

Peripheral Desires

THE GERMAN DISCOVERY OF SEX

Robert Deam Tobin



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*Dedicated to my parents,
David William and Tary Jeanne Tobin*

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Preface

Peripheral Desires

In the nineteenth century, new potential villains and threats began to frighten Europe: “hyperactive children, precocious girls, ambiguous schoolboys, dubious servants and teachers, cruel or maniacal husbands, solitary collectors, ramblers with strange impulses.”¹ Lurking inside these scary people were sexual secrets, which—according to Michel Foucault—had truth claims that gave them identities with new explanatory powers: “nymphomaniac,” “pedophile,” “sadist,” and “homosexual.” Reviewing these developments in the first volume of his *Histoire de la sexualité* (History of Sexuality), Foucault restates one of the central questions of his scholarship: “What does the appearance of all these peripheral sexualities signify?”² In the phrase, *sexualités périphériques*, Foucault uses “peripheral” primarily in the sense of “non-normative,” referring to sexualities forced centrifugally away from the vortex of bourgeois life and thereby required to speak endlessly about themselves. The word “peripheral” can also, however, shed light on the cultural geography of German-speaking central Europe, where many of the new discourses around sexuality emerged.

From Foucault’s perspectives in Paris and Berkeley, the German-speaking lands beyond the Rhine were themselves in the periphery. This is not to bring up the old resentments between France and Germany, but to underscore Marshall Berman’s insight that late eighteenth-century German-speaking central Europe was one of the first geographical regions to experience a sense of underdevelopment in contrast with a developed and modernized West.³

Despite Germanic anxieties about being peripheral, however, Berlin and Vienna were also the capitals of powerful empires in the center of Europe. Even as German-speaking thinkers reconstructed sexual identity on the periphery of the West, they consistently pushed these new non-normative sexualities and locales outward, away from German centers of gravity—to Switzerland,

Greece, Hungary, Samoa, Italy, and Palestine. Early nineteenth-century authors Heinrich Hössli and Heinrich Zschokke wrote and published their analyses of male-male love in Switzerland, relying on information and evidence from German centers like Stuttgart; later, Ernst von Wolzogen, Aimée Duc and Lou Andreas-Salomé saw Switzerland as a place for women in particular to escape the sexual confines of the German-speaking world. Throughout the nineteenth century, thinkers of all political stripes relied on the ancient Greek tradition, projecting same-sex desire on to the Hellenic world. One such Grecophile, the poet and artist Elisar von Kupffer, grew up on the fringe of the German-speaking world, among the Baltic German nobility in Estonia, and then resettled just beyond the boundaries of the German-speaking part of Switzerland, near the artistic colony at Monte Verita in Ascona. Karl Maria Kertbeny's commitment to Hungarian nationalism produced an intriguing connection between Hungarian identity and homosexual identity that shows up in literary texts such as Adalbert Stifter's *Brigitta*; on the other side of the Austro-Hungarian divide, Robert Musil's *Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (Man without Qualities) reveals traces of Austrian thought about sexuality and nationality. Intersections between German colonialist discourses and sexological-emancipatory discourses (found for instance in Ferdinand Karsch-Haack's sexual ethnologies, as well as Karl May's popular novels) link non-normative sexualities and the colonies, particularly Samoa. Thomas Mann's *Tod in Venedig* (Death in Venice) famously associates male-male desire with the fantastically liminal city of Venice, on the border between Europe and the Orient. Arnold Zweig's *De Vriendt kehrt heim* (De Vriendt Goes Home) builds on a long and extremely well-developed tradition in the German-speaking world of associating homosexuality with Jewishness, projecting the entire question of same-sex desire onto the physical territory of Palestine.

"Peripheral" also could describe many of the authors cited in this study, who tended to be far from the center of influence. Even the most established—the physicians and researchers specializing in sexology and nervous conditions, like Carl Westphal, Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Magnus Hirschfeld—had to struggle for respectability, given their focus on sex and sexuality. Sigmund Freud and psychoanalysis were more marginalized—excluded by the already suspect sexologists from the academy. While medical and scientific writings had a protective scholarly cover, which meant that they found an academic audience and a way into libraries, the political work was more ephemeral. Despite some connections to influential people and some reservoirs of political capital, activists from Karl Heinrich Ulrichs to Adolf Brand were nonetheless

on the outskirts of power. Even in liberal republican Switzerland, Hössli's publications were barely legal. Legal authorities repeatedly persecuted Ulrichs for his sexuality and his politics, until he moved to Italy where he spent the final decades of his life in poverty. Kertbeny spent decades leading the marginal life of an émigré. Censors initially banned Kupffer's collection of male-male love poetry.

If the medical and political texts about sexuality seem at times peripheral to the more immediately influential work going on in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in central Europe, then the literary works may appear even less important. While some of the authors under study in this book—Adalbert Stifter, Robert Musil, Karl May and Thomas Mann—are well known, many—Heinrich Zschokke, Ernst von Wolzogen, Aimée Duc, Franziska zu Reventlow, Otto Julius Bierbaum and Arnold Zweig—are obscure from the perspective of the twenty-first century. The literary texts seemingly pale in comparison to the truth claims of science and medicine or the practical implications of politics and law.

Nonetheless, it is precisely in these apparently peripheral literary texts that some of the most insightful analysis of sexuality takes place. Literature is arguably that form of language that monitors language as language, language that—in addition to carrying a message, telling a story, describing a scene, calling for political change, defining an illness, and prescribing a cure—watches, observes, and records change in language itself. Zschokke, Stifter, Musil, Bierbaum, May, Wolzogen, Duc, Reventlow, Andreas-Salomé, Mann, and Zweig are some of the literary figures who repeatedly provide evidence alongside the activists, sexologists, physicians, lawyers, and reporters whose work helped create modern categories of sexuality.

Whether literary, medical or political, the conceptions of sexuality analyzed in *Peripheral Desires* are purely *textual*. That is to say, I make no effort to determine how many people in German-speaking central Europe were engaged in exactly what sexual practices (although some of the more empirical sources try to do just that). The focus is on articulations of sexuality and conceptualizations of new forms of identity. Although it is clear that these new identities, like homosexuality and heterosexuality, eventually became very powerful in structuring the real lives of many people, this book does not make any attempt to prove that they were influential or widespread in the nineteenth century. It would certainly be hard to argue that Hössli, for instance, had a broad or immediate impact on his society. Even Ulrichs and Kertbeny reached only a small segment of the population, but that small segment included physicians

like Westphal, Krafft-Ebing and Hirschfeld, whose medical discourses did begin to affect the lived experience of many individuals. Literary writers gave a broader reading audience throughout the world tools for thinking about sexuality. Ultimately, this book is about a history of ideas—ideas that would one day have a concrete force in people's lives, although they may have been obscure at the time of their emergence.

One consequence of studying this history of sexual ideas is that the sources are limited to the people who had access to possibilities of publication, to medical educations and to a sense of political empowerment—limited in short to the bourgeoisie and the upper classes. Virtually none of the writers studied in this book come from the lower or working classes. Many are middle class, confirming one of Foucault's foundational theses, that sexuality is itself a bourgeois construct.

Bourgeois, many of the subjects of this study also understood themselves as liberal. "Liberal" entered the German language as a political concept at the beginning of the nineteenth century, about the same time as "sexual."⁴ While the meaning of the term "liberal" is in no way monolithic, a core of liberal beliefs provides the basis for much of the emancipatory thinking on sexuality. These beliefs include the separation of church and state, the individual's right to privacy, limiting the government's role in the personal life of the citizenry, protecting the rights of minorities, faith in the power of progress and science, and an aversion to cruel and archaic punishments. This loose conglomeration of ideas makes liberalism a fertile ground for rethinking sexual categories and identities.

The fact that the Liberal parties in German and Austria-Hungary became increasingly devoted to economic liberalism further complicates the issue. When possible, I try to distinguish between lower-case "liberal," referring to a broad philosophy of individual rights and freedoms, and upper-case "Liberal," referring to specific parties which became more and more associated with concern for the sanctity of private property and the importance of free markets.

Peripheral Desires also focuses almost exclusively on men. Virtually all of the writers that I study are men, with the exception of Duc, Reventlow and Andreas-Salome, who come up primarily in the chapter on Wolzogen's treatment of third sex and the women's movement. Clearly there is much more to be done on lesbian history.⁵ Despite the focus on male authors and their primary interest in male-male sexuality, I hope that *Peripheral Desires* will contribute to feminist conversations and debates in gender studies. Many of the authors analyzed in this study rely on an implicit or explicit gender inversion model,

which assumes that men who love other men must have some sort of feminine desire. Even if they are writing about men, their effort to isolate a kind of female soul within these men is of interest for feminist and gender studies, no matter how wrong-headed their approaches. Given that notions of effeminate gay men and masculine lesbians are still pervasive on multiple levels of modern discourse, these nineteenth-century speculations on feminine desire are of more than historical interest. On the other hand, other authors (notably the so-called masculinists) strenuously object to the gender inversion model and insist that male-male desire is fundamentally masculine. These authors also offer insights into nineteenth- and early twentieth-century constructions of masculinity. The efforts of all the authors in this book to describe same-sex desire produces countless disturbances in what was to become the model of masculinity and femininity within normative heterosexuality, making them of interest not only to gender studies, but also specifically to feminism.

The lives of many of the authors in this study have a certain novelistic or even operatic quality. Some are quirky: Hössli, the Alpine hat-maker, obsessed with the mistreatment of men who love men; Ulrichs, the Hanoverian lawyer, fighting lonely battles to raise the political consciousness of urnings, before moving to southern Italy where, impoverished, he devotes himself to another hopeless battle—the restoration of Latin; Kertbeny, the German-born Hungarian nationalist eking out a precarious living as a translator and critic of Hungarian poetry; Kupffer, the German Baltic aristocrat, living in what he calls “self-imposed exile” in southern Switzerland, where he founds a religion based on beauty, in particular, the beauty of young men; Sasha Schneider, the art professor who established an athletic center at his university in order to produce more attractive models for his art. Many are tragic: Franz Desgouttes, executed on the wheel because he murdered a young man whom he claimed to love; Daniel Hemmeler, the young man Desgouttes murdered; Israel Blank, who ultimately died in prison because of his passion for cross-dressing; Westphal’s patients, “N.”—a woman who wanted to live as a man and go to engineering school—and “Ha...”—another man devoted to cross-dressing. Some, like Ulrichs and Hirschfeld, have moved into the pantheon of gay heroes, while others, like Brand, leave behind more disturbing legacies.

My tendency is to place more weight on the will and volition of the characters involved than has been the case in much post-Foucauldian work on the history of sexuality. One of Foucault’s great insights was to see the importance of institutions (like medicine, psychiatry, academic scholarship and the penal system) in mobilizing power in the construction of modern sexual identities.

The scholarship that has followed in his wake has too often envisioned sexual identities as an imposition by the socially powerful upon disempowered individuals. As Harry Oosterhuis, however, observes, it is clear that many patients willingly went to the sexologists, often with the express aim of helping in the creation of the definition of sexual categories, trying to alter the misconceptions of the medical establishment.⁶ Similarly, it is clear that the sexologists often relied heavily on self-conscious and self-identified homosexuals as sources for their information.

Many historians of sexuality and other readers of Foucault will be concerned with the use of words like “homosexual,” “gay,” and “queer” to describe people and sexualities from late nineteenth-century Germany. Such cautious skepticism is in order when reading sweeping rejections of social construction such as Graham Robb’s: “First, there always were people who were primarily or exclusively attracted to people of their own sex. They had no difficulty in identifying themselves as homosexual (or whichever word was used), often from a very early age. Second, these people were known to exist and were perceived to be different.”⁷ Robb valuably emphasizes that the life for nineteenth-century homosexuals was “not unremittingly bleak,” concluding that “nineteenth-century homosexuals lived under a cloud, but it seldom rained.”⁸ A rousing positive review of his work in the *New York Times* underscores the hunger for essentialist understandings of sexuality, even among the most educated readers in the United States.⁹ Without rehashing old essentialist-constructivist debates, it seems self-evident that, for those sexually interested in members of their own sex, the sense of identity must have changed significantly in the late nineteenth-century as new vocabularies of “urning,” “invert,” and “homosexual” arose, backed up with scientific, medical and cultural—rather than religious—evidence. *Peripheral Desires* seeks to delve into these nuances of identity, reclaiming some of what was new and distinctive about sexuality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Robb is responding to social constructionists at the other end of the spectrum, where scholars like Rüdiger Lautmann, an intellectual leader of the post-War German gay rights movement, declare that “gay life today has little in common with the urning life of the nineteenth century or ancient pederasty.”¹⁰ This claim is overstated, or at least not useful for the discussion I hope to begin. While it is undoubtedly important to distinguish between different forms of sexuality, both within the culture of a specific area as well as between various historical periods, it is also worthwhile to trace the roots and origins of modern Western conceptions of sexuality. The conceptualization of sexuality

that emerges in late nineteenth-century Germany has enough points of similarity and continuity with modern Western understanding of sexuality that a comparison between the two becomes useful and instructive.

As is clear from my earlier book, *Warm Brothers: Queer Theory and the Age of Goethe*, I strongly believe that there is a space for queer interpretation of texts that—because they lack a modern vocabulary of sexuality—do not refer directly to such modern institutions as homosexuality. No default heterosexuality to all texts written prior to 1869! But these strategies of appropriation and reading against the grain—so essential for queer theory in general—are less important for the project of *Peripheral Desires* and may indeed even obfuscate some of its goals. Since I am hoping to analyze the origins of the modern vocabulary of sexuality, I have tended to stick with the nomenclature employed by the authors I have studied. If they use the word “urning,” I use the word “urning.” If they use the word “homosexual,” I use the word “homosexual.” In order to organize authors and concepts, I have had to resort to the occasionally awkward but nonetheless necessary phrase, such as for instance “people who sexually desire members of their own sex” or a broad category like “non-heterosexual,” but in general matters of vocabulary are fairly straightforward because many of the authors in question have clearly stated views about how to refer to sexuality.

My readings also tend to be fairly straightforward, reporting unambiguous descriptions of homosexual acts or feelings of same-sex desire on the part of characters in literary texts, patients described in medical reports, or people referred to in the writings of activists. Thus, in this study, I am not typically reading against the grain or looking for secret queer meanings in seemingly straight stories. Insofar as I refer to the sexual actions, fantasies and identities of historical figures such as Ulrichs, Kertbeny, Hirschfeld and Mann, I have tried to rely on their own writings and honor their own often complex self-assessments, while of course acknowledging that at times they might themselves have consciously disguised aspects of the truth for political or personal reasons.

If the word “homosexual” requires some thought, then the word “German” does too. Stylistically unpleasant phrases like “German-speaking central Europe” are necessary because the authors in this study lived under a variety of political administrations and cultural firmaments. A number of them—notably Kertbeny, Krafft-Ebing and Freud—worked primarily in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which presents its own complex set of identities. Prior to 1869, the Empire was a polyglot conglomerate of nationalities, unified by the

person of the Emperor. In 1869, the Empire restructured itself as Austria-Hungary; there was the hope that the nationalities could be subsumed under the two headings of Austrian or Hungarian. But the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Romanians, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Romanians and Jews didn't play along. It was not the case that citizens of the Habsburg Empire had the same kind of national identity as "Austrians," "Hungarians," or "Austro-Hungarians" that the "French," the "Dutch," the "English" or arguably the "Germans" had. "Germanic" Austrians and German-speaking Austrian Jews certainly played a leading role in the governance of the Empire, but their identity was distinct from the culturally more homogenous German Empire to the north. The complex question of Habsburg, Austro-Hungarian, and Austrian identities had an influence on the origins of modern concepts of sexuality.

While Austrian identity is undoubtedly complex, German identity is not much simpler. Those authors who wrote in non-Habsburg German-speaking lands before Otto von Bismarck unified Germany as an Empire under the Hohenzollerns in 1871 had their own sense of being "German," which tended to focus on an idealist and cultural concept of nation, rather than a specific concrete state. Many of the writers analyzed in this book lived and worked most of their lives in Wilhelmine Germany, in the unified empire constituted in 1871 and demolished at the end of the First World War. Indeed, this book argues that the politics and history around the establishment of that Empire had more to do with the creation of modern sexual categories than is usually acknowledged. But, by the same token, many of the authors in this book continued to live and work under the very different circumstances of the Weimar Republic and some were still active in the 1930s, either within Hitler's Third Reich or in exile.

Those in exile scattered to the four corners—Hirschfeld around the world and then to France for a few years before dying, Mann to the United States and eventually Switzerland, Freud to England, Zweig to Palestine before returning to the German Democratic Republic. While few of the exiles had the temerity to say, as Mann did, that "wherever I am, there is German culture," it is nonetheless worth stating here that all these authors count as "German" in some sense, regardless of their ultimate citizenship. Of course, all those who survived the Second World War lived in a world with profoundly new kinds of "Germany": a pro-Western Federal Republic of Germany, a communist German Democratic Republic, and to the south, Switzerland and Austria, neutral in different kinds of ways. This brief reminder of the complexity of "German" identity hints at some of the reasons why an analysis of sexuality and literature

in the German-speaking world plays out so differently than it would in, say, France, Britain, Spain or Holland.

Although some of the authors studied in this book lived on into the post-War era, the main body of *Peripheral Desires* ends with Zweig's 1932 novel, *De Vriendt kehrt heim*. The further development of sexuality and the study of sexuality in Germany after the National Socialists took power in 1933 is fascinating, but it is such a huge topic, requiring such delicacy, that I would like to leave it for future studies.

Peripheral Desires is not the first effort to answer these questions regarding the relationship between German culture and modern sexual categories. In fact, there is an astonishing amount of material available. In Germany, activist scholars like Manfred Herzer have uncovered and republished important documents from the nineteenth-century homosexual emancipation movement. Due to the work of Herzer and his colleagues, a significant number of early texts by Hössli, Ulrichs, Kertbeny and others are available in reprints. In the United States, the Arno Press republished in the 1970s a number of important documents from the German homosexual rights movement as well. James Steakley's pioneering *Homosexual Emancipation Movement in Germany* appeared in 1975, long before gay and lesbian studies was accepted in the academy. His ground-breaking analysis still structures most thinking on the emergence of the nineteenth-century homosexual rights movement in Germany—my own work is deeply indebted to it. Not only is Steakley's work written in English, many of the early sexological and emancipatory texts are published in English translation. Translators such as Michael Lombardi-Nash have translated Ulrichs as well as Hirschfeld into English.¹¹ Hubert Kennedy has not only written an extensive biography of Ulrichs (available both in German and English), but also helped keep the work of authors such as John Henry Mackay in print. In Germany, curators at the Schwules Museum and scholars at the Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft have continued to uncover new primary material while also holding the door open for new interpretations. There have been several major exhibitions devoted to the subject, notably the 1984 exhibit *Eldorado: Homosexuelle Frauen und Männer in Berlin 1850-1950: Geschichte, Alltag und Kultur* (El Dorado: Homosexual Women and Men in Berlin, 1850-1950: History, Daily Life, and Culture) and the follow up, *Goodbye to Berlin? 100 Jahre Schwulenbewegung*, which opened at the Berlin's Akademie der Künste in 1997. Rosa von Praunheim has cinematically documented this history in his 1998 documentary, *Schwuler Mut: 100 Jahre Schwulenbewegung* (Gay Courage: 100 Years of the Gay Movement) and his

1999 biopic about Hirschfeld, *The Einstein of Sex*. Robert Beachy's *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of an Identity*, published in 2014, testifies to the ongoing interest in the subject as it presents a brisk and lively overview of the history of male homosexuality in the German context.

Given this large amount of scholarship, it might seem that another book on the subject was superfluous. But as previously unknown source material from the nineteenth century has been rediscovered, our understanding of the era needs redefinition and refinement. When Steakley's work appeared in 1975, very little of the foundational theoretical work of gay and lesbian studies and queer theory had appeared—the first volume of Foucault's *History of Sexuality* was not published in English until 1978, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's *Between Men* did not appear until 1985, and Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* came out in 1990. On the other hand, many of the fundamental texts in gay and lesbian studies and queer theory don't interact with the historical German texts. Foucault, for instance, had apparently little first-hand knowledge of Ulrichs, Kertbeny and the other emancipationists. There is therefore a need to bring together newer findings in the history and literature of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German sexuality with more recent theoretical work in gay and lesbian studies and queer theory.

The need is more than purely academic. The cultural constructs in which nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German-language authors wrote established the framework for their discussions of sexuality. That framework has remained remarkably consistent in the intervening two centuries, as these modern discourses of sexuality have become globally omnipresent. Much of the scientific research on sexual orientation continues to work on the assumption that homosexuals constitute a discrete minority, with biologically identifiable characteristics that often have something to do with gender inversion; this research typically claims to be part of a liberal political agenda. At the same time, a counter-discourse persists, according to which most people are bisexual and capable of strong erotic and emotional bonds with members of their own sex, even if they typically favor heterosexual liaisons; many of the theoreticians behind this position frame their arguments as a critique of liberalism. The outlines of this debate go back to the discussions between liberal sexologists and emancipationists, who believe in a specific homosexual identity, and the masculinist critics of liberalism, who believe in a broader, more diffuse, eros. Those who believe in a specific homosexual identity tend to think not only in terms of gender inversion, but also in terms of analogies to race, also a trope that begins in the nineteenth century. The politics of the discussion have remained largely unchanged, hovering between demands for

decriminalization and hopes for gay marriage, although of course the goals of the movement have come closer to realization than ever before.

It is particularly striking that so many of these debates continue at the highest levels of science, politics and culture in the United States, a country that was certainly on the periphery of the imagination of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German-language writers whom we will be reading. Now, of course, the United States has taken on a central role, not only in the cultural construction of gender, but also in specifically in terms of gay and lesbian self-awareness and assertion, as well as queer theory. Journalistic, scientific, legal, political and administrative discourses have tended to coalesce around biologicistic theories of fixed sexual identity and clear sexual categories; academic theorists who work in the realm of queer theory have been more skeptical of such identity politics, as have literary sources, such as Michael Cunningham's *By Nightfall* (2010) and Chad Harbach's *The Art of Fielding* (2011). From newspaper accounts of current scientific research on sexual orientation to legally binding documents released by various branches of the government of the United States of America, from contemporary queer theory to critically acclaimed novels, we shall see that the debates begun by nineteenth-century German thinkers on sexual identity remain vibrant in the twenty-first century.

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Introduction. 1869—Urnings, Homosexuals, and Inverts

The British sexologists Havelock Ellis (1859–1939) and John Addington Symonds (1840–1893) observed at the end of the nineteenth century that “Germany is the only country in which there is a definite and well-supported movement for the defense and social rehabilitation of invert,” adding that “the study of sexual inversion began in Germany and the scientific and literary publications dealing with homosexuality issued for the German press probably surpass in quality and importance those issued for all countries put together.”¹ If we assume Ellis and Symonds are correct, the question arises, why was Germany—and more generally, German-speaking central Europe—so fertile a ground for homosexual subcultures at the turn of the century? What factors helped construct the modern forms of sexuality that were emerging in this time period in central Europe? What intellectual, cultural, philosophical, religious, and social developments informed the ways that scholars, writers, artists, political actors, and other individuals thought about sexuality in the second half of the nineteenth century in German-speaking cultures?

One of Ellis’s patients wrote about Berlin, “here are homosexual baths, pensions, restaurants, and hotels, where you can go with one of your own sex at a certain fee per hour. Berlin is a revelation.”² One aristocrat claimed in 1897, after having spent forty years traveling throughout the world, that the life of “urnings” (people with the bodies of one sex and the souls of another) in Berlin was “more extensive, freer and easier than anywhere else in the Orient or the Occident.”³ In 1904 physician Paul Näcke published an article titled “A Visit with the Homosexuals of Berlin” in *Archiv für Kriminalanthropologie und Kriminalistik* (Archives for Forensic Anthropology and Criminology), in which he describes attending a meeting of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, Magnus Hirschfeld’s (1865–1935) advocacy group for homosexuals. According to Näcke, between two and three hundred people were in attendance,

“including fifteen ladies”; they listened to a speech by a former Catholic priest about sexuality and the Church. Näcke met couples who considered themselves married, as well as a shy young girl of seventeen or eighteen, discovering this world for the first time herself. Näcke reports on bars catering to homosexuals, places where homosexuals could pick up soldiers hoping to earn some money on the side, and dance establishments where young men “honored with great passion Terpsichore,” the muse of music and dance.⁴ He mentions that homosexual balls took place at least once a week when the season started in November, some of which attracted as many as 700 guests and were known throughout Europe.⁵

In the same year, Magnus Hirschfeld (1865–1935) corroborated Näcke’s account in a popular book called *Berlins drittes Geschlecht* (Berlin’s Third Sex). Hirschfeld describes a metropolis in which well over 50,000 male and female homosexuals lived, often in harmony with their “normal sexual” friends and family. They formed long-lasting pairs, gathered in social parties in milieus ranging from the working class to the aristocratic, supported a lively subculture of cross-dressing entertainers and transvestite balls, frequented their own cafes and bars, placed personal ads in local papers, and patronized large numbers of sex workers, many of whom came from the underpaid military.

By the end of the century, regularly appearing periodicals discussed same-sex desire. In 1896, Adolf Brand (1874–1945) began publishing *Der Eigene*, an anarchist publication that quickly became devoted to, as its subtitle soon clarified, “masculine culture.” The journal’s title cannot be translated adequately, because of its unusual use of the word *eigen*, which most frequently means “own” as in “my own.” Less frequently the word can mean “peculiar” (or even “queer”) as well. Most translations attempt to incorporate both senses of the meaning, as well as Brand’s acknowledged debt to Max Stirner’s anarchist treatise, *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (which has been translated as “The Ego and His Own”): “The Special,” “The Exceptional,” “The Personalist,” “The Free,” or “The Self-Owner.”⁶ In 1899, Hirschfeld and his colleagues at the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee began publishing its own more scholarly journal, *Das Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (The Yearbook for Sexual Intermediary Types).

The activities and writing surrounding same-sex desire and sexuality in that nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German-speaking realm of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland produced a plethora of sexual terminology. While certainly there was extensive work on sexuality in other countries as well—in addition to Ellis and Symonds, one thinks of Paolo



Figure 1. *Der Eigene*, vol. 6 (1906): A Book for Art and Masculine Culture.
Personal collection of author.

Mantegazza of Italy, Ambroise Tardieu of France, Arnold Aletrino of Holland and Edward Carpenter of England—those writing in German conceptualized sexual vocabulary first. Karl Maria Kertbeny coined the term “homosexual” in 1869 and was the first to employ the vocabulary of “heterosexual” in writings that were published in 1880. Not surprisingly, the term “heterosexual” took much longer to catch on; in *Berlins drittes Geschlecht*, aimed at a popular audience, Hirschfeld still prefers the term “normal sexual” to “heterosexual.” By 1903, Eric Mühsam and Edwin Bab are debating each other in print about “bisexuality” (*Bisexualität*).⁷ The terms “fetischism” (*Fetischismus*), “masochism” (*Masochismus*), and “sadism” (*Sadismus*) make their first appearance in any language in the world in *Psychopathia sexualis* by the sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902). Krafft-Ebing’s enormously successful compendium of sexual disorders, which went through many editions and translations and within a few decades was found in libraries in communities all over the globe, also introduced the concepts of homo- and heterosexuality to many readers. Hirschfeld was the first to coin the term “transvestite” in his 1910 volume on cross-dressing called *Die Transvestiten*. Other languages and cultures soon borrowed these terms, where they successfully formed the base for a modern global discourse of sexuality. Freud’s subsequent influential conceptualization of the Oedipal crisis and the id, the ego, and the superego was just the icing on a vast cake of sexological vocabulary whipped up in German and Austrian kitchens before the First World War.

In the decade between 1898 and 1908, over one thousand works were published on homosexuality, most written originally in German.⁸ Even many of those works written by non-Germans were published first in Germany. The work by Ellis and Symonds cited at the beginning of this Introduction had to be published first in Germany under the title *Das konträre Geschlechtsgefühl* (Sexual Inversion [1896]), before Ellis could find a way to publish it in English. Scandalized by its sexual content, Symonds’s heirs purchased and destroyed the entire run of the English edition printed in 1897.⁹ Eventually, Ellis slipped it into his English-language collection, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1905). In publishing in Germany, he followed the example of Edward Carpenter (1844–1929), whose *Homogenic Love and Its Place in a Free Society*, which was privately printed in an extremely limited run in England in 1894, was much more publically available in Germany as *Die homogene Liebe und ihre Bedeutung in der freien Gesellschaft* in 1895. This publication activity, as well as the other evidence of a lively homosexual subculture in Germany and Austria, underscores the importance of the question: What cultural phenomena powered

this tremendous amount of work done on sexuality in German-speaking central Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century?

1869 and Sodomy

The year 1869 saw the publication of a number of important documents that can provide a useful introduction to the phenomenal increase in discussions of sexuality in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German-speaking world. A century before the famous Stonewall Riots in New York City's Greenwich Village ignited the gay liberation movement, three authors published texts in German that would help lay the foundations for modern discourses of sexuality, making intelligible the very claim to gay liberation. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–1895) published two brochures defending the legal rights of urnings. In the same year, Ulrichs's "comrade" Karl Maria Kertbeny was the first person in any language to use the word "homosexual" in print; he employed it in two lengthy pamphlets urging the decriminalization of sodomy in the penal code that was being written for the North German Confederation. Finally, in an 1869 article that Michel Foucault has claimed can stand in for the birth of the homosexual, the psychiatrist Carl Friedrich Otto Westphal diagnosed two patients as sexual "inverts"—one, a woman who had always felt like a man and loved other women, and the other, a man who cross-dressed as a woman compulsively, even though it repeatedly landed him in jail. These initial attempts to describe same-sex attraction constructed the groundwork for modern sexual identities, establishing the discursive framework that still informs many intellectual, academic, cultural, and political discussions regarding sexuality.

A quick look at these documents provides an introductory snapshot that sheds light on the structures informing the emergence of modern sexual identities. To be sure, none of these authors is unknown in the history of sexuality. Nevertheless, the actual writings of Ulrichs, Kertbeny, and Westphal have rarely been the object of sustained scholarly scrutiny. Usually there is merely an acknowledgement of Kertbeny's linguistic contribution to the history of sexuality and a reference to Foucault's citation of Westphal. Compared to Westphal, Ulrichs and Kertbeny are particularly neglected, for their works have until recently been much harder to obtain. While Westphal's medical analyses of same-sex desire were published in journals that were widely distributed in the late nineteenth century and are thus generally available at research

libraries around the Western world, the radical political pamphlets of Kertbeny and Ulrichs were much less likely to be collected by libraries and are thus virtually impossible to locate in the original nowadays. They have been reprinted a few times, notably by Hirschfeld in the decades preceding the First World War and more recently by Verlag rosa Winkel in Berlin, but even these reprinted editions are not necessarily available, even in the best research libraries in the United States. Translations into English by Michael Lombardi-Nash and others of some of the most important works are also still not always easy to obtain.¹⁰ The digitalization of rare texts means many of these documents have recently become easier to find again.

These essays by Ulrichs, Kertbeny, and Westphal repay close reading because they reveal many of the tendencies that helped shape the contour of modern notions of sexuality. They ask questions that have historically been asked about homosexuality: Is homosexuality a sin, a crime, a sickness? Is sexual orientation a product of nature or nurture? Can a person's sexual orientation change? Are gay men effeminate? Are lesbians masculine? Do gay men and lesbians have anything in common? Are homosexuals a threat to children? Are they a threat to the nation and national security? Do homosexuals have human rights? Is the free expression of sexuality a human right? Can religion accept homosexuality? These early documents indicate the outlines of the debate on sexuality possible in 1869 Berlin: the assumptions made by Ulrichs, Kertbeny, and Westphal about sexuality reveal the intellectual choices available in mid-nineteenth-century Germany.

These documents were written in the wake of an event that might seem entirely unrelated to questions of sexuality: the otherwise largely forgotten Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Prussia trounced Austria in this war, revealing to a startled Europe its revived military prowess. The Hohenzollerns of Berlin annexed Frankfurt, Hanover, Hesse, Nassau, and Schleswig-Holstein to their already considerable German possessions beyond Prussia itself, while the Habsburgs of Vienna lost forever any influence in the Germanic realm outside of Austria. With Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) at the helm, Prussia began to unify the rest of the Germanic principalities as the North German Confederation, which would form the basis of the German Empire established in 1871 at the close of the Franco-Prussian War. The Habsburgs, meanwhile, weakened by their loss, restructured their possessions in 1867, shifting their attention toward the Balkans. Faced with a mounting insurgency, they agreed to grant the Hungarians autonomy and created the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

In *Epistemology of the Closet*, queer theorist Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick intuits

a link between the emergence of the vocabulary of homosexuality in 1869 and the foundation of the German Empire in 1871.¹¹ In fact, sodomy played a role in the momentous political changes following the Austro-Prussian War. Both new governmental entities, Austria-Hungary and the North German Confederation, needed to revisit their legal codes as they restructured themselves. Sodomy was a flashpoint for legal discussions concerning the role of the state in crimes of the flesh. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, most of German-speaking central Europe relied on the 1532 legal code of Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire (1500–1558), which had established the penalty of death by fire for a person who slept with an animal, a man who slept with a man, or a woman who slept with a woman. By the Enlightenment, legal theorists, especially Cesare Beccaria (1738–1794) in his work *Dei delitti e delle pene* (Of Crimes and Punishments) of 1764, began to question the overlap between church and state, calling for the decriminalization of many sexual deeds.

Frederick the Great (1712–1786), hoping to modernize the laws within Prussia, encouraged scholars to think about the theoretical basis for legal reform. Such canonically important texts as Immanuel Kant’s “Was ist Aufklärung?” (What Is Enlightenment?) emerged in response to a footnote in an anonymous piece—actually by Johann Erich Biester (1762–1814)—questioning the state’s role in marriage. Eighteenth-century German intellectuals saw that the role of the state in regulating personal, gendered, and sexual behavior pertained directly to modernity and the Enlightenment.¹²

Prussian legal thinkers of the eighteenth century did not eliminate the role of the state from marriage, nor were they willing to follow Beccaria and decriminalize sodomy. Some countered Beccaria’s arguments that sodomy was merely a sin and of no interest to the state by arguing that it diminished the country’s population and thus harmed it. Prussia’s sodomy laws remained on the books, although the death penalty for sodomy was repealed in 1794.¹³ As the nineteenth century progressed, sodomy laws took on national significance. Louis Crompton demonstrates how England prided itself on the fact that it, in contrast to decadent France, prosecuted sodomy offences.¹⁴ Presumably, similar motivations justified the hard line on sodomy in Prussia and Austria.

Outside of Prussia and Austria, changes in German law did emerge, however, inspired by reforms in France. In post-revolutionary Napoleonic France, Beccaria’s Enlightened reasoning gained traction. Jean-Jacques Régis de Cambacérès (1753–1824) had the task of restructuring the French civil code after the French Revolution; it came to be known as the Code Napoléon. Removing many feudal relics in the legal code, it also decriminalized private, consensual,

noncommercial sex between unmarried adults, even adults of the same sex. When Napoleon's armies swept through much of Europe, he installed his new legal code; many principalities kept or emulated parts of them even after the French left. Baden, in southwestern Germany, retained the Code Napoléon, although legislators there altered many aspects of it, in order to grant women more protections than were available in the French original, which—for all its liberality in sexual matters—remained quite patriarchal.¹⁵ Those Prussian lands west of the Rhine that had fallen under the direct control of Napoleonic France also kept the Napoleonic legal code when they returned to Prussia, meaning that even Hohenzollern possessions had quite different legal codes. Württemberg and Hanover retained the spirit of the Napoleonic laws, criminalizing only public indecency rather than sexual acts between consenting adults.¹⁶

In Bavaria, Anselm Feuerbach's criminal code of 1813 attempted to delineate clearly between the "immoral" and the "illegal" and correspondingly decriminalized sodomy entirely. The 1813 annotations to the new Bavarian penal code declared, "as long as people through lewd behaviors transgress only their internal duties to themselves—the commands of morality—without hurting the rights of others, nothing is determined by this present law book; self-abuse, sodomy, bestiality, consensual unmarried sex are all serious transgressions of moral commands but as sins they do not belong to the sphere of external legislation."¹⁷ Isabel V. Hull notes that Feuerbach consistently mentions sodomy when he lists examples of sexual misdemeanors that should be understood as sins, not crimes. For Feuerbach, sodomy represents, according to Hull, an "archetypal example of the liminal delict, the one that defined the line between two categories." While Feuerbach eventually recanted and proposed revisions to his own legal code in 1824 that recriminalized male homosexuality, his subsequent conservative revisions did not become law.¹⁸

Thus, the German-speaking world was at a cross-roads regarding crimes of the flesh in general and sodomy in particular when legal experts in the North German Confederation and Austria-Hungary began to review their penal codes. Both Prussia and Austria continued to criminalize sex between men, along with other carnal delicts, while a broad swath of German principalities, including Prussian possessions west of the Rhine, had adopted Enlightenment reforms regarding sex in their legal codes. For many interested in the law, sodomy became a primary exhibit in the public debate concerning whether the new legal codes of central Europe would be liberal, secular, and modern—or not.

In preparation for the establishment of a unified code of penal law in the North German Confederation, the Royal Prussian Deputation for Public Health had investigated the matter of sodomy laws, and recommended that the paragraph criminalizing sodomy be dropped, noting that the law did not criminalize “degenerate” sexual acts between men and women or between women and that it similarly left masturbation up to the conscience of the individual.¹⁹ The list of authors of the report included such scientific luminaries as the Berlin physician and scientist Rudolf Ludwig Karl Virchow (1821–1902). The minister of justice, Gerhard Adolf Wilhelm Leonhardt (1815–1880), apparently initially concurred with the commission and had himself adopted a liberal policy on sodomy in Hanover in 1840.²⁰

The restructuring of the Habsburg Empire as the Austro-Hungarian Empire was similarly the occasion for rethinking the legal code. In 1856, paragraph 129 I b of the Habsburg Empire had prohibited “lewd behavior [*Unzucht*] with the same sex,” calling for prison sentences lasting from one to five years.²¹ Krafft-Ebing reports that in the 1860s the government, relying on the advice of a medical commission, proposed the elimination of these penalties for sodomy, among other points arguing that “from various sides, it is maintained that the action prohibited by this paragraph is a natural need for a class of people.”²² Hubert Kennedy reports that the minister of justice, Anton Emanuel von Komers (1814–1893) had proposed decriminalization on June 26, 1867. By 1870, however, a new minister of justice, Eduard Herbst (1820–1892), had rejected the proposal.²³

Ultimately, the efforts of all those working to decriminalize sodomy were in vain. The Austrian efforts to decriminalize same-sex acts were rejected and the only “reform” was the rewriting of the language to make sexual acts between women—as well as those between men—illegal. The Prussian government chose to ignore its own commission, concluding that sodomy “exposed such a degree of degeneration and degradation and was so dangerous for morality that it could not remain unpunished.”²⁴ Ulrichs assumed that the law remained in place in order to placate orthodox religious interests. Krafft-Ebing apportions the blame more specifically on conservative minister of culture Heinrich von Mühler (1813–1874), who had special responsibility for issues of religion and education. Mühler wrote to Minister of Justice Leonhardt on April 12, 1869, urging retention of the sodomy paragraph “in the interest of public morality.”²⁵ Prussia’s Paragraph 143 became Paragraph 152 in the North German Confederation’s penal code, which a few years later became Paragraph 175 in the German Empire’s penal code; Paragraph 175 continued to

criminalize sodomy in Germany until 1969.²⁶ In Austria, decriminalization began in the 1970s.²⁷

Both Kertbeny and Ulrichs report that, upon deciding to retain the sodomy laws in the new unified North German legal code, the framers of the new code justified their decision with the conclusion: “While decriminalization can be justified from the standpoint of medicine and through some arguments taken from the theory of law, the legal consciousness of the folk judges these acts to be not merely a vice, but also a crime.”²⁸ A century before the publication of Foucault’s *Histoire de la sexualité*, these bureaucrats knew very well that the institutions of law, medicine, religion, and the state were competing for the control of sexuality.

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and the Urning

The future of the sodomy laws in the North German Confederation was on Ulrichs’s mind when he composed his two brochures in 1869. Ulrichs, who lived from 1825 to 1895, was extraordinarily committed to the rights of urnings and urningins, his words for men who sexually loved other men and women who sexually loved other women. He took the term “urning” from Pausanias’s speech in Plato’s *Symposium*, which claims Venus Urania is the goddess devoted to the masculine love of men. Ulrichs’s word for men who were sexually attracted to women was “dioning.”

A lawyer by training, Ulrichs began publishing a series of pamphlets in 1864 demanding that the rights of urnings be respected. He continued publishing until 1879—all twelve of the pamphlets were subsequently collected and published as *Forschungen über das Räthsel der mann männlichen Liebe* (Studies on the Riddle of Male-Male Love).²⁹ In these writings, Ulrichs unfolds a theory of sexual desire explaining same-sex attraction, a theory that he hopes will combat civic and religious prejudice against urnings. His publications became a clearinghouse for information about urning life throughout the world. He proposed such practical initiatives as a monthly journal devoted to urnings (*Prometheus*, of which only the first issue, called *Uranus*, appeared in 1870). On August 29, 1867, he went to a convention of German lawyers in Munich, revealed himself to be an “urning,” and publicly called upon his colleagues to denounce the Prussian anti-sodomy laws. Far ahead of his time, he was hooted out of the convention hall. His openness about his own identity as an urning caused him difficulties. The Freies Deutsches Hochstift in Frankfurt,

a prestigious liberal cultural institution, refused to admit him, saying that the organization had rules concerning the admission of men and women, but no provisions for people of other sexes.³⁰ More concrete and specific charges concerning sexual activities were probably behind his resignation from his job as a civil servant in 1854.³¹ The same allegations probably prevented him from being named mayor of the German town of Uslar in 1865.³² Ultimately, he gave up on Germany and, like so many bourgeois northern European homosexual men, moved to Italy, where he died impoverished and forgotten by most, although Krafft-Ebing occasionally exchanged letters with him and Symonds even visited him.

Ulrichs's 1869 texts both focus on the Zastrow case. In January of 1869, Carl Friedrich Wilhelm Ernst von Zastrow (1821–1877), a lieutenant in the Prussian army, was accused of anally raping and brutally murdering a five-year-old boy named Emil Hanke.³³ The crime was so notorious that the verb *zastrieren* briefly came to mean “to rape homosexually” (rhyming with the German word for “castrate,” it could be rendered as something like “to zastrate”). An outraged public demanded vengeance against this Zastrow, as well as all other “Zastrows.” Zastrow denied having committed the crime and could prove he had been on the other side of town a half an hour before the crime was committed. Citing Ulrichs, he insisted in his defense that he was an “urning”—a man sexually attracted to other men—and that the mob misinterpreted his sexual nature to think he was sexually attracted to children. Despite his claims of innocence, the court convicted Zastrow. The prosecutors proved he could have gotten across town to the scene of the crime within thirty minutes and located a number of Zastrow's personal effects near the corpse.³⁴

Ulrichs, who had coined the term “urning” a few years before, wrote two lengthy pamphlets about Zastrow in 1869, one called *Incubus* and the other called *Argonauticus*, boldly defending the legal rights of the accused and carefully delineating the argument that urnings were not murderous pederasts, indeed not pederasts at all. As Kennedy explains, whatever Ulrichs thought about Zastrow's innocence, he was sure that the man had not received a fair trial. Ulrichs's willingness to take on the challenge of defending the rights of someone accused of such an atrocious crime is especially remarkable. Not that he was condoning the rape and murder of children, of course—he was at least initially convinced of Zastrow's innocence. When Zastrow was ultimately convicted and sentenced to fifteen years in prison, Ulrichs was willing to abandon him, suggesting that if Zastrow had committed these atrocities, he couldn't be an urning. With his liberal instincts, Ulrichs knew how important

it was to fight against the lynching mentality of the mob; with his legal training, he had the tools to lead such a fight.

The core of Ulrichs's argument was his insistence that the populace misunderstood urnings and thus was willing to blame an urning like Zastrow for any horrendous crime. At the beginning of *Incubus*, Ulrichs defines urnings as "men who as a result of their inborn nature feel drawn by the force of sexual love exclusively to male individuals." An urning's body is that of a man, but "his erotic drive is that of a female being."³⁵ Ulrichs confirmed Zastrow's suspicions that he was an urning. Ulrichs noticed, for instance, that the newspapers reported that Zastrow had "a shadowy, catlike appearance," which Ulrichs concluded was nothing other than his innate femininity. Like a girl—Ulrichs argued—Zastrow had religious tendencies and enjoyed spiritual music.³⁶ These generalizations about gender were an important part of Ulrichs's defense of Zastrow, because he argued that the delicate tender feminine nature of an urning made it practically impossible for him to commit violent atrocities.

Ulrichs underscores Zastrow's own argument that, as a member of the "third sex," he is attracted to men, as a woman would be, not to prepubescent youths.³⁷ Ulrichs's claim that the feminine sexual desire of an urning is natural and innate allows him to argue the basic injustice of suppressing an integral part of one's desire: "Lifelong suppression of the erotic drive cannot be demanded of anyone."³⁸ At the same time, he approvingly cites a newspaper editorial that supported his arguments on the sodomy laws with the liberal observation that "one must have the right to control one's own body."³⁹ From these rights arguments, he draws a series of practical conclusions: an accused urning deserves to be protected from the irrational rage of the mob and the police should not be keeping lists of otherwise innocent urnings.⁴⁰ He is more than willing to work with allies in the Catholic Church, such as the priest in Mainz who agrees that urning love as described by Ulrichs cannot be a sin.⁴¹ His belief in the possibilities of a religious acceptance of urnings goes so far that he enthusiastically reports on two urnings in Moscow, both Protestants, who had married each other: "They had thereby created on their own a sanctioning form for the urning love bond, which urnings miss so deeply."⁴² Ulrichs concludes *Argonauticus* with a list of additional activities that he proposes: he wants to establish a legal defense fund for urnings in legal trouble, he hopes to organize a boycott of Germany should the North German Confederation recriminalize sodomy, and he would like to further the development of urning community by introducing urnings to their "circles" from Hamburg to Munich.⁴³

Ulrichs was consistently involved with leftist politics and civic affairs. He tried to get a job working for the Frankfurt National Assembly, which was founded after the 1848 revolution. In 1867, he spent January 25 to March 20 and April 24 to July 5 in prison, “because of anti-Prussian agitation in the press and in the societies.”⁴⁴ Ulrichs spent years attempting to receive legal redress for his incarceration in 1867; he also wanted back the books and papers, especially those on uranism (love between urnings), that were confiscated during this time. He was apparently in the small town of Burgdorf studying for his law exams when the revolutionary activities of 1848 broke out in Berlin, but his subsequent political battles with Prussia and the forces of reaction make clear his progressive sympathies.⁴⁵ He even sent one of his 1869 writings, *Incubus*, to Karl Marx, who passed it on to Friedrich Engels. Engels responded to Marx on June 22, 1869: “That’s a very curious ‘urning’ whom you have sent me. Those are extremely unnatural revelations. The pederasts are beginning to count themselves and they’re finding that they are a power in the state. Only organization is lacking, but according to this it seems already to exist secretly.” Engels fears that the new slogan will be *guerre aux cons, paix aux trous-de-cul* (French in the original: “war on the cunts, peace to the assholes”) and remarks that “it’s lucky that we are personally too old to have to fear that with the victory of this party we would have to pay bodily tribute to the winners.” He concludes that such piggishness, such a *Schweinerei*, is only possible in Germany.⁴⁶ Engels’s references to “pederasts” and his fears of rapacious urnings exacting tribute show that he doesn’t understand Ulrichs’s argument, for the feminine urning is supposed to be quite a different species from the pederast, and delicate and nonviolent at that. Nonetheless, Ulrichs’s effort to reach out to Marx shows his interest in cultivating support from leftist political thinkers. Marx’s willingness to send the publication on to Engels suggests he does not dismiss Ulrichs’s radical sexual proposals out of hand, even if Engels’s response is curt and derisive.

Ulrichs sets down in his writings a vision of same-sex desire that resonates powerfully throughout the following century. While his assumptions on gender are traditional, his notion that an innate, natural, fixed and biologically provable sexual desire can ground a claim to human and civil rights that ensures equal protection under the law and in the eyes of religion still remains a basic structure for many apologists for homosexuality. His calls for the creation of a stronger sense of community among urnings and the establishment of a legal defense fund for urnings remain relevant today. Arguing first for the elimination of sodomy laws and then for the right of urnings to marry, his

practical concerns resemble those of twenty-first-century Western gay rights organizations.⁴⁷

Karl Maria Kertbeny and the Homosexual

Karl Maria Kertbeny (1824–1882) was born a Benkert, into a German-Hungarian family in the Habsburg Empire. An enthusiastic proponent of Hungarian nationalism, he changed his name to the Hungarian-sounding Kertbeny and devoted himself to promoting the Hungarian cause, including translating and championing Hungarian literature throughout Europe.⁴⁸ Habsburg police reports give an instructive summary of his life: “Benkert, Karl Maria, also known as Kertbent and Remkhazy, writer from Pest, was a partisan for democracy and the Hungarian insurrection of 1848.”⁴⁹ He wrote biographies of such Hungarian nationalist poets as Sándor Petőfi (1823–1849) and published anthologies of Hungarian poetry. Although he claimed to have medical training (for which reason some historians of sexuality have listed him as one of the physicians who helped medicalize homosexuality), he did not practice medicine and instead supported himself as a man of letters. This was not a lucrative career path, for which reason Kertbeny’s usual pattern can be summed up as Herzer does: Kertbeny would (1) arrive in a European city, (2) make contact with local literary and leftist political figures, (3) borrow money, and (4) get out of town when the creditors showed up.⁵⁰

Despite this pattern, Kertbeny enjoyed relative stability from 1868 to 1874, when he lived in Berlin, in part to encourage the German intelligentsia to support the Hungarian cause. There he became embroiled in the discussions concerning the fate of the sodomy laws in the North German Confederation, publishing two lengthy pamphlets on the subject, addressed to Leonhardt, the Prussian Minister of Justice, encouraging him to decriminalize sodomy. It is Kertbeny’s lasting contribution to the history of sexuality that he is the first person in any language known to have combined the Greek prefix *homo* (same) with the Latin noun *sexus* (sex) to create a word describing someone who is sexually attracted to members of his own sex. He refers, for instance, to “the natural riddle of homosexuality [*Homosexualität*].”⁵¹ At other times, he uses the term *Homosexualismus* (homosexualism), as well as the adjective *homosexual* and the noun, *der Homosexuale*.

Given that Kertbeny supported himself primarily as a translator and man of letters, his linguistic coinage perhaps deserves more respect than it usually

receives.⁵² Although the term is often dismissed as an ugly linguistic hybrid, it joins a successful set of global vocabulary that similarly combines Greek and Latin roots to describe modern phenomena: the Greek *auto* (self) and Latin *mobilis* (to move) form “automobile” and Greek *tele* (far) and Latin *visio* (to see) stand behind “television.” Men who were products of a nineteenth-century central European education based on the classical tradition that consisted of a variety of Greco-Roman elements were in a strong position to name technologies that changed the course of history. Kertbeny was not working on his own in developing his terminology, as he and Ulrichs had met in the early 1860s and considered each other “comrades.”⁵³ In fact, prior to its use in public in 1869, the term “homosexual” appears in an 1868 letter from Kertbeny to Ulrichs, although Ulrichs never adopted the word.

In print, Kertbeny writes, “in addition to the normal sexual drive of all of humanity and the animal kingdom, nature seems in her sovereign whimsy to have given a homosexual drive [*den homosexuellen Trieb*] at birth to certain male and female individuals, to have bequeathed upon them a sexual fixedness, which makes the affected physically as well as psychologically unable, even with the best of intentions, to achieve a normal sexual erection.” Kertbeny continues by saying that this condition “exposed them to a direct horror of the opposite sex and made it therefore impossible for those affected by this passion to escape the impressions that particular individuals of the same sex have on them.”⁵⁴ In this passage, a number of characteristics of Kertbeny’s “homosexual” emerge: first, homosexuals can be of either sex—there isn’t a conceptual distinction between male sodomites and female tribades, to use an earlier vocabulary. Additionally, homosexuals have sexual “drives.” The drive transcends the barrier between mind and body, affecting both equally; it is, as Judith Butler notes in a discussion of Freud, “precisely what is neither exclusively biological nor culture, but always the site of their dense convergence.”⁵⁵ This drive is responsible for the mental “horror” of the opposite sex and the physical inability to achieve an erection in “normal” situations. The homosexual drive stands in contrast to the “normal sexual” drive, but, despite its deviance from the “normal,” it is natural.

In personal letters, Kertbeny discourages Ulrichs from relying too heavily on the claim that sexual desire is inborn, arguing that such a claim might not redound to the benefit of homosexuals: “there are people with an innate bloodthirstiness. . . . One doesn’t let these people do whatever they want or follow their desires, and even if one doesn’t punish them for intentional acts if their constitution is proven medically, one does isolate them as much as

possible and protect society from their excesses.” Kertbeny concludes that “nothing would be won if the proof of innateness were successful.”⁵⁶ In his open letter, however, he does assert that nature implants the homosexual drive at birth. However, as we shall see in Chapter 4, Kertbeny’s conception of sexuality is more open to cultural influences than Ulrichs’s understanding of innate gender inversion.

Despite his wariness of arguments relying on innate desire, Kertbeny asserts that “the homosexual [*der Homosexuale*] is a fixed nature who, however much he strives, can never prefer a woman.”⁵⁷ Any hope of convincing the homosexual to change his desire is hopeless. At the same time, Kertbeny allays the fears of the “normal sexuals” by assuring his readers that “normal sexual” desire is also fixed, so that there is no danger of sexual contagion.⁵⁸ Significantly—especially in light of the Zastrow scandal that caused Ulrichs to write so prolifically in 1869—there is also no danger that Kertbeny’s homosexual will abuse children, because the male homosexual’s desire is fixed on virile men. The notion of a fixed sexuality serves a number of important political purposes for Kertbeny: homosexuals can’t be changed, heterosexuals don’t need to worry about seduction, and children are safe.

Kertbeny uses a noun to describe the sexuality as well as the sexual person, writing that “history teaches us that along with normal sexuality [*Normal-sexualis*], homosexuality [*Homosexualismus*] is and was present always and everywhere among all races and climates and could never be suppressed even by the most bestial persecutions.”⁵⁹ Kertbeny does acknowledge some level of cultural specificity in the forms that homosexuality takes, arguing, for instance, that homosexuals among more southerly peoples like the Greeks tend to prefer younger men, while homosexuals among more northerly peoples like the Germans are fixed on mature men.⁶⁰

Kertbeny believes that the “homosexual,” with his (or her) natural, fixed sexual identity deserves the protection of the modern legal state—the kind of state, that is, that was emerging in Germany and Austria-Hungary. He praises the Napoleonic penal code for decriminalizing many sexual acts. Similarly, he extols Feuerbach’s 1813 penal code in Bavaria. For Kertbeny, the modern legal state had “no other goal than to protect rights.”⁶¹ He views homosexuality as a matter of human rights: “Human rights [*Menschenrechte*] begin with the human being, and the most immediate aspect of a human being is his body.”⁶² Like Ulrichs, Kertbeny insists upon the natural and innate nature of sexual desire in order to make a liberal claim for political rights.

As part of his liberal appeal for a modern state of law, Kertbeny takes on

the religious forces that motivate the legal codes that persecute the people he describes as homosexuals. He puts religious prohibitions against homosexuality in the same category as “original sin, the devil and witchcraft,” all of which he consigns to superstition. For him, all these beliefs are merely the product of “the historical development of Judaism and Christianity.”⁶³

Kertbeny’s vocabulary of the homosexual spread slowly at first. Herzer has uncovered some writings in Dutch that use the terms *homo sexualisme*, *homosexualiteit*, and *homosexuelle verkeering* in 1872. The words appear in a ten-volume German book, *Scandal-Geschichten europäischer Höfe* (Scandalous Stories of European Courts), translated into German by Daniel von Kaszony, one of Kertbeny’s acquaintances. Also a supporter of the Hungarian revolution, Kaszony mentions Kertbeny’s work on same-sex desire in three letters written in 1868.⁶⁴ This suggests that Kertbeny’s vocabulary on sexuality enjoyed a certain currency among Hungarian nationalists.

Jonathan Ned Katz has usefully summarized the further history of the word “homosexual.” The term really took off when Gustav Jäger, a professor of zoology at the University of Stuttgart, published some of Kertbeny’s work on homosexuality in the second edition of his book *Entdeckung der Seele* (Discovery of the Soul) in 1880. Jäger, also known incidentally for his promotion of rational dress reform and the usage of natural animal fibers (in particular wool), appropriated Kertbeny’s vocabulary of “homosexual” and “heterosexual.” From there the term spread to other medical and sexological authors, including Krafft-Ebing. In the second edition of *Psychopathia sexualis* (1887) it shows up in some of the patients’ self-descriptions; Krafft-Ebing himself adopts the term in the fourth edition of 1889.⁶⁵ The general public came to know the term through sexologists such as Krafft-Ebing. According to Hirschfeld, the word was in general circulation by the last decade of the nineteenth century.⁶⁶

Although Kertbeny claimed medical standing and used that standing to legitimize his arguments, it is worth lingering on the political origins of the word “homosexual.” It clearly emerges out of a political demand for rights that has nothing to do with pathology or medicalization. Moreover, this demand for rights takes place at the creation of the modern nation state of Germany and the reorganization of the Habsburg Empire into the Dual Monarchy. Kertbeny’s concept of a natural, innate, fixed homosexuality that is deserving of equal rights protection in a secular liberal modern nation-state is intrinsically involved with the political developments taking place in Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Carl Westphal and the Invert

The final of the three authors who published in German on same-sex desire in 1869 is Carl Westphal, whom Foucault cites as one of the begetters of the modern homosexual in a frequently quoted passage from *Histoire de la sexualité*: “One must not forget that the psychological, psychiatric, medical category of homosexuality was constituted on the day that it was characterized—Westphal’s famous article of 1870 on ‘contrary sexual sensations’ can serve as its date of birth.”⁶⁷ Foucault not only gets the year wrong, but he also cites the journal incorrectly. The article did not appear in the *Archiv für Neurologie* (Archives of Neurology), but actually the *Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten* (Archives for Psychiatry and Neurology), which Westphal himself cofounded and coedited.⁶⁸ Foucault’s point, however, remains valid—this depiction of “contrary sexual sensations” (or “sexual inversion,” as the term was often translated) became central in the depiction of same-sex desire.

Carl Friedrich Otto Westphal (1833–1890) was a leading figure in the medical institutions of the time. Unlike the outsiders Ulrichs and Kertbeny, Westphal was firmly entrenched in the establishment. The son of a prominent physician, he began working in 1857 for the Charité, the famous hospital that Frederick I had established in Berlin in 1710. By 1869, he was director of the Clinic for Neurology there, a post he retained for twenty years. In 1868, he founded the *Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten*, which ran until 1983, when it became the *European Archives of Psychiatry and Clinical Neuroscience*, under which title it still appears. Although he didn’t name sexual inversion after himself, numerous other human medical features are named after him, including the Erdinger-Westphal nucleus (in the oculomotor nerve), Erb-Westphal symptom (an anomalous reflex caused by nervous system syphilis), and Westphal’s Syndrome (an inherited form of intermittent paralysis). Even from these phenomena, one can see that Westphal was primarily interested in locating the bodily origin of mental and nervous ailments. Westphal’s position at the well-established clinic in Berlin was unassailable and his work with somatic explanations of mental illness gave him the prestige of the hard sciences in which so many advances were taking place.

While the construction of Germany and Austria-Hungary is the political backdrop that stands out most significantly behind the interventions of Ulrichs and Kertbeny, Westphal’s influence should also be seen in the context of the developments in central European research. At the same time as Prussian

military might became increasingly manifest and German cities both within and outside of Prussia became more and more prosperous, German universities began to reap the benefits of Wilhelm von Humboldt's post-Napoleonic reforms of the educational system. German universities attained a preeminent status, especially in the sciences, that they would maintain until well into the twentieth century. The positive developments in the German university system affected Austria too, where the universities enjoyed enormous prestige in the second half of the nineteenth century. Within German psychiatry, the so-called *Somatiker*, who—as their name suggests—favored somatic interpretations of mental illness, had become dominant in the middle of the nineteenth century.⁶⁹ The more philosophical legacy of Romantic psychiatry was set aside, at least until Sigmund Freud and psychoanalysis could bring back a psychology less based on the body. In 1869, the world was prepared to listen to a leading German psychiatrist's somatic interpretation of same-sex desire.

The full title of Westphal's article makes clear its medicalizing and pathologizing agenda: "Sexual Inversion, Symptom of a neuropathic (psychopathic) Condition" (*Die conträre Sexualempfindung. Symptom eines neuropathischen [psychopathischen] Zustandes*). Unlike Ulrichs and Kertbeny, who allude to medical evidence while not completely accepting a pathological diagnosis, Westphal is convinced that certain forms of same-sex desire are a sickness. Admittedly, he denies that every single case of same-sex desire is pathological: "in order to prevent from the beginning all misunderstandings, I want to state expressly that it is not my idea to identify all individuals who commit unnatural sexual offences as pathological! I know very well that this is not the case."⁷⁰ He goes on to explain that, just as there are *some* pathological thieves and murderers among the many normal thieves and murderers, so there are *some* pathological sexual inverters among the many people who commit sexual crimes with members of their own sex. Clearly, he has no room for a nonpathological expression of same-sex desire that is also noncriminal.

As a somaticist, Westphal locates the roots of same-sex desire in the body. Sexual inversion is "an inborn reversal of sexual feelings."⁷¹ His first patient, a woman identified as "N," has known of her desires for other women since childhood. Westphal finds the epilepsy of his second patient, "Ha . . .," significant, suggesting a link to neurological dysfunctions. He is certain the condition can be inherited: "We can certainly with some justification make heredity responsible for the origin of the pathological condition of the patient."⁷² On a variety of fronts, Westphal promotes and underscores the physical origins of same-sex desire.

The physical and psychological symptoms of sexual inversion include feminine characteristics in his male patients and masculine characteristics in his female patients. Emphasizing the importance of gender inversion, Westphal cites Ulrichs frequently, repeatedly stressing that the male invert has female characteristics and vice versa. His first patient, the woman “N,” speaks the language of inversion precisely: “I feel completely like a man and would like to be a man.”⁷³ His second patient, “Ha . . .,” adopts the clothes and indeed the entire habitus of a woman. Westphal claims to have noted “Ha . . .”’s feminine comportment as soon as he saw him knitting in the hospital waiting room.⁷⁴

More so than Ulrichs and Kertbeny, Westphal is consistent in exploring the possibilities of gender symmetry inherent in the notion of inversion. Ulrichs and Kertbeny repeatedly neglect to include women in their examples, despite acknowledging the existence of women who are sexually attracted to women. Westphal however starts out with a woman and devotes a considerable amount of time to women’s sexual inversion.

Westphal’s essay is an assertion of power, part of a tradition of medical claims to expertise in sexual matters. Significantly, he denies the layperson the ability to determine gender in both cases. He cautions that “N” does not seem unfeminine; about “Ha . . .” he is only willing to concede that “one can perhaps find something feminine” in his facial features.⁷⁵ Several decades later, Näcke continues in the tradition of insisting that certain types of expertise are required to determine who is truly gender transgressive: “this requires a specially schooled eye, such as the scholar of inversion, the homosexual himself, the artist, the tailor, and so forth have, but that others—for instance myself—do not.”⁷⁶

Westphal’s claim to medical power makes counter-assertions of power by his patients all the more interesting, particularly in the case of the woman “N.” Middle-class, she assisted her sister who ran a girls’ boarding school in the country. Having been conscious of her desires for the female sex since her childhood, she regularly indulged in them when she was between eighteen and twenty-three. Since then she had only been able to masturbate. She declares that “female occupations were always distasteful to me; I would like to have a masculine occupation, and have therefore always been interested in mechanical engineering, for instance.”⁷⁷ Besides the compelling tragedy that this woman’s desire to be a mechanical engineer is pathologized stands the noteworthy fact that her voice manages to cut through the medical language. Westphal has the honesty to report that she does not consider herself insane: “She declared

that she herself wanted to go to a hospital, but was however surprised that she had been brought to an insane asylum, as she was not mentally ill.”⁷⁸ “N” and Westphal are some of the first players in what Gayle Rubin calls the “intensely collaborative enterprise between the doctors and the perverts.”⁷⁹

While “N” is a middle-class woman working in an educational establishment, Westphal’s second patient comes from a socially more disadvantaged background. Westphal calls him “Ha . . .,” although he himself claims to be “U.B.” An effeminate cross-dresser, he goes to jail multiple times, for stealing women’s underwear and garments and for “fraudulently” posing as a lady, receiving sentences ranging from two months to five years. “Ha...” claims to have resisted all sexual advances from men,⁸⁰ confirming Foucault’s observation that Westphal’s invert is characterized “less by a type of sexual relations than by a certain quality of sexual sensibility, a certain manner of inverting the masculine and the feminine in oneself.”⁸¹

Many enigmas surround Westphal’s account of “Ha . . .” The exact details of the arrests and the prison record are confusing and contradictory. Why bother to distinguish between his assumed name “U.B.” and his “real” name of “Ha . . .,” if both names were changed in order to maintain confidentiality? How serious is the assertion that “Ha . . .” never had sex with his gentlemen admirers? When “Ha . . .” claims he would “earn money” at the train station, where he frequently found a “lover,” it sounds like he was in the practice of offering sex for money. Perhaps “Ha . . .” defined sex such that he could offer physical gratification to his lovers while believing he was resisting their sexual advances. When he boasts that he “earned a great deal of money” while making “demands on gentlemen,” it sounds like he might have been demanding payment after putting the men in a sexually compromising position.⁸² Black-mail was certainly frequently on the minds of the urnings, invertes, and homosexuals of nineteenth-century Europe. This is not to deny Foucault’s point that, even if sexual activities took place, they were apparently always done in order to support a kind of gender inversion, specifically what “Ha . . .” calls his passion “for those damnable women’s clothes, which have always been my undoing.”⁸³

Westphal’s case is clearly different from that of Ulrichs and Kertbeny. While Ulrichs relies at times on medical evidence to make his points and Kertbeny claims medical expertise in order to legitimate his position, only Westphal consistently and thoroughly pathologizes same-sex desire. Working within a medical context, he makes no extensive demands on the political situation, although he was against the criminalization of those whose acts were

the result of a medical condition like “sexual inversion.” Whereas Ulrichs and Kertbeny present a relatively positive picture of the urning and the homosexual, Westphal’s invert is quite clearly sick. Westphal believes the inversion is probably a symptom of a deeper problem, noting for instance the migraines of “N” and the myriad problems “Ha . . .” has. Admittedly, Westphal cites passages from Ulrichs in which Ulrichs insists the love of urnings is of the highest and most noble order, but he does so in order to refute the claim. He believes this love is pathological to its core.

Westphal’s writings achieved a more widespread readership than either Ulrichs’s or Kertbeny’s essays. The *Journal of Mental Science* printed a review of the essay in 1871, using the term “inverted sexual proclivity” as a translation for *conträre Sexualempfindung*. Havelock Ellis became the first to use the term “sexual inversion” in English in his essay on same-sex desire of 1897. Quickly, “invert” and “inversion” came to be used as frequently as “homosexual” and “homosexuality.”

The widespread availability of Westphal’s writings has led to an overemphasis of the medical tradition in histories of sexuality, at the expense of activists such as Ulrichs or Kertbeny. Strikingly, Foucault does not discuss either Ulrichs or Kertbeny in his *Histoire de la sexualité*, while granting Westphal paternity to the very concept of homosexuality. It could well be that Foucault was unaware of Kertbeny’s work or unable to access it, but Westphal quotes Ulrichs extensively in his article. The absence of a direct reference to Ulrichs suggests that something larger than ignorance is at work in Foucault’s writing. Writing his introduction to the history of sexuality originally in the 1970s, Foucault has little interest in a romantic representation of nineteenth-century heroes of sexual emancipation. Despite his allusion to “the constitution of a discourse ‘in reverse,’” in which “homosexuality began to speak of itself, demanding its legitimate and ‘natural’ rights, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was medically disqualified,”⁸⁴ an important part of Foucault’s work puts into question the validity of many claims of sexual emancipation and liberation. He is much more interested in the ways in which sexual categories are produced by and play into forces and powers that are much larger than any individual physician like Westphal or lawyer like Ulrichs or *homme de lettres* like Kertbeny. Instead, he focuses on the medical institutions that create modern homosexuality.

Because of Foucault’s emphasis on the power of institutions, relatively little attention was paid in the immediate wake of his work to the acts of resistance apparent in the case studies of the patients.⁸⁵ As Rubin has argued,

however, there was “a complicated tango of communication and publication” between “the medically credentialed sexologists, the stigmatized homosexual intellectuals, and the mostly anonymous but active members of the burgeoning queer communities.”⁸⁶ Especially those patients whose sense of entitlement or lack of respect for authority allowed them to disregard the prestige of the medical establishment often picked and chose what they wanted to hear from the physicians. As grateful as they were for the attention of physicians like Krafft-Ebing, most patients wanted primarily to hear that their condition was natural and not deserving of criminality. Rare was the patient who accepted the diagnosis of mental illness.

The Birth of the Homosexual?

The purpose of comparing Ulrichs, Kertbeny, and Westphal is not to establish an exact taxonomy of the urning, the homosexual, and the invert. The language of sexuality in German at the end of the nineteenth century was far too fluid for such an endeavor. By the end of the century, the three terms were often used interchangeably.⁸⁷ Texts such as Albert Moll’s *Die conträre Sexualempfindung* (Sexual Inversion) of 1891 and Krafft-Ebing’s *Der Conträrsexuale vor dem Strafrichter* (The Sexual Invert before the Judge) of 1894 seem to be typical of the period, in that they use urning, homosexual, and invert as synonyms.⁸⁸ Those who did make distinctions between the terms usually constructed their own idiosyncratic ones. Comparing the three texts published in 1869 can, however, highlight the questions that were in play as sexuality was under construction.

Ulrichs, Kertbeny, and Westphal all share a number of similarities. Born within ten years of each other (between 1824 and 1833), they all lived through the revolutionary fervor of 1848 as young men and became political liberals of varying degrees of radicalism. All writing in German, they were deeply imbued in central European bourgeois culture and highly aware of the political developments of their time. While they were not all physicians, as proponents of the “medicalization” of sexuality have tended to imply, they were professionals—lawyers and men of letters, as well as doctors. Neither aristocratic nor working class, their middle-class upbringing colored their view of the world, no matter what their subsequent financial state and politics became. This shared heritage helped forge the conceptions of sexuality that they articulated and that then spread throughout the world.

The depictions of same-sex desire in Ulrichs, Kertbeny, and Westphal all possess a number of common features. The male urning, homosexual, and invert all have a fixed sexual attraction to men, while the female counterpart has a similarly fixed sexual attraction to women. All three see men who love men and women who love women as belonging to the same overarching category. Ulrichs is certain that the phenomenon can be found in all cultures and all time periods. Westphal's somatic medical model implies as much. Kertbeny argues along similar lines at times, although, as we shall see, he does allow more room for the cultural construction of identity. For all three authors, sexual desire transcends its physical origins to affect psychology as well.

All three authors agree that the fixedness of sexual desire means that it is unlikely to spread. Both Ulrichs and Kertbeny are quite explicit that those who are not urnings or homosexuals will not change their sexuality. Thus there is no need to fear that urnings or homosexuals will seduce or otherwise recruit new members of their order. Westphal is not so explicit, but his emphasis on the physical, hereditary nature of sexual inversion implies that it is not something one could catch from a neighbor, even if it is a sickness. The authors also concur that a natural, fixed desire should not be criminalized. Ulrichs and Kertbeny, in particular, assert that their urnings and homosexuals deserve political rights and protection from interference by the state or religion. They both make arguments relying on a general notion of human rights and tend to rely on left-liberal elements of the political spectrum. Interestingly, both feel strongly the need to fight for the religious rights of urnings and homosexuals as well. While Westphal was in fact a political liberal, he does not make any explicit arguments for providing rights to his inverts, other than suggesting that medical experts are better than police at handling cases of inversion.

While not the case for Kertbeny, Ulrichs and Westphal emphasize gender inversion as the explanation for sexual attraction between members of the same sex—male urnings have female souls and male inverts have many feminine characteristics, while female urnings have male souls and female inverts have masculine characteristics. For Ulrichs, Zastrow's way of walking and speaking are perhaps more telling than his sexual deeds. Westphal too is immediately struck by the effeminate behavior of "Ha . . .", and particularly notes his peculiarly womanly voice, while leaving open the question of whether his patient is sexually active with men at all. Similarly, "N" has never been interested in feminine occupations and aspires to a traditionally masculine career.

The status of the sexual partners of the urnings and the inverts is not clear at all. Although Ulrichs does refer to an urning couple marrying each other,

he seems at other times to imply that urnings are often sexually attracted to “dionings,” or men with both male souls and male bodies, rather than to other urnings. Indeed, according to Ulrichs, the sexual partner of the urning is often a soldier in financial need. Nor is Westphal particularly interested in pathologizing the women with whom “N” sleeps or the men who approach “Ha . . .” in the train station. In general, Westphal portrays the sexual partner of the invert as duped and defrauded. As mentioned before, Kertbeny differs from his contemporaries in this point, and does not rely too heavily on gender inversion to explain the attraction of his homosexuals for members of their own sex. For him, a whim of nature causes the male homosexual to desire men and the female homosexual to desire women. While this has less explanatory power, it does get him out of the conundrum of explaining who the partners of homosexuals are—presumably other homosexuals.

It should be clear by now that this snapshot of several texts on same-sex desire published in 1869 just begins to scratch the surface of what was going on in the second half of the nineteenth century in German-speaking central Europe. Subsequent sexologists, activists, and literary authors take the ideas articulated in 1869 to promote a vision of same-sex as natural, fixed, related to gender-inversion, analogous with race, comprehensible in liberal bourgeois terms, and manageable by medical and political interventions.

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Chapter 1

Swiss Eros: Hössli and Zschokke, Legacies and Contexts

Although Kertbeny's "homosexuality," Westphal's "contrary sexual feelings" or sexual inversion, and Ulrich's urnings all made appearances in print in 1869, it makes more sense to begin the story of the emergence of modern sexual discourses in German-speaking central Europe with two Swiss accounts of male-male desire: Heinrich Zschokke's novella, *Eros*, of 1821 and Heinrich Hössli's monumental two-volume apology for male-male love of the 1830s, called *Eros: Die Männerliebe der Griechen, ihre Beziehung zur Geschichte, Erziehung, Literatur und Gesetzgebung aller Zeiten* (*Eros: The Male Love of the Greeks, Its Relationship to History, Education, Literature, and Legislation of All Times*). Not even this seeming point of origin, however, is final. The writings of Zschokke and Hössli emerge at the intersection of a variety of geographically and chronologically determined ideas of language, biology, race, gender, and social and political change.

Hössli's *Eros* sketches the outlines of a modern conception of same-sex desire that is fixed and the basis of identity. His thought builds on discussions taking place in German-speaking central Europe, where vocabulary such as "sexuality" (*Sexualität*) itself was just beginning to appear. Hössli makes the case for a desire between men that is distinct from friendship and explicitly sexual. His study uses his era's biology to posit sexuality as natural, involuntary, immutable, transhistorical, universal, and the basis of individuality. It toys with the idea that same-sex desire is related to gender inversion, and indirectly compares men who sexually love other men to Jews. It concludes that, like women and Jews, such men are in need of social justice through political action.

Hössli deserves credit as the first thinker on the subject of same-sex desire in the German-speaking realm to put together so many of these ideas into the package that many sexologists and activists in the homosexual emancipation movement would transmit throughout the nineteenth century and beyond. However, it is also important to realize how deeply rooted his thinking was in the culture of early nineteenth-century liberal bourgeois central Europe, which glorified a Romantic vision of organic nature and adopted such newly emergent concepts as “sexuality,” *Bildung*, and “the emancipation of the flesh.”

Hössli & Co.

As Ferdinand Karsch (1853–1936) explains in his essay in the 1903 edition of Hirschfeld’s *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (Yearbook for Sexual Intermediary Types), Hössli was a fashionable hat-maker and designer in Glarus, a picturesque town high in the Alps in central Switzerland.¹ Married to Elisabeth Grebel from Zürich, he was not the patriarch of a bourgeois nuclear family, as he and his wife did not live together. Their two sons both emigrated to America. Hössli died in 1864, unaware of the work that Ulrichs was beginning to publish on urnings. Ulrichs himself first heard of Hössli in 1865 and never had a chance to meet him.² Although Ulrichs disagreed with some of Hössli’s approaches, he considered him a pioneer in the field and bought all eight remaining copies of *Eros* he could locate to add to the “common library” of materials pertaining to same-sex desire he was trying to develop.³ Through Ulrichs, Hössli was known to such late nineteenth-century sexologists as Havelock Ellis.⁴

Hössli claimed that his interest in the male love of men developed because of the shockingly horrific execution of Franz Desgouttes (1785–1817), who was put to death for the murder of Daniel Hemmeler (1794–1817), the twenty-two-year-old young man he loved and with whom he had sex. Born and raised in Bern, Switzerland, Desgouttes had studied law in Heidelberg in 1806 and returned home, where he lived with his parents and led a troubled life. Desgouttes’s relationship with Hemmeler developed tumultuously with many drunken fights, as the young man attempted to assert his autonomy, including his right to pursue relationships with women. Desgouttes tried to keep his beloved with gifts ranging from chocolate, wine, and hazelnuts to the four-volume history of Switzerland by Johannes von Müller (1752–1809), who had had his own highly publicized scandal involving a male beloved.

Desgouttes was not able to keep Hemmeler's affection, however, and killed the young man on July 29, 1817. In retribution, Desgouttes was broken on the wheel on September 30 the same year. Breaking on the wheel was a gruesome and popular form of execution resembling crucifixion. After the prisoner was tied to the spokes and hub of a large wheel, the executioner shattered the limbs of the prisoner, who then slowly and agonizingly died in view of the public.⁵ This grotesquely medieval form of capital punishment surely added to the liberal Hössli's horror at what he perceived to be the criminalization of Desgouttes's love.

A desire to understand Desgouttes's actions more clearly and represent them more sympathetically inspired Hössli to commission a novella on the subject by the Swiss author Heinrich Zschokke (1771–1848), one of the many literary figures of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German-speaking culture overshadowed by the sheer number of famous writers from the Age of Goethe. Zschokke was involved with a variety of progressive journals and newspapers, founding *Der Schweizerbote* (The Swiss Messenger), a periodical that ran from 1804 until 1879, long after its founder's death. Thinking that a man of such spotless liberal credentials would empathize with the plight caused by the persecution of Greek love, Hössli asked Zschokke to complete a short story based on the Desgouttes case.

Zschokke came through with *Eros*, published in 1821 in a collection of short stories titled *Erheiterungen* (Amusements). In the narrative—one of the earliest stories in German attempting to elucidate male-male desire—a judge named Holmar (modeled on Hössli) tries to convince a small group of bourgeois couples that the recent execution by breaking on the wheel of a certain Lukasson (based on Desgouttes) for murdering his beloved Walter (based on Hemmeler) was unjust because society did not understand love between men. Holmar recounts the glory days of ancient Greece, when men like Lukasson were honored philosophers, poets, and politicians, not criminals subject to cruel archaic punishments. His interlocutors ponder Holmar's arguments as they attempt to understand the passionate male-male relationship that started in love and ended in death.

Hössli detested Zschokke's story, which disembowels his arguments about the acceptance of male-male sexual love in classical culture, insisting that the love between men in ancient Greece was not sensual. Zschokke's characters reject other key elements of the defense of even this "pure" male-male love, favoring sociomedical explanations that suggest that such love is the product of nervous disorders, developmental problems, or the segregation of women

from men in ancient Greece. The narrator, Beda, speaking for the group, cannot exculpate Lukasson for his murder and doesn't accept Holmar's argument that Lukasson has been the victim of oppression: "Lukasson was not made unhappy because of a virtuous friendship, but because of a raging passion that destroys all reason and virtue that he did not master at the right time and that turned him into a rake [*Wüstling*] and ultimately a murderer."⁶ The older vocabulary of *Wüstling* could be translated as "libertine" as well as "rake," and has nothing to do with an innate natural sexual orientation. The group concludes that male-male sexual love ought to remain prohibited by law. To add insult to injury, Zschokke's Holmar is an odd and eccentric fellow, the only man in the lot without a wife or fiancée who is present. In fact, the narrator implies that Holmar might be one of the men who love other men, which the judge denies.⁷

Because Zschokke had not adequately addressed his concerns, Hössli wrote his own treatise on the subject. The first volume was published in 1836 in Glarus; that community's authorities refused to allow the printing of the second volume, published in 1838 in St. Gallen. In the 1890s, Hössli's material was reorganized and reprinted, with one volume focusing on witchcraft and the second on male love. Even at this late date, the second volume was given a fictitious place of publication: "Münster in der Schweiz."⁸

For Hössli, Greek love had extraordinary significance: "For the entire life organization of the individual, the family, the state—indeed for humanity in every sense of the word—it is in a thousand respects, particularly for the arts and the sciences, as interesting as it is infinitely important and consequential not just to know that men sexually love their own sex, but rather also to know that these men naturally absolutely do not—cannot—should not sexually love the other, the feminine sex."⁹ From this passage, one gets a sense of his style, with its repetitiveness, extended clauses, and occasional ascensions to imposing rhetorical heights. More important, Hössli's passage points to some of the issues that he addresses in his book: individual and society, arts and sciences, sexuality and love.

The tortured prose of his writings reveals the obstacles that face Hössli as he attempts to fashion a new discourse about the sexual attraction between men. It is important, however, to realize that he fashions that discourse out of the fabric of his culture. Hössli's initial entrepreneurial plan to hire Zschokke to write a short story about the love between Desgouttes and Hemmeler demonstrates both his faith in literary culture as a means to address the social problems of his day and his connections to the important figures in that culture.

In fact, Hössli's *Eros* is grounded in a vast array of cultural sources, ranging from classical Persia, Greece, and Rome to European authors from the Enlightenment and the Romantic eras, as well as his immediate contemporaries. Whatever his original contributions, the design of Hössli's thought on sexuality relies on the warp and woof of the culture available to him.

At the same time, Hössli's discussion of Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), reveals his need to move beyond his sources and to innovate. Referring to the French writer's comments on male-male love in *De l'esprit des lois* (The Spirit of the Laws), published in 1748, Hössli writes: "Montesquieu could not say in his book on the spirit of the law, 'in the Orient male love is neither a sin nor a crime, nor is it considered unnatural'—he can't say that, he can only say what he really says: 'in the Orient, pederasty [*Knabenschänderei*] and sodomy are very popular.'"¹⁰ Alongside Hössli's righteous anger and frustration at the inability of his predecessors to speak more justly about same-sex desire, one can see that he understands that the limits of their discourse have constrained them, for which reason he feels the need to restructure his language in order to make his points.

Definitions: Mother Love, Friendship, and Sexual Love

In 1779, scarcely a half century before Hössli's *Eros* appeared, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) had composed *Nathan der Weise* (Nathan the Wise), in which lovers can plausibly discover that they are really siblings and be happy about that fact. The characters of Lessing's play, Nathan and Recha, transform the love they feel for each other as potential sexual partners into the love of brothers and sisters as though the love of a married couple and that between family members were interchangeable. In 1811, Zschokke's friend Heinrich von Kleist (1777–1811) wrote the novella, *Die Marquise von O* (The Marquise of O), in which a father and a daughter could, according to the text, console each other with kisses "just like lovers!"¹¹ If the distinctions were vague between erotic love, sibling love, and filial love, the boundary separating same-sex friendship from sexual love was all the more fraught. Indeed, ambiguity was a crucial component of the highly inflamed rhetoric of friendship common among German intellectuals and artists of the late eighteenth century. This is not to say that people in German-speaking central Europe were unable to make distinctions between various types of love and affection prior to the nineteenth century. But evidence suggests that their categories were

substantially different from modern ones. For Hössli to write his text, some degree of cultural consensus on the new understandings of the specific nature of the love between men and women and sexual love between members of the same sex needed to be codified in language.

As a writer, Zschokke recognizes these issues and identifies the problem of same-sex desire as at least in part a matter of language. Attempting to explain Greek love, Holmar laments that it can be called neither friendship nor love because neither of those terms apply with precision to the phenomenon he is trying to explain.¹² Early in the narrative, Claudia, the wife of the king's counselor, argues that man's language has overlooked many nuances of love that a woman would have identified: "Man invented language, not woman, as you know from Adam's story. Man, however, knows only one love, that of his youth; afterwards he only knows affairs. If woman had invented language, she would have thought of a special word for the love of a mother for her child."¹³

The kissing father-daughter couple in Kleist's *Marquise von O* shows that Claudia's concern for the inadequacies of language to describe all the phenomena that fall under the category of love is not unreasonable. Claudia, however, doesn't carry her critique of the language of desire far enough. If men project their definition of love toward too many phenomena, she projects the notion of maternal love toward inappropriate phenomena as well, when she suggests that mother love might be a model to help others understand the love that existed between Lukasson and Walter. Initially, the characters seem to buy the argument, perhaps because they also understand the male-male love of the Greeks as taking place between an older man and a male youth. Later in the novella, some characters suggest that men experience passionate same-sex desire because they don't experience mother love; by the same token, it is argued that women have mother love and thus no passionate same-sex desire.¹⁴ This theory presumably falls apart when a character alludes to *La Religieuse* (The Nun), Denis Diderot's 1796 story about sexual activity between women in a convent, pointing out that same-sex desire also exists between women.¹⁵ Eventually Claudia's effort to define the love between men as similar to the love between a mother and her child fails to convince in Zschokke's narrative. Her effort to understand male-male love with this analogy points to the linguistic struggles of the characters to define a love that had no name.

Far more common than Claudia's initial gambit was the effort to understand male-male love as friendship. Eighteenth-century friendship bore many markers that might today seem sexual—expressions of undying love,

frequent kisses, and even the wish to marry can be found in the documents of eighteenth-century German friendship. Even in the eighteenth century, some readers remarked that these friendships bordered on the inappropriate or could be mistaken for “Greek love.” The reverse interpretation was also possible: perhaps things that looked like “Greek love” were in fact simply passionate friendship. Because the cult of friendship was particularly vibrant in eighteenth-century German culture (while, conversely, the libertine was an especially notable phenomenon in France), it is not surprising that many German thinkers would try to understand same-sex desire in terms of friendship. Hössli, however, makes clear that friendship is distinct from the phenomenon he is trying to describe. In fact, it is possible that the intensity of the cult of friendship in German-speaking central Europe provoked such an extensive discussion of the boundaries of friendship that Romantic friendships became less feasible in the nineteenth century in Germany than elsewhere. In German culture, eighteenth-century friendship was tinged with an erotic dimension that was largely eliminated in the nineteenth century.

In order to promote the distinction between friendship and sexual love, Hössli cites extensively from Friedrich Wilhelm Basileus Ramdohr (1757–1822), an aesthete who was an early interpreter of the works of the artist Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840). In 1798, Ramdohr published an exhaustive three-part treatise on love, titled *Venus Urania: Über die Natur der Liebe, über ihre Veredlung und Verschönerung* (Venus Urania: On the Nature of Love, Its Edification and Beautification), which included significant passages on love between members of the same sex. While working on his book, Ramdohr visited Schiller, who wrote to Goethe that Ramdohr was hoping to use the “sexual drive” (*Geschlechtstrieb*) to explain beauty and Greek ideals.¹⁶ Hössli had many criticisms of Ramdohr, who referred to the intense sexual experience that takes place between two men who loved each other as “the blackest maculation” in their lives.¹⁷ He objected to Ramdohr’s inconsistent positions, sometimes explaining Greek love as exclusively Greek, sometimes as innate, sometimes as caused by climate, as well as his ultimate rejection of the physicality of same-sex love.¹⁸ Nonetheless, he did consider Ramdohr’s study “indeed far and away the best book about love.”¹⁹ Perhaps the most significant contribution of Ramdohr’s book to the history of sexuality was his careful theorizing about the distinction between friendship and love. He felt that the categories were hopelessly confused: “At least until now, people have not appropriately distinguished between friendship and sexual intimacy.”²⁰ As an aesthete, Ramdohr believed that he was in a particularly good position

to help set up a “semiotics [*Semiotik*], a doctrine of signs, of the distinction between friendship and sexual intimacy [*Geschlechtszärtlichkeit*].”²¹

As a basis for his analysis, Ramdohr divides desire into two categories: “sympathy with the similar” and “sexual sympathy.” Sympathy with the similar strengthens one’s own sex, because it brings one together with members of one’s own sex, while sexual sympathy strengthens humanity as a whole, because it brings together members of different sexes.²² Ramdohr clarifies that “friendship is based on sympathy with the similar, while sexual intimacy is based on sexual sympathy.”²³ Ramdohr complicates this simple and unsurprising thesis immensely when he claims that some people are different internally than they appear to be externally. That means that there could be pairs consisting of people who looked as though they belonged to the same sex, but whose souls were from different sexes. This leads Ramdohr to the conclusion—rather astonishing in 1798—that “men may happily live together with men in domesticity, women with women, and finally men with women.”²⁴ The only requirement would be that one partner would be more masculine (“leading, dominating”) while the other more feminine (“giving in, but profiting”).²⁵ In the German tradition, Ramdohr’s study is the earliest and most extensive argument for gender inversion—in which a feminine man loves a masculine one or a masculine woman loves a feminine one—as the cause of same-sex desire.

Ramdohr’s thesis on gender inversion means that a couple of men or a couple of women might be “just friends,” or they might be sexually attracted to each other. According to Ramdohr, it takes a good semiotician to read the signs carefully enough to know whether the connection between these couples was based on sexual sympathy or sympathy with the similar. More commonly, people of the same sex would bond under the rules of friendship or sympathy with the similar, while people of different sexes would bond under the rules of sexual intimacy or sexual sympathy. But because of the possibility of gender inversion, the expert requires more specific signals than the simple external appearance of gender, in order to determine if a given pair is bonded by friendship or love. These signals all focus on the body: Ramdohr believes that “in friendship, there are no heart palpitations, no strained sighs, no boiling blood, no skin color changes.”²⁶ Without approaching the question from a medical perspective, Ramdohr implicitly endorses studying the body to analyze sexuality, anticipating developments of the nineteenth century. The body will reveal signs of homosexual attraction based on gender inversion—the *anatomie indiscrete* that Foucault finds characteristic of the nineteenth-century homosexual.²⁷

In the 1820s, Zschokke no longer needs Ramdohr's semiotics to distinguish between love and friendship. The educated bourgeois public in his novella knows that "a passion that goes beyond friendship" can develop between members of the same sex. If the comparison between mother love and Greek love ultimately fails, so also do attempts to see Lukasson's love for Walter as an example of friendship. Always looking on the bright and banal side, Claudia hopes to set aside any anxious questions about same-sex love with the cheerful assertion that "women are the tenderest of friends to women, as men are to men."²⁸ No one can understand, however, how such innocent friendship would result in Lukasson's murder of his beloved, so it quickly becomes clear that friendship, however intense, has little explanatory power in this case. Holmar explicitly denies the value of using the word "friendship" to describe the relationships that he believes existed in ancient Greece.

Hössli himself is at his most confident when refuting the argument that Greek love could be understood as some kind of exalted friendship. Toward the end of his two-volume treatise, he lists the reasons why Greek love is not the same thing as friendship. Greek love has a "bodily, sexual [*geschlechtlich*], purely sensual" side, associated with "charm, beauty, spontaneity, bodily possession and pleasure, passion and bliss, the agony and joy of love."²⁹ Greek love is directed at people of a specific age and sex—that is, with a particular kind of body—whereas friendship, presumably, applies more universally.³⁰ Showing his knowledge of the classical tradition, Hössli notes that in ancient Greece, male-male love was always directional, flowing from the lover to the beloved, while friendship was reciprocal. He adds that "love is not friendship, precisely for the reason that it can become friendship."³¹ He concludes his section on friendship by distinguishing it quite clearly from sexual love: "Love and friendship and sexual love [*Geschlechtsliebe*], these are three things, of which only the last has its roots in the corporeal, in the absolute, not in the coincidental, the arbitrary, the conditional. The plan of creation could not and would not leave these roots, out of whose development it planned the highest humanity, to accident, and therefore they were placed into the flesh."³² Hössli's linkage of the corporeal with the absolute may seem bit eccentric to a reader used to transcendental philosophy, but as a Romantic thinker, he has a profound belief in the unity of mind and body.

Hössli's distinction between sexual love and friendship becomes apparent in his response to a play called *Die Freunde* (The Friends) by Sigismund Wiese (1800–1864), published in 1836. An author of historical dramas, Wiese is the author of an 1844 piece, *Jesus*, which made it to the Vatican's index of

forbidden works. *Die Freunde* deals with two friends, the Prussian Philipp and the French Eugen, who—in a classic trope of friendship discussed by the German Romantic author Jean Paul and the French poststructuralist Jacques Derrida³³—are on opposite sides of the battlefield. One smuggles the other out of prison; the other loses an important battle out of love for his friend. Some consider their behavior treason, but neither abandons his duty. Eugen reads his own death sentence (his friends are too overcome to do so) and declares, “I am faithful to my fatherland unto my death.”³⁴

The play’s very title demonstrates that it is interested in friendship itself. References abound to David and Jonathan, Achilles and Patroclus, and Orestes and Pylades. This friendship between Philipp and Eugen is cemented with a bond “as strong as death, a bond such as the ancients celebrated,” highlighting the connection to earlier eras.³⁵ While Philipp is looking for his friend among the French prisoners, his servant Leopold alludes to the erotic possibilities inherent in such ancient friendships:

If ever a man
Searched for his girlfriend with hotter ardor
Than you examine the rows of Frenchmen,
Then I’m no woman’s son! Tell me,
Are you in love, is she wearing men’s clothes?

In response, Philipp simply mumbles to himself, “I can’t find him.” Leopold cries out in shrill horror, “Him? Not her? My dear Philipp, what do you mean?”³⁶

There are other moments when the relationship between these men is described in terms that blur the boundary between friendly and sexual love. Eugen claims that he is saving a friend “who means to me / what siblings, spouses, parents and brides mean to you.”³⁷ With the distinction between his own love and that of his interlocutors, Eugen seems poised on the verge of making the claim that there is a clearly defined group of men who love other men rather than women. At one point one character prophesies: “Some day, I scarcely know how to say how, / Our love will also be allowed to speak.”³⁸ Here there seems to be an early understanding of the need for self-expression that accompanies the emergence of modern sexual categories.

Hössli thought that Wiese’s play was one of the few excellent portrayals of male-male love in modern literature. The very fact that he was reading it while writing his own *Eros* underscores how closely he followed the literary

scene at the time. For direction in that literary arena, Hössli relied on the *Literatur-Blatt* (Literary Journal), edited by Wolfgang Menzel (1798–1873). On September 19, 1836, the *Literatur-Blatt* published a review that declared that “*Die Freunde* is a drama that in Holland and England could not be performed, without the author’s and the actors’ risking their healthy limbs. The two friends speak exactly like two lovers and awake even in the most tolerant reader a feeling of disgust.”³⁹ Hössli takes from this negative review the belief that the play is indeed about a sexual and erotic friendship: “if my idea about the play is inaccurate why does Menzel’s *Literatur-Blatt* claim ‘in many places the author and the actors of this play would be stoned?’”⁴⁰ Anticipating the argument that the play is about Ramdohr’s nonsexual friendship rather than sexual love, he begins his analysis of the play by saying, “I can already predict that people will incorrectly claim that another spirit governs Wiese’s drama than the Greek-erotic one.”⁴¹ Despite its implicit resort to threats of violence against those involved with the play, the *Literatur-Blatt* is useful to Hössli because it confirms the notion that the play is dealing with sexual friendship. Whereas an earlier era might have left the sexual and erotic relations between Eugen and Phillip ambiguous, in part because of a lack of language to delineate such affairs, Hössli and his age feel quite confident that they can distinguish between nonsexual friendship and sexual love.

Certainly, romantic friendship would remain an ambiguous presence in Western literature, even after the widespread adoption of a vocabulary of sexuality. But Germany, which had undergone a particularly intense flowering of passionate male friendship in the eighteenth century, was less fertile ground for ambiguously erotic same-sex friendship in the nineteenth century. A play such as Wiese’s could no longer titillate readers with strong, but indecipherable, emotions. Ramdohr’s semiotic project was on its way to completion, which meant that Wiese’s public was increasingly able to articulate a clear difference between asexual friendship and sexual love. By the early nineteenth century in German-speaking central Europe, language provides a space for sexual love between members of the same sex.

Biology: Sexuality and *Bildung*

A concept of a natural immutable sexuality that operates on the border between mind and body allows Ramdohr, Zschokke, and Hössli to distinguish so strictly between friendship and sexual love. Whereas most eighteenth-century

authors had attributed the male-male love of the Greeks and others to environmental factors that could presumably affect anyone (nude exercising in the gymnasia, for instance, or the segregation of women from men), these early nineteenth-century theorists of sexual identity saw sexual attraction as the product of innate drives. As a phenomenon that is at least in part corporeal, sexuality belongs to the realm of nature and the natural, a fitting subject for study by scientists and physicians. At the same time, this corporeal, scientifically knowable sexuality becomes for Hössli the core of a personal identity, the focus and teleology of an individual's *Bildung*.

David Halperin has argued that the concepts of “sexuality” and “the drive” were necessary predecessors to “the invention of homosexuality.”⁴² In Germany, there was already considerable discussion of the unity of mind and body in the eighteenth century; by the end of the century, there are even references to the sexual drive (*Geschlechtstrieb*), as we have seen in Ramdohr's writings. For Ramdohr the existence of the drive itself suggests that sexuality is natural and innocent: “drives that are based on the original plan and development [*Bildung*] of a being do not merit reproach and their striving for unification cannot be attributed to the satisfaction of an unclean desire.”⁴³ While Ramdohr does not consistently defend the satisfaction of drives between members of the same sex, his statement anticipates many of the themes, including the importance of “nature” and *Bildung*, that Hössli will argue more coherently.

The vocabulary of sexuality itself appeared a little bit later than the vocabulary of “drives.” A critical piece by William Cowper (1731–1800) on “Lives of the Plants” by Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802) provides an early citation in English: “All of his flowers undergo a change, not a simple one, but each into as many persons, male and female, as there are symptoms of either sex in their formation: for it is on their sexuality that he has built his poem.”⁴⁴ Cowper uses “sexuality” to refer to the sexing or the “sexedness” of the plants—he is interested in the masculinity and femininity of the characters that emerge from Darwin's plants. It is no surprise that the term comes up in a discussion of plants, for many intellectuals in Europe probably first encountered it through Carl Linnaeus's studies of botany, which described the “sexuality” of plants with graphic detail that at times shocked its readers. By 1798, though, for instance, one French translation of Linnaeus's works was given the title *Système sexuel des végétaux* (Sexual System of Plants). It is around this time that German word starts to make its first appearance. The absence of a vocabulary of sexuality prior to these developments is one of the factors leading Isabel Hull to argue that one cannot responsibly talk about “sexuality” in the German context prior to the nineteenth century.⁴⁵

By the time Hössli is writing, however, the vocabulary of “sexuality” is in circulation. In *Eros*, Hössli quotes a medical essay by the gynecologist Joseph Hermann Schmidt (1804–1852), demonstrating once again his highly developed connections to the contemporary scientific world: “The concept of sexuality [*Sexualität*] is no longer derived exclusively from the sexual organs, but rather from the entire organism.” Schmidt continues with an observation about gender: “The woman is primarily vegetation, the man primarily animality,” adding that odd hybrids can develop between these two polarities.⁴⁶ As in the case of the Cowper citation, the term is being used primarily to describe the sexedness of an organism, whether it has been sexed as male or female. Interestingly, the connection to plants remains strong.

As Halperin suggests, a fundamental prerequisite for any modern understanding of sexuality is the belief in the unity of mind and body. Steeped in the Romantic tradition of the organic oneness of the physical and mental worlds, Hössli takes for granted such a belief in mind-body unity. He cites Menzel, the editor of the *Literatur-Blatt*, as arguing that “in the human being the mental and the physical are so internally and vitally bound up with each other that they necessarily always stand in the most intimate interaction with each other.”⁴⁷ The unity of mind and body could have multiple consequences. For the philosophical physicians and their Romantic successors, the unity of mind and body meant that artistic and poetic insights into the body had as much validity and legitimacy as scientific ones.⁴⁸ Later in the nineteenth century, somaticists would approach the union of mind and body from the perspective of the body, suggesting that physical cures could solve mental and psychological problems. In either case, however, bringing together mind and body was a necessary prerequisite for the assumption of sexuality.

It is telling that physicians were among the intellectual leaders in the effort to reconceptualize the unity of mind and body; nor is it surprising that Hössli’s use of the term “sexuality” comes in a quotation from a distinguished expert in the medical field of gynecology. The modern field of medicine, which rose to unprecedented prominence in the nineteenth century, is practically coterminous with the category of sexuality. For many physicians, the unity of mind and body meant that forms of sexuality could be viewed as a matter of health or illness. This thinking already pervades much of Zschokke’s text, in which one of Zschokke’s characters attempts to understand Lukasson’s love of Walter as the result of a faulty mental process, perhaps even a matter of nerves. The explanation moves in the direction of mental illness and implies psychiatric or medical solutions. Claudia floats the idea that Lukasson’s “corrupt way

of thinking” perhaps caused the turn of events. Beda, the narrator, uses the vocabulary of “sick” to describe these corrupted thought processes, suggesting that a “misattuned structure of nerves” made it impossible for Lukasson to act properly. Gerold, Claudia’s husband and the king’s counselor, concludes that “sickness” was present in Lukasson’s actions and they therefore cannot be compared with criminality. This leads then to a discussion of whether and how the civil code needs to be changed to allow for the accommodation of those who act on impulses that are beyond their control. It hints at a tentative argument for the decriminalization (or at least the reduction of the severity of the criminalization) and a medicalization of sexual love between men.⁴⁹

A corollary to the notion that sexuality resides in the body as well as the mind is the belief that it is “natural.” Hössli explicitly announces that “male love is true nature, a law of nature.”⁵⁰ Here it is of course worth recalling that male-male love was frequently condemned as “unnatural,” “the crime against nature.” Particularly in the eighteenth century, legal codes referred with increasing consistency to sodomy as “unnatural” or “against nature.”⁵¹ Johannes Valentin Müller’s 1796 *Entwurf der gerichtlichen Arzneywissenschaft* (Plan for a Forensic Medicine) refers to sodomy as “unnatural” as well.⁵² Common to both these legal attacks on sodomy and Ramdohr and Hössli’s defenses of Greek love is a Romantic Rousseauian belief in the goodness of nature. In his one extensive case study, Ramdohr describes the love of the two young men as natural: “The youth loved first—that was nature. He admired, he was suffered, felt, led, and eventually loved back—that also was nature.”⁵³ Hössli reveals his implicit debt to Rousseau when he argues that the true “sinner against nature” is he who lacks sympathy, he “who has no tears for the misery of his brothers and the injustice and misdeed of his fathers and his fatherland.”⁵⁴ This view of a sympathetic nature should ground all human institutions, he argues. Nature must undergird all pedagogy, laws, and religion: “it must say yes wherever we establish or remove laws or education, wherever we want to achieve a salutary goal for humanity, it must say yes to the marriages and religions everywhere where there is supposed to be a blessing or a salvation of our race.”⁵⁵ Hössli specifically mentions marriage as an institution that needs rethinking in light of his conception of the naturalness of male-male love. At the end of volume 2, he remains certain that “this love had to be alive, present, grounded and completely a given in nature itself before laws, knowledge and the arts could lead, appreciate, understand, represent, teach and elevate it, could introduce into house and temple as life in the life of human nature.”⁵⁶ In arguing that same-sex desire is “natural,” he is also claiming that it should be allowed to flourish.

Because Greek love is “natural” in the sense that it appears in “nature,” Hössli also considers his work “natural research” (*Naturforschung*).⁵⁷ Hössli hopes for a scientific solution to the question of sexuality. The use of scientifically quantifiable, often medical sources for evidence is a hallmark of liberal approaches to sexuality in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Hössli’s discussion of nature is complicated, however, by his use of the term in the sense of “human nature” or the “nature” or a particular person.⁵⁸ In a locution that is particularly awkward to translate, he at times refers to people “being,” rather than “having,” a nature: those who love the other sex “cannot *be* the nature of those who do not love the other sex.”⁵⁹ Discussing the linguistic structures of modern English, Judith Butler writes suggestively about the tension between the notion of “being” a gender and “having” a sexuality.⁶⁰ Hössli contests this linguistic structure, asserting that people *are* their sexuality. He implies with this phrasing that the sexual nature of a person is identical with that person—that there is not even the distinction that exists between a person and the nature that he or she has. (Kertbeny also makes use of this rhetorical convention, asserting that “the homosexual *is* a fixed nature.”⁶¹) When Hössli does use language that suggests that someone *has*, rather than *is*, a sexuality, he rather consistently attributes that language to his intellectual opponents. It is critics of male love who argue that the men-loving men have “laid aside” their original nature.⁶² It is men who are sexually attracted to women who say things like, “I was born with my sexual love [*Geschlechtsliebe*].”⁶³ Hössli asserts that such people regard their sexuality as a separate thing with which they are born, rather than as an essence that constitutes them. He continues the elision of the universal nature and the personal nature when he has such critics saying to men-loving men that male-male love “is not nature and is not your nature.”⁶⁴ The focus of his word play is that nature (the universal order of the world) has room for the individual natures (essences) of men who are man-loving as well as those who are woman-loving.

As he begins to sum up his arguments near the end of his second volume, Hössli confidently asserts that the sexual aspect of human nature is not a product of arbitrary will, but rather a matter of the “individuality, the basic being, the most primal depths of the human psyche, his inmost unchangeable nature and being.”⁶⁵ He is certainly moving here in the direction of what Foucault would call the “truth” of sex in modern society. For Hössli, Plato provides a prime example of someone whose sexuality completely imbues his productive nature: without Plato’s love of men, “the world would have no Plato, this fullness of mind, this splendor of the soul, this harmony of the body would be

sunk in night and vice and would have given birth to the opposite of everything that it did bear.”⁶⁶ Whereas many would like to disassociate the philosopher from his lived experience in order to concentrate on his transcendental truths, Hössli insists that Plato’s Greek love was no coincidence, but rather integral to his personality. Sexuality is at the nexus of the unified mind and body.

By the end of his first volume, he asserts that he has demonstrated that “there is a man-loving, purely humane, specific, male human nature” (*eine männerliebende, rein menschliche, bestimmte, Männermenschennatur*).⁶⁷ His reference to a “specific” male human nature implies that this is not just part of the more general sexual nature of all men, but rather that a specific group of men have (or “are”) this nature. It is not the case, as in the Biblical story of Sodom, that any and every man in a community might be struck with lustful desires for another man. Only men with a specific immutable type of human nature are sexually attracted to other men, as Hössli flatly asserts: “The large and general portion [of the human population] that loves the other sex cannot be the sort [literally, ‘the nature’] that does not love the other sex, and the sort [again, literally, ‘the nature’] that loves its own sex cannot be lovers of the other sex.”⁶⁸ The implication of the unchangeability of sexual nature is that there are discrete categories: men who sexually desire men are distinct from those who love women.

Hössli mocks the notion that any man could change his sexual desire for other men when he sarcastically paraphrases the position of women-loving men, who foolishly assume that “the man-lover has set aside his most original first nature and now glows in an arbitrarily adopted love, in a nature other than his own visage; in this other love his emotional being now suffers for completion, his heart burns, his eyes swim in tears, his bosom heaves, his soul gleams.” His antagonists erroneously argue that this male-male love “isn’t his nature, he’s set that [his real nature] aside, he’s arbitrarily exchanged it, his actual nature is silent, even when this other non-nature should lead him to destruction and even to death.”⁶⁹ Hössli adds that the terrible discrimination that men who love other men face would prevent any man from exchanging a love for women with a love for men:

Is it thinkable that in this case a person, a man, would exchange an inborn love—in which he enjoys his life, his being, his general human destiny in honor, under the protection and recognition of the law, in the unperturbed enjoyment of external and internal human rights [*Menschenrechte*], with the respect of his people and

of the entire human society, with the blessing of the dominant religion, with the public recognition of his life questioned by no one, so that he can act, effect, live as a man, as a person, as a spouse and as a citizen and can enjoy his being—for a notorious, forbidden, dishonorable outcast nature that is everywhere condemned and universally persecuted.⁷⁰

The sentence is hard to get through, but Hössli's point is that the civil protections given to male-female love are so powerful that it is virtually impossible to imagine male-male sexual love emerging as a frivolous lark.

It is instructive to contemplate the vision of justice that Hössli has in mind. While not a trained lawyer, Hössli relies on a liberal vocabulary of human rights in the context of honor, legal protection, respect, religious acceptance, and public recognition. He expects "protection and recognition" from the law. His demand that a male-loving man should enjoy "honor" and "recognition of his life" suggests that he hopes that same-sex love will be able to express itself openly and publicly. Notably, he argues that religion too should support the rights claims of the men about whom he is writing. Intriguingly, he insists that such men should be able to function "as a spouse and as a citizen," suggesting that marriage itself belongs to the rights of citizens and that both marriage and citizenship need reassessment.

In a sense, Hössli is building on the glorification of love that had already taken place in bourgeois literature of the eighteenth century. He repeats that love in general—whether a man's or a woman's, whether for a man or for a woman—"is not up to a person's arbitrary will, but rather a specific given primary component of the purest, deepest, individuality."⁷¹ This Romantic argument, relying on the centrality of sexual love for human identity, spurs Hössli to uncharacteristic eloquence as he grapples with the definition of "sexual love (we are not speaking here of mere sexual drive)" as it pertains to male-male desire: "it involuntarily desires, searches out, and needs a masculine being, because of his sex, and not a feminine being, again precisely because of her sex, because whatever in our sexual life addresses, grabs, excites, thrills, attracts, possesses, completes, perfects us—that tells us which love is in us."⁷² In this case, Hössli works with the conventions of his era, which had already declared the primacy of love, and sharpens them to bring out the importance of sexuality and the body. When he asks "which love is in us," he adds the notion of specific sexual categories to the mix.

For Hössli, one of the "natural" aspects of this desire has to do with its

innateness: “The whole man is in the seed, in the germ, in the embryo.”⁷³ He asserts “we cannot bring anything into it [the seed, germ, embryo], but can only let that which is within him develop and at least not eliminate it, even if much that is in him is not allowed to flourish and is strangled or crippled.”⁷⁴ Sexual nature is inborn—society’s only choice is whether to let it develop or not. The notion that an organism’s being springs from its embryo, germ, or seed was a crucial part of a variety of efforts by German Romantic thinkers to explain development and the concept of *Bildung*, which was to become extremely important for German culture. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840) used the vocabulary of embryos to explain his *Bildungstrieb*, or drive to development, in his 1781 essay *Über den Bildungstrieb und das Zeugungsgeschäft* (On the Drive to Development and the Operation of Reproduction). As Blumenbach puts it, “there exists in all living creatures, from men to maggots, and from cedar trees to mold, a particular, inborn, lifelong active drive.”⁷⁵ Continuing the eighteenth-century tradition of employing plants for discussions of sexuality, *Bildung* appears in Goethe’s discussion of the growth of plants in his *Metamorphosen der Pflanzen* (Metamorphoses of the Plants) of 1790 as the preordained pattern of development of an organism.

Ramdohr relies explicitly on Blumenbach’s notion of *Bildung* to describe his understanding of sexuality. “The unnamable drive is the grounds for the unnamable pleasure,” he declares, defining that pleasure as “that circumstance of effusive voluptuous effectiveness of the power of development [*Bildungskraft*] of our vegetable organism.”⁷⁶ “Unnamable” though the pleasure may be, Blumenbach is fairly bold to discuss it so openly in his analysis of the sexual drive. His theory that sexual pleasure belongs to the human being’s vegetable nature is yet another legacy of Linnaeus’s discussion of sexuality in the realm of plants. Blumenbach restates the connections between *Bildung* and sexuality when he announces that “especially during the unnamable drive, we feel the effects of that power of development [*Bildungskraft*], which we and all organic beings, without difference, have in common with the plants.”⁷⁷ Relying on Blumenbach, Ramdohr brings together *Bildung*, plants, and sexuality.

Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) are the authors who mediate Blumenbach’s *Bildung* for Hössli’s culture. For them, *Bildung* represents not only the physical development of an organism, but also the psychological, creative, and artistic development of a person. In the early nineteenth century, Karl von Morgenstern (1770–1852) dubbed Goethe’s 1797 novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship) a *Bildungsroman* or “novel of development,” because it

showed the processes whereby its young protagonist sets aside misleading social and cultural influences to discover who he really is and develops himself to the best of his abilities in order to rejoin society as a productive member. *Bildung*, as intellectual, artistic and cultural self-development, becomes the greatest good for the bourgeoisie of nineteenth-century Germanic culture.

Hössli, true to his liberal bourgeois roots, embraces the concept of *Bildung*. As Hans Krah has noted, the classical notion of *Bildung* emerges repeatedly in Hössli: that an individual is born with a specific identity and with certain sexual desires, and that it is the mission of the individual to discover his identity, to become more and more true to himself, and then to integrate himself into society.⁷⁸ Hössli states with simple poetic elegance: “perfection for a single individual consists of being and becoming oneself in the continuum of one’s existence” (79).

Jews and Witches: Emancipation and Social Improvement

At several points, the innate and natural sexuality that Hössli finds in men who are sexually attracted to other men is tentatively linked to gender inversion and implicitly compared to Jewishness. Although these interpretations and analogies are by no means the main points of Hössli’s arguments, they deserve attention because they become so important in subsequent treatments of homosexuality, uranism, and inversion in the nineteenth century. Both comparisons to women and to Jews have connections to science-based, progressive, emancipatory thought of the early nineteenth century. The argument for gender inversion implies a heightened respect for feminine desire, while the comparison with Jews goes hand in hand with liberal efforts to rejuvenate and improve the lot of minorities within Germany.

The locus of the allusions to the similarity between the category of men who are sexually attracted to men and the categories of women and Jews is a passage that Hössli quotes twice—first, prominently on the frontispiece of volume 1, and second in the text itself. The source is a review published on June 4, 1834, by Menzel in his *Literatur-Blatt*. According to Menzel, “the Rabbinical doctrine of souls has a peculiar characteristic: Namely, it explains the contradictions in the character of the sexes and their oftentimes strange sympathies and antipathies by the transmigration of souls such that female souls in male bodies reject women and male souls in female bodies reject men, like identical poles of a magnet, while on the other hand they are attracted to each

other despite having the same bodily sex because of the different sexes of their souls.”⁷⁹ Menzel has even more difficulty articulating his ideas than Hössli, who had thought much longer about them. Menzel’s claim is that a woman with a male soul will be attracted to another woman, while a man with a female soul will be attracted to another man.

Hössli himself responds tepidly to Menzel’s argument that same-sex attraction can be explained as a product of gender inversion, asserting that King Frederick I of Württemberg (1754–1816) was hardly “what we tend to understand as a feminine soul,” despite being a lover of men.⁸⁰ Although Ramdohr emphasizes gender inversion in his account of same-sex desire, neither Hössli nor Zschokke dwells on the subject at great length. In fact, one of Ulrichs’s prime objections to Hössli is his neglect of effemination as an explanation for male same-sex desire.⁸¹ As Yvonne Ivory notes, “before the 1830s, the masculinity of practitioners of *Sodomiterei* was rarely questioned in German legal and medical discourses.”⁸² Nonetheless, Hössli’s citation from Menzel’s *Literatur-Blatt*, positioned prominently and repeated in *Eros*, is an early formulation of the notion of gender inversion, expressed in an intriguingly gender-inclusive form.

While Hössli speaks only of male-male sexual love, Menzel’s formulation allows for a discussion of female-female sexual desire. Even in a discussion restricted to male-male desire, gender inversion theories require an acknowledgement of female desire. If a man who is sexually attracted to other men is really a female soul inside a male body, then it must be time to talk about the possibility of female sexual desire for a man. As Richards’s study of Romantic science makes clear, the same men who articulated many of the principles of the new vision of an organic science also believed strongly in a freer vision of love that promoted the expression of strong feminine desire. Alongside such Romantic writers as Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel, Friedrich Schleiermacher and Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling worked such brilliant, scintillating, and openly sexually active women as Caroline Böhmer Schlegel Schelling née Michaelis (1763–1809), Dorothea Veit Schlegel née Mendelssohn (1764–1839), and Rahel von Ense Varnhagen née Levin (1771–1833).

Menzel’s *Literatur-Blatt* was full of arguments about sexual freedom for men and women, specifically in the issues from 1835 and 1836, which Hössli cites in *Eros*. Most of the controversies swirled around Karl Gutzkow (1811–1878) and his scandalous 1835 depiction of a sexually liberated Jewish woman in *Wally, die Zweiflerin* (Wally, the Skeptic). Gutzkow’s novel reminded readers of Friedrich Schlegel’s 1799 *Lucinde*, which had similarly celebrated female

desire. Gutzkow praises Schlegel's work as a manifesto for the "emancipation of the flesh."

Gutzkow and other representatives of *Junges Deutschland* (Young Germany) promulgate the emancipation of the flesh—and specifically the unleashing of female (and not coincidentally, Jewish female) desire—just as Hössli is arguing for the rights of male-loving men, whom he occasionally represents as similar to women and comparable to Jews. Discussions about the emancipation of the flesh were underway in German culture at the time—not least in Hössli's favored source, the *Literatur-Blatt*. The Romantic legacy of the emancipations of the flesh, of women, and of Jews colored Hössli's worldview.

By at least implicitly associating his arguments with the liberal emancipatory ideas discussed in (although admittedly not always endorsed by) the *Literatur-Blatt*, Hössli aligned himself with forces calling for progressive change. Just as early nineteenth-century progressives thought that the status of women and Jews called out for amelioration, Hössli wanted to see a better situation for men who sexually loved other men. True, Hössli did not refer to explicit legal and political interventions in his text—he seems unaware, for instance, of Feuerbach's enlightened, post-Napoleonic reforms in Bavaria, which had decriminalized sodomy. Instead, he established the arguably much more arduous goal of changing social attitudes. In hoping to change social attitudes, Hössli drew on two groups that he felt were in various ways analogous to men who sexually loved other men: Jews and witches.

Hössli's *Eros* generally attempts to marshal sympathy for the suffering of the Jews, about which he gives focused and detailed reports. He describes the medieval scapegoating of Jews as plague-bearers and movingly outlines a series of horrendous atrocities that befell them: the burning of large numbers of Jews in Basel, Freiburg, Bern, Zürich, Constance, Strasbourg, and Mainz; the desperate self-immolation of Jews in Speier and Esslingen; the torture of Jews in Geneva. Hössli concludes, "and all this happened in Switzerland, throughout Germany, Italy, Spain, France, in 1349, by and for European Christianity."⁸³ The medieval persecutions of Jews filled him with a sense of liberal outrage at religiously inspired bias in law and culture.

Many of those who were similarly moved by the plight of the Jews hoped the emancipation of the Jews would promote their social improvement. In his 1781 treatise, *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (On the Civic Improvement of the Jews), Christian Konrad Wilhelm von Dohm (1751–1820), for instance, argues, along Rousseauian lines, that Jewish culture and society are in decay because of the political and legal mistreatment of the

Jews. Hössli makes the same argument regarding men who sexually love other men. Already in 1810, Karl Ludwig von Woltmann (1770–1817) writes about same-sex love in his biography of Johannes von Müller, “banned by the law, under threat of the severest penalties, forced into the impossibility of producing anything good, so despised and damned that it can rarely gnaw on beauty but must satisfy itself with generally rejected flesh, this vice creeps around us with its unfruitful heat in narrow remote alleys, dark hiding places, and—when in brighter surroundings—among the rabble of civil society.”⁸⁴ Similarly, Zschokke’s characters put forth the notion that modern society has so “branded” this love that it has taken on perverted forms. Holmar traces the repression of Greek love all the way back to the sixth-century edicts against the defilement of males (*de stupro masculorum*) that Emperor Justinian (483–565) promulgated.⁸⁵ Zschokke’s character insists that “the law . . . is unjust; it first created and then punished the horror that it made.”⁸⁶ Zschokke, with his experience in law and policy, creates a fictional version of Hössli who argues more explicitly for decriminalization of male-male love than Hössli himself. Zschokke’s novella depicts the horrifying fate of nineteenth-century men who love other men: “With a shudder must the man or youth perceive the effect of such a psychological drive in himself. His own conceptual world has been so distorted by the insanity of the world that he must consider himself to be insane and unnatural . . . when an involuntary, irresistible passionate affection for a man grabs hold of him.”⁸⁷ According to Zschokke’s character Holmar, such a man hates himself, his nature, and the whole world.

In his own writing, Hössli insists that deleterious social conditions can alter the appearance of male-male love by perverting it through oppression. Asserting that Plato’s writing is a product of his society’s positive treatment of male-male love, Hössli insists that the philosopher today would have “succumbed to misdeeds, internal battles and misery and ruin and would have ended on the cart, in jail and—perhaps on the gallows.”⁸⁸ (Zschokke’s Holmar argues conversely that in ancient Greece Lukasson could have been “one of the great artists, wise men or heroes of the nation” instead of a murderer executed on the wheel.⁸⁹) Whereas Greek love had flourished in the time of Plato, today, according to Hössli, “it creeps around in our midst as a vice under the burdens of general damnation, destroyed and destructive, without blessing, power or deed, full of guilt and torture, beyond all human dignity and ideal, usually in disgusting, not Greek, figures, creating its own circle of corruption, vice, sin, decay, whose origins we do not search.”⁹⁰ He continues with melodramatic flair: “it flows as its own rich poisoned well of indignity and misery . . .

ejected, it howls in thousands of prisons on our continent, cursing itself and the hour of its birth, surrounded by night and dark, a daily self-renewing, self-consuming and endlessly self-contradictory monster."⁹¹ Today, "it provides in this form work and bread to prison masters and hangmen," as well as leading to "suicides inexplicable to us."⁹² "Thus waves," Hössli bitterly and sarcastically concludes, "our victory palm, our psychology, over Greece's poor old humanistic art and science."⁹³ Through the Romantically tinged prose, Hössli's argument emerges: sexuality, while not eradicable, can assume new and terrible forms as a consequence of societal oppression and persecution.

The comparison between Jewishness and same-sex love is a big enough topic in the German history of sexuality that it deserves and will receive its own chapter. For now, let us turn to another historical development Hössli believed augured well for his cause: the disappearance of witch hunts, which he hoped was evidence of the dawning of a more enlightened day. While the expression "witch hunt" is still used in English (and its corollary *Hexenjagd* exists in modern German), its literal meaning has probably lost much of its original vivid force. In the early and mid-nineteenth century, however, memories of actual, not metaphorical, witch hunts were still alive, and a sense of the injustice of this persecution burned brightly in enlightened spirits.

Eros begins with an extensive discussion, not of same-sex love, but of the persecution of witches. In fact, there is enough material on the subject that one of the two volumes in the 1896 reprint of his work was devoted primarily to witches. The subject matter must have been particularly significant for Hössli because, two years before his birth, a woman who was executed for being a witch lived in the very house in which he was born, according to his biographer Ferdinand Karsch.⁹⁴ Hössli himself cites from the death certificate of July 21, 1782, of this unfortunate woman, whose name was Anna Guldin.⁹⁵ Although her family name is spelled in a variety of ways (Goldin, Göldin, Göldi), Anna is well known as the last woman executed as a witch in Europe.⁹⁶ Other relatively recent executions would have been present in the memories of his readers, too—and not just in Mediterranean countries where the Inquisition held sway. Hössli reminds readers of the burning of hysterical nuns in Würzburg in 1749 and in West Prussia in 1779.⁹⁷ Alluding to an execution in Swabia in 1766 of someone who claimed to be able to change the weather, he stresses the contradictions between such executions and the Enlightenment: "In the year 1766, in Swabia, in the little city of Buchloe, one person among the people was convicted and really executed as a weather changer; in this century witches have been burned at the stake and beheaded—and this century

called itself the enlightened, the philosophical.”⁹⁸ Bitterly, Hössli suspects that many of his contemporaries might actually desire a return of the “good old days.”⁹⁹

Hoping to appeal to other enlightened readers, Hössli therefore begins his analysis of Greek love with an extensive report on the witch hunts, without immediately spelling out the connection between witchcraft and Greek love. He commences with references to witch hunts and witch trials, describing in detail some of the goriest stories from the Middle Ages and detailing the extremes to which religious fanaticism can go. By the end of his study, when he addresses more explicitly male-male desire, he still makes allusions to witchcraft to show how superstitious beliefs can damage people and societies.¹⁰⁰ Hössli alludes to the sexual underpinnings of some of the witch hunts when he mentions Pope Innocent VIII’s papal bull against “carnal intercourse with the devil.”¹⁰¹ Generally, Hössli finds the comparison to witches useful as a way of setting up his polemic against what he considers to be superstitious and outdated religious prejudices against same-sex desire.

In his publications on urning love, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs also makes frequent references to witches, werewolves, and others.¹⁰² Ulrichs also cites others who make the same comparison, including an anonymous urning who hopes that the laws against male-male desire will go the way of the laws against witchcraft and heresy: “I demand that in the nineteenth century we do not allow laws to stand that belong to the era of the persecution of heretics and witches.”¹⁰³ Ulrichs notes that this reader came upon the comparison between urnings and witches on his own, without having read Ulrichs’s own thoughts on the matter.¹⁰⁴ Ulrichs cites a friend who teaches jurisprudence at a southern German university, who is concerned that “most of the well-educated resist enlightenment in this matter.”¹⁰⁵ In his earlier works, like “Vindex” of 1864, Ulrichs optimistically sees the cessation of the persecution of male-male love as a continuation of the Enlightenment triumph over the persecution of heretics and witches: “It was the task of the previous two centuries to eliminate the persecution of heresy and witchcraft. It will be the task of our century, indeed hopefully our decade, to eliminate the persecution of male-male love.”¹⁰⁶ Not everyone who used this metaphor was so positive. A certain “upper-class man of the world,” who lived in Italy and loved other men and whose autobiography was published by the physician Johann Ludwig Casper (1796–1864) in 1863, reported that people in his circle sometimes said, “they used to burn witches at the stake, our time will come too.”¹⁰⁷ This “man of the world,” like Ulrichs in the 1860s, was actually more sanguine than his friends about the

future of his fellow men who loved men, but the interesting point here is the widespread acceptance of the similarity between witches and practitioners of same-sex desire.

Like Hössli, Ulrichs uses the example of witches to set up a polemic against religious critiques of love between members of the same sex. The frequent linkage of witches and heretics makes it clear that witches were persecuted because they did not conform to a medieval religious worldview. In this respect, witches and heretics also resemble Jews, and sometimes Ulrichs refers to them in a single breath. At one point, Ulrichs describes male-male love as a “riddle of nature,” and insists that such riddles need to be handled differently from the way religious outsiders have been handled in the past: “One solves riddles of nature, insofar as they are soluble at all, with science, not with a blind declaration of infamy, which has all too often proven itself to be a sword of injustice against heretics, Jews, and witches.”¹⁰⁸ Like Hössli, Ulrichs hopes that science—in contrast to superstitious religion—will play a great and positive role in this endeavor. Karl Maria Kertbeny also assigns strictures against homosexuality to the same category as irrational concerns about “original sin, devils, and witches.”¹⁰⁹

While the comparison between homosexuals and witches has reappeared over the years, Hössli’s analysis underscores one reason why the metaphor of the witch ultimately loses power as a way of describing the identity of men who sexually love other men. Part of the absurdity of the prosecution of witches is that they are supernatural and, therefore, in the eyes of the Enlightenment, “actually didn’t exist at all.”¹¹⁰ But Hössli, Ulrichs, Kertbeny, and their allies argue that invert, urnings, and homosexuals *do* exist. Indeed, they sometimes have to argue against those who dismiss the occurrence of same-sex love as a rare and trivial issue. For this reason, the comparison to witches and warlocks gradually fades from sight in the texts of the nineteenth-century German homosexual emancipation movement. Nevertheless, the persecution of the witches is for Hössli and others in the nineteenth century a potent symbol of the unjust mistreatment of men who loved other men. The disappearance of witch hunts in the eighteenth century encourages Hössli and his successors to believe that society could actually stop persecuting men who loved other men.

Conclusion

Far from being a historical outlier, irrelevant because it was so unique in its defense of male-male love in the 1830s, Hössli's *Eros* is intricately enmeshed in the cultural movements of its time and place. Hössli was in contact with literary figures such as Zschokke who were leading liberals in his native Switzerland. He tracked down the most recent scientific, gynecological evidence about sexuality available. As he completed *Eros* in the 1830s, he kept abreast of literary developments reported in Menzel's *Literatur-Blatt*.

Because of his learned appropriation of the culture of his era, he had at his disposal a variety of concepts that were current in his time. He no longer had to rely on notions of "friendship" to describe sexual attraction between men. Instead, he had a concept of sexuality as a driving force at the intersection of mind and body that was innate, immutable, and essential to a person's identity. Following Menzel, he could tentatively suggest that men who loved men really had female souls and make implicit comparisons between adherents of Greek love and Jews. Such analogies connected him to liberal and progressive movements of his era calling for the emancipation of women and Jews. The gradual elimination of the persecution of witches provided him with a positive example of the social change he hoped to see with respect to Greek love. Hössli would not have been able to write his study if his intellectual culture had not extensively discussed matters such as: the sexual borders of friendship, the unity of the mind and the body, the existence of sexuality, and the emancipation of women, Jews, and the flesh. At the same time, it would be doing him a disservice to deny that he reorganized the intellectual givens of his time to put forth one of the first comprehensive visions of an identity based on same-sex sexual love that was inborn, natural, unchanging, essential, universal, ahistorical, and in need of some sort of social protection.

Chapter 2

The Greek Model and Its Masculinist Appropriation

The very title of his book, *Eros: The Male Love of the Greeks*, underscores the importance of the classical Greek legacy for Heinrich Hössli's efforts to explain and justify male-male desire. In the first part of the nineteenth century, allusions to ancient Greece not only proved the transhistorical and intercultural nature of same-sex desire, but also vouched for its legitimacy and even nobility. As the century progressed, however, those who thought critically about same-sex desire came to believe that the Greek model provided little evidence in support of the case that homosexuality was an innate, immutable condition affecting only a discrete minority of individuals in need of legal and social protection. In addition, the Greek model seemed to imply intergenerational sex, rather than long-term relationships between adults. By the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, many physicians and activists had hollowed out the Greek model. They continued to refer to prominent figures such as Sappho and Socrates as famous "homosexuals" in order to argue for the eternal nature of that category of sexual desire, as well as to cash in on some of the prestige of antiquity, but they rarely predicated their discussions of same-sex desire on analyses of Greek texts. Instead the Greek tradition came to be honored by a subgroup of peculiarly German nationalist sexual radicals known as "masculinists" who harbored antiliberal, antibourgeois, antimodernist tendencies and who were disproportionately influential among literary writers from Sigmund Freud to Thomas Mann and Franz Kafka.

Nietzsche and His Disciples

While Greece in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had stood for the Enlightenment and rational, liberal, humanist views, by the end of the nineteenth century the German vision of Greek culture came to be tragic, illiberal, imperial, and pessimistic. No one did more to engineer this change than Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), whose darker view of Greece suited many aspects of Wilhelmine Germany. Under Nietzsche's tutelage, Greek culture came to be seen as the remedy for the soulless, bourgeois, prosaic liberalism that, according to many conservatives, endangered central European culture. Because Greece was also still known for its representations of same-sex desire, this new vision of antiquity afforded a space for antibourgeois models to compete with the emergent liberal and progressive view of homosexuality found in Ulrichs, Kertbeny, and Westphal. At the close of the nineteenth century, these antiliberal masculinist thinkers echoed a variety of Nietzsche's arguments about antiquity—including his antifeminist and anti-Enlightenment stances—as they contemplated the role of same-sex desire in Germanic culture.

As Andrew Hewitt observes, “the Greek state offers itself to rightwing ideologues as an alternative to ‘Jewish,’ ‘liberal’ democracy.”¹ The question of anti-Semitism in Grecophilic, post-Nietzschean thinking is significant enough that it will be addressed separately in the next chapter. For now, let us focus on the shift in the meaning of Greece from its standing at the beginning of the nineteenth century as a guarantor of human rights, including the rights of men who loved men, to its mobilization at the end of the nineteenth century as part of a critique of liberalism. In the realm of sexuality, this late nineteenth-century version of the Greek model became shorthand for a rejection of liberal models of sexual identity.

Nietzsche's influence on the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century homosexual emancipation movement in general is surprisingly strong. The writings of the masculinists in particular are laced with discussions of the *Übermensch*, the priestly spirit, the ascetic ideology, and the herd. In her summary of the authors cited by contributors to Hirschfeld's *Jahrbuch* and Brand's *Der Eigene*, Marita Keilson-Lauritz finds that Nietzsche is without question the most frequently cited author in *Der Eigene*, the mouthpiece of the German masculinist homosexual movement.² *Der Eigene* often cites epigraphs from Nietzsche and originally sported the subtitle, “Ein Blatt für Alle und Keinen”

(A Paper for Everyone and No One), which was a direct allusion to the subtitle of Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra: Ein Buch für Alle und Keinen* (Thus Spake Zarathustra: A Book for Everyone and No One).

The Nietzschean homosexual is humorously parodied in Otto Julius Bierbaum's novel *Prinz Kuckuck* (Prince Cuckoo), which appeared in 1906 and 1907. Although Bierbaum (1865–1910) has remained on the fringes of the canon, *Prinz Kuckuck* merits attention, because it has one of the earliest German literary representations of a character clearly labeled a homosexual in the modern, sexological sense. Bierbaum's writings take from Nietzsche a glorification of a pagan, heathen sensual life and are filled with anti-Semitic passages. The novel does not necessarily endorse this philosophy: its anti-Semitic protagonist, Henry, who doesn't realize his mother is Jewish, comes off as an antihero. In fact, the Nietzschean legacy comes in for particular ridicule in the character of Henry's adoptive cousin Karl, who in the course of the novel discovers his sexual orientation toward men and becomes a member of a community of homosexual men in London who meet at a private club called the Green Carnation. (Interestingly, Robert Hichens, pseudonym for Robert Smythe, satirized Oscar Wilde in a novel called *The Green Carnation*, published in 1894; in his introduction to the novel, Stanley Weintraub provides a good history of the meaning of the flower in the world of Wilde and his followers.³) When Karl publishes a book of poetry, a reviewer calls him a "disciple of Nietzsche."⁴ Mocking Karl's understanding of Nietzsche, the narrator does not deny the philosopher's popularity in the homosexual milieu: "Like most in his generation, he did not actually know Nietzsche and had first heard his name at the Green Carnation, without seeing himself obliged even to read the writings of this man."⁵ Bierbaum's narrator points out that such reputations become self-fulfilling prophecies, as Karl does begin to study Nietzsche himself: "Now, however, he sent for Nietzsche's books and began to read in them in his way."⁶ Bierbaum's account of the fin-de-siècle Nietzschean homosexual suggests that the figure was recognizable enough to merit caricature.

Caricatured or not, many of the Nietzschean masculinists were intriguing personalities. Elisar von Kupffer, who sometimes went by Elisarion, lived from 1872 to 1942. Born to a Baltic German family in Estonia, he studied in Munich and Berlin, where he met his life partner, Eduard von Mayer (1873–1960), and put together his anthology of poetry from throughout the world dedicated to male-male love, *Lieblingminne und Freundesliebe in der Weltliteratur* (Ardor for Favorites and Love of Friends in World Literature), which appeared in 1900. Initially confiscated, the book was released for sale after experts, including

renowned classicist Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848–1931), reassured the censors that it had scholarly value. After 1900, Kupffer and Mayer moved to Italy and eventually settled in Minusio, near Ascona, the artists' colony in Italian-speaking Switzerland, where vegetarians, socialists, nudists, anarchists, and aficionados of modern dance gathered to celebrate life and ponder its reform. Kupffer established a "Sanctuarium arte Elisarion," a temple devoted to the beauty of male youth, which he filled with his own paintings.⁷ Although he remained in self-imposed exile in Ascona, he watched the rise of Hitler with interest and even wrote the Führer a letter trying to get him to support the establishment of another temple devoted to male beauty in the new Reich. There was apparently no response. Almost completely forgotten now, Kupffer was the most frequently cited authority throughout the run of the most significant publications devoted to homosexuality and male culture, Hirschfeld's *Jahrbuch* and Brand's *Der Eigene*.

John Henry Mackay (1864–1933) is the nom de plume for John Henry Farquhar. Although both his real and assumed names are Scottish (because of his father), he was raised in Germany and wrote in German. Heavily influenced by Max Stirner (1806–1856), he supported anarchist and radical causes in his fight against bourgeois liberalism. In the early twentieth century, he planned the publication of series of six works of literature under the pen name "Sagitta" that focused on the "nameless love" between men and male youths. They were declared obscene in 1909, but he managed to publish them in 1913 as a collection called *Die Buecher der namenlosen Liebe* (The Books of the Nameless Love). His most famous novel, *Der Puppenjunge* (The Hustler, 1926), gives a detailed account of the many and varied venues in which teenage boys prostituted themselves in Berlin, including the streets, the new shopping arcades, the bars, and the clubs. Although self-identified as a leftist anarchist, Mackay was united with his more conservative fellow masculinists in his rejection of liberalism.

One of Mackay's supporters was Benedict Friedlaender (1866–1908).⁸ Friedlaender was trained as a zoologist and worked with the ideas of Gustav Jäger, the man who had popularized Kertbeny's vocabulary of "homosexuality" and "heterosexuality" among the sexologists. Initially, Friedlaender cooperated with Hirschfeld and published a number of articles in the *Jahrbuch*, but he became increasingly estranged from the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee. His *Renaissance des Eros Uranios* (Renaissance of Eros Uranios), published in 1904, was a manifesto for masculinist culture and one of the most cogent critiques of Hirschfeld and his work. Imbued with the spirit of Nietzsche,

Friedlaender favors the aphorism as a stylistic gesture. Married and the father of a son, Eugen Benedict, Friedlaender chafed at the strict sexual categories that he believed medicine had foisted upon modern men. Suffering from an inoperable cancer of the intestine, he committed suicide in 1908.

Friedlaender also supported the work of Hans Blüher (1888–1955), who caused a major uproar in 1912 when he argued in *Die Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen* (The “Wandervogel” Movement as Erotic Phenomenon) that homoeroticism was the bond that united male youth groups. His two-volume sequel, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft* (The Role of Eroticism in Masculine Society, 1917/19), titillated and shocked Germany’s intellectuals with the argument that male-male erotic desire was the important glue holding together human society.⁹ A rightist, he greeted the arrival of National Socialism with approval, but the estimation was not reciprocated. The Nazis regarded him as a danger to youth and didn’t allow him to publish during the Third Reich, although he was allowed to continue private practice. In this capacity, he apparently occasionally provided support for young German men who were discovering their sexual interest in other men in the 1930s.¹⁰

The leader of the pack was Adolf Brand (1874–1945), who published *Der Eigene*, which appeared from 1896 to 1933 and can thus lay claim to being the oldest serial devoted to male-male desire in the history of the West. In 1903, he established the Gemeinschaft der Eigenen. As in the case of the journal, the society’s name can be translated in a number of ways: The Community of the Special, The Community of the Self-Owners, The Community of the Free, The Community of the Exceptional, and so on. In any case, Brand’s Community combined an “anarchistic philosophy of freedom and the cult of the Nordic man.”¹¹ Like Friedlaender, Brand was married, considered himself masculine, rejected medical categories of sexuality, and didn’t appreciate the category of the third sex. In 1907 he “outed” Chancellor Bülow and Philipp Eulenburg-Hertefeld, which resulted in substantial court cases that brought the occurrence of sex between men among German aristocrats to the attention of readers throughout Europe. Brand ultimately spent time behind bars for his efforts. Like Blüher, he was sympathetic to the National Socialists, but they treated him with suspicion, confiscating many of his documents and banning his publications.¹² He died during an Allied bombing attack in 1945.

Nietzsche’s notion of the *Übermensch* appealed tremendously to these writers, who were smitten by the phantasy of the superman as blond beast. The concept of *der Eigene*, although taken from Stirner’s philosophical work, overlapped extensively with Nietzsche’s *Übermensch*.¹³ Brand himself wrote a

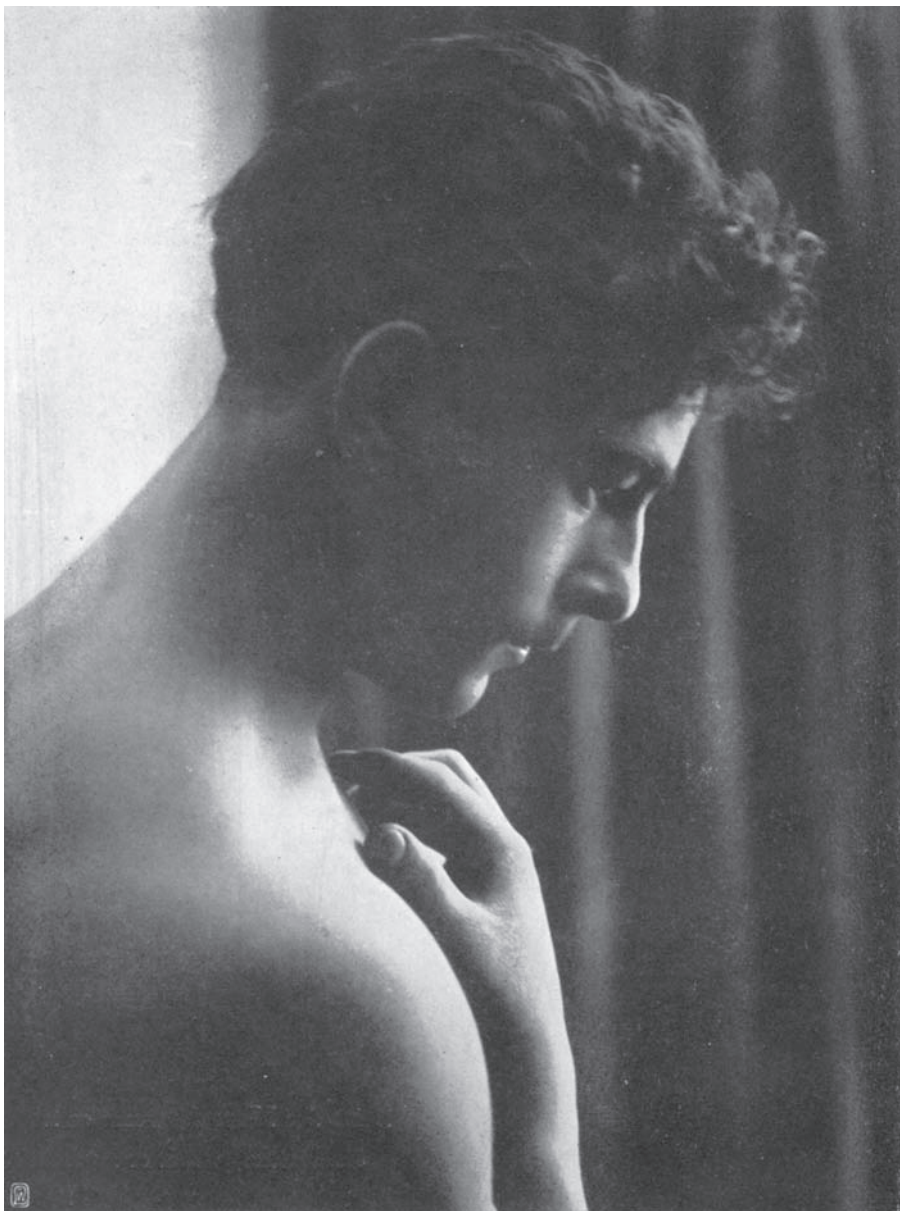


Figure 2. "The masculine ideal," in *Der Eigene*, vol. 6 (1906).

Personal collection of author.

poem called “Der Übermensch” and published it in *Der Eigene*.¹⁴ A typical article in *Der Eigene* was Edwin Bab’s “Frauenbewegung und männliche Kultur” (The Women’s Movement and Masculine Culture), which summed up the difference between the two gendered movements: “The women’s movement is leading us back to ancient Jewish ideals, the movement for male culture to ancient Greek ideals.” Although this sounds ominously as though it would fit into prevalent anti-Semitic rhetoric of the time, Bab actually wanted to see a union of these two cultures and movements which he claimed would lead to “a truly human culture.” He indicated where the philosophical underpinnings of these remarks came from in the closing line of his essay: “a truly human culture. Followers of Nietzsche would say, superhuman.”¹⁵ Despite Bab’s hopes for a union of the Jewish feminine and the Greek masculine ideals, most in the movement adulated the Übermensch primarily because of his hypervirility and his opposition to any sort of gender inversion.

In addition, the *Übermensch* appeals because he is beyond good and evil, rejecting the ascetic moral system imposed by the priestly caste upon the herd. Even Hirschfeld cites a Nietzschean aphorism critiquing morality in his 1896 treatise, *Sappho und Sokrates* (Sappho and Sokrates): “That which is natural, cannot be immoral.”¹⁶ Typically, Hirschfeld relies on arguments based on the natural and the biological in his defense of same-sex desire. Friedlaender’s 1904 masculinist study, *Die Renaissance des Eros Uranios*, follows Nietzsche even further in taking on morality itself as a product of the ascetic spirit and the priestly type. Whereas Brand emphasizes the radical individualism of the superhero, equating the man who loved men with the man beyond good and evil, Friedlaender concentrates in Nietzschean terms on the confining power of the priestly class, its ascetic approach to life, and the role of women in embracing this ideology. He argues that such asceticism creates a class of “the stunted,” men whose ability to love other men has atrophied under the influence of heterosexual moralistic obligations. Nietzsche and his followers often literalize this distrust of the priestly class as an attack on the Jews, who supposedly are responsible for one of the most insidious forms of priestliness—Christianity. The belief that women are particularly prone to submit to the teachings of the priests underscores the misogynist tendencies of this group. With the exception of Mackay, most of the masculinists exhibit these anti-Semitic and misogynist inclinations. In addition, the brilliant dénouement of Nietzsche’s *Genealogie der Moral* (Genealogy of Morals), where he identifies science as the new, nihilist religion of the modern age, influences many of these masculinist thinkers, who urgently reject the medical and psychiatric

efforts to treat them. Following Nietzsche's lead, they see such scientific efforts as deleterious continuations of the tradition of religious strictures against sexual behavior.

The Civilizing Legacy of the Greeks

Let us return for a moment, though, to the period before Nietzsche's thought reset the image of the Greeks. Throughout the nineteenth century, Greece provided legitimization for same-sex love and sexuality. Almost everyone in that era who thought about same-sex desire felt obliged to comment on the prominence of same-sex sexual acts in ancient Greek culture. Those who wanted to justify or condone such sexual acts found tremendous legitimizing authority in accounts of sapphism and platonic love. Even those who condemned such inclinations found it necessary to address and explain their open presence in a culture routinely held up as a model for Germany in particular and the West in general.

Even though Zschokke's *Eros* is set in nineteenth-century Switzerland, the Greek precedent colors this novella too. Not only do various characters cite ancient Greek examples throughout the text, but the whole work is constituted as a response to Plato's *Symposium*. In *Eros*, as in the *Symposium*, a series of characters discuss the significance of male-male love, although in the case of the nineteenth-century story the occasion is a dreadful crime of passion in which an older man has murdered his beloved younger friend, rather than the celebration of Agathon's victory in a dramatic competition. In the Swiss story, a wise man has the last word, mirroring Socrates' role in the *Symposium*; tellingly, it is not the character based on Hössli, Holmar, but the moderate narrator, Beda: "Go ahead Beda, you be our Socrates at our symposium."¹⁷ Holmar in fact is styled as the intemperate Alcibiades, who interrupts Plato's *Symposium* by arriving drunk at the end to put the group's wisdom into question. When Holmar shows up late to the discussion group in order to sing a defense of sensual relations between men, his demand for wine serves as a hint to the reader that he has taken on the role of the drunken Alcibiades: "I'll gladly take a glass!"¹⁸ This is all of course an ironic inversion of Plato's text, which cannot have pleased Hössli, especially since Holmar is not even beautiful like Alcibiades.

Hössli himself argues that ancient Greece provides the most convincing evidence on the nature of male love: "No phenomenon in all history is more inexplicable in our days than this love of the Greeks," he declares with a certain

ironic detachment.¹⁹ Summing up the thoughts of his contemporaries, Hössli continues: “We believe (sadly enough) either that the Greeks had a different nature than the general, eternally unchangeable nature that we now have, or that they sacrilegiously defiled their nature.”²⁰ He states his own actual position about Greek love more forcefully later: “If it was nature then, it is still nature now.”²¹ The unchangeability of male-male love proves that it is just and natural, according to Hössli. Repeatedly, Hössli forcefully rejects critiques of sexual attraction between men by citing the Greek precedent.

By midcentury, though, the terrain began to shift. To be sure, Kertbeny, Ulrichs, and Hirschfeld still mention the Greek example when it suits them. Kertbeny provides historical background when he makes such statements as “it is well known that the Greeks named such female homosexuals ‘tribades’” and “such homosexuals were known among the Greeks as ‘paiderastos.’”²² Ulrichs bases his vocabulary of the “urning” on Plato’s *Symposium*, in which Pausanias defines “uranian” love as the higher love that men have for men. Later in the nineteenth century, Magnus Hirschfeld would rely on the classical tradition for his first book, *Sappho und Sokrates oder Wie erklärt sich die Liebe der Männer und Frauen zu Personen des eigenen Geschlechtes?* (Sappho and Socrates or How Can One Explain the Love of Men and Women to Members of Their Own Sex?). Published in 1896 under the pseudonym “Th. Ramien,” some consider it “the founding manifesto of the modern gay movement.”²³

On the other hand, Westphal, Krafft-Ebing, and others in the medical community rarely devoted more than a few sentences to Greek examples. As scientists, they wanted hard empirical evidence, rather than speculation based on classical texts. From their perspective, the Greek examples provided at most some evidence of the permanence of the diagnosis that they were using. Because many homosexual emancipation activists, such as Ulrichs and Hirschfeld, worked closely with their contemporaries in the realm of the natural sciences and medicine, they too began to devote more and more time to non-Greek examples of same-sex desire.

In contrast to these homosexual emancipation activists and medical thinkers, Nietzschean masculinists like Kupffer, Friedlaender, Mackay, and Blüher continued to promote the Greek vision of male-male desire quite enthusiastically. For Kupffer, Greece is the best example of a country that thrived when it cultivated what he calls *Lieblingminne* or “ardor for favorites.”²⁴ For Friedlaender, the classical tradition still clearly provides the model upon which discussions of male-male sexuality should be based because ancient Greece and Rome did not discriminate on the basis of sexuality: “In ancient Hellas

and Rome, same-sex love was seen as something just as self-evident as the other love.”²⁵ For Mackay, such male-male love is justified by the fact that it was endorsed by the Greeks, “the people most thirsty for beauty and most drunk on beauty.”²⁶

Of the radical antiliberal tracts that these men wrote on sexuality, Blüher’s provides perhaps the clearest indication of the new and yet old role of classical Greece in saving German culture. In his discussion of the German state, he devotes considerable time to the works of an ethnologist, Heinrich Schurtz (1863–1903), who had coined the term “Männerbund” in his 1902 book, *Altersklassen und Männerbunde: Eine Darstellung der Grundformen der Gesellschaft* (Age Groups and Male Bonding. A Representation of Basic Forms of Society). Blüher endorses Schurtz’s argument that male bonding was a central structure in Greek society, as well as modern society, but ridicules Schurtz’s reluctance to admit that the adhesive binding these men together was of an erotic nature.²⁷ Blüher turns to the study of classical Greece for the analysis of the fundamentals of society. He sees Socrates as the role model par excellence for modern men, because he unites the youths around him in love. The fact that he talks to a woman, Diotima, about love, rather than to his followers, only underscores his love for the youths, according to Blüher, because Socrates wouldn’t be able to talk to his pupils about the love that he feels for them.²⁸ Blüher argues that Greece, its great men, and their love of male youth represent the hope for Germany. Male bonding and modern conceptions of homosexuality must be restructured along Greek lines, if Germany is to achieve its full potential.²⁹

Sexual Categories and the Greeks

One of the main reasons sexologists and the emancipationists downplayed the significance of the Greek model was that it did not seem to support their notions of sexual categories. While the Greek model frequently served throughout the nineteenth century as evidence for the eternal nature of same-sex desire, even Kertbeny and Ulrichs had to concede it wasn’t exactly the same as the same-sex desire that they saw in modern central Europe. Since these nineteenth-century thinkers were well trained in classical languages, many of them could document differences between the sexuality described in ancient Greek texts and the sexuality they observed in modern society. For many agitators for homosexual emancipation and for many sexologists, the more they thought about sexuality, the less useful the Greek model became.

In the late eighteenth century, prior to the emancipation movement and the medicalization of sexuality, many scholars of classical antiquity believed Greek love had flourished in ancient Greece for environmental and development reasons, not because a certain subset of Greeks had an innate predilection for sex with members of their own sex. This was alarming to Hössli, Kertbeny, Ulrichs, and Westphal because it didn't support the idea of an immutable sexuality. Instead, it implied that any man might develop a taste for sexual acts with men, if the conditions were right. Voltaire (1694–1778) relied on many of these environmental and developmental explanations in the entry on “amour socratique” or Socratic love in his *Dictionnaire philosophique* (Philosophical Dictionary, first published 1764), in which he claims the Greeks were prone to this form of desire because of their poor treatment of women, their public bath houses, and their naked athletics.³⁰ In his 1775 analysis, *Betrachtungen über die Männerliebe der Griechen, nebst einem Auszug aus dem Gemahle des Plato* (Observations on the Male Love of the Greeks, along with Excerpts from the Symposium of Plato), Christoph Meiners (1747–1810) passed on many of these beliefs on the origins of Greek love to educated Germans. He argues that it flourished among the Greeks because of the poor treatment and education of women in antiquity, which made the women less appealing as partners. In addition, he adds that the gymnasias, “where the most beautiful youths were educated in all manner of bodily exercises,” were dangerous, because “the most beautiful youth revealed all the charms of their bodies without cloak to the lustful eye.”³¹ At the end of the eighteenth century, forensic physician Johann Valentin Müller (1756–1813) surmises that the practice arose either in cultures with little access to women (for instance, among soldiers) or among affluent and decadent societies where individuals are bored with natural pleasures: “The warrior and the barbarian, wandering about hunting and separated from women, satisfy their sensual needs with their own sex out of necessity, whereas the overly refined libertine, weakened by excessive pleasure and dead to the stronger appeals of nature, falls for this unnatural idea out of refinement.”³² Ramdohr returns to the gymnasias as a source of temptation for classical Athenians and adds to these theories the suggestion that climate may also play a role. He argues that the Greek customs are not appropriate for the northern European culture and climate.³³ In 1829, Friedrich Jacobs (1764–1847), a classics professor at the court in Gotha, published an essay called “Die Männerliebe” (Male Love), in which he repeats the assertion that the custom of sex between men had its origins in the gymnasias of ancient Greece, presumably because of the practice of exercising in the nude.³⁴

Many of these explanations show up in Zschokke's short story, often directly attributed to Meiners.³⁵ While Holmar insists that Greek love is a natural and transhistorical phenomenon that the ancients had wisely allowed to flourish, the other characters believe that environmental arguments explain why male-male love was such a prominent feature of Greek culture. Beda, the narrator, sums up the feelings of most of the group when he points out that men saw only other men "in workshops, plays, baths, markets and military campaigns." "All science, all art, all intellectual development," he continues, "was the property of man, while woman remained limited to the art of cleaning and action in a narrow, domestic, and inglorious life." This insight suggests to Beda why "the respect and inclinations of man were directed toward man, while woman, abandoned and orphaned by civil society, rarely or never could arouse lasting pleasure through the height of her spirit or the wealth of her intellectual development." At the end of his long speech on the subject, Beda has almost convinced himself that a male would be a better partner for a man than a woman: "it cannot be denied that far more soulful characteristics speak in the visage of a beautiful young man—as well as more heroism, high feelings, tenderness and imagination—than in the face of the prettiest girl."³⁶ Even though Zschokke's narrator Beda believes that such environmental causes of same-sex desire were more powerful in ancient Greece, he also clearly believes that they could also take place today.

Hössli has no truck at all with environmental explanations for male-male desire. He is appalled that anyone would think the Greeks did not appreciate women.³⁷ He directly denies that "the love of the Greeks to their beloveds is merely the product of this nation, its climate, its politics and gymnasia, its weakness and excessive refinement."³⁸ As admirable as Greek society's acceptance of Greek love was, according to Hössli, that love was not specifically Greek, because it was and is really a phenomenon of nature. His arguments against environmental explanations make clear how widespread and well developed these explanations were.

Hössli fights these environmental explanations for the prevalence of male-male love among the Greeks so ferociously because their implication was that any warrior without access to women might want to have sex with his buddies or that any debauched rake who had tired of too many women might take to having sex with boys. Similarly, any man raised in a misogynist society might become a *dévoté* of Greek love, any student forced to exercise in the nude might fall into bad habits with his fellow students, and any person born in a southern climate might be inclined to homosexual acts on a sultry evening.

This was directly opposed to the notion developing in Hössli, Kertbeny, and Ulrichs—as well as in the biological, medical, and psychiatric sciences—that only certain specific people had an innate, immutable sexual desire for members of their own sex.

The idea that desire for sexual acts with members of one's own sex was more likely to develop in certain environments had as its corollary that the desire could spread. Müller, the forensic physician, reports that Johann David Michaelis, the biblical scholar from Göttingen, believed the death penalty was advisable for sodomy because if the act was not punished harshly enough it would become so popular that marriage itself "would never be in fashion again."³⁹ Hössli, Kertbeny, Ulrichs had a strong interest in denying this charge and allaying the fears of the German citizenry; most late nineteenth-century medical experts on homosexuality supported their argument that same-sex desire could not spread because it was innate.

While the sexologists and activists increasingly gave only lip service to the classical model as they pursued their vision of an identifiable, discrete homosexual minority, a new generation of thinkers emerged in the late nineteenth century who took over the Greek model to promote a vision of sexuality that celebrated precisely the alternative sexual categories they believed existed in the ancient world. Kupffer, Friedlaender, Mackay, and Blüher rejected the careful distinctions between friendship and sexual love Ramdohr and Hössli had developed. Friendship became for them the preferred mode of erotic masculine relationships. Moreover, they dismissed the homosexual identity in Kertbeny and Ulrichs as well as the medical model of homosexuality Westphal promoted, arguing instead for a generalized bisexuality, at least among men.

Adolf Brand is determined to keep the exact definition of love vague, for "truly great passionate love is always pure. And no one needs to be ashamed of it, regardless of whether it is directed at a woman, or at a friend, for in all of nature it is never and never will be bound to a specific sex. The priests who say that are lying to us."⁴⁰ The subtitle of the pamphlet in which this essay first appeared announces a rejection of "petit bourgeois culture, clerical management and female control," revealing Brand's reliance on Nietzschean moorings to anchor his critique of categories of love. The subsequent republication of this essay in a collection of pieces on the relationship between friendship, the Führer and the Volk underscores the fascination that fascism held for these authors.

Despite his radical critiques of sexual identity, Brand ultimately relies on arguments concerning personal privacy in order to keep the state from

infringing on his personal life, arguments that would also be appealing to political liberals. Like Kertbeny and Ulrichs, he frames the debate in terms of freedom of religion: “Today, no respectable person can reject the idea that love—just like religion!—is a private matter, regardless of whether it is directed toward a woman or a man.”⁴¹ Therefore the state should stay away: “For the state has no reason to forbid the joys of life and to threaten the joys of friendship with punishment, because no one is harmed by them and because the enjoyment of male-male sensual pleasure is a joy and a spring of eternal youth for many hundreds of thousands of our best and bravest.”⁴²

Kupffer’s “Ethisch-politische Einführung” (Ethical Political Introduction) to his anthology, *Lieblingminne und Freundesliebe*, polemicizes against both the homosexual emancipation movement and the sexologists. He notes sarcastically that “it is now the fashion in humane-scientific circles to talk of a ‘third’ sex, whose body and soul do not harmonize.”⁴³ The phrase “humane-scientific” is a direct reference to Hirschfeld’s “Scientific-Humanitarian Committee.” Kupffer had reviewed Hirschfeld’s 1898 reprint of Ulrichs’s *Forschungen über das Räthsel der mannmännlichen Liebe* in the 1899 issue of Brand’s *Der Eigene*, so he was well-informed on the theory behind the urning, which he however rejected: “The Hannoverian legal scholar K. H. Ulrichs—certainly a brave and honorable character, although not really a circumspect thinker—has even invented a name for this third sex, among which he counted himself; this word ‘urning’ (from Venus urania) has spread like a general epidemic.”⁴⁴ Virtually in the same breath, he critiques the medical world: the concept of the urning “has been adapted by science, especially the well-known psychiatric professor Freiherr von Krafft-Ebing in Vienna.”⁴⁵ For Kupffer, the urning is a degrading representation of the heroes of ancient Greece, who he fears are being forced to cross-dress in the interests of liberal politics and science.

Friedlaender also rejects quite articulately the idea of a clearly defined sexual identity. The classical texts reveal to him a world in which many or even most men could imagine themselves attracted to other males, as well as, to women: “In general, it was perceived as trivial that man was capable of *both* directions of the love drive.”⁴⁶ As he explains in his introduction, those people called “homosexuals” represent only an extreme subset on the spectrum of sexual interest: “First I prove the argument that so-called homosexuality is only an extreme special case of a physiological and biological human characteristic that is in and of itself completely normal and necessary.”⁴⁷ Given his training with the zoologist Jäger, it is not surprising that Friedlaender maintains a biological grounding for his theories on sexuality. Unlike the sexologists,

however, he rejects the notion that a solid percentage of the public should be categorized as urnings, and insists that bisexuality is the biologically natural state.⁴⁸ He speculates that most men are capable of same-sex desire: “it is at least a discussable, indeed probable, assumption that most men are by nature more or less bisexual—that they have, so to speak, a homosexual vein—and that it is only the colossal moral rejection of same-sex love that cause the majority either to suppress this tendency, which is possible for the weaker cases, or to hide it.”⁴⁹ This stands in contrast to the arguments of the sexologists who are looking for evidence of an innate condition that leads to an inborn homosexual desire.

Friedlaender’s theory cause him to reject the vocabulary of “homosexuality” and “homosexual,” as he regards a bisexual interest in men and women as the normal category that should be unmarked. If “homosexual” must be used to describe men who are interested in men, he endorses the word *gynaekerast* to describe a man who is interested exclusively in women, an interest Friedlaender regards as just as abnormal as exclusive desire for men.⁵⁰

Friedlaender’s repeatedly stated interest in a theory of the universal bisexuality of men is a highly destabilizing argument, for the sexual fluidity it proposes puts homo- and heterosexual identity into question. Whereas Westphal, along with Hössli, Kertbeny, and Ulrichs, reassures readers that tolerance for homosexuality will not lead to a spread of the condition, because heterosexuality is as much an inborn, unchangeable state as homosexuality, Friedlaender suggests that a relaxation of societal prohibitions against male-male desire would allow the inherent bisexuality of most men to develop. He labels those men whose homosexual desires have been repressed or stunted the *Kümmerlinge* (weaklings). According to Friedlaender, they suffer even more from societal condemnation of male-male desire than men whose homosexual desires are so strong that they ignore that social condemnation, because the *Kümmerlinge* are unable to escape the herd mentality that proscribes male-male love.⁵¹ On his account, seducing such men would be a way of saving and healing them.

Friedlaender’s belief in a broadly diffused eroticism between men points to his rejection of the distinction between friendship and love that theorists of same-sex desire had been developing throughout the nineteenth century. Unlike Ramdohr and Hössli, Friedlaender returns to the eroticism of friendship: “friendship is precisely the love between members of the same sex.”⁵² He thereby mobilizes the entire late eighteenth-century literature of friendship for his cause: “That Schillerian friendship is—pardon the expression!—nothing

other than today's so-called homosexuality."⁵³ "Homosexuality" is merely a misleading modern term, according to Friedlaender, for the male bonding that has characterized all the great time periods of history, from classical Greece to the Age of Goethe.

Similarly relying on ancient Greek culture for his models, Mackay also attempts to tear down the distinctions between male-male friendship and sexual love between men that are so important for Ramdohr and Hössli. In *Fenny Skaller: Ein Leben der namenlosen Liebe* (Fenny Skaller: A Life of the Nameless Love), which appeared in 1913 as the third of the six *Bücher der namenlosen Liebe* (published under the pseudonym Sagitta), he equates the two categories: "their friendship was love and their love friendship."⁵⁴ With this equation, Mackay allows for a general eroticization of many male-male interactions. Indeed in his historical and theoretical introduction to the *Bücher*, Mackay insists that there a "Hellenic inheritance lives on, inextinguishable, in the breast of *every* man, *every* youth."⁵⁵ Mackay himself emphasizes the words to eliminate modern categories of sexuality.

Mackay blames medicine for the emergence of strict sexual categories: "Physicians took power over this love. For physicians, people are only valuable when they are sick. Therefore a new sex was constructed, a third, that stood between the two sexes: steps that were to distinguish it from the norm in order to prove its 'scientific justification.'"⁵⁶ Both for the physicians who want to cure this sexual love and for the physicians who recognize it is not an illness, but want to save it by categorizing it, Mackay has one word: "Dreadful!"⁵⁷ Interestingly, he acknowledges that medicine had a positive role to play in publicizing the existence of male-male love. In the largely autobiographical *Fenny Skaller*, Mackay refers to the discovery of a big book with "a strange Latin title, a title in two words," presumably Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia sexualis*.⁵⁸ The book allowed him to discover that there were others like him. Although he didn't like the diagnosis of insanity, he was grateful for Krafft-Ebing's recognition of his existence: Fenny Skaller "was still thankful to him, for what it had told him first of all: that he wasn't alone. But otherwise he was horrified by these final shameless revelations of desperate and poor people, these revelations that a narrow-minded, although honest, mind had brought together, packed up, registered and labeled in the name of a new science."⁵⁹

Mackay's acknowledgment of the role medicine plays in documenting the existence of same-sex desire shows that at times the differences between the masculinists and their ideological opponents was a matter of nuance and emphasis.⁶⁰ He makes the same universalizing, nature-based claims that the

emancipationists and sexologists make: This love “existed everywhere, in every class and in every people. It existed and it had always existed. It existed and would always exist as long as the world existed and there was love between people.”⁶¹ He does accept some modern sexual categories to a certain degree, acknowledging, for instance, that there are some effeminate boys, “who in their womanly feelings desired to be loved.”⁶² Fenny Skaller is simply not interested in such boys, although he is very interested in other, more masculine boys. Most important, Fenny Skaller insists he himself has an unchanging sexual identity: “He was who he was. He couldn’t make himself different than he was, and wouldn’t have wanted to either.”⁶³

Nonetheless, Mackay’s Fenny believes that bisexuality is the more general condition: “He knew that there were some, indeed many, whose tendencies were directed at both sexes.”⁶⁴ In particular, he asserts that youth are especially malleable in terms of sexual desire. Setting aside the subset of effeminate boys whom he doesn’t find attractive, “there were on the other hand those who in their youth could reciprocate the love of an elder of their own sex, just as they would respond to a woman later; those whose feelings in their youth did not yet go in a particular direction.”⁶⁵ Despite this limited acceptance of modern sexual categories, Mackay is most interested in what he considers to be the more common bisexuality, particularly of young people. His argument is that religion and medicine have constructed a series of categories that limit the freedom of individuals.

Blüher similarly eliminates, or at least diminishes, the distinction between friendship and love that theoreticians of the early nineteenth century had erected: “The friend is that man who would have become our beloved, if we belonged to the *typus inversus*.”⁶⁶ Admittedly, there still is the residue of a difference between friendship and love here, in that Blüher works with the category of the *typus inversus*, a man who has a special affinity for other men. But this category is in effect more a way of distinguishing the true heroes of society, the “men’s men,” rather than creating a clearly defined subcategory of people. In any case, he rejects the vocabulary of the “homosexual,” preferring the terms “inversion” and “invert.”⁶⁷ Basic to this theory is the assumption of general bisexuality: “We understand therefore under the fundamental bisexuality of every person his original capability to direct sexuality toward the other as well as his own sex.”⁶⁸ The thrust of Blüher’s theory is against the creation of a category of homosexuals, and in favor of the assertion of a generalized eroticism among all men.

Part of Blüher’s rejection of the classification of “homosexuality” is his

consistent attack on medicine, sexology, and in particular what he calls “the catastrophe of psychiatry,” which—he adds—has been in a “permanent symbiosis with law.”⁶⁹ Blüher haughtily repudiates the notion that homosexuals are in need of healing, asking why it never occurs to heterosexuals that they need to be healed.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, society has become so twisted that men who feel a desire for other men think that they have no other choice than to go to the physicians and request advice.⁷¹ This is a tragic mistake, because male-male desire is not degenerate or pathological in any way.⁷² The damage done by medical approaches to sexuality must be overcome, if German male bonding is to recover and Germany to attain the glorious heights that Greece climbed.⁷³

In his discovery of erotic tensions throughout society, his critique of traditional psychiatry and sexology, and his denial of the principle identity, Blüher relies heavily on Sigmund Freud, whom he frequently cites. Hirschfeld, ever gracious in the presence of his intellectual opponents, praises Blüher for his extensive efforts at incorporating Freudian thought into the discussion of same-sex desire. While, later, Freud would lose patience with Blüher and his politics (as would Hirschfeld), it is striking how much overlap there is between Freud’s thinking and that of the masculinists at the end of the nineteenth century. Particularly in the *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie* (Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality), published in 1905, Freud cites a number of sexologists and emancipationists, including Krafft-Ebing, Ellis, Hirschfeld, and even Ulrichs, but usually in order to dismiss their arguments in terms quite similar to those of the masculinists. Although he mentions Otto Weininger (who will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 3), he does not refer to any of the masculinists by name. He does, however, cite from Hirschfeld’s *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, where he would certainly have run into masculinist arguments. Unlike the sexologists, who usually mention Greek examples only in passing as they rush to their case studies, Freud devotes considerable attention to such ancient Greek figures as Oedipus and Antigone.

In the *Drei Abhandlungen*, Freud agrees with the masculinist resistance to seeing homosexuals as a separate class of human beings: “Psychoanalytic research decisively opposes the efforts to separate homosexuals as a special sort of group from other people. In studying sexual arousal other than the manifestly announced, psychoanalysis learns that all people are capable of same-sex object choice and have also made such a choice in their unconscious.”⁷⁴ Freud repeats his thinking in his 1910 study, *Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci* (A Childhood Memory of Leonardo da Vinci):

Homosexual men who in our era have undertaken energetic actions against the legal restrictions on their sexual acts love to be represented by their theoretical mouthpieces as a sexual variation different from the outset, a sexual intermediary type, a “third sex.” They are said to be men whose organic conditions requires them to take the pleasure in men that they do not get in women. Just as one supports their demands out of humane considerations, so should one maintain reservations about their theories, which are represented without reflecting on the psychic genesis of homosexuality.⁷⁵

Although Freud seems to support the political objectives of the activists, he dismisses their theorizing as naïve. Rather than distinguishing homosexual from heterosexuals as separate classes of people, Freud argues, like the masculinists, for an original bisexuality both in childhood and in human history, as he states in the *Drei Abhandlungen*: “For psychoanalysis the object choice’s independence from gender, the initially free disposal over male and female objects, which can be seen in childhood, in primitive culture, and in prehistorical times, is the original situation, from which the normal and the invert develop, through restrictions on the one or the other side.”⁷⁶ Like Friedlaender, who thinks heterosexuality requires as much if not more explanation than homosexuality, Freud also asserts that “exclusive sexual interest by a man for a woman is a problem requiring explanation and not self-evidently based on a chemical attraction.”⁷⁷ Like the masculinists, Freud resists the assumptions behind the identity politics of sexual orientation.

Freud mocks Ulrichs’s formula of a “feminine brain in a masculine body” as “crude” and suggests that Krafft-Ebing’s understanding of inversion is only slightly more sophisticated.⁷⁸ Even Freud’s translation of Ulrichs’s *anima* as “brain” (*Gehirn*) is dismissive. Ulrichs’s Latin term is usually translated as “soul,” but Freud wants to force Ulrichs’s theories out of the metaphysical realm of the soul and into the purely empirical world of brain research, where someone would have to demonstrate that there is such a thing as a female brain. Indeed, he challenges the popular wisdom that a person is “either a man or a woman,” reminding his readers of various forms of intersexual beings.⁷⁹ This critique of Ulrichs and Krafft-Ebing actually also applies to the masculinists (who were often quite invested in the essential difference between man and woman), but he performs it in order to challenge the biologism of the medical-emancipationist viewpoint.

Male Bonding and Male Initiation

While late nineteenth-century masculinist thinkers like Kupffer, Friedlaender, Mackay, and Blüher reject the categories “homosexual” and “heterosexual” and the distinction between male-male love and male-male friendship, they find in ancient Greece other categories they want to reemphasize. The sex differences between male and female are very pronounced in their thinking—not for them Ulrichs’s gender inversion, Hirschfeld’s intermediary sexual types, Freud’s dismissal of gender binaries! Indeed, the frequently misogynist writings of these masculinists often explicitly exclude female-female relations entirely from their purview. While the model of gender inversion invites a symmetrical treatment of men with female souls who loved other men and women with male souls who loved other women, these thinkers usually discuss only male desire (be it for women or men) and disregard female desire (for anyone). Moreover, in studying male-male love, these thinkers focus on the Greek system of pederasty, with its distinctions between the lover (*erastes*) and beloved (*eromenos*). Hössli, Ulrichs, Kertbeny, and the sexologists make every effort to remove the taint of pedophilia from their vision of male-male love, whereas Friedlaender, Blüher, Kupffer, and Mackay openly declare that the Greek model implies the societal acceptance of intergenerational sex between males.⁸⁰

In the context of Greek love, male-male desire is typically associated with masculinity, not effeminacy, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Zschokke’s Holmar exemplifies this interpretation of same-sex desire, pointing out that one finds this eros “in the stories of the American Indians in which youths who loved each other swore indestructible warrior oaths, where they carried love and suffering for each other eternally, dared every danger together, and one avenged the death of the other to his own last breath swearing vengeance on the enemy.”⁸¹ In a later listing of culture where this love flourished he includes, in addition to the native Americans and the Greeks, “other unspoiled peoples who had freedom” and the “armed brotherhoods of the free knights of the Middle Ages.”⁸² Here he refers to the Order of the Maltese Knights, about whom Schiller wrote his fragmentary homoerotic play, *Die Malteser* (The Maltese).⁸³ Hössli repeats the claim that Greek love was prominent particularly among the bravest and most warlike tribes.⁸⁴

Masculinist thinkers such as Kupffer, Friedlaender, Mackay, and Blüher also emphasize the masculinity of male-male love and reject the vision of

gender inversion promoted by both emancipationists such as Ulrichs and sexologists such as Westphal. Kupffer begins his influential introduction to his anthology with the assertion that modern culture is suffering from a crisis of masculinity: "We live unfortunately in such an unmanly time that every intervention for masculine rights, not to mention male prerogatives, is perceived and censured as an unmodern blasphemy and diminution of female predominance."⁸⁵ He concedes to women the rights that they have already achieved, but claims that "in view of the emancipation, the self-becoming of woman, we need an emancipation of men to rejuvenate manly culture."⁸⁶ He insists he is not a misogynist and distinguishes himself from Nietzsche and Schopenhauer who "preach contempt for women."⁸⁷ But he does believe that male-male relationships are "a powerful element in the state and of culture."⁸⁸ Male bonding "is what creates the sense of nation, the power of a people."⁸⁹

In emphasizing the general bisexuality of men in his glorification of the Greek model, Friedlaender intentionally omits women because he believes the Greek model addresses a specifically male phenomenon. The societal prohibitions on same-sex love apply mainly to men: "moral restrictions affected men primarily."⁹⁰ Same-sex love is therefore primarily a masculine issue: "same-sex love should be characterized not as a question of personal freedom, but rather as a question of masculine freedom."⁹¹ It is worth remembering that in Germany at the time only male-male, not female-female, sexual acts were prohibited by law.

Friedlaender therefore rejects the thinking that had informed the works of Ramdohr and Ulrichs, who had seen the man who loved men as a female soul in a male body. He does not accept the logic of the syllogism: a) love of men is a female quality; b) urnings love men; c) urnings therefore have female qualities. Male-male desire becomes for Friedlaender an aspect of masculinity that has been oppressed. Consequently he develops a strong interest in same-sex desire in such traditionally masculine arenas as the military, where, he feels, more eroticism could be beneficial. In an article titled "Schadet die soziale Freigabe des homosexuellen Verkehrs der kriegserischen Tüchtigkeit der Rasse?" (Does the societal tolerance of homosexual sex damage the race's capacity for war?), printed in the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* of 1905 (before his final split from Hirschfeld), Friedlaender draws on the Japanese tradition of the samurai to argue that male-male love enhances, rather than diminishes, the warlike tendencies of a people.

Like Kupffer, Mackay does not want to come off as a woman-hater. Without naming Friedlaender explicitly, he rejects his friend's practice of

“advancing the freedom of love for man at the expense of woman.”⁹² But his focus is clearly on manliness—“the old love of the Hellenes” was practiced by “a masculine man whose masculine inclinations were for a masculine youth.”⁹³ He objects to the medical model mostly because it promulgates the feminization of men who loved men.⁹⁴ He dislikes the homosexual scene in Berlin because of the prominence of effeminate men in it: “There were men, if one could call them that, some even in women’s clothes, about whom one couldn’t know: were they still men or were they already women? With feminine appearance, feminine behavior and apparently entirely feminine feelings, they acted completely like women, in whose role they apparently felt best. They gave each other women’s names, acted delicate, and there was a screaming and a screeching that is otherwise only there when real women are present.”⁹⁵ This passage gives more evidence of the lively venues in Berlin, as well as demonstrating Mackay’s interest in “real men,” instead of cross-gendered people.

Blüher also objects to the sexological tendency to see homosexuality in terms of gender reversal. Although he agrees that no one is fully male or fully female, and even acknowledges that truly great men must have a touch of the feminine,⁹⁶ he generally is contemptuous of what he considers the “banal” medical category of “the third sex.”⁹⁷ Men who love men are in general, according to Blüher, more masculine than other men, not more feminine. Any femininity found in inverters is merely a matter of unfortunate socialization.⁹⁸ Blüher observes that the claim that male homosexuals are female souls in masculine bodies in fact erases male-male desire and reasserts universal heterosexuality: “People have talked and written about homosexuality and not noticed that one basically denies its existence when one sees it as the product, or the psychological consequence, of the feminine constitution of the man.”⁹⁹ Masculine men who love other men provide the real alternative to heterosexuality.

For Blüher, same-sex desire is interesting only insofar as it is between men. Blüher’s theory begins with the distinction between male-female desire, which rules in the family, and male-male desire, which structures society: “Besides the socializing principle of the family, which is nourished from the spring of male-female eros, there is in the human race a second principle, the ‘masculine society,’ which thanks male-male eros for its existence and expresses itself in male organizations.”¹⁰⁰ Female-female desire falls completely out of this picture: “There is indeed female inversion, but there is no true female *typus inversus*,” declares Blüher, allowing for women who have sex with women, but not granting these women any identity in society.¹⁰¹

Blüher’s assumption of basic bisexuality allows for these two forces,

male-male and male-female desire, to coexist, not only in the human race, but also in individual humans. Using Greek precedents to justify his own married life, Blüher demonstrates that many men who are partial to men—and thus involved in the male-bonding activities of the state and society—can also have family lives, including wives and children: “The healthy pederast is *never* timid around women and can also marry a woman with limited demands. Think of Socrates.”¹⁰² The reverse is also true: “In ancient Hellas it was self-evident for every otherwise woman-loving man that he sometimes took a male youth for the pleasures of love.”¹⁰³

Early-twentieth-century authors such as Friedlaender and Blüher used the Greek model not only to focus explicitly on masculinity and dismiss lesbianism from their concern, but also to attack aggressively the emerging women’s movement. In his emphasis on the importance of same-sex love for men, Friedlaender comes out against feminism and the women’s movement, breaking from the liberal tendencies of the homosexual emancipation. Friedlaender denies women the creative ability that men have, and asserts that humans would still be living in caves and eating fruits and roots if there had not been men.¹⁰⁴ Erotic male-male relationships are necessary in part because women cannot provide intellectual companionship for men: “As women were, are, and despite all emancipation will generally remain, they are not equipped to be a serious intellectual complement for man.”¹⁰⁵ This didn’t mean that Friedlaender opposes all the specific objectives of the women’s movement, such as permission to study at the university, but he worries about what he felt was a feminization of society. Echoing Kupffer’s call for a kind of men’s movement, he announces that “we simply believe that a social, and in particular a sociable, emancipation *from* women should accompany the emancipation *of* women.”¹⁰⁶

Although “the healthy pederast” is supposedly not shy of women, Blüher combines his arguments for masculine inversion with considerable misogyny. He echoes Friedlaender when he asserts that women have contributed nothing to civilization.¹⁰⁷ The women’s movement is of interest for him only insofar as it annoys the stodgy bourgeoisie: “But take the craziest suffragette over a bourgeois antifeminist!”¹⁰⁸ He is most intrigued by the woman who breaks with bourgeois standards of propriety, the “hetaera,” who stands in opposition to the “mother” as one of the two categories of femininity. The educated, sexually active woman who preferred the company of men to the family intrigued Blüher, who regarded Diotima as an example of this female type. In this respect, his thinking has connections to that of Franziska Gräfin zu Reventlow

and the fictional version of her in Ernst von Wolzogen's 1899 novel *Das dritte Geschlecht* (The Third Sex), a complex we shall study in a later chapter.

While Mackay, Kupffer, Friedlaender, and Blüher deny the significance of the sexual categories of "homosexual" and "heterosexual," they clearly work other sexual categories in the Greek model, relying heavily on the distinction between the lover (*erastes*) and the beloved (*eromenos*). Because of their focus on masculinity, they frequently discuss sexuality as a component of male initiation. Their willingness to talk about and defend these categories contradicts the efforts of many in the homosexual emancipation movement who insisted that homosexuals loved adults, not children.

The early apologists for male-male desire already know about the specific social structures that it exhibited in ancient Greek society. Well-trained classicists, they know about the division between the older, socially more prominent, wealthier, and hopefully wiser lover and the younger beloved hoping to learn and profit from his partner. In *Die Malteser*, Schiller writes that in his male-male romantic pair, "only one is the lover, the active one; the younger and beloved behaves passively."¹⁰⁹ Ramdohr assumes that this particular form of male-male love emerged from heroic periods of conflict, when grizzled warriors would share their wisdom with new recruits. He thinks it is probably "very useful for the education of the young."¹¹⁰ Distinguishing Greek love from friendship, Hössli points out that, in contrast to friendship, Greek love always consists of "the lover and the beloved, never the two lovers . . . everywhere the lover is in a completely different relationship to the beloved as, alternatively, the beloved is to the lover."¹¹¹

These early thinkers could be so nonchalant about this intergenerational sex because it fit into their more generalized understanding of sexual pairs. Many wives were considerably younger than their husbands in Europe. The prominent scientist and aphorist Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742–1799) had set up a household with a flower girl, Marie Stechard, when she was eleven. He justified it in part in terms of pedagogy, very much like the classical Greek model. Friedrich von Hardenberg (1772–1801), the Romantic poet known as Novalis, fell in love with Sophie von Kühn when she was twelve. She agreed to marry him two days before her thirteenth birthday. Their relationship was generally accepted by their peers and many sympathized with the devastated Novalis when she died at fifteen.¹¹² Marie Antoinette married the future Louis XVI when she was fourteen, which was widely known throughout Europe. Thus, in the first part of the nineteenth century, the Greek model for male pairs did not seem remarkably different from easily observable models of male-female pairs in the same time period.

Throughout the nineteenth century, however, concern developed for the protection of children. Promoted by bourgeois feminism, the age of consent for marriage increased steadily in this period.¹¹³ Paradoxically, the onset of puberty and menstruation actually sank, creating the adolescent who wasn't supposed to have sex even as his or her body began to feel the urge for it. By 1869, then, there was concern that older men might take sexual advantage of boys as well as girls. The Zastrow case in Berlin highlighted these anxieties, for which reason both Kertbeny and Ulrichs emphasized that the homosexual and the urning did not have a sexual interest in children. Westphal also came to their aid, insistent that the invert desires sex with a grown-up man.

In contrast, the masculinist writers have no compunction about directly celebrating the intergenerational aspect of Greek love. Kupffer specifically refers to the love of man to man, man to youth, and youth to youth in his introduction to *Lieblingminne und Freundesliebe*, although he insists that it goes without saying that relationships between men and youth in ancient Greece had nothing to do with "the seduction of children."¹¹⁴ His own paintings celebrate the beauty of young men, and the models for the paintings frequently lived with him and his partner Mayer in Minusio.

Leipziger classicist Erich Bethe (1863–1940) celebrated Greek pederasty even more openly. In an article from 1907 called *Die dorische Knabenliebe: ihre Ethik und ihre Idee* (Dorian Pederasty: Its Ethics and Ideals), he vigorously defends the institution of classical pederasty. Mildly admonishing his colleagues for their timidity in discussions of Greek love, Bethe stresses the connections between Greek culture and pederasty: "Pederasty is one of the most noticeable characteristics of older Greek culture. That is scarcely ever frankly stated with complete honesty, but no one will deny it."¹¹⁵ Writing as an anthropologist, Bethe does not locate this male-male desire in a specific category of person, but insists that it was a widespread social institution: "The Dorians carefully regulated in fixed forms the love relations between man and youth and treated it as an institution very important to them completely openly with honorable gravity under the protection of family, society, state and religion."¹¹⁶ Bethe sees pederasty as a general element of male bonding that is particularly relevant to societies with a stark masculine imprint, like ancient Greece's Sparta, but also like New Guinean warrior tribes and the Japanese under the samurai. In discussing these initiation rituals, Bethe is quite straightforward about the sexual aspect of the pederastic relations, making clear that semen would actually be ingested by the youths: "The ceremonial act required that the beloved must take semen from the orgasm of the mature man in his body."¹¹⁷ This sexually

explicit nature of this graphic account, which appeared in the venerable Rheinisches Museum für Philologie (Rheinish Museum of Philology), is unusual, as the rhetoric of pederasty tended to focus on the pedagogical relationship between the adults and the youths, blurring the physical side of the relationship. Nonetheless, in parts of the scholarly world, same-sex love in ancient Greece is associated with masculine values and intergenerational sex that takes place in a general, widespread way—not a sexual practice reserved for a small group with a specific identity.

Mackay's writings all center primarily on the "nameless love" between men and youth. His famous *Puppenjunge* of 1926 provides a thorough description of the subculture of teenage hustlers in Berlin during the Weimar era who cater to older men. He describes the locales in which the hustler scene took place—from the new arcades with their multitudinous consumer possibilities and the streets to elegant bars in West Berlin and pubs that allowed the hustlers to congregate. The novel depicts a variety of relationships that present themselves to the hustlers, from quick sexual encounters to wild parties to long-term affairs. Some of the hustlers have girlfriends while others do not; similarly some of the customers are clearly "gay" (Mackay uses the term *schwul*), but others don't seem to identify in that way.

Blüher also champions a pederastic model, rather than envisioning male-male relationships along the lines of a bourgeois marriage between two partners of equal age. He operates with psychological presuppositions according to which most male youths go through a phase in which they are erotically dependent on older men: "After the separation from the mother and before the first relationship with a woman, the male child falls passionately in love with an older man, for whom it has feelings of the highest estimation. In contrast to its feminine and sweltering relation to the mother, this love has an entirely strict character. It is primarily *passive*, doesn't aim for conquest, finds its highest pleasure in being loved and admired by the loved and admired man."¹¹⁸ Although the male youth replaces the woman as an object of desire, Blüher takes pains to shield the young man from any accusation of femininity. The youth's eros is decidedly masculine, according to Blüher: "The youth is no chalice, his eros is in all circumstances winelike, jetlike, possessive."¹¹⁹ In fact, this kind of love happens most often in highly masculinized settings, for instance, the military, which is completely centered on the erotic appeal of the youth, according to Blüher: "Behind the soldiering of the military leadership stands the image of the youth. No instrumental consciousness surpasses this eros-clad figure."¹²⁰

The emphasis on pederasty does not eliminate sexual identity—it merely creates classifications other than “heterosexual” and “homosexual.” In addition to the categories of “youth” and “man,” it allows for a certain group of men who do have a particular erotic interest in the youth. Without labeling the type, Mackay clearly believes that there is a subset of men who are particularly attracted to male youth, instead of women. Blüher asserts that these men belong to the *typus inversus*, claiming they have a particularly important role in the construction of masculine society. He hastens to assure readers, however, that pederasts can sleep with women and women-loving men can occasionally have sex with youths, thus preventing this categorization from becoming too ironclad and allowing for a maximum of bisexuality among men. Among male youths, the assumption of a universal phase involving the love of men remains.

The fact that a large number of these male youths will eventually end their man-loving phase underscores an aspect of Blüher’s youth-loving eros: renunciation. In contrast to the bourgeois marriage, these relationships are never seen as permanent. At some point, the youth will lose interest in assuming the passive role in a relationship, and leave: “Regardless of whether he desires youths or women, when the beloved youth becomes older his eros resists enclosure, he becomes ever more active, in order to have success, he must even erase every trace of that earlier apparent passivity.”¹²¹ This reference to the renunciation of pederastic love is frequent in the literature on the subject, oftentimes suggesting an awareness of temporality and even mortality that is peculiar to this kind of love. At times (for instance in much of Thomas Mann), the emphasis on renunciation goes so far as to imply that no sexual acts at all take place between the man and the youth. The desire is simply there, without ever being satisfied.

Antibourgeois, Antiliberal, Antifeminist, Antimedical, Antimodernist, Antipolitical

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Greek love stands for a not particularly clearly defined form of same-sex love that should not be oppressed because Greece and Rome—the glorious civilizations of antiquity—had celebrated it. By the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, a significant number of thinkers and writers interested in the subject of male-male desire define Greek love much more specifically as an intergenerational sexual

love present to a greater or lesser degree in all men. These writers disagree with the conception of homosexuality as a usually innate medical condition characterized by gender inversion that affects only a small portion of the population. Critical of the medical community, they also have little sympathy for many of the political demands of the homosexual emancipation movement. They see the emancipation movement's version of homosexuality as bourgeois, liberal, and modernist. In addition to their antifeminist utterances, their writings are therefore also full of antibourgeois, antiliberal, and antimodernist bile. Nietzsche's writings provide them with ample inspiration.

Kupffer expressly supports illiberal ideas. He denounces the "sense of freedom and 'laissez faire'" in the West.¹²² Instead, he calls for a monarch: "as the leader of the noble minority against the flood from below, but also the support for the economically weaker ones against the strong minority, . . . the monarch is therefore the balancing factor between social interests."¹²³ The threat to both the noble minority and the economically weak would be the liberal bourgeoisie.

In its rejection of the scientific progress incorporated in the medical community, the political goals of the homosexual emancipation movement, and the women's movement, Friedlaender's militarist version of Greek love amounts to an antiliberal platform. He rejects the liberal goal of equality for all, regarding such an idea as completely foreign to antiquity.¹²⁴ From being the cradle of democracy and the origins of such humanitarian ideals as tolerance and equal rights for all, Greece comes to stand for male bonding and the assertion of masculine privilege over women.

Opposed to the category of "homosexual" established by activists and sexologists and abandoning the theoretical distinctions between friendship and love that Ramdohr and Hössli establish, Friedlaender is not generally supportive of the homosexual emancipation movement. He scoffs at the notion of homosexual marriage, for instance: "some hotheads have seriously proposed the introduction of the so-called homosexual marriage (!)"¹²⁵ This type of male bonding would only be another limitation on the generalized male eros that Friedlaender proposes. Regarding heterosexual marriage as nothing but "a necessary evil," Friedlaender argues instead for more anarchic freedom in love: "Cultural progress lies precisely in the opposite direction, in a freer structuring of all human relations."¹²⁶

Admittedly, Friedlaender agrees with the homosexual emancipation movement that Paragraph 175 of the German Basic Law, which criminalized "lewd conduct contrary to nature" between men, is an abomination—"grotesque"

is his word for it.¹²⁷ In order to remove this paragraph, he allies himself with the medical and political world that created the identity of homosexuality: “The medical writings of a Krafft-Ebing, a Moll, a Hirschfeld and others have certainly been very effective in the fight for the freedom of an important part of human rights . . . and it was probably even necessary that the first efforts of agitation came from or were supported by a party that is viewed as an authority by the public and by—the police.”¹²⁸ But this alliance is merely of a strategic nature, designed to decriminalize the sexual acts that Friedlaender thinks should take place between most men, not to legitimize the behavior of a small group bearing the label “homosexual.”

Blüher sees himself from the outset as antiliberal, because, as he defines the term, liberals are antistate, whereas conservatives are statist.¹²⁹ The state being the province of male homoerotic desire, it is clear to him that male homosexuality should have strong allegiances to conservatism. He attacks liberalism specifically because of its support of the women’s movement in the educational realm and because of its opposition to racial politics: “Liberalism . . . supported that senseless apparition, the female student, gave her equal rights, laughed about the racial question.”¹³⁰ With regard to both race and gender, Blüher comes out in favor of the reactionary (male) student groups.

Blüher’s conservatism has a harsh edge to it because its antiliberal, anti-bourgeois point of view has specific roots in misogyny. According to Blüher, every man goes through a phase in which he bonds erotically with other men in opposition to the stifling bourgeois world: “No matter how much a man may love women: there was a time in his youth during which the image of the male youth was at the core of his being. He bonded with other youths then and the goal of this bond was: changing the world. He was at war with the bourgeois type.”¹³¹ Changing the world puts one at odds with the bourgeois type because, from the perspective of critics like Blüher, the social world is bourgeois. Male bonding is seen as an escape from bourgeois values, values that are allegedly overly determined by women.

Blüher is particularly important because of the widespread reception of his ideas, which went beyond the circles of men-loving men who read Friedlaender and *Der Eigene*. Freud and his followers took up his ideas seriously at the beginning of the twentieth century. He was a much sought-after speaker in the 1920s, particularly on the far right. Heinrich Himmler, who would spearhead the virulent Nazi persecution of homosexuals, read Blüher’s works as well, noting in his diary on March 4, 1922: “The man has penetrated human erotics to a colossal degree and has comprehended them psychologically and

philosophically. . . . It is clear that there must be a masculine society. I doubt whether one can characterize it as erotic. In any case, pure pederasty is the error of a degenerate individual, contrary to nature."¹³² Blüher's works also found sympathetic readers among such writers as Franz Kafka and Thomas Mann.¹³³ Because of this broad reception, Blüher was able to transmit the ideas of the seemingly small group of masculinists to a broader public, in political as well as literary spheres.

We shall return to an in-depth analysis of how Mann works literarily with the Greek tradition and masculinist ideals in a later chapter. For the time being, we can conclude that, in the German-speaking world in the course of a century, the image of Greece shifts from the cradle of democracy, the origins of enlightenment, and thus the birthplace of human rights, tolerance, and freedom, to an antiliberal Nietzschean-Freudian view of Greece as a place of Dionysian sexuality with a strong emphasis on the irrational and the unconscious. Greece comes to stand for the privileging of men, the subordination of women, and free-floating sexual relations between older and younger men. No longer representative of the universal strivings of the human race, it rejects bourgeois liberalism and everything that entails, including democracy and individualism. No longer a rallying cry for the emancipation of homosexuals, Greece is used against the very notion of sexual identity.

Chapter 3

Jews and Homosexuals

In 1853, Dr. Hieronymous Fränkel of Dessau reported in the *Medizinische Zeitung* (Medical Journal) of the Verein für Heilkunde in Preussen (Association for Medical Knowledge in Prussia) that a seventeen-year-old apprentice claimed to have contracted gonorrhea from a Jewish curtain hanger named Süsskind Blank. Blank enjoyed being the receptive partner in anal sex acts and eventually requested official permission to live as a woman, “Friederike Blank.” The story has a grim ending: Blank leaped from a bridge to his death to escape imprisonment. For Dr. Fränkel, the moral was clear: Blank illustrated the frightening health consequences of defying the biblical injunction, “nor shall a man put on a woman’s garment.”¹ According to Fränkel, Blank’s interest in knitting had initially provoked the desire to dress in women’s clothes with false breasts and padded hips. For both the emancipationist Ulrichs and physician Carl Westphal, the case provided evidence that same-sex desire was a product of gender inversion.²

Like Fränkel, Ulrichs notes Blank’s ethnic and religious identity when he refers to him as an “Israelite.”³ Social tensions around the changing status of Jews grew as increasing numbers of Jews assimilated in nineteenth-century German-speaking central Europe and the emancipation of Jews became an ever more vocal demand of liberals. In the same time period, the concept of Jewishness became an important model for those thinking about same-sex desire. As the nineteenth century progressed, more and more writers came to view a homosexual orientation as analogous to Jewishness. This model of homosexuality consistently featured assumptions about sexuality that differed significantly from the Greek model:

- while the Greek model had been universalizing, the new Jewish model was minoritizing;

- while the Greek model had been masculinist, the Jewish model foregrounded gender inversion as an explanation of same-sex desire;
- while the Greek model objected to the medicalization of sexuality, the Jewish model relied heavily on the biological natural sciences and medical research for evidence;
- while the Greek model became increasingly intertwined with conservative thought in nineteenth-century German-speaking central Europe, the Jewish model emerged from progressive, emancipatory, and liberal politics.

After the Holocaust, a discussion of Jews and homosexuals in German history might seem to make for dark and somber reading, given that members of both groups died in Nazi concentration camps. Initially, though, the comparison between Jews and homosexuals came from progressive authors, who saw great improvements taking place among the Jewish population in the German-speaking world and hoped to better the condition of urnings, inverts, or homosexuals in a similar way. But this alliance between liberalism and a biology-based conceptualization of same-sex desire as gender inversion was not cast in stone: by the end of the century, conservatives were able to use it for anti-Semitic and homophobic purposes.

This model developed specifically in German-speaking central Europe because the phenomenon of Jewish assimilation and emancipation was particularly significant there. The Jewish communities of the great cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire experienced tremendous growth in the nineteenth century, both in terms of raw numbers and in terms of percentages of the population. In Vienna the Jewish population increased from 6,000 to 175,000 in the course of the nineteenth century.⁴ In Budapest, the Jewish community grew from 18,000 (14 percent) in 1848 to 203,000 (23 percent) in 1910. In Germany, the Jewish population remained relatively stable, around 1 percent of the total, but a Jewish middle class of physicians, lawyers, bankers, businessmen, journalists, professors, and politicians emerged, which made Jews much more visible participants in civic life than they had been prior to the nineteenth century.⁵ Despite this change of demographics, many German-speaking countries retained medieval laws applying solely to Jews until well into the nineteenth century. In Germany, they remained on the books until the Liberals passed the Law on the Equality of Religions in 1869.⁶ As David Sorkin has argued, these conditions caused central European Jews to forge a

path distinct from that of the Jews in western Europe, where there were relatively small Jewish populations and liberal, noninterventionist states.⁷ At the same time, German Jewish culture developed differently from Jewish culture in eastern Europe, where large, highly concentrated, populations of Jews in fundamentally illiberal states such as Russia did not assimilate.⁸ The distinctive status of German and Austro-Hungarian Jews lent itself as an analogy to thinkers who were theorizing homosexuality in nineteenth-century German-speaking central Europe.

Almost certainly, many Jews would have rejected such comparisons, had they known about them, as the famous feud between the poets Heinrich Heine (1797–1858) and August von Platen (1796–1835) in the 1820s and 1830s shows. Platen abused Heine with anti-Semitic slurs and Heine responded by making fun of Platen's evident erotic interest in men.⁹ Kertbeny reports that when he spoke with Heine, the German-Jewish poet called Platen a “_____”; Kertbeny's dash denies modern readers access to the word Heine actually used in the middle of the nineteenth century to describe a man who was sexually attracted to other men, but nonetheless indicates the word was pejorative. Even if Heine and Platen did not recognize any similarity in their situations, however, it is significant that subsequently the opposition between the two was built up around the poles of the “Jewish Heine” versus the “man-loving Platen.” The contrast between the men in terms of these two categories fulfills the same logical function as a comparison between the two groups, for in either case, Jews and homosexuals are singled out and put in relationship to each other.

Discussions of the emancipation of the Jews had begun in the second half of the eighteenth century in Germany, particularly in response to Christian Wilhelm von Dohm's 1781 essay, *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (On the Civil Improvement of the Jews). Formally, the most significant moves in the direction of the emancipation of the Jews came from Napoleon's new legal codes.¹⁰ Prussia followed with the Emancipation Edict of 1812, which declared Jews to be *Einländer* or domestic citizens, and not *Ausländer* or foreigners.¹¹ David Sorkin argues that for educated early nineteenth-century German progressives, the “Jews served as the testing ground for their Enlightenment ideals.”¹² Hence the importance of “the emancipation of the Jews,” which started circulating as a political slogan in 1828, with the publication of Wilhelm Traugott Krug's treatise, *Über das Verhältnis verschiedener Religionsparteien zum Staate und über die Emanzipation der Juden* (On the Relationship of Various Religious Groups to the State and On the Emancipation of the

Jews).¹³ The issue became a key element of Liberal party platforms by 1848.¹⁴ At the National Assembly in Frankfurt, demands were made for the freedom of religion, full civil rights for Jews, and the eliminations on all restrictions specifically directed at Jews.¹⁵ All of this came to fruition in the legal codes set up in 1869 for the North German Confederation, which no longer had any laws regulating Jews. This legislation became the basis for governing the German Empire after 1871, meaning that for over a half century before the National Socialists came to power, there were no laws specifically applying only to Jews in Germany.

Advocates for homosexual emancipation like Hössli and Ulrichs hoped to harness the secularism of this emancipatory fervor on behalf of Jews in their efforts to change attitudes about male-male sexual love. Because the Napoleonic codes not only eliminated restrictions against Jews but also decriminalized consensual sexual acts between adults, there was a prospect that the liberal winds of the Enlightenment blowing from France could bring about the emancipation of both Jews and people who loved members of their own sex.

Emancipatory Beginnings: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs

Ulrichs made repeated comparisons between urnings and Jews in the pamphlets he published in the 1860s and 1870s that became the *Forschungen über das Räthsel der mannmännlichen Liebe* (Research into the Riddle of Male-Male Love). The Jewish model Ulrichs promotes is minoritizing, assuming that both urnings and Jews are a discrete portion of the human population: “There is a special class of born urnings, a special class of individuals who have a female sexual drive along with a male body, a special subcategory of men who are born with male-male love.”¹⁶ Repeatedly, he asserts that urnings constitute an empirically countable population. He believes that approximately one in 500 people is an urning, that there are about 20,000 urnings in northern Germany, and that this is “a significant formal class of person.”¹⁷

In a letter of 1862 in which he identifies himself as an urning to his sister, Ulrichs utilizes the term “third sex” to grant biological difference to men who love men. As he explains, “We urnings are a hermaphroditic special sexual class of humans, our own sex, coordinated between that of men and that of women as a third sex.”¹⁸ Remarkably, Ulrichs identifies himself as belonging to the group about which he writes—unlike his predecessor, Hössli, his contemporary, Kertbeny, and his successor, the activist and sexologist Hirschfeld.

According to Ulrichs, the defining feature of this minority was gender inversion, which also played a significant role in the representation of Jews in nineteenth-century German-speaking central Europe. A long and well-documented tradition feminized Jewish men.¹⁹ Daniel Boyarin, in fact, maintains that among Jewish men and women gender structures were different from what was expected by nineteenth-century Western European societies. As the concept of homosexuality emerged, heavily inflected with notions of gender inversion, it terrorized assimilated Jewish men into adopting Western European notions of masculinity.²⁰

For Ulrichs, gender inversion is the primary feature of same-sex attraction, as his definition of an urning makes clear: “a female soul in a male body” (*anima mulierbris virili corpore inclusa*). Ulrichs’s emphasis on gender inversion passes via the physician Westphal to the sexological tradition and becomes the focus of the most intensive research into a biological basis for same-sex desire. From the sexologists, it is disseminated to the broader public in terms of panics about masculinity. Braunschweig’s populist tract, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, for instance, worries that “the feminine mask, with which homosexuality equips the man and which he comes to love, becomes his second face and kills the masculine spirit. The prospect is terrifying . . . The masculine virtues of courage and pugnaciousness characterize all great races. Were they to be gone, the proud right to stand in line with the best peoples would be nullified.”²¹ According to Braunschweig’s account, the spread of homosexuality is a direct threat to the racial superiority of the *Volk*. Same-sex desire as gender inversion is thus closely related to issues of race—and for nineteenth-century German-speaking central Europe, Jews present the starting point for any discussion of race. While Ulrichs does not see same-sex desire as a threat to the folk, his twin notions of gender inversion and the comparability of urnings and Jews create a space for late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scientists and theorists to make extensive comparisons between homosexuals and Jews.

For Ulrichs, the gender of the desiring internal soul counts as much or more than a person’s biological sex. The urning is therefore not really a man, but only a “quasi-man” or a “half-man.”²² In a pamphlet from 1864, Ulrichs stunningly declares: “We (urnings) only play the man. We play him, as women play him on the stage, or as the German raised in Paris plays the Frenchmen, or the Jew raised in Germany plays the German.”²³ Ulrichs is not making a proto-Butlerian argument that gender is all about performance, because his urnings have a real, authentic gender. Like national identity, gender is an essential factor in a person’s identity. Being a woman, being a German, or being

a Jew are for Ulrichs all fundamental identities that can at most be hidden, but never erased.

Ulrichs's explanatory model of gender inversion allows easily for the presence of women with male souls, just as it provides for men with female souls. Thus in "Prometheus," Ulrichs clarifies that "the mirror image of the urning is the urningin. *A priori* it is to be assumed that nature created urnings and urningins in roughly the same numbers."²⁴

The comparison between urnings and Jews relied on the growing understanding of Jewishness as race. While there was certainly no consensus among nineteenth-century thinkers about whether Jewishness was national, ethnic, religious, or cultural, there was an increasingly strong emphasis on the racial component.²⁵ Wendy Brown reports, "treating Jewishness as a racial function meant that Jewish belief and the Jewish nation could fade while the Jew lived . . . Defined racially, Jewishness was something one carried individually, everywhere, and always."²⁶ As Brown notes, this construction of Jewishness bears strong similarities to Foucault's account of the nineteenth-century conceptualization of sexuality: "It was present everywhere in him: underlying all his actions, because it was their insidious and indefinitely active principle."²⁷ Both Jewishness and homosexuality come to be parts of identity in the nineteenth century.²⁸

Because urning desire is an essential part of their identity, Ulrichs decries the treatment of urnings as criminals, like "thieves, counterfeiters, perjurers, and swindlers." He finds preferable the fate of hermaphrodites as people with birth defects, along the lines of "calves with two heads."²⁹ Given his biological bent, Ulrichs is willing to entertain the possibility of changing sexual orientation through physiological means. At one point he speculates on the possibility of switching the sexual orientation of an urning into that of a "dioning" (a man sexually attracted to women) through blood transfusions: "Pour the blood of a 'dioning' into an urning. Will his love drive become 'dionian' for 14 days? The transformation will certainly not be permanent. The gradual transformation of the dionian drive back into the old uranism will probably be especially interesting, particularly the question, whether there will be a double preference for a while? In the same way, one could perhaps make a dioning into an urning for 14 days with the blood of an urning or a woman."³⁰ It goes without saying that the blood of women has the same effect on the men as the blood of urnings. So extensive is his confidence in medicine that Ulrichs is willing to imagine "means, perhaps medical means, to try to change human nature in such a way that in the future urnings wouldn't be born."³¹ To be sure,

Ulrichs elsewhere denies that “inborn” has to mean “pathologically inborn.”³² Nonetheless, Ulrichs finds the potential medical extermination of his class of people an acceptable price to pay for the recognition that the class of people exists.

Although Ulrichs’s willingness to consider the medical elimination of urnings may seem shockingly eliminationist, he generally remains politically progressive, at times even radical. In order to garner sympathy and support, Ulrichs, like Hössli, invokes the persecution of the Jews as an analogy for the mistreatment of urnings. An ominous anecdote serves as an example: A Jew was supposed to be burned because of alleged well poisoning. “But it turned out that the Jew was innocent,” continues Ulrichs. “‘Doesn’t matter,’ someone yelled, ‘the Jew will burn anyway!’”³³ Ulrichs finds that those who persecute urnings, particularly those who prevented him from introducing his resolution in favor of decriminalizing sexual acts between men at an 1869 legal convention in Munich, have “a striking similarity to that persecutor of Jews who so casually uttered such words.”³⁴

Instead of focusing solely on unjust persecutions, Ulrichs looks to the gains that he believes Jews were making or were about to make. Mirroring the basic demand of those interested in the emancipation of the Jews, Ulrichs insists on the most general level that “the urning too is a fully entitled citizen of the constitutional state.”³⁵ In one of his final publications, he insists that, since urnings are human beings and citizens, they therefore deserve the full complement of human and civil rights.³⁶ More specifically, Ulrichs wants urnings to be treated the same as others, which would mean that their sexual acts would not be punishable unless they were excessive or public.³⁷ Elsewhere, he also includes the seduction of minors as something that should be condemned for both urnings and “dionings.” Ulrichs envisions these matters as human rights: “There are also human rights [*Menschenrechte*] applicable to the laws on morals.”³⁸ Ulrichs begins “Vindicta” with the simple assertion, “I am an insurgent,” and continues: “I rebel against the status quo, because I consider it to be a condition of injustice. I fight for the freedom from persecution and slander. I demand the recognition of urning love. I demand it from public opinion and from the state.”³⁹ Going beyond decriminalization of sexual acts between men, Ulrichs attempts to bring urnings together, establish funds to help needy urnings in legal difficulties, and collect information that would benefit urnings.

Several times in his writings, Ulrichs calls for an equivalent of marriage for urnings. He enthusiastically reports on two German Russians in Moscow, between the ages twenty and thirty (he assumes one was more masculine and one more feminine), who in 1857 took an oath of fidelity to each other in the

local protestant church, creating their own form of religiously blessed bond of love.⁴⁰ Ulrichs argues that the love of urnings must be sanctioned in some way if urning couples are to appear in public with the same ease that non-urning couples do: “Only when the social problem is solved of granting the seal of society’s approval to the love bonds of urnings: only then can the beloved appear socially at the side of the lover to take a full half of all of his honors, as the queen does with the king.”⁴¹ In *Prometheus*, the sole issue of his journal *Uranus*, Ulrichs demands to know why urnings aren’t allowed to marry: “Why shouldn’t urning love have the right to appear before the altar of the God who created it?”⁴² He dreams of marriage announcements in the newspaper: “Berlin, May 15. Today an urning love union was celebrated by the pastor before witnesses at the church of St. Hedwig.”⁴³ In fact, it took over a century for such reports to begin appearing in the West.

Frequently, Ulrichs expresses ideas that are considerably more radical than those espoused by the Liberal parties of his time. In one pamphlet, for instance, he lauds the sultan of Morocco for prohibiting discriminatory treatment of Jews and Christians in his country. Although this could be a standard progressive appeal for the separation of church and state, Ulrichs then critiques the parties that call themselves Liberal for fighting only for religious, and not sexual, freedom:

That justice be applied to oppressed heterodox minorities, who don’t believe what the ruling majority believes: yes, indeed, they [Liberals] fight for that; and it is honorable that they fight for that.

That, however, another oppressed minority receive justice, a much weaker, much more oppressed one—that class of people whom Nature has not taught to love as the ruling majority loves: Oh no, that would be too much.⁴⁴

Rhetorically, the Moroccan example is particularly useful for Ulrichs, because it allows Christians to identify with Jews, as both groups were minorities in that country.

The Morocco passage shows how estranged Ulrichs was from the Liberal parties of his era. While Kupffer, Friedlaender, and Blüher promote a consciously reactionary illiberal patriarchal political line, Ulrichs consistently expresses his disappointment that the Liberals of his day did not follow through on their beliefs. Accusing them of a double standard, he notices for instance the glee with which Liberal papers expose conservative and Catholic leaders

who turn out to be urnings, suggesting that they use such homophobic rhetoric far more often than conservative papers.⁴⁵ He phrases his disillusionment with his era's Liberals most stridently in 1870 in *Prometheus*: "In all cases, we have contempt for the ruling Liberalism, which is more hollow than an empty nutshell, which offers us stones instead of bread; which only demands freedom for the majority already in command, but which never intervenes for freedom when it becomes a matter of oppressed minorities who do not appeal to the Liberal taste, which . . . without blushing mocks human rights and crushes human dignity every day."⁴⁶

Quite simply, Liberals were no longer revolutionary by the time Ulrichs's treatises were appearing. In a position of power, they focused increasingly on property rights and nationalism, rather than liberation and freedom. Economic liberalism trumped cultural liberalism; the bourgeois party began to fear the masses more than it worried about the monarchy. Developments in Austria mirrored those in Germany, as David Luft notes: "in the midst of its successes, political Liberalism in Austria was, for the most part, class-bound and conservative, oriented to property and education and indifferent to the experiences of people from other social strata."⁴⁷ Ulrichs, a product of the more radical and progressive liberalism of the first half of the century, had nothing but scorn for this development.

Minority politics gives Ulrichs the intellectual freedom to move in the direction of sweeping political changes. Yet again, he takes Jews as his example, claiming that courts that had Jewish members would never have convicted Jews on charges of spreading disease or poisoning wells—and that similarly urnings would guarantee justice for other urnings: "And for the same reason our courts would scarcely have found an urning guilty of unnatural love, if half of them were occupied by urnings."⁴⁸ Not willing to be satisfied with mere tolerance or even acceptance, Ulrichs calls on a kind of quota policy in the legal system.

As an oppressed group, urnings understand other oppressed groups and hope to encounter understanding from them, according to Ulrichs: "For this reason our position is always on the side of the violated or the abused: be that person Pole, Hanoverian, Jew, Catholic."⁴⁹ Illegitimate children and "fallen women" are also part of his coalition. He declares that urnings should fight along with other downtrodden minorities: "We stand next to the Jew as soon as an arrogant Catholic abuses him, next to the Catholic, as soon as an intolerant liberal abuses him because of his beliefs."⁵⁰ Notably, Ulrichs conceptualizes a broad variety of minorities, not just racial minorities, but different groups

based on national, ethnic, and religious affiliation, as well as status of birth and sexual activity. While the Jew is a prominent comparison point, Ulrichs makes efforts to include as many other readers from other minority groups as possible in his coalition of groups oppressed, particularly by Prussia—from Hannoverians to Catholics.

Ulrichs's depiction of urnings consistently reflects his era's understanding of Jews. From a liberal perspective, both are a specific type of human being that deserves fair treatment from political and religious institutions. Their characteristic congenital gender inversion lends itself to biological study and medical treatment. Cited by Westphal, respected by Krafft-Ebing and Hirschfeld, Ulrichs's ideas passed quickly into sexological, medical, and legal discourses. According to Hirschfeld, the leader of the "pederasty division" of the Berlin police at the turn of the century studied Ulrichs's writings intensively. Hirschfeld also reports that the editor of one of the leading German newspapers, whom he identifies only as "N," was in active correspondence with Ulrichs.⁵¹ Via many routes, Ulrichs's model of sexual identity became a fixture of German and Austro-Hungarian culture.

The Jewish Model Without Jews: Magnus Hirschfeld

The sexologist and activist Hirschfeld was able to realize many of Ulrichs's dreams. He founded the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee (*Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee*) to fight for the rights of homosexuals in 1897, leading the organization until he resigned in 1929. His *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Homosexualität* (The Yearbook for Sexual Intermediary Types with Special Consideration of Homosexuality), which ran from 1899 to 1923, was the most respected scholarly journal devoted to homosexuality in the world. In 1919, Hirschfeld established the *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft* (Institute for Sexual Studies) in the center of Berlin. Hirschfeld's Institute provided psychological and medical care to clients of many sexual orientations, promoted a progressive political agenda on matters of sexuality, and sponsored the study of sexuality on a grand scale.⁵² In addition to the institute, Hirschfeld was involved with worldwide organizations like the World League for Sexual Reform, which he helped found and which was also based in the institute. This organization had an explicitly political agenda: it opposed censorship and "modern anti-feminism," while calling for

premarital consultations, birth control, sterilization, and abortion, and “the sexual rights of spinsters.”⁵³

In May 1933, the *New York Times* reported on the destruction of the institute by the Nazis: “The Crusade of the German Studenthoods against the ‘Un-German Spirit’ in print and picture got under way in all the German university centres today. In Berlin, the book burnings opened with a formal attack on Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld’s ‘Institute for Sexual Science,’ which has long been a place of interest for some tourists as well as a centre for scientific research.”⁵⁴ The *Times* added that “the ‘Un-German’ part of the Institute’s library” would be “consigned to the Nazi fires that are to light up the university campus Wednesday.”⁵⁵ Hirschfeld himself assumed that it was the institute’s books that went up in flames in newsreel coverage of the May 10 book burnings at which Joseph Goebbels gave his invective speech against “exaggerated Jewish intellectualism.”

Jewish himself, Hirschfeld did not stress an explicit link between Jews and homosexuals as the non-Jewish Ulrichs had. Herzer argues that Hirschfeld’s secular assimilationist background meant that he simply did not focus much on questions of Jewish identity, in matters of sexuality or anything else. More important, though, Hirschfeld avoided explicit comparisons between homosexuals and Jews because by the time he was writing they had become too popular with anti-Semitic and homophobic authors. Nonetheless, without mentioning Jews explicitly in his description of homosexuality, Hirschfeld kept all the main categories Ulrichs had developed in his comparison of urnings and Jews.

Like Ulrichs, Hirschfeld agrees that homosexuality represents “only a small minority in the military as in civilian society.”⁵⁶ In the opening article of the 1899 inaugural issue of the *Jahrbuch*, he notes that roughly 5 to 10 percent of the population walk the “wrong” way for their sex, providing a rough indication of how many people fall into his category of the “sexual intermediary.”⁵⁷ While Hirschfeld’s vision of a spectrum of sexual intermediaries between the masculine and the feminine could be understood as an elimination of solid gender categories, in practice it tends to reinforce the masculine and the feminine, and put anyone who doesn’t fit into those two categories into the “third sex.” The concept of a small, identifiable group of people with a distinct sexual taste makes clear that same-sex desire is neither contagious, nor changeable. As Hirschfeld writes in his final statement on the subject, *Geschlechtsverirrungen* (Sexual Deviations), “because homosexuality is innate, it cannot be removed

through psychological means.”⁵⁸ This view of same-sex anchors it as an innate, biological characteristic.

In addition, the model suggests that there is a homosexual personality or mentality behind the homosexual acts. While the universalizing Greek model argued that anyone might occasionally want to have sex with someone of his own sex, the minoritizing model asserts that only a certain type of person would really want to do so. Anything else is “pseudo-homosexuality,” according to Hirschfeld. As he argues, “true homosexuality only exists where the physical actions are a product of a homosexual mentality.”⁵⁹ In the opening salvo of the *Jahrbuch*, he declares “the homosexual person must not be conceived and studied solely in terms of his sexuality, but in terms of his entire individuality. His sexual inclinations and disinclinations are only symptoms, secondary consequences; the primary matter is his psyche and the habits of its development.”⁶⁰ This thought is a constant throughout his career, as he repeats it verbatim in one his last publications, *Geschlechtsverirrungen*.⁶¹ For Hirschfeld, sexual orientation colors the entire personality. He dislikes the terms “third sex” or “homosexual” because they excessively emphasize the “sexual” aspect of what he believes to be a more all-encompassing psychological structure.⁶² Foucault’s claim that modern homosexuality, in contrast to earlier forms of same-sex desire, “was everywhere present” and “consubstantial” with the modern homosexual is certainly true for Hirschfeld.⁶³ Although anyone might perform a homosexual act, only a distinct minority are actual homosexuals.

Hirschfeld continued in the tradition of Ulrichs’s progressive, emancipatory politics. He campaigned vigorously for the rights of women to vote, go to university, and have control over their own health and reproduction. One of his last books exposed the fallacies of racism—indeed its 1938 English translation titled *Racism* is listed in the Oxford English Dictionary as one of the first usages of the term in the language. Most tirelessly, he worked for the decriminalization of sex between members of the same sex and sexual rights generally. On founding the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, he immediately began circulating petitions for the abolition of Paragraph 175 of the German Basic Law, which criminalized indecent conduct between men, eventually securing the signatures of many of the most eminent personalities of his day.⁶⁴

Like Ulrichs, Hirschfeld places biological inversion at the heart of his analysis of homosexuality. In the foreword to the first issue of the *Jahrbuch*, he clarifies his position on “sexual intermediary types”: “Every bodily and intellectual character that one sees as appropriate for the male sex can in

exceptional cases appear among women, and every characteristic commonly assumed to be feminine can appear individually among men. Thereby an entire series of special individuals arises, who have some bodily, some spiritual, and some bodily and spiritual characteristics of the other sex.”⁶⁵ Like all theorists of gender inversion, he must keep track of the qualities that apply to each gender: the feminine is “reproductive, persevering, faithful, practical, emotional, irritable, childlike, superficial and fussy,” while the masculine is “active, productive, changeable, enterprising, ambitious, hard and abstract.”⁶⁶ Robert Beachy carefully argues that “Hirschfeld’s own theory of sexual intermediacy blurred distinctions” and prevented “a clear analysis of the phenomenon of transgender identity.”⁶⁷ Nonetheless—like Ulrich’s theorizing—Hirschfeld’s work belongs as much to the history of transsexuality and intersexuality as to that of homosexuality.

Hirschfeld shows a special interest in the role of effeminate homosexual men in the war effort. In his chapter on homosexuality and soldiers in the *Sittengeschichte des ersten Weltkrieges* (Moral History of the First World War), which appeared in 1929, he devotes several pages to “effeminate urnings,” who cannot serve in the military, but take on a care-taking role, especially in hospitals.⁶⁸ Because Hirschfeld believes that biological factors that transcend cultural considerations cause this inversion, he suggests that this is a traditional role for urnings in many primitive cultures throughout the world.⁶⁹

Hirschfeld considers the treatment of effeminate men during the war effort in the context of citizenship. One of his clients asks, “Am I a member of this state? And again and again I had to tell myself, No! If the state knew what I was, it would treat me as a blot on its image. Now when it is threatened, am I supposed to try to preserve this state, which in its shortsightedness denies me every right to exist?”⁷⁰ In fact, Hirschfeld insists that many members of his Scientific-Humanitarian Committee served valorously in the war effort. He suspects that homosexual men in general probably enjoy the military life, because they are unencumbered by family dependents and thus able to serve the higher good as well as take part in adventures. Moreover, they like serving in all-male environments.⁷¹ In Hirschfeld’s view, nothing stands in the way of the right to serve the state as a citizen willing to take on responsibilities as well as rights, except for the state’s own foolish prejudices. This debate on homosexuals in the military parallels debates about whether Jews should be allowed in the military, an issue that, especially in the wake of the Dreyfus affair in France, divided policymakers in both Germany and Austria-Hungary.⁷²

Hirschfeld consistently regards women who love women as belonging to

the same category as men who love men. *Sappho und Sokrates* carries the subtitle, “Or how one can explain the love of men and women to members of their own sex.” Arguably, Hirschfeld’s most significant work is *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (The Homosexuality of Men and Women), which was published in 1914, in which once again the title itself expresses the unity that Hirschfeld assumed between homosexual men and women. In the *Jahrbuch*, he explicitly called for the union of male and female homosexuals under the category of the “third sex”: “The homosexual man and the homosexual woman stand in a natural relationship to each other, and belong in fact to a third sex, which has equal rights as the other two, although it is not the same as they are.”⁷³

The name of Hirschfeld’s Scientific-Humanitarian Committee shows the links between science and humanitarian goals that Hirschfeld as a committed progressive saw. Its motto, “Through Truth to Justice,” attests to Hirschfeld’s hopeful, optimistic view of science and the law. Homosexuality is, according to Hirschfeld, best identified by the scientifically, medically trained observer, who can find the biological clues marking these identities. While Hirschfeld always resists labeling homosexuality a sickness per se, he certainly seems to consider it a medical condition, especially in his earliest writing on the subject, *Sappho und Sokrates*, from 1896. There he denies that same-sex desire is a disease, but—like Ulrichs—compares it to a birth defect: “In the case of deviations from normal desire, we are therefore dealing not with a sickness in the normal sense, but rather with an inborn malformation, which is to be placed alongside other checks to evolution, such as hare-lips, cleft palates, epispadias, split uterus, and umbilical hernias, etc.”⁷⁴

Hirschfeld’s trust in the medical establishment helps explain his controversial involvement in eugenics as well.⁷⁵ Despite his opposition to racism, he—like most progressives of the era—had no problem with undertaking efforts to “improve” races through, among other things, eugenic consultation. This desire to repair the biology of groups of people harks back to the emancipationist idea that many oppressed peoples need “regeneration.” As Herzer notes, Hirschfeld always insisted on voluntary eugenics, not coercive state-run policies.

Many of the presuppositions that link Jews and urnings in Ulrichs’s time remain in Hirschfeld’s writings. He sees homosexuals as a distinct category, a third sex. Sexual orientation has implications for the entire being, rather than simply indicating one’s sexual practices. Sexuality, like racial identity, is to be found in the body. Hirschfeld enthusiastically works on efforts to find

homosexuality in the body, using blood tests, skin color, heart beats, hand strength, breath pattern, and body weight to find clues to homosexuality.⁷⁶ For Hirschfeld, the most likely source of bodily difference between homosexuals and heterosexuals is gender inversion, which had also been consistently attributed to Jews in the late nineteenth century. Given that Hirschfeld used the same structures to conceptualize homosexuals that others used to identify Jews, it is not surprising that he believed that the liberal political engagement that produced the emancipation of the Jews would also benefit homosexuals. Hence his campaigns against Paragraph 175, his efforts at building community and political awareness among homosexuals, and his constant alliances with other leftist political groups. Even though Hirschfeld does not make explicit comparisons between homosexuals and Jews, overall his understanding of homosexual identity remains indebted to Ulrichs's model, which relied heavily on comparisons between urnings and Jews.

Intersexuality and Jewishness: Karl Baer and N. O. Body

Hirschfeld's development of a model for homosexuality that relies on his era's understanding of Jewishness while avoiding explicit comparisons to Jews comes to the fore in *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenjahren* (Memoirs of a Man's Maiden Years), published in 1907 by N. O. Body, a pseudonym for Karl M. Baer. Born with ambiguous genitalia into a Jewish family in 1884, Baer was pronounced a female by the family physician. Raised as Martha, the young Baer overcame many gender-specific obstacles to pursue an independent career and eventually became enthusiastically involved with the women's movement, especially efforts to combat sex trafficking. Although she grew facial hair and never developed breasts or menstruated, Baer continued to live as a woman. Several deep emotional attachments to women seemed to point in the direction of lesbianism, until a physician determined that she was actually a man with undescended testes and a microphallus. In *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenjahren*, Baer reports this story scrupulously, except that the Jewish "Martha" becomes Christian "Nora." Baer's conceptualization of his own gendered sexuality is the logical consequence of Ulrichs's and Hirschfeld's description of same-sex desire as gender inversion. While Ulrichs sees that inversion as comparable to Jewishness, Baer follows Hirschfeld in using the Jewish model without referencing Jews.

Hirschfeld was fascinated with the case. He presents it in *Sexualpathologie*,

referring to Baer as “Anna Laabs.”⁷⁷ He also provided an Afterword to the memoirs in which he claims the case shows that “a person’s sex lies much more in their soul than in their body.”⁷⁸ In fact, despite the author’s pseudonym, there is a body at the center of this story and its medically certified masculinity solves the riddles of its previous existence. Hirschfeld’s comment does not so much deny the significance of the body as underscore the importance of a gendered psychological sexual identity. A person’s sexual orientation will be clear, even if their body is initially unclear on the matter. Simultaneously, Hirschfeld links the study of sexual and gender identity with questions of rights: “Equal rights for all is rooted much more deeply in the diversity, rather than the equality, of humanity. For every person to be able to develop freely and beautifully, everyone must receive the same rights.”⁷⁹ This model of specific sexual and gendered identities deserving of equal rights stands at the center of the Hirschfeldian worldview.

According to the highly essentialist assumptions concerning gender inversion in N. O. Body’s memoirs, Nora’s erotic attraction for other women goes hand in hand with the revelation that she is actually a man. The entire narrative structure of the memoir leads inexorably to the conclusion that a coherent set of behaviors reveals the physician’s initial misdiagnosis of her sex and indicates that she must be a male. Her desire to play with and dissect frogs and to study medicine demonstrates her masculinity as much as her incipient beard and nonexistent breasts; her sexual interest in other women is part of the same gender package. N. O. Body asserts, “in comparison to men, women are not inferior, but different. They are thoroughly capable of achieving the same goals in the realm of scholarship as men, but in different ways.”⁸⁰ This difference in mental approach reveals the masculine essence even in someone like Nora, who seems to be a woman. Nora’s story carries to the extreme the assumptions behind the argument of Ulrichs and his intellectual successors like Krafft-Ebing and Hirschfeld that an urning or a homosexual has a male body and a female soul and an urningin has a female body but a male soul. Nora is not a true urning, in the sense that her actual body is ultimately found to be in congruence with her psychological gender, but until she receives the diagnosis of physical masculinity the explanation for her love of other women is her manly spirit. As a girl, she wonders if she’s a lesbian; although she energetically rejects the idea, she falls in love with a series of women, most notably Hanna, who helps in her transition back into her rightful state as a man.

N. O. Body’s insistence that her masculine personality evinces itself long before anyone suspects that medicine has falsely labeled her a woman emerges

from the conviction that gender structures the entirety of a person's mind and body. By this way of thinking, sexual orientation is a side effect of sex, because the love of women is a masculine characteristic. N. O. Body's assumptions about the effect of her sexual orientation and gender on her being reflect Foucault's observation that modern society believes that sexuality affects every aspect of a person's identity. When Foucault writes that "the nineteenth-century homosexual became a personage: a past, a history, as well as a childhood, a character, a form of life—a morphology as well, with an indiscreet anatomy and possibly a mysterious physiology,"⁸¹ he indicates the mentality that encourages N. O. Body to reveal "the history of her childhood" and "the secret of her body" to her physician in order to determine her sexual identity.

The belief that gender and sexuality affect the entire organism, psychologically as well as physically, accompanies the notion that race also affects personality and character as well as physiology and appearance. Rather than ignoring race altogether in an effort to cover up his Jewish heritage, Baer returns repeatedly to questions of race, creating a new identity for N. O. Body: "We are not of the Germanic race. Our forebears came from France."⁸² He describes the physical features of the familial traits as including "black or brown eyes, brown wavy hair, sharp Mediterranean features," adding that "our racial type remains so distinctively characteristic because my family rarely mixed with our fellow citizens and kept its blood pure through numerous marriages with relatives."⁸³ Despite this sense of difference from the descendants of "the German race," N. O. Body remains one of the "fellow citizens" or *Mitbürger*, and an ardent German nationalist. He regrets his childhood infatuation with James Fenimore Cooper's novels about Indians: "I find that we inflict an injustice upon our nation when we give our sons these books. Precisely in those years of easily inflamed enthusiasm, we should give them *German* books."⁸⁴ Despite this nationalist interest in a German literature, N. O. Body maintains a belief in racial distinction that is analogous to sex. Indeed, he refers to boys as "a peculiar race."⁸⁵

The fictional N. O. Body maintains Baer's historical interest in feminism and combatting prostitution. From Ulrichs to Hirschfeld, proponents of essentialist thinking about sexuality have endorsed a long tradition of social activism in favor of progressive causes; N. O. Body and Baer participate in that tradition. However, while *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenjahren* shares many assumptions with Ulrichs's Jewish model of same-sex desire, it elides Baer's Jewish identity. Like Hirschfeld, N. O. Body promotes a model of sexual identity that began as an analogy between innate homosexual desire and Jewishness, but drops the explicit comparison to Jews.

Counterattacks: Otto Weininger and His Followers

Hirschfeld and Baer resisted making explicit connections between same-sex desire and Jewishness because such associations became the province of anti-Semitic authors by the beginning of the twentieth century. A biologically based theory of gender inversion linking both Jews and homosexuals opened up space for bundled misogynist, anti-Semitic, and homophobic attacks. The provocative young Viennese intellectual, Otto Weininger, compiled the most fully articulated version of this analysis in his sensational dissertation, *Geschlecht und Charakter* (Sex and Character), published in 1903. Although himself Jewish and homosexual, Weininger depicted both male homosexuality and Jewish masculinity as “tainted” by femininity. The model of homosexuality as a biological phenomenon characterized by gender inversion and similar to Jewishness received in Weininger’s work its clearest articulation in an anti-Semitic, misogynist, and homophobic mode.

The primary adjudicator of Weininger’s dissertation, Friedrich Jodl, at the time the leading philosopher at the University of Vienna, objected to the polemically misogynist tone of the work, but not the basic ideas.⁸⁶ Newspaper reviews found the book’s main points correct, while suggesting that women were still rather pleasant.⁸⁷ Arnold Schönberg and Adolf Loos both considered him brilliant. The astonishing list of admirers who came to his funeral after his sensational suicide at twenty-three includes Karl Kraus, Stefan Zweig, and the fourteen-year-old Ludwig Wittgenstein. Shortly after the funeral, Kraus laid a wreath on Weininger’s grave that had been sent by August Strindberg, who published a eulogy of Weininger that explicitly praises the young man’s speculations on women.⁸⁸ Far from shocking his contemporaries, Weininger’s antifeminism struck a chord that resonated throughout Europe.⁸⁹

Weininger’s comparison between Jews and homosexuals no longer has anything to do with the persecution, oppression, or emancipation of the Jews Hössli or Ulrichs discuss. Instead, he claims to work exclusively in the tradition of the scientifically verifiable, distinctive identities of homosexuals and Jews, which are linked via the trait of femininity. Interestingly, Weininger is less essentialist about Jewishness than about homosexuality. At one point he asserts, “one may consider Jewry an intellectual orientation, a psychic constitution that is a possibility for all humans and has merely found its most grandiose realization in historical Jewish tradition.”⁹⁰ However, when Weininger discusses the corporeal femininity and impotence of

Jewish men, it is clear that Weininger attributes at least some biological characteristics to Jews.

Without a doubt, Weininger views homosexuality as an innate orientation with biological origins, not an acquired habit.⁹¹ Like Hirschfeld, Weininger denies that homosexuality is a sickness per se, pointing out that most homosexuals are quite happy, feel good, and don't want to be cured.⁹² As Chandak Sengoopta summarizes, "homosexuality, then, was congenital and biological but it did not represent any deviation from the norm."⁹³ With Hirschfeld, Weininger speaks of "intermediary steps" and identifies homosexuality primarily as a matter of gender inversion.⁹⁴ This gender inversion is not just a matter of social conditioning, but an actual physical reality: "In sexual inverts, an anatomical proximity to the other sex is never lacking."⁹⁵ Because it is a bodily phenomenon, it is empirically verifiable. Socially conditioned factors also play a role, as the following list by Weininger makes clear: "masculine women cut their hair short, prefer tuxedo-like clothes, become passionate huntresses; feminine men let their head hair grow long, they wear girdles, show a lot of understanding for the toiletry concerns of women with whom they are capable of carrying on friendly conversations born of the same interests."⁹⁶ Working with the principle of gender inversion, Weininger logically includes both male and female homosexuals: "Men who are sexually attracted to men are in their external disposition feminine, and by the same token those women who desire other women sensually exhibit masculine characteristics."⁹⁷ All this accords with the understanding of same-sex desire developed by Ulrichs and Hirschfeld.

As part of his minoritizing approach, Weininger argues that homosexuals tend to have sex with each other, rather than preying on heterosexuals. He reaches this conclusion in an original way, arguing that all relationships are based on a striving toward a merger of the masculine and the feminine (reminiscent of Ramdohr's arguments from the end of the eighteenth century). Thus a very masculine man would search for a very feminine woman, producing the prototypical heterosexual pair. In contrast, however, a homosexual man, with a strong feminine component, would search for someone with just the right mixture of masculine and feminine. This could be a lesbian with a strong masculine component, or—most likely—another homosexual man: "An individual who is roughly half man, half woman, desires for its completion another who also has roughly equal percentages of both sexes."⁹⁸ Homosexuals therefore tend to stay among themselves: "This is the reason for the other phenomenon that requires explanation, that the 'contraries' practice

their sexuality almost only among themselves; only rarely does someone enter their circle who isn't looking for precisely the same form of satisfaction as they—sexual attraction is mutual—and it is the powerful factor that always causes the homosexuals to recognize each other immediately.”⁹⁹ Weininger thus agrees with one of the basic contentions of the homosexual emancipationists such as Ulrichs, Kertbeny, and Hirschfeld: homosexuals are not a sexual threat to others. In fact, his position is more consistently minoritizing than the one put forth by the emancipationists, for they often discusses uranian sexual desire for soldiers or other masculine youths.

For Weininger, the sexes are distinguished most completely in their attitudes toward sexual intercourse. Weininger asserts that the masculine principle (“M”) is multifaceted, whereas the feminine principle (“W”) is exclusively obsessed with sex: “While W is totally taken with and filled up by sexuality, M knows a dozen other things: battle and play, sociability and feasting, discussion and scholarship, business and politics, religion and art.”¹⁰⁰ As Weininger restates his position again and again, an aphoristic ability to evoke surprising metaphors appears: “The true difference is that for M the procreative drive is so to speak an occasional itch, while for W it is a ceaseless tickling.”¹⁰¹ Luft believes that Weininger’s harsh tone hides a more feminist message: “Weininger’s book on gender turns out to be not an attack on women, but an attack on sexuality and reproduction, the two things he believed enslaved woman and made her liberation impossible.”¹⁰² Nonetheless, Weininger’s conclusion is always the same: woman is a sexual creature, while man is not.

While Weininger’s predecessors might implicitly assume the greater importance of men, they never declare so sweepingly that the “lowest” man is still immeasurably higher than the “highest” woman, as Weininger does.¹⁰³ For him, this scale means that lesbians, who have an unusually high masculine element in their sexual make-up, are clearly superior to heterosexual women: “Here the observation suffices that the inclination toward lesbian love in a woman is the expression of her masculinity, and this is the condition of her higher standing.”¹⁰⁴ As proof, he lists Catherine the Great of Russia and George Sand. In fact, according to Weininger, lesbians, rather than heterosexual women, are much more likely to be able to compete with men. He cites Sappho as his first historical example.¹⁰⁵ Weininger does not specifically locate homosexual men on this scale, but it seems clear that they would occupy a space roughly where the lesbian women are to be found—above most other women, to be sure, but still clearly below the men with more masculine compositions. In Weininger, the consequences of the theory of gender inversion in

a misogynist environment become clear: the homosexual man who is really a woman trapped in a man's body now becomes the target of sexism.

Again in the tradition of Hössli and Ulrichs, Weininger associates this gender-inversion model of same-sex desire with Jewishness. Weininger determines that Jews—he means Jewish men, of course—are utterly feminine. The masculinity that Weininger admires so much occurs primarily in Aryans.¹⁰⁶ Showing that his analysis extends more broadly to include other racial categories, he also finds Blacks and Chinese are generally lacking in masculinity.¹⁰⁷ Regarding Jews, he believes that they resemble women in tending toward materialism, rather than transcendental realms.¹⁰⁸ Weininger adds that Jews, like women, are devoted to the group, and hence prone to communism, socialism, and social democratic movements.¹⁰⁹ Weininger sums up this aspect of Jewish identity with the conclusion: “The Jew is a born communist and he always wants community.”¹¹⁰ As part of their group identity, they lack personality and a sense of self, which is typical of women too.¹¹¹ In line with this thinking, the family is most important to the Jews. A final element of the Jews’ female, material, irrational nature is their alleged obsession with sex, according to Weininger: “The Jew is constantly more lustful, lascivious, although also, remarkably enough, sexually less potent than the Aryan man.”¹¹²

For Weininger, then, the conclusion is inescapable: “The congruence between Jewishness and femininity seems to be complete.”¹¹³ He adds some caveats—women are passive, while Jews are aggressive; women lack the ability to think conceptually, while Jews think too conceptually; women believe in men, while Jews believe in no one—but overall the equation works out for him.¹¹⁴ The role of the Jewish woman remains unclear in this scheme. Presumably her Jewishness does not make her even more effeminate than Aryan women—indeed, as Boyarin reports, Jewish women were often seen as excessively masculine viragos.¹¹⁵ This trifle doesn’t seem to bother Weininger, the university professors who passed his dissertation, or the many readers who found him so brilliant. For all these people, Weininger’s connections between Jewishness and femininity seem solid: “The Jew is eternally like a woman.”¹¹⁶

Although Weininger calls for the decriminalization of homosexual acts and declares that he is opposed to the persecution or the boycott of Jews, the minoritizing model based on the comparison between homosexuals and Jews has lost its progressive force as a call for political action in his writings. In fact, he has a specifically reactionary agenda. As Luft argues, Weininger “identified the Jews with the scientific worldview and modernity, which he believed was the way of thinking that gave legitimacy to the female.”¹¹⁷ For Luft,

Weininger's "resistance to modernity, science, capitalism, and the matter-of-fact acceptance of the empirical world" helps rehabilitate his work as an anti-modernist manifesto, rather than a sexist and racist tract.¹¹⁸ Weininger regards modernity as a product of Jewishness, in part because modernity affirms sexuality and Jews are hypersexual: "the spirit of modernity is Jewish . . . sexuality is affirmed."¹¹⁹ Since women too also are highly sexed, modern times are overly influenced by both women and Jews: "Our era, which is not only the most Jewish, but also the most feminine of all times."¹²⁰ Weininger thus falls into the Ulrichs-Hirschfeld tradition of comparing homosexuals with Jews in his belief that both are a recognizable minority, scientifically ascertainable through a variety of psychological and physical characteristics, most of which have to do with gender inversion. He alters Ulrichs's and Hirschfeld's arguments by using them as a critique of modernity and liberalism. Behind liberal modernity stands the troika of Jews, homosexuals, and women, all of which Weininger finds threatening.

The Masculinists and the Jewish Model

Weininger's critique of modernism is influential for many reactionary patriarchal thinkers such as Friedlaender and Blüher. Although these masculinists operate with the Greek model of male-male desire, they draw on Weininger's anti-Semitic analysis of gender. As Andrew Hewitt observes, "if early homosexual thinkers sought to legitimate their desire by recourse to a self-aestheticizing model of Hellenic pederasty, it would seem that this same Hellenizing discourse also provided ideological shelter to an anti-Semitic political impulse."¹²¹ Weininger's spin on the relationship between effeminacy and Jewishness was avidly taken up by the Grecophilic masculinists, who, as Jay Geller argues, asserted an "opposition between the healthy inversion characteristic of manly Germanic men and the decadent homosexuality of effeminate Jews."¹²²

Using his Nietzschean vocabulary, Friedlaender posits a deep, sinister alliance between "priests and women."¹²³ Allegedly, women are particularly susceptible to the priestly class, which inculcates the herd with its ascetic ideals. Since, for Friedlaender and other Nietzscheans, Jews represent the priestly class among nations, this alliance between the priests and women reveals the connections between this ideology's misogyny and its anti-Semitism. Himself a Jew, Friedlaender allocates to Christianity as well a considerable share of the blame for the modern persecution of male-male love: "The Christian man

of culture, *comme il faut*, consists not of body and spirit, but of clothes and titles."¹²⁴ Friedlaender implies that the true German nature rejected mere appearance, consisted of body and spirit, and was open to male-male desire. As is the case with Nietzsche, the polemic against Christianity is generally couched in anti-Semitic rhetoric. The Jewish and Buddhist religions introduced ascetic ideals to the world, according Friedlaender.¹²⁵ He insists that particularly the Jewish tradition desired to forbid sex—in the spirit of the ascetic priest's realization that it is better to will nothing than not to will at all. Friedlaender's line of reasoning suggests that, although Judaism was unable to achieve its sex-negative objective generally, it did manage to clamp down on male-male sex.¹²⁶ Friedlaender's frequent citations of the anti-Semite Eugen Dühring show his intellectual affinities. Friedlaender admits, however, that his admiration went unrequited, as Dühring reviled male-male love.¹²⁷

Blüher is pleased to find anti-Semitism conjoined with male-male sexual attraction in such military institutions as fraternities and cadet school. In one of his patients, he praises this anti-Semitism as a healthy male-bonding device: "with his friends, my patient fought against the Jewish type, and thereupon was harnessed the entire racial ideology of Germanness."¹²⁸ He rejects the liberal bourgeois effort to open up the armed forces to Jews, because it is the Germanic youth who is at the center of that organization: "It was not the Jewish youth who stood at the center of the military, but rather the youth of our own race [*der eigenrassige*]."¹²⁹ Blüher's use of the term "*eigenrassig*" to describe Germans suggests a link with the rightwing masculinist writers around Adolf Brand's publication, *Der Eigene*. According to Blüher, the fraternities too were focused on Germanic youth: "A further noticeable character trait is the commitment to Germanic youth. The old fraternity is very strictly anti-Semitic and resembles thereby the officers of the army, who, as we have learned, are indeed bound to the image of the Prussian youth."¹³⁰ For Blüher, anti-Semitism goes hand in hand with his interest in the resuscitation of the German state.

At the same time, though, Blüher admits that a certain attraction to Jews, and especially to "Jewish" intellectualism, accompanies his own interest in German youth.¹³¹ Despite Blüher's embrace of anti-Semitism, he sees strong links between Germans and Jews. In fact, in a speech that he gave to the Berliner Freideutsche Jugend (Free German Youth of Berlin) and published in 1920 under the ominous title *Deutsches Reich, Judentum und Sozialismus* (German Reich, Jewry and Socialism), he asserts: "There is no people more related to us Germans in their fate (although not in their content) as the Jews."¹³² Like the Germans, the Jews were originally ruled by kings; subsequently, the

homines religiosi took over the Jews, and Blüher worries that the same fate might overtake the Germans.¹³³ The Jews no longer have a state, and therefore are merely a “race” (*Rasse*), and not a “folk” (*Volk*); in the aftermath of World War I, Blüher worries it is possible that Germans too will lose their statehood and cease being a *Volk*.¹³⁴

The primary difference for Blüher between a “race” and a “folk” is the state: a folk has a state, and a race does not. The state is the starting point of Blüher’s theories of male bonding. Male-male erotics construct the institutions of the state. Thus a mere race lacks male homoerotic bonding, while a folk has it. Picking up on Weininger’s claim that the Jews are overly focused on the family, Blüher argues that precisely this distinction distinguishes Germans from Jews: “This Jewish stopped being a folk and became merely a race, but without going under. That means that the continuity was carried only by the family; the Jews lost male bonding and thereby friendship.”¹³⁵ Blüher rephrases his argument in a footnote in *Die Rolle der Erotik*: “The situation of the Jews is as follows: they suffer from a *deficiency of male bonding* and a simultaneous *hypertrophy* of the family.”¹³⁶ This is because they are “always only a race and never a folk.”¹³⁷

Given the similarities between Germans and Jews, it becomes clear that the primary overt justification for Blüher’s anti-Semitism is their lack of male-bonding. Blüher claims that when German soldiers bond, their Jewish colleagues are unable to get into the spirit: “I noticed among the Germanic comrades in the casino an unmistakable friendly eroticism, while the Jews stood by rather helplessly and were apparently unable to produce a similar social structure.”¹³⁸ Thus, in a surprising reversal from the arguments given by Hössli, Ulrichs, and even Weininger, who had seen the homosexual as comparable to the Jew, Blüher and his reactionary cadre now see male-male love as antithetic to Jewishness and claim it as a specific positive quality of the Germans.

It should be mentioned that Blüher believes Jews once had the ability to form strong male bonds, and that under the leadership of Herzl and the Zionists the Jews could re-create the male bonds that would establish a true state: “Only the Zionists have the true will to become a folk and to creative thought.”¹³⁹ Blüher supports this goal and calls upon the German youth to support the Zionist cause as well. Blüher’s work supports Boyarin’s thesis that Zionism was a response to anxieties about Jewish masculinity at the end of the nineteenth century.

Despite the qualified ray of hope that Blüher grants the Jews, he associates

the inability of Jewish men to bond erotically with all of the failings that conservative anti-Semites attribute to Jews: "That the Jews are not a folk means, however, also that they they will not be able to follow a *Führer* (for being a folk means in fact: to follow) and that is the reason that their spirit has an overwhelmingly mercantile, hedonistic, untragic, enlightened, in general unproductive character. That is the assimilated Jew."¹⁴⁰ In order to make his analysis work, he relies on the linguistic relationship between "folk" (*Volk*) and "follow" (*folgen*). A decade before the rise of Hitler, Blüher is already bringing the Jewish people in opposition to the principle of a *Führer*.¹⁴¹

Literary Treatments: Otto Julius Bierbaum's *Prinz Kuckuck*

Otto Julius Bierbaum's 1906/7 novel, *Prinz Kuckuck: Leben, Taten, Meinungen und Höllenfahrt eines Wollüstlings* (Prince Cuckoo: A Libertine's Life, Deeds, Opinions and Descent into Hell), gives a remarkably full presentation of the comparison between homosexuals and Jews. The "prince" and "libertine" of the novel's title is Henry, who at first does not know that his biological mother is a Jew. Eventually, though, Henry discovers his Jewish origins, while Karl, with whom he grows up, gradually comes to understand that he is sexually attracted to men. The novel satirically exposes the foibles of both of its upper-class male protagonists, but it also demonstrates the workings of the comparison between homosexuals and Jews at the onset of the twentieth century.

Sara, Henry's beautiful mother, is the most positive embodiment of the Jews in the novel. This "typical Jew" is a woman, emphasizing the femininity of the Jew and the Oriental. In this case, the female Jew is not gender inverted, but rather strongly feminine. A variety of anti-Semitic men find her attractive, some because they see her as "Oriental," others because they regard her as "modern." Her Russian lover, "saw in her only Sulamith, as he had projected her into the Old Testament, but unbeknownst to him, she was at the same time actually very modern, in the sense of the emancipation of the flesh through the brain, as Heinrich Heine had preached."¹⁴² Seventy years after the term started circulating in Hössli's era, the "emancipation of the flesh" was still perceived as Jewish.

Although the novel portrays Sara quite positively, many of the characters view her as an example of "the genius of Jewish degeneration."¹⁴³ The novel documents the anti-Semitism of many of the elites of Wilhelmine Germany, confirming Blüher's observations that the fraternities, for instance, did not

welcome Jews. Even when they're being polite, Henry's fraternity brothers believe that "the descendants of good old Sem are admittedly valuable and useful citizens of the state, but they don't belong in the student group, like a pug doesn't belong in falconry."¹⁴⁴ Confirming Blüher's reports about the military, Henry resorts to making anti-Semitic jokes in order to become popular with the officers, although some find that his portrayals of Jews are suspiciously accurate.¹⁴⁵

Sara eventually reveals to Henry that she is his mother and that he is therefore half-Jewish. For Henry, the only good news is that his father is an anti-Semite. He converts to Catholicism, becomes an Austrian citizen, and runs for office on a monarchist, anti-Semitic platform. All his campaign talks conclude with praise for the Catholic Church and the Habsburgs and a final appeal to the "necessity of ruthlessly fighting against Jewry until it is annihilated."¹⁴⁶ He actually uses the word *Vernichtung* (annihilation) with regard to Jews in the first decade of the twentieth century, long before the Nazis came to power and settled on the final solution.

The reader knows of Henry's Jewish ancestry much earlier than the character himself learns of it. In contrast, the novel only slowly reveals the nature of Karl's sexual orientation. When Henry and the other school boys visit prostitutes, Karl doesn't come along because "his forbidden desires went in other, higher directions."¹⁴⁷ Later, the narrator refers to "Karl's special orientation [*Veranlagung*]."¹⁴⁸ In England, Karl finally discovers a community of men like himself, complete with subcultural markers such as a penchant for red ties.¹⁴⁹ Their meeting place, the Green Carnation, exhibits "an ancestral gallery of boy love," decorated with marble and bronze statues of men classically reputed to have sexually loved other men, such as Alcibiades, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Michelangelo, and Frederick the Great. "Greek literature" fills its shelves; it is also, we recall, where Karl learns to love Nietzsche.¹⁵⁰

Stable hands, hotel pages, and errand boys serve the clients of the club at elaborate, but tasteful, festivities. Freshly bathed and perfumed, the boys initially wear the classical robe called a chlamys. As the evening proceeds, "the event took on an extremely Greek form": "The men . . . drank moderate amounts of heavy wines of the South while engaged in lightly erotic-aesthetic conversation. Then people enjoyed themselves according to their tastes and choices with Greek boys of London, now *sans* chlamys. It was no more shameless, indeed more dignified than the orgies that normal young men organize with pleasant ladies."¹⁵¹ Notably, the narrator considers all this natural: "The feeling of something unnatural did not come up for even a moment among

these people, who were acting in an aesthetically voluptuous or for them thoroughly instinctual way, especially as the boys were for the most part following their nature and in no way had the feeling of being exploited." Bierbaum makes the same rhetorical moves as Hössli in slipping between the "natural" as a universal phenomenon and the "nature" of particular individuals.

Eventually Karl moves to Italy, which was in the nineteenth and early twentieth century an attractive destination for northern European bourgeois and aristocratic men who were sexually attracted to men.¹⁵² Karl has a wonderful time in Naples: "Here he no longer merely felt classical Greek and Roman bronzes with his eyes, here his bodily members felt living flesh. He frequented the baths, which were decorated in a classical style, where young bath attendants worked naked and were gladly available, with inborn talents, for scenes à la Petronius."¹⁵³ Karl concludes, "it was much more real here than in the Lords' Club in London, with the masked circus boys and the hotel pages."¹⁵⁴ Karl soon falls in love with Tiberious, a big strong man on the island of Capri, who beats up anyone who bothers them.¹⁵⁵

When Henry first learns of Karl's behavior, "he is unconcerned about his cousin's erotic needs and inclinations."¹⁵⁶ Indeed, Henry proves to be so accepting that he and Karl's lover Tiberius end up in a grotto together, where stalactites, "monstrous phalluses, dripping lightly and encrusted with mussels, hang from above."¹⁵⁷ Henry can't remember the details of what happens next, just that he falls back and "a burning heat of mad kisses and embraces fell upon him."¹⁵⁸ Out of jealousy, Karl attempts to kill Henry, who kills Karl in self-defense. Later in life, when Henry is running for office in Austria as an anti-Semitic, monarchist Catholic, he of course also rejects "the loving preoccupation with men."¹⁵⁹

To a certain extent, this novel contrasts Henry's Jewishness with Karl's homosexuality, in part by Hellenizing same-sex desire. Repeatedly, ancient Greek and Roman motifs announce the location of Karl's erotic interests. He wants to go to Capri, for instance, because he hears that the whole island is "classical."¹⁶⁰ Karl's extreme elitism is reminiscent of the antidemocratic tendencies of many of the masculinists, especially Kupffer. Karl's poetry, not unlike Kupffer's, has the following message: "that everything essentially noble, everything great and high, all power of the mind and soul, and the unencumbered enjoyment of sensual beauty was a privilege" and that authorities should protect "those highest cultural goods, even at the expense of the freedom of movement and the drive for emancipation of the masses."¹⁶¹ There is, therefore, a consciously anti-emancipatory level to Karl's writings. As in much of the

Greek model, there is, especially in the English club, a lightly pederastic touch to the homoerotic scene, although the Italian Tiberius is certainly nothing but a man. In addition, as with much of the Greek model of sexuality, there is an indication that anyone might enjoy these sexual pleasures, as Henry's brief encounter with Tiberius shows.

Ultimately, however, the novel represents the Greek model of homosexuality as a superficial phenomenon, a version of sexuality the homosexual characters would like to endorse, but which is inaccurate and not consistent with the facts as the novel presents them. Henry's one fling with Tiberius does not go anywhere. Karl is the one with the "orientation." He is the one who discovers his true "nature." He is the one who consistently, from his teenage years on, is sexually drawn to men. Moreover, this sexual attraction is linked to gender inversion when Henry says to Karl, "you are a kind of lady."¹⁶² Thus the novel transcends the Hellenizing theorizing of its homosexual characters and places them in a context in which Karl's innate minoritizing sexual desire for other men, based on gender inversion, is comparable to Henry's inborn Jewishness.

Bierbaum's novel shows how smoothly and quickly the analogy between Jews and homosexuals slipped into popular culture. Quickly, one of the dominant modes of conceptualizing homosexuality came to be the one proposed by Ulrichs and originally inspired by his perception of Jews in his culture: minoritizing, often politically progressive, based on gender inversion and looking for confirmation in science, biology, and medicine. Often these particular assumptions regarding sexuality were not explicitly related to Jewishness. Nonetheless, the frequency of comparisons between homosexuals and Jews suggests that this modern, identity-based approach to sexuality harks back to the reliance of nineteenth-century German-speaking thinkers on the Jewish model for their analysis of homosexuality.

Chapter 4

“Homosexuality” and the Poetics of the Nation in Austria, Hungary, and Austria-Hungary

In nineteenth-century central Europe, questions of identity and difference were of course not confined to the arena of relations between Jews and Germans. Particularly in the Habsburg Empire, with its extraordinarily diverse multinational population, group identity was a constantly growing preoccupation in the 1800s. In this time period, the multiethnic nature of the empire produced not only vicious rivalries, but also complex and subtle thought on nationalism and ethnicity. After the reorganization of the Habsburg Empire into Austria-Hungary in 1867, the “Cisleithanian” (or Austrian) Empire pursued a vision of a supranational sense of identity, while the “Transleithanian” (or Hungarian) Kingdom embarked on a massive program of “Magyarization,” aimed at converting the many peoples of the southeastern half of the dual monarchy into Hungarian nationals. The Austrian Empire aspired to a system of overlapping identities, in which one, for instance, could be—like Franz Kafka—Jewish, Czech, and Austrian all at the same time. The Hungarian Kingdom relied on the malleability of national identity as a product of culture, hoping to turn disparate nationalities into Hungarians. The great literary artists of the Empire, from Adalbert Stifter to Robert Musil, focused intensely on questions of national and cultural identity, relating that identity to eros and sexuality. These discourses influenced Karl Maria Kertbeny, who was deeply immersed in questions of Hungarian nationalism when he coined the term “homosexuality” in the late 1860s.

Robert Musil and Identity in Austria-Hungary

After describing the “at least nine characteristics” that define the inhabitant of a country—career, nationality, citizenship, class, geography, sex, as well as the conscious, the unconscious, “and perhaps even the private”—Robert Musil (1880–1942) adds in *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (The Man without Qualities) that “every inhabitant of the earth has an additional tenth characteristic, and this is nothing other than the passive fantasy of unfilled spaces; it allows a person to do everything except for one thing: take seriously what his other nine or more characteristics do. . . . This space, admittedly difficult to describe, is differently colored and formed in Italy than in England.”¹ One’s country creates a distinctive, ironic, negative space for identity—an identity based on the proscribed, rather than the prescribed.

Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften (first volume published in 1930, second volume in 1933, unfinished third volume posthumously in 1943), is Musil’s grand, incomplete, modernist requiem for Austria-Hungary, the dual monarchy called the Kaiserreich und Königtum (Empire and Kingdom, of Austria and Hungary respectively).² In the novel, the protagonist Ulrich and his cousin, Ermeline Tuzzi, known as “Diotima,” work with aristocrats like Count Leinsdorf and wealthy international financiers like Paul Arnheim to organize the jubilee celebration of seventy years of rule by Kaiser Franz Joseph I (1830–1916). The preparation for the event—called the “Parallel Campaign,” because the Hohenzollerns in Germany are planning a similar celebration of Kaiser Wilhelm II’s thirtieth anniversary as Emperor—begins in 1913. The characters are blissfully and tragically unaware that soon the First World War will break out, the emperor will die, and Austria-Hungary will disappear.

The Parallel Campaign forces the characters to reconsider what it means to be a subject of the dual monarchy. Musil reports that “this Austro-Hungarian sense of statehood was such a peculiarly constructed phenomenon that it necessarily seems almost impossible to explain it to anyone who didn’t experience it themselves.”³ Asserting that “the secrets of dualism (which was the technical term) were at least as difficult to understand as those of the trinity,” he elucidates: “It did not consist of an Austrian and a Hungarian part, which one might expect would complement each other, but rather it consisted of a whole and a part, namely of a Hungarian and an Austrian-Hungarian sense of statehood, and the latter was at home in Austria, which meant that the Austrian sense of statehood was actually stateless.”⁴ Later, Musil adds about

the Hungarians: "The Hungarians were, first and last, simply Hungarian and were regarded only incidentally, by foreigners who did not know the language, as Austro-Hungarians too; the Austrians, however, were, to begin with and primarily, nothing at all, and yet they were supposed by their leaders to feel Austro-Hungarian and be Austrian-Hungarians—they didn't even have a proper word for it. Nor was there an Austria."⁵

Musil underestimates the complexities of Hungarian identity in these passages, but he accurately underscores the difficulties presented by attempting to forge a supranational "Austrian" identity out of kingdoms and countries as diverse as Galicia, Bukovina, Slovakia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Dalmatia, as well as the various duchies, arch-duchies, and counties that today constitute Austria. This task becomes almost ludicrously hard when one realizes that some of these realms, such as "the completely Shakespearean kingdoms of Lodomeria and Illyria, didn't exist anymore." (In fact, Lodomeria never really existed.) Given the dangers of nationalism, Musil rightly fears Cisleithania is fated to become "a state that perished because of a failure of language."⁶

In order to understand Musil's analysis, some background about the "nationalities problem" in the Habsburg Empire is in order. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Habsburgs ruled their empire as a collection of kingdoms, duchies, counties, and other fiefdoms united in allegiance to the monarchy. Although the Habsburgs were based in Vienna, German was not the native tongue of many of their peoples. Astonishingly, Latin was the official administrative language for the empire well into the nineteenth century.⁷ The linguistic complexities of administering the government in the first half of the nineteenth century were legion, as the patriot István Széchenyi (1791–1860), one of the founders of modern Hungary, amusingly outlines: "legal questions were first discussed at home in German, debated in the Diet in Hungarian, presented to the Throne in Latin, then translated into German for the advisors who spoke neither Hungarian nor Latin, followed by the imperial command in German, forwarded in Latin translation to the Diet, which discusses it in Hungarian, only to pass the law in Latin."⁸ Széchenyi himself was a product of these elaborate linguistic customs, remaining inside this ornate system throughout his life. Like many aristocratic Hungarians raised at the beginning of the nineteenth century, he never really mastered the Hungarian language, hence the reference to discussing legal questions at home in German.

After the Habsburgs ruthlessly put down the revolution of 1848, many insurgents, including Kertbeny, lived in exile, gaining support for their cause among liberal, progressive, and radical circles. Austria's defeat in its 1866 war

against Prussia, however, seriously weakened the Habsburgs. Needing to shift their focus to their southern and eastern possessions, they restructured their holdings as the Austro-Hungarian Empire, giving in to the nationalist aspirations of the Hungarians. The “Reconciliation,” as it was called, featured an extravagant coronation ceremony, full of archaic feudal pomp that verged on camp.

Franz Joseph’s wife Elisabeth (1837–1898) was an ardent supporter of the Hungarian cause and much beloved by the people of Hungary. Known as “Sissi,” the empress quickly became a camp icon in twentieth-century gay German culture. Heidi Schlipphacke begins her analysis of Ernst Marischka’s *Sissi* trilogy of the 1950s with “the simple fact of the iconicity of ‘Sissi’ and the Sissi films within contemporary German and Austrian queer cultures.”⁹ She adds that “Sissi performances are common at drag balls and queer celebrations such as Christopher Street Day.”¹⁰ The empress’s status in the gay world certainly has to do with identification with the melancholy, doomed queen who reached out to outsiders (like the Hungarians) and suffered from the constraints of convention. It also, however, reflects an affinity for the types of identity that Sissi came to embody and represent, both as empress of Austria and as queen of Hungary.

After the Reconciliation of 1867, the new constitution made explicit that all subjects of “the kingdoms and countries represented in the Imperial Council,” from Bukovina to Trieste, were entitled to “Austrian state civil rights.”¹¹ After the fall of the empire, legitimist circles would mourn the loss of “that supranational Austrianness [*Österreichertum*] that was one of the most beautiful blossoms of the old Imperial State.”¹² Musil documents the existence of such thinking even before the fall of the empire, when his character Diotima declares that “the world will not find tranquility until the nations live in a higher unity, like the Austrian peoples in their homeland. A greater Austria, a world-Austria, was the crowning idea that had been missing until now.”¹³ In the age of the nation-state, the rhetoric justifying the continued maintenance of Habsburg rule increasingly focused on the values of transcending nationalism.

Nineteenth-century Austrian intellectuals, such as Joseph Samuel Bloch, editor of the influential *Österreichische Wochenschrift* (Austrian Weekly), attempted to make a virtue out of the necessities created by this new state and saw in it the chance to forge an identity without the trappings of racial nationalism.¹⁴ Specifically, this would stand in contrast to the new nation-state of Germany under the Hohenzollerns, where, as Peter Pulzer observes, “with the creation of the [German] Empire, *Volk* as defined in the earlier decades

of the century, merged with *Staat*.¹⁵ Making a none-too-subtle bid for the reconstitution of the empire, Otto of Austria (subsequently known as Otto von Habsburg) argued in 1942 that the empire for all its faults had been trying to overcome the dangers of the "state-nation," which had come to the fore most evidently in the "centralized" (i.e., Prussianized) German republic.¹⁶ Even today, some authors view the Habsburg Empire as an interesting model for the multiethnic communities of modernity, including even the European Union.¹⁷

The revolutionary energy of 1848 led to the creation of a catalog of rights for the Habsburg monarchy, based on the *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen* of 1789, but with the new and distinctive right to the protection of nationality and national language. By 1851, however, the forces of reaction had the upper hand in Austria and the "General Rights of the State Citizens of the Kingdoms and Countries Represented in the Imperial Council" did not come into effect until 1867.¹⁸ In addition to classic rights such as the equality of all citizens, the sanctity of private property, the inviolability of the domicile, and the freedom of scholarship, art, and teaching, the document retains an assertion of national and ethnic rights: "All national races [*Volksstämme*] of the state have equal rights and every national race has an inviolable right to the protection and fostering of its nationality and language." Not found in the American or French declarations of rights, this interest in the protection of national and ethnic groups demonstrates the focus on group identity that existed in the Habsburg Empire.

In his novel, Musil focuses specifically on the set of rights that have to do with limitations on criminal accountability due to mental illness. Although the importance of culpability and blameworthiness in criminal law goes back to Greek and Roman times, the issue reemerges in the early modern era, when early Enlightenment thinkers like Samuel von Pufendorf (1632–1694) codified degrees of criminal responsibility.¹⁹ *Actus non facit reum nisi mens sit rea* (The act is not culpable if the mind is not guilty) became a principle of criminal law, requiring the determination of *mens rea*, which is to say, the guilt of the mind, for conviction. This principle opened up the way for a nuancing of penal law, distinguishing criminal acts according to a finely graduated system of accountability, from, for instance, coldly premeditated murder to accidental manslaughter.²⁰ It also provided the grounding in the nineteenth century for protections of the rights of the mentally ill.

In the Austrian penal code of 1852, the very first article relies on Pufendorf's theories of criminal responsibility when it declares that a *böser Vorsatz* or

“evil intention” is a precondition of criminal activity. The second article clarifies that conditions such as “the complete loss of the use of reason,” “a variable disorder of the mind,” or “a confusion of the mind of which the perpetrator was not aware” can all relieve a person of criminal responsibility. After the unification of Germany, Paragraph 51 of the *Reichsstrafgesetzbuch* (Imperial Penal Code) of 1872 filled a similar function: “A punishable act is not present when the perpetrator at the time of the perpetration of the act was in an unconscious state or suffered from a pathological disturbance of mental activity, such that the free determination of will was excluded.” The *Reichsstrafgesetzbuch* of 1872 remains the basis of the German penal code today, while the Austrian *Strafgesetzbuch* (Penal Code) of 1852 was the basis of Austrian law until 1975. The new Austrian penal code contains a clause very similar to the German clause in Paragraph 3: “A person is not punishable if because of a disturbed consciousness, a pathological disturbance of the mind, or a weak mind, he or she was, at the time of the deed, unable to understand the wrong of the deed or was unable to act upon this insight.”²¹ From the middle of the nineteenth century on, therefore, a psychiatric assessment became an important potential defense for those accused of criminal activity. By being called upon to determine whether the pathological disturbance of mental activity was such that it precluded the free exercise of will, physicians came to be major arbiters of culpability, blameworthiness, and guilt in German and Austrian law in the nineteenth century—particularly in questions of sexuality.

The question of criminal responsibility, especially in sexual delicts, is central to one of the most well-developed plot strands in *Mann ohne Eigenschaften*, which focuses on the protagonist Ulrich and his interest in the fate of Moosbrugger, on trial for gruesomely murdering a prostitute. The defense relies primarily on the limitations of the responsibility of the accused, because of his mental state, which leads the narrator to devote an entire chapter to what he calls an “Excursion into the Realm of Logic and Morals.”²² There the narrator deconstructs legal thinking on questions of diminished responsibility due to mental incapacity, noting that “with the exception of those unhappy souls who stick out their tongue when one asks them how much seven times seven is or who say ‘I’ when they are asked to name His Imperial Royal Highness,”²³ most people cannot claim diminished capacity: “For if one is partly sick, one is, in the view of legal teachings, also partly healthy; if one is partly healthy, then one is at least partly accountable; and if one is partly accountable, then one is completely so. For accountability is, as they say, man’s situation when he possesses the ability to choose for himself a specific goal, independent of

every coercive contingency—and one cannot simultaneously possess and lack this ability.”²⁴ Musil’s narrator argues that, even with clauses on diminished capacity, the law is not subtle enough to take into account the complexities of human agency.

The novel contains numerous other references to the question of capacity, including an allusion to the twelfth edition of *Die Zurechnungslehre des Samuel Pufendorf und die moderne Jurisprudenz* (Samuel Pufendorf’s Doctrine of Accountability and Modern Jurisprudence). While the treatise is fictional, Pufendorf is indeed the Enlightenment author whose theories on the question of accountability established the direction of subsequent German-language law.²⁵ Ulrich’s father is particularly fanatical about the question, writing a letter to his son in which he urges the young man to help him in his project of rephrasing the penal code paragraph that protects the mentally ill. His father is concerned that soft-hearted liberals want to grant “a vague form of diminished capacity” “to those numerous individuals who are neither insane, nor morally normal.”²⁶ Disagreeing with his father’s approach, Ulrich is concerned that his era’s legal thinking on the question of capacity fails to do justice to “such people who belonged neither in prison nor in freedom, and for whom the insane asylums also did not suffice.”²⁷

Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften directs its most withering critique at the forensic psychiatrists who are responsible for determining guilt and accountability in this new legal environment. The narrator declares they are “usually much more fearful than the lawyers; they only declared those people for truly sick whom they could not heal, which was a modest exaggeration, for they couldn’t heal the others either.”²⁸ Not only is psychiatry fundamentally ineffective, the narrator implies that the discipline merely squeezes money from the mentally ill, whom “the angel of medicine admittedly treats as sick when they come to him in private practice, but whom he shyly hands over to the angel of justice when he runs into them in legal practice.”²⁹ In a discussion with one of his lovers, Bonadea, Ulrich agrees both that psychiatric medicine is ineffective and that it is primarily interested in finances, sarcastically referring to “the psychiatric-judicial questions . . . about which we know that the physicians are almost far enough that they could prevent most such crimes, if we would only spend enough money.”³⁰

While Musil’s critique of psychiatry and forensic medicine is general, its application in *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* is to Moosbrugger’s violent sexual crime. Moreover, in Ulrich’s discussion with Bonadea, he finds Moosbrugger’s crime analogous to her own crime of adultery with him, indicating the

importance for Musil of psychiatry's role in adjudicating sexual offences. With the notable exception of *Die Verwirrung des Zöglings Törleß* (The Confusions of Young Törless), published in 1906, Musil is not known for his depictions of sexual attraction between men, but rather for his exquisite depiction of heterosexual love, eros, and sexuality. However, male-male desire does play an intriguing role in *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*. Diotima's role in organizing the Parallel Campaign at her salons periodically leads to explicit calls in the novel to look up the ancient Greek Diotima of Plato's *Symposium* in order to understand her function. While these calls primarily serve to remind the reader of Diotima's ladder, which moves men from their initial carnal love upward to the appreciation of beauty itself, they also hint at the original assumption of male-male desire in Plato's text. The homoeroticism that comes with Diotima's name is stressed by her own peculiar citation of the Belgian symbolist, Maurice Maeterlinck: "The soul of a sodomite could pass through the middle of the crowd . . . and the limpid smile of a child would lie in its eyes; for everything depends upon an invisible principle."³¹ Ulrich dismisses the author of the passage as nothing but a "salon philosopher," but the homoerotics of the reference stick, for Diotima's comment sparks an intense memory of his own passion as a twenty-year-old for the wife of a major, which strikes him as similar to "the immoral kiss that a youth gives a man."³² Diotima, whose own name harks back to the pederastic traditions of Socratic education, reminds Ulrich of precisely those traditions when she discusses the invisibility and omnipresence of sodomy.

Although male-male desire might seem to occupy only a marginal place in *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*, Musil is clearly concerned about the increasing role of medicine and psychiatry in legalistic definitions of sexual pathologies. Occasional references to sodomy and male-male love suggest that Musil knows that male homosexuality is one of the arenas where this juridical medicalization of sexual categories was proceeding most virulently. Both the narrator and the protagonist of the novel consistently critique efforts to create hard-and-fast categories of mental states, while the law demands precisely such classifications. Even Diotima's Maeterlinck citation underscores the invisibility of the principle that identifies a sodomite. Ulrich's dismissal of Maeterlinck points in the direction of his own more rigorous insistence on a more fluid eros that allows his own young love of a major's wife to transform into a youth's love for a man. This critique of psychiatric categories, particularly in the realm of love, occurs within the context of his larger discussions about the problems of

maintaining a supranational "Austrian" identity in the face of fragmentation caused by national identities.

Magyarization and Karl Maria Kertbeny

Musil declares several times that the Hungarians, in contrast to the Austrians, had a solid, cohesive national identity. He is correct in the sense that, as a kingdom, Hungary was structured to become a nation-state, rather than the imperial confederation of nations that constituted the Austrian Empire. Like the Cisleithanian or Austrian side of Austria-Hungary, however, the Transleithanian or Hungarian side of the dual monarchy encompassed a huge expanse of land that was home to many different nationalities. In 1867, only about 40 percent of the population of Transleithania were ethnically Hungarian. Romanians, South Slavs, Germans, and Slovaks each contributed as much as 10 or 15 percent of the population of Hungary, and there were numerous other smaller groups as well.³³

As far as Hungarian nationalists were concerned, it was important for the success of their half of the Habsburg Empire that national identity be an acquired characteristic. For the political leaders of the new Hungarian state, all the inhabitants of Hungary were Magyars, as was spelled out in legislation when the dual monarchy was established: "in accordance with the fundamental principles of the constitution, all Hungarian citizens [constitute] a nation in the political sense, the one and indivisible Hungarian nation, in which every citizen of the fatherland is a member who enjoys equal rights, regardless of the national group to which he belongs."³⁴ In order to promote a sense of national unity, the Hungarians embarked on an extensive program of Magyarization, which relied heavily on the promotion of the Hungarian language. One historian reports that "the view prevailed that complete linguistic assimilation would also lead to total political integration, that is, allegiance to the Hungarian nation."³⁵ While there was some concern about the population growth among the "sons of Árpád" (Hungarians by birth), there was much more exultation about the increasing population of Magyarized Hungarian nationals.³⁶

Because language and literature were the vital features of Hungarian identity, biological descent from Magyar stock was less important. Many of the leaders of the nationalist movement were "Hungarians by choice," including

Ferenc Toldy (1805–1875), who was “the founder of Hungarian literary history and a crucial guiding spirit of the upsurge of Hungarian culture.”³⁷ A person not descended by blood from Hungarians erected the very canon of cultural works that was to insure the stability of Magyar culture. The leadership of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 came from a variety of backgrounds, including “a German of Austrian origin, a German-Austrian, two Hungarian Germans, a Croat, a Serb from Banat, and two Hungarians of Armenian origin. Not all of the five ‘pure’ Hungarians were familiar with the Hungarian language.”³⁸ Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894), another founding father of the nation, was not clearly of Hungarian ancestry either.³⁹ The patriotic poet Petöfi, whom Kertbeny translated and popularized, was the child of a Serbian father and a Slovak mother and changed his name from Petrovics to the more Hungarian Petöfi. Such elective Hungarians frequently adopted Hungarian names, as Kertbeny himself did, when he changed his surname from the German Benkert.

The Magyar version of nationalism could certainly be repressive. Initially, liberal law on minorities within Hungary mirrored Austria in providing for a variety of minority rights, largely based on language: petitions to the government could be delivered in the mother tongue, churches could hold services in whatever language they chose, schools could be taught in the language of the community, secondary education was supposed to be available in the language of minority groups.⁴⁰ However, the administration of the nationalities law increasingly emphasized the effort to mold a Hungarian national identity out of the disparate peoples in the southeastern half of the Habsburg Empire: “Over the years a nationalism which had been originally liberal in character began to identify itself wholly with the traditional Magyar sense of national mission, which viewed the Magyars’ historic task in the second half of the nineteenth century as pioneering the new bourgeois economic, social and cultural progress in eastern Europe and the Balkans.”⁴¹ Concern for the rights of minorities began to dissipate once the Hungarians no longer considered themselves a minority.

Nonetheless, the Magyarization program was strikingly successful. One could read in 1896 that, “as far as the speed of Magyarization is concerned, it is quite without parallel in the history of any nation.”⁴² Roughly two million people “converted” and became Hungarian in the final decades of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.⁴³ Put another way, “at the outbreak of World War I, one out of five persons who professed themselves Hungarians had turned Hungarian themselves or came from families that had become Hungarian during the previous two generations.”⁴⁴ This includes up to 700,000 Jews, 600,000 Germans, 400,000 Slovaks, 150,000 Romanians, and 150,000 South Slavs.⁴⁵

With its focus on language, literature, and culture as bearers of identity, Magyarization was neither universalizing nor biologizing. This worldview had a profound and deep influence on the structure of the thinking of Hungarian nationalists, such as the man who coined the term, "homosexual," Kertbeny, whose work we began to look at in the introduction of this book. Although Kertbeny's involvement in Hungarian nationalism has been generally neglected by historians of sexuality, his nationalist publications were a more significant part of his career than his writings on sex. Although he claimed to have studied medicine, he really supported himself—badly, it is true—as a nationalist *homme de lettres*, translating Hungarian literature into German and promoting the Hungarian cause in the feuilletons of German publications. As early as 1846, he founded a journal, *Das Jahrbuch des deutschen Elements in Ungarn* (The Yearbook of the German Element in Hungary), which he hoped would "build the bridge of understanding between European and Hungarian political and intellectual movements."⁴⁶ In 1854, he was working for the *Ungarische Vierteljahresschrift* (Hungarian Quarterly).⁴⁷ He translated numerous Hungarian authors into German in order to expose the world to Hungarian culture. He returned to Petöfi, whom he had met in a café, again and again; his translations of Petöfi made him well known throughout Europe.⁴⁸

Wherever he traveled, the police kept track of Kertbeny. In Italy, Habsburg agents kept tabs on him.⁴⁹ In Coburg they reported, "he is said to be an excessive democrat (supporter of the people's government) who unites eloquence and acting with extraordinary talent, and is susceptible to intrigue and liable to commit vicious acts."⁵⁰ For every report of his high-minded and principled battle for democracy and the rights of the Hungarian people, there are also numerous accounts of more banal brushes with the law. In Leipzig, the police wanted to expel him because he didn't have a passport—so he spent ten months hiding in a garden shed. In Coburg, the police noted he had neglected to pay his bill at the tavern. Many of these infractions had to do with his constant, grinding financial difficulties. Judit Takacs reports that Kertbeny's diaries—written for the most part in Hungarian—are full of exclamations about his poverty and his frequent trips to the pawn shop.⁵¹ Even at the end of his life, he was penniless; a writers' mutual society covered the cost of his burial in 1882.⁵²

Generally, Kertbeny's encounters with the police had to do with his politics and his debts, rather than his sexual proclivities. Kertbeny always insisted he was a "normal sexual." In the essay on homosexuality that he sent to Jäger, Kertbeny claimed that his sympathy with the plight of homosexuals

stemmed from the suicide of a friend who had been the victim of blackmail. After that tragedy, Kertbeny had come to know many members of this “sect.” Takacs, however, reveals that Kertbeny’s diaries are filled with references to young men, with whom he seems to have had sexual relations. At times he was concerned that neighbors had overheard or otherwise noticed his activities with his guests, other times he lamented that the young men had apparently acquired venereal diseases, and at least once he wrote, “very much in love with the lad.”⁵³ When Ulrichs was arrested in 1867, Kertbeny’s concern seems to have stemmed less from an interest in the cause of homosexual emancipation and more from simple anxiety that his own sexual activity might be revealed. On April 30, 1867, he wrote, “this mad man brings on me the most horrible danger. All the papers are found.”⁵⁴

Regardless of his own sexuality, Kertbeny studied the phenomenon quite extensively. After publicly coining the terms “homosexual” and “homosexuality” in 1869, Kertbeny spent much of his adult life compiling information about the people that he had so named. He promised the Serbe Verlag that he would submit a manuscript on the subject, but never did so. Instead, he sent material to the zoologist, Gustav Jäger, who incorporated some of it into the second edition of his book, *Die Entdeckung der Seele* (The Discovery of the Soul) in 1880. Jäger attributed the writings to “Dr. M,” publishing only a limited selection of what Kertbeny had sent. In 1900, however, Hirschfeld published in the second volume of the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (Yearbook for Sexual Intermediary Types) the unexpurgated chapter on homosexuality that Jäger had been unwilling to publish. In it, “Dr. M” (Kertbeny) purports to present the results from studying over 1,000 homosexuals from three continents.⁵⁵

Kertbeny distinguishes between three main categories: “monosexuals” (masturbators or onanists who have sex only with themselves), “normal sexuals” (who have sex with members of the other sex), and “homosexuals” (who have sex with members of their own sex). He also alludes to “amphisexuals” or “the doubled” (*die Doppelten*), who have sex with people from either sex. In addition, there is a brief reference to the “heterogeneous,” apparently people who have sex with nonhumans, such as animals. He further subdivides the category of homosexuals into “mutuals” who masturbate each other and “pygists” who practice anal intercourse. The pygists, who Kertbeny believes are relatively rare, are further divided into actives and passives—there are four passives for every active, making the active pygists the rarest of the rare.

Kertbeny’s system of sexuality departs in numerous ways from the

universalizing Greek model. More than once in his writings, he begins lists of famous homosexuals with the phrase, "setting aside the Greeks and Romans."⁵⁶ Although he certainly assumes that male-male sex among the ancient Greeks bolsters his arguments, he wants to distinguish their sexuality from what he considers to be more typical forms of homosexuality. Specifically, he believes the ancient Greeks were unusual in their passion for younger men. He notes that "the Greeks considered reciprocal relations between bearded men shameful and dishonorable."⁵⁷ In contrast, Northerners are more interested in older men who are more masculine than boyish youths.⁵⁸ Kertbeny observes some homosexuals even like "the more mature man who has already seen 40."⁵⁹

Part of the difference between modern Europeans and classical Greeks, according to Kertbeny, is that the ancients, along with most non-Western cultures, were sexually active at an earlier age, as young as "ten or twelve years," whereas in the occidental North, the young man "of the Indo-Germanic race doesn't feel sexual, doesn't attract seduction and is not susceptible to seduction until between his fifteenth and eighteenth years."⁶⁰

Part of Kertbeny's concern comes from an effort to reassure his readers that homosexuals are not sexually attracted to children and do not commit the kind of criminal child abuse and molestation Zastrow had been accused of: "In any case, the direction that this inclination takes in the North is a great reassurance for society that is all too concerned that the seduction of boys is spreading too rapidly."⁶¹ In his later studies on sexuality, Kertbeny maintains that children are an impossible object choice for male homosexuals because homosexual men desire only the masculine: "If the male homosexual is incapable [of an erection] caused by a woman and is only capable of erection caused by the virile . . . how is he supposed to be capable of an erection for the purposes of committing a brutal act on a completely immature child, whose entire being is even more the opposite of the virile than that of a woman?"⁶² Indeed, Kertbeny argues that girls have much more to fear from (male) heterosexuals than boys from (male) homosexuals: "With respect to our children, we can sleep in peace—as long as they are boys: admittedly even the smallest girls are still exposed to the possibility of brutality from—a normal sexual, as so many notices in the daily papers have occasion to announce."⁶³

At many points, Kertbeny's approach to sexuality is similar to Ulrich's model. In contrast to those who propose a universalizing Greek model, Kertbeny clearly believes homosexuals constitute a distinct and identifiable group. He speculates that 2 percent of the male population is homosexual, which he further breaks down into the 1.5 percent who are "mutuals" and the 0.5 percent

who are “pygists, of which 1/5 are active and 4/5 passive.”⁶⁴ Members of this group mainly to stick to their own: Although he asserts that many homosexuals fantasize about having sex with a “normal sexual,” he determines that they only rarely get their wish, which means that “usually the homosexuals enjoy themselves amongst their own, even though the majority changes its lovers and beloveds almost daily, or rather loves anyone as much as the other, except that they are satisfied with the man who happens to be available that day.”⁶⁵ On the issue of promiscuity, he concludes that—in the absence of marriage—“the majority, whether normal or homosexual, loves—variety.”⁶⁶

Kertbeny also shares with thinkers like Ulrichs and Hirschfeld a belief in the power of science, biology, and medicine to clarify matters of sexuality (and, presumably, race as well). His desire to speak as a physician testifies to this belief, even though he lacked formal education in the medical field. He argues that the voice of rational science should outweigh that of the “folk,” which, he points out, has been known to succumb to irrational concepts like magic and witchcraft.⁶⁷ As with Ulrichs and Hirschfeld, he does not find that this faith in the scientific world conflicts in any way with his belief in the power of literature and the arts to convey sexual truths as well.

Like Ulrichs, Kertbeny expresses strong support for a secular state with limited powers that will not intervene in matters of personal morality. He argues that much of the German legal code, including the antisodomy passages, emerges from “earlier religious opinions on original sin, devils and witchcraft.”⁶⁸ This was the kind of argument that produced in Hössli and Ulrichs some of the first comparisons between men who sexually desired other men and Jews, who were also framed as the victims of laws biased in favor of Christianity. Along these liberal lines, Kertbeny believes that sexuality should be seen primarily as a matter of private morality and thus exempt from state control: “the state should only concern itself in sexual matters as they pertain to individuals and society when the rights of others are infringed upon.”⁶⁹ Sexuality, for Kertbeny, is like religious faith, a matter of conscience and outside the realm of government.

In other contexts, however, Kertbeny parts ways from Ulrichs. Although he does frequently allude to homosexuality as innate in his published writings, he cautions Ulrichs in a private letter of 1868 that proving the congenital nature of same-sex desire will not necessarily help the cause.⁷⁰ He concludes that “nothing would be won if the proof of innateness were successful.”⁷¹ Even though Kertbeny does publicly make use of the argument of innate sexual desire, it is clear that he privately harbors doubts about the subject. Rather

than relying on the argument of rights for people who are born with a sexual attraction to members of their own sex, Kertbeny returns to his liberal, small-state solution. He writes to Ulrichs that they should be trying to convince their fellow citizens that "the state does not have the right to intervene in what happens between two consenting people aged over fourteen," as long as they do not hurt anyone else.⁷² Such an argument does not require any notion of identity, yet preserves sexual freedoms.

Kertbeny also differs from Ulrichs in his refusal to embrace gender inversion as an all-encompassing explanation for same-sex desire. Admittedly, in his later writings, he does refer to "aunties," or effeminate homosexuals.⁷³ In this respect, he is like most masculinists, who don't deny the existence of men with effeminate characteristics. In general, he concedes that male "homosexuals like to socialize with women, with whom they behave not as men, but rather as though they were women, loving gossip, domestic work and concerns, and devoted to each other like sisters."⁷⁴ Whereas Ulrichs argues that urnings are not only similar to women, but in fact have a truly feminine nature, Kertbeny's primary point is that male homosexuals interact with women as heterosexual women do, not as heterosexual men do—which is to say that they don't aspire to sexual relations with women, despite the amount of time that they spend with them. He never makes the case that all male homosexuals are biologically more like women than men.

In fact, Kertbeny describes enough masculine male homosexuals that Jäger could use his findings as a springboard for a discussion of the "supervirile" homosexual male.⁷⁵ Jäger also builds on Kertbeny's writings to express an interest in "superfeminine" lesbians. He concludes his assessment of Kertbeny's writings with the statement that "homosexuality is in any case not in all its manifestations to be seen off hand as something pathological, abnormal and indicative of degeneration. It should therefore not be assigned immediately to psychopathology, as Krafft-Ebing does. At least not the supervirile (and superfeminine); men like Alexander the Great, Frederick the Great and the last Viking Karl XII, the Humboldts, and so forth were certainly not psychopaths. One could more easily consider the passives (the effeminate) as such, as they fall more frequently into psychological disturbances (for example, King Ludwig II)."⁷⁶ Jäger extracts from Kertbeny's studies a variety of conclusions that challenge Ulrichs's conclusions: most notably, that gender inversion is not a necessary feature of homosexuality; that the medical model therefore does not apply in all cases; and when gender inversion does apply, homosexuality can be regarded as pathological.

A number of the main assumptions about same-sex desire that often accompany comparisons between homosexuals and Jews are thus missing from Kertbeny's writings about homosexuality, including a reliance on medical models, gender inversion, and biological innateness to explain same-sex attraction. It is thus not surprising that Kertbeny does not make direct connections between homosexuals and Jews, although he does discuss Jews generally quite sympathetically.⁷⁷

Kertbeny seems to regard homosexuality as analogous to a racial category. He reports to Jäger that he has a "sharp eye for questions of race."⁷⁸ It is important to note here that although Kertbeny uses a vocabulary of race to make his point, this race is primarily based on culture—language, literature, poetry. Even if Kertbeny regards homosexuality as a race (or "nationality" in Austro-Hungarian parlance), that race is one that he and others can join through a shared cultural upbringing. It is a malleable identity that literature and culture can mold.

For Kertbeny, as well as for many Hungarian nationalists, language, literature, and culture are the most important bearers of national identity. As a translator, he argues vigorously for "the consistent international representation of the intellectual interests of the Hungarian nation," including a foreign ministry that would represent the "national literary interests" to the outside world.⁷⁹ Only in literature can one transmit national character: "every smaller language and literature must develop at home absolutely nationally, but must look for external mediation with the general culture via one of the languages of world culture."⁸⁰ Because of the belief in the possibilities of acquiring a Magyar identity through language and culture, the Hungarian model avoids the essentializing and pathologizing features of Ulrich's model.

If this link between Hungarians and homosexuals did not leave many explicit traces in the literature, the hope for an identity based on culture and *Bildung*, rather than pure biology, is quite deeply engrained in many aspects of European thought and on some level it affected many of the early homosexual emancipation activists. In particular, the heavy reliance of nineteenth-century thinkers on long lists of artists, writers, and philosophers as evidence for the existence and legitimacy of same-sex desire came to stand in for a homosexual culture. Kertbeny provides a typical list that includes Machiavelli, Shakespeare, Moliere, Lully, Michelangelo, Winckelmann, Byron, Iffland, and Platen, along with the monarchs Charles IX of France, Henri III of France, James I of Great Britain, Peter the Great of Russia, and Frederick the Great of Prussia.⁸¹ By the end of the century, these lists were commonplace—Edward

Carpenter provides one in his 1895 monograph, *Die homogene Liebe*.⁸² These lists were by and large accepted at face value by sexologists such as Krafft-Ebing, who frequently make comments to the effect that many great cultural leaders of the West, from Socrates on, have been men who loved other men.⁸³ Albert Moll's *Berühmte Homosexuelle* (Famous Homosexuals) of 1909 is an example of a book devoted entirely to this approach, anticipating Albert L. Rowse's *Homosexuals in History* of 1977 by decades. Even ostensibly censorious pieces from the turn of the century in German-speaking central Europe, such as Braunschweig's 1902 *Das dritte Geschlecht (gleichgeschlechtliche Liebe): Beiträge zum homosexuellen Problem* (The Third Sex [same-sex Love]: Contributions to the Homosexual Problem) frequently passed on these lists of famous homosexuals more or less verbatim.⁸⁴ Even today, lists of famous homosexuals are popular, sometimes even appearing as separate books.⁸⁵ Usually containing many artists and writers, especially, what are these lists other than the efforts to create an imagined community on the basis of culture and language?

Kertbeny, along with other early homosexual emancipationists, certainly seems to have believed that lists of homosexuals in history proved the existence of a certain type of person. Because he was so closely involved in the Hungarian nationalist project, which hoped to use literature and poetry to create a nation of Magyars, regardless of their ethnic heritage, he—more so than many of the early homosexual emancipationists—had faith that the writings of Plato, Sappho, Virgil, Shakespeare, Marlowe, Leonardo da Vinci, Winckelmann, Platen, Iffland, Hans Christian Andersen, and Grillparzer, for example, could also help forge a homosexual identity.

Adalbert Stifter's *Brigitta* and Sexuality on the Periphery

For literary confirmation linking nonnormative sexual identity and Hungarian national identity, it might seem odd to turn to Adalbert Stifter (1805–1868), who does not typically show up on those lists of famous homosexuals. Raised in a provincial environment in a family of tradesmen, he embarked upon the study of law in Vienna. His middle-class central European background meant that he shared many of the same mid-nineteenth-century liberal bourgeois prejudices as men like Hössli, Ulrichs, and Kertbeny. Although his biography of unhappy love affairs with women, alcoholism, cirrhosis of the liver, and death by suicide might fit with repressed homosexuality, his life has more often been interpreted as endorsing an apolitical, even conservative, belief in a

higher, asexual, and dispassionate love. But perhaps his efforts at developing a worldview that renounced heterosexual pleasures point in a queerer direction.⁸⁶ Stifter was in any case deeply interested in thinking through erotic structures. In 1951, a critic noted that many of his female characters are “proud, manly and heroic,” while his male characters often have an “Antinous-hermaphroditic” quality.⁸⁷ At the same time, Stifter was well aware of the emergent Hungarian nationalist movement and how it would affect the Habsburg Empire of which he was a citizen.⁸⁸ Thus, some of the same linkages between sexual and national identity emerge in Stifter’s writings that appear later in the writings of his countrymen Kertbeny and Musil.

First published in 1844 and revised somewhat in 1847, *Brigitta* follows the Goethean principle that a novella should be about an “unerhörte Begebenheit” (an unheard-of, but nonfantastical event) by telling the story of a beautiful man’s love for an ugly woman. The narrator follows his friend, the handsome major (whom he first encounters in Italy), deep into the Hungarian steppes, where he meets the admirable but homely Brigitta. The narrator learns of her past, in which a good-looking Stephan Murai bewilders society by choosing the unattractive Brigitta over her many more beautiful competitors. When his attentions begin to stray, she immediately divorces him and moves to the remote countryside in Hungary, where she embarks on a program of agricultural reform. Eventually the major moves to a nearby estate, where the narrator visits him. At the end of the novella, the narrator reveals what the readers have long suspected: the major is Stephan Murai and the marriage is finally on the mend, after a fifteen-year hiatus.

The seemingly misogynist premise of a handsome man’s allegedly unheard-of love for an ugly woman allows for a variety of queer interpretations. In the short fiction of Thomas Mann, who greatly admired Stifter, an unattractive character is often one who simply fails to live up to the heterosexual norms for his or her gender.⁸⁹ Indeed, “ugly” is often a code-word for gender inverted. In his early short story, “*Gerächt*” (Avenged), Mann features an unattractive, mannish, woman named Djuna whose story, like *Brigitta*, turns on the supposedly astonishing fact that she has a sensual relationship with a beautiful man. More frequently, Mann features homely men, like crippled Johannes Friedemann in *Der kleine Herr Friedemann* (Little Mr. Friedemann) or obese Christian Jacoby in *Luischen* (Little Louisa). Whether the ugly characters be male or female, it is possible to read them—and their loves—as queer. Taking advantage of all the flexibility that “queer” implies, the same can be said for Stifter’s *Brigitta*.

Brigitta's gender inversion is perhaps her most distinctive characteristic. When the narrator first meets her, she is riding a horse like a man.⁹⁰ When the Major takes the narrator to meet her more formally, he explains that when she took over the remote estate on the Hungarian steppes she immediately began "to change things around like a man."⁹¹ When Stephan (i.e., the Major) astonishingly proposes to her, it seems that he is attracted precisely to her gender variance: "The instinct that had drawn this man to this woman had not deceived him. She was strong and pure, *like no other woman*."⁹² The very fact that Stephan's love for Brigitta is the "unheard-of event" that predicates the entire novella indicates that this love is no normal heterosexual love. She is not like other women—in fact, the operative point may be that she is like other men, which makes his love for her a male-male affair.

In fact, Stephan's beauty is such that he has not only attracted the passionate attention of countless women, but has "bewitched men more than once."⁹³ The narrator meets him traveling in southern Italy, which—as we have already seen in our discussion of Bierbaum's *Prinz Kuckuck*—was often a locale where bourgeois and aristocratic men from northern Europe felt free to live out their homosexual desires. In fact, the younger narrator is inseparable from the attractive older man for almost all of their trip through southern Italy. Subsequently the Major asks the narrator to live with him for a "summer, a year, or five or ten years." While there is nothing explicitly sexual in the offer, it is a rather extravagant gesture of friendship. Neither during the trip in southern Italy, nor during the sojourn in eastern Hungary, does the narrator ever witness any of the Major's legendary womanizing. In fact, only while visiting the Major's estate in Hungary does the narrator think to ask why this man is unmarried.⁹⁴

A few critics have commented on the homoeroticism of the relationship between the Major and the narrator, most notably Claude Owen, who published on the subject in 1971, long before such observations were common in literary studies. Speaking in the language most available to him at that time, Owen almost argues that both the main characters are queer, in the sense that they do not have clearly defined sexual identities: "We have intentionally suppressed the word homosexual or lesbian in connection with Stephan and Brigitta. We have no evidence—nor do we search for any—that the two main characters in Stifter's narration ever gave into their orientation. We merely maintain that all appearances point to their potential, that is to say, latent homoerotic characteristics."⁹⁵ More recently, Catriona MacLeod points out "that the relationship between Murai and the narrator is defined by homoeroticism

is a point at the very least hinted at by the text: Murai repeatedly pays extended visits to the young man's bedroom in the morning, with remarkable disregard for his guest's dishabille.⁹⁶ Rebecca Louise Steele continues in this vein, pointing out that the narrator becomes increasingly dependent and feminized once he arrives at the Major's estate.⁹⁷

Not only does the friendship between the narrator and the Major have an erotic feel to it, but so does the relationship between Brigitta and the Major. The relationship between these two is placed in the context of friendship, just as many a same-sex relationship had been placed into this category. The narrator refers to "that strange contract of mere friendship" that structures their relationship when they first come back together again.⁹⁸ It's not that the novella is implying that a sexual relationship is hidden behind this friendship—as we have seen, by the 1840s friendship was no longer the ambiguous term it might have been fifty years before—but that it is queer that precisely these two would think of themselves as friends. This friendship is queer both because it is between a man and a woman (who should have a love affair) and because it is between two manly souls (who nonetheless have an erotic pull toward each other).

Elsewhere, the narrator describes the relationship between the Major and Brigitta as "love," but a love like no other love: "It was indisputably that which we would call love between people of different sexes, but it didn't appear as such."⁹⁹ The narrator expressly emphasizes love between people of different sexes, after he has repeatedly mentioned how masculine Brigitta is. Is it Brigitta's masculinity that prevents this "love between people of different sexes" from appearing as such? MacLeod contends that *Brigitta* tells the story of the translation of an ambiguously gendered relationship into a legible heterosexual one.¹⁰⁰ As Steele argues about Brigitta and her love, however, "the fact that she is very masculine calls into question the heterosexual nature of that affection."¹⁰¹

Perhaps the most suggestive link between Stifter's 1844 story and the emergence of modern discourses of sexuality is the opening paragraph, which has haunting similarities with the quote from Menzel's *Literatur-Blatt* that Hössli cites twice. We recall that Menzel argues in 1834 that, "oftentimes strange sympathies and antipathies" are caused by the presence of "transmigration" of female souls into male bodies and vice versa, which causes some men to reject women, "like identical poles of a magnet."¹⁰² Stifter's writing is much more poetic, but his introductory paragraph also focuses on inexplicable attractions and equally mysterious indifferences. While he doesn't gender these

attractions, his use of the masculine pronoun makes it seem like the male is the object of this strange desire: "Sometimes we feel ourselves drawn to someone, whom we don't actually know at all, his movements please us, his bearing pleases us, we're sad when he leaves us, and we have a certain yearning—indeed a love—for him, when we think of him frequently in later years."¹⁰³ Just as Menzel assumes that only a religious tradition like Judaism can provide the explanation for these subtle romantic variations, Stifter declares that, while poetry might be able to unveil these mysteries, science must stand on the margins: "Psychology has explained and clarified some matters, but much has remained dark and very remote from her . . . science . . . in many cases can't even lend a hand."¹⁰⁴ Menzel uses a vocabulary of magnetic poles, to indicate a kind of anti-attraction; later in the novella, Stifter's narrator describes the lack of magnetism between the Major and Brigitta.¹⁰⁵

Brigitta is not only about the queer, seemingly inexplicable, desire between a mannish woman and an attractive man who has a history of seducing men. The novella also has a deeply felt sense of place: the *Puszta*, the Hungarian steppe, the outer reaches of the Habsburg Empire, the periphery of Europe. Richard Block argues persuasively that Stifter's revisions of the novella in the 1840s make all the more clear that he understood the novella to be not only a love story but also a political statement: "There is, in fact, strong evidence to suggest that Stifter was increasingly concerned with Hungary's political fate and its place in Europe at the time he was rewriting *Brigitta*. In 1847 he completed a short essay, 'Über die Befürchtung eines unglücklichen Ausgangs in Ungarn,' in which he emphatically argued against the possible success of the radical Hungarian independence movement."¹⁰⁶ Block argues that Stifter worries that the more radical independence strategies promoted by Kossuth will lead to a drastic crackdown by the Habsburgs. Instead, Stifter favors the more moderate reformist path of Szechenyi, who is generally accepted to be the model for Stephan Murai.

Stephan Murai, the Major, is certainly devoted to the Hungarian cause. When the narrator arrives at his estate in the country, he immediately notices the hallways filled with ancient Hungarian armor and paintings of Hungarian kings. The next day, the Major encourages the narrator to don Hungarian garb as he himself does. The Major is fluent in Hungarian; the narrator takes it upon himself to learn the local language too. Brigitta also wears the local costume when the narrator first sees her.

At the same time, there is an overwhelming sense that the nation is still unfinished. As the Major tells the narrator, "our constitution, our history, is

very old, but there is still so much to do.”¹⁰⁷ Both the Major and Brigitta drain swamps, straighten rivers, replenish soil, plant fields, build greenhouses, construct walls, and rid the area of pests such as wolves. This nation-building also includes the task of unifying the many peoples or nationalities (*vielerlei Volk*) in the land, some of whom require more education than others.¹⁰⁸ The narrator declares at one point that it is as though he had heard “the hammer ring out that will forge the future of this nation.”¹⁰⁹ For Stifter and his characters, Hungary is a land still to be constructed.

It is unclear whether the Major and Brigitta themselves are from the *Puszta*, or even if they are Hungarian by birth. Steele refers to “the ambiguous demarcation of both Brigitta and Stephen’s ethnicity.”¹¹⁰ Steele explains that the reader knows only that Brigitta grows up in an unnamed city, while her father lives in a similarly unnamed capital city (which could be either Vienna or Poszony, the capital of Hungary at the time, and now Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia). Stephan grows up in the country. After their marriage they move to the country. Brigitta only moves to the *Puszta* after her divorce from Stephan and he follows her there sometime later.¹¹¹ Because the Major and Brigitta are part of a German-speaking elite that seems to rule over the local indigenous populations, the story might seem to be one of colonization. But given the ability of many figures to embrace a Hungarian identity, whether or not they had Hungarian ancestry, it is also possible to read the efforts of the Major and Brigitta as nation-building. The novella gives the sense that, just as the new Hungary is being constructed, it is possible to become a Hungarian, primarily through the adoption of cultural signifiers like language or clothing. Conversely, as the narrator demonstrates at the end of the novella, one can clothe oneself in one’s German garb, take one’s German staff, and head back to one’s German homeland. The malleability of identity does not negate the significance of nationality.

The two most important themes of *Brigitta*—inexplicable love and the construction of the nation—are matters that interest Kertbeny and Musil as well. For Stifter, Hungary is already in 1843 a space in the cultural imagination that allows for both non-normative gender identities and malleable national identities. Almost exactly a century later, when Musil died in 1942, leaving behind the unpublished fragments of *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*, the lost Austrian empire was a space for rethinking national and sexual identities. Neither author hews to either a universalizing Greek model or an essentializing Jewish model of sexual identity. Similarly, Kertbeny, who was very much involved in the thinking that created the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1867, avoids

agreeing with every aspect of Ulrichs's program of understanding urnings as born with gender inversion and analogous to Jews, at the same time as he resists wholesale importation of the Greek model of male-male desire. The Austrian texts, from Stifter to Musil, suggest that aspects of the complex thinking about cultural identity that took place in the Habsburg Empire, particularly after the Reconciliation of 1867, interacted with the emergence of new discourses of sexuality identity in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 5

Colonialism and Sexuality: German Perspectives on Samoa

Many Hungarians felt that they were treated as a colony of Vienna's Habsburg empire. The Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ukrainians, Slovenes, Croats, and other "nationalities" in the empire felt their subaltern status even more acutely. There were, however, also official colonies of the German-speaking world in the late nineteenth century. The newly unified Germany pursued an active policy of colonial imperialism from the 1880s on, acquiring Togo, Cameroon, German Southwest Africa (now Namibia), German East Africa (now Burundi, Rwanda, and Tanzania), the enclave of Tsingtao on the coast of China, as well as extensive holdings in the South Pacific, including the Marianas, the Carolinas, the Marshall Islands, the northeast quarter of what is now Papua-New Guinea, and Samoa. In all, the colonies possessed a landmass over five times the size of Germany itself. This burst of colonial activity coincided with the explosion of modern discourses concerning sexuality in late nineteenth-century Germany. Just as nationality, race, power, and sexuality were intertwined in the thinking of those using Greek, Jewish, and Hungarian models to conceptualize sexuality, the colonialist mentality deeply influenced German thought on sexuality.

The German colonial effort was fraught with efforts to regulate and control sexuality. As Lora Wildenthal demonstrates, German military authorities—more than any other colonial power—sought to control gender relations in the colonies with decrees prohibiting marriage and even sex between the races.¹ Colonial laws forbade interracial marriages in Southwest Africa in 1905, in East Africa in 1906, and ultimately in Samoa in 1912. Following the traumas of the Herero War, in which the Germans embarked on genocidal policies

against the natives of Southwest Africa, Governor Friedrich von Lindequist (1862–1945) outlawed interracial sex as well: “he was afraid that the contamination of the German race endangered the position of the white man in South West Africa.”² The subsequent East African ban was reported in the *Samonische Zeitung* (Samoa Times), the weekly newspaper that ran from 1901 to 1915 in Samoa: “the Governor has issued instruction to the registrars to refuse to marry Europeans with natives. . . . The reason given for the prohibition is that the children of such marriages are always degenerate.”³

The military, which had direct control over the colonies in imperial Germany, issued these decrees, which were never approved by regular legislative procedures in the Reichstag. Indeed, the parliament actually discussed repealing them in 1912.⁴ Social Democrats, generally critical of the colonial effort, opposed them for their discriminatory nature. Religious leaