exactly 100 years after his death Henrik Ibsen still ranks as one of the most frequently performed playwrights on the European stage. On the other hand, Elsa Bernstein, one of his contemporary disciples, shares the fate of almost all women writers of her time of having completely disappeared⁶³. "Today, she is virtually unknown," Kord concludes. "If she is remembered at all, it is under her pseudonym, instead of her name...or as Engelbert Humperdinck's librettist [opera *Königskinder*] instead of an author in her own right"⁶⁴. The growing academic occupation with German feminist writers witnessed during the past few years may yet lead to a revived interest in and a new assessment of her works.

Endnotes

¹ Peter Skrine, "Elsa Bernstein: Germany's Major Woman Dramatist?" in Brian Keith-Smith, ed., *German Women Writers 1900-1933* (Lewiston NY, 1993), pp. 43-63 (p.45).

² Henrik Ibsen, *Plays: Three: Rosmersholm, The Lady from the Sea, Little Eyolf* (London, 1991)

³ Susanne Kord, "Introduction" in Elsa Bernstein, *Dämmerung: Schauspiel in fünf Akten*, edited by Susanne Kord (New York; 2003), pp. xi-xxxiv (p. xix).

⁴ Elsa Bernstein, *Dämmerung, Schauspiel in fünf Akten*. Ed. by Susanne Kord (New York, 2003)

⁵ Henrik Ibsen, *Four Major Plays: A Doll's House, Ghosts, Hedda Gabler, The Master Builder* (Oxford, 1981)

⁶ Henrik Ibsen, *Four Major Plays: A Doll's House, Ghosts, Hedda Gabler, The Master Builder* (Oxford, 1981)

⁷ Henrik Ibsen *Plays: Three. Rosmersholm, The Lady from the Sea, Little Eyolf* (London, 1991)

⁸ Peter Skrine, "Elsa Bernstein: Germany's Major Woman Dramatist?" in Brian Keith-Smith, ed., *German Women Writers 1900-1933* (Lewiston NY, 1993), pp. 43-63 (p.43).

⁹ Susanne Kord, "Introduction" in Elsa Bernstein, *Dämmerung: Schauspiel in fünf Akten*, edited by Susanne Kord (New York, 2003), pp. xi-xxxiv (p. xv). Peter Skrine, "Elsa Bernstein: Germany's Major Woman Dramatist?" in Brian Keith-Smith, ed., *German Women Writers 1900-1933* (Lewiston NY, 1993), pp. 43-63 (p. 44).

¹⁰ Edvard Beyer, *Ibsen, the Man and his Work* (London, 1978), p. 7.

¹¹ See Simon Porges family website on the internet

¹² Peter Skrine, "Elsa Bernstein: Germany's Major Woman Dramatist?" in Brian Keith-Smith, ed., *German Women Writers, 1900-1933* (Lewiston NY, 1993), pp. 43-63 (p. 45).

¹³ Michael Meyer, *Ibsen* (Harmondsworth, Middx, 1974)

¹⁴ Susanne Kord, "Introduction" in Elsa Bernstein, *Dämmerung: Schauspiel in fünf Akten*, edited by Susanne Kord (New York, 2003), pp. xi-xxxiv (p. xv). Also mentioned in entry on Simon Porges family website.

¹⁵ Ulrike Zophoniasson-Baierl, *Elsa Bernstein alias Ernst Rosmer: Eine deutsche Dramatikerin im Spannungsfeld der literarischen Strömungen des Wilhelminischen Zeitalters* (Bern, 1985), p. 30.

¹⁶ Mary Garland, *The Oxford Companion to German Literature*. 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1997), p. 409.

¹⁷ Edvard Beyer, *Ibsen, the Man and his Work* (London, 1978), p. 113.

¹⁸ See Michael Meyer, *Ibsen* (Harmondsworth, Middx, 1974), pp. 617-620.

¹⁹ Mary Garland, *The Oxford Companion to German Literature*. 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1997), p. 409.

²⁰ Franziska zu Reventlow, *Ellen Olestjerne* (München, 2002), p. 53, p. 65. Ulla Egbringhoff, Franziska zu Reventlow (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 2000), pp. 28ff.

²¹ Katherine E. Kelly, "Introduction: The Making of Modern Drama" in Katherine E. Kelly, ed, *Modern Drama by Women, 1880s-1930s: an International Anthology* (London, 1996), pp. 1-16 (p. 1).

²² Chris Weedon, "The struggle for emancipation: German women writers of the Jahrhundertwende" in Jo Catling, ed., *A History of Women's Writing in Germany, Austria and Switzerland* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 111-127 (p. 114).

²³ Ibid. p. 112.

²⁴ Mary Garland, *The Oxford Companion to German Literature*. 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1997), p. 80

²⁵ Susanne T. Kord, "Elsa Bernstein (Ernst-Rosmer)" in Katherine E. Kelly, ed., *Modern Drama by Women, 1880s-1930s: an International Anthology* (London, 1996), pp. 80-83 (p. 80).

²⁶ Ibid. p. 81.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 81.

²⁸ Elsa Bernstein, *Dämmerung, Schauspiel in fünf Akten*. Ed. by Susanne Kord (New York, 2003), p. 145.

²⁹ Henrik Ibsen, *Two Plays: The Wild Duck, John Gabriel Borkman* (Bath, 1990)

³⁰ Peter Skrine, "Elsa Bernstein: Germany's Major Woman Dramatist?" in Brian Keith-Smith, ed., *German Women Writers, 1900-1933* (Lewiston NY, 1993), pp. 43-63 (p. 50).

³¹ Henrik Ibsen, *Two Plays: The Wild Duck, John Gabriel Borkman* (Bath, 1990)

³² Henrik Ibsen, *Four Major Plays: A Doll's House, Ghosts, Hedda Gabler, The Master Builder* (Oxford, 1981)

³³ Elsa Bernstein, *Dämmerung, Schauspiel in fünf Akten*. Ed. by Susanne Kord (New York, 2003), p. 88.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 88.

³⁵ Ibid. p. 28. Peter Sprengel, *Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Literatur 1870-1900: Von der Reichsgründung bis zur Jahrhundertwende* (München, 1998), p.518.

³⁶ Elsa Bernstein, *Dämmerung, Schauspiel in fünf Akten*. Ed. by Susanne Kord (New York, 2003), p. 79.

³⁷ Ibid. p46.

³⁸ Ibid. p80.

³⁹ Ibid. p80.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p71.

⁴¹ Ibid. p71.

⁴² Henrik Ibsen, *An Enemy of the People* (London, 1974)

⁴³ Henrik Ibsen, *Four Major Plays: A Doll's House, Ghosts, Hedda Gabler, The Master Builder* (Oxford, 1981)

⁴⁴ Elsa Bernstein, *Dämmerung, Schauspiel in fünf Akten*. Ed. by Susanne Kord (New York, 2003), p. 33.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p30.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p30.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p32.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p47.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p47.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p48.

⁵¹ Ibid. p49.

⁵² Ibid. p84.

⁵³ Ibid. p118.

⁵⁴ Elsa Bernstein, *Das Leben als Drama: Erinnerungen an Theresienstadt*. Herausgegeben von Rita Bake und Birgit Kiupel (Dortmund, 1999), p. 17

⁵⁵ Thomas Mann, *Tonio Kröger, Mario und der Zauberer* (Frankfurt am Main, 1973)

⁵⁶ Henrik Ibsen, *Plays: Three: Rosmersholm, The Lady from the Sea, Little Eyolf* (London, 1991), p. 163.

⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 164

⁵⁸ Henrik Ibsen, *Four Major Plays: A Doll's House, Ghosts, Hedda Gabler, The Master Builder* (Oxford, 1981), p. 293.

⁵⁹ Henrik Ibsen, *Two Plays: The Wild Duck, John Gabriel Borkman* (Bath, 1990), p. 201.

⁶⁰ Joan Templeton, *Ibsen's women* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 8.

⁶¹ Elsa Bernstein, *Dämmerung, Schauspiel in fünf Akten*. Ed. by Susanne Kord (New York, 2003), p. 146.

⁶² Ulrike Zophoniasson-Baierl, *Elsa Bernstein alias Ernst Rosmer: Eine deutsche Dramatikerin im Spannungsfeld der literarischen Strömungen des Wilhelminischen Zeitalters* (Bern, 1985), pp. 54-56.

⁶³ Chris Weedon, "The struggle for emancipation: German Women writers of the Jahrhundertwende" in Jo Catling, ed., *A History of Women's Writing in Germany, Austria and Switzerland* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 111-127 (p. 127).

⁶⁴ Susanne T. Kord, "Elsa Bernstein (Ernst Rosmer)" in Katherine E. Kelly, ed, *Modern Drama by Women, 1880s-1930s: an International Anthology* (London, 1996), pp. 80-83 (p.81).

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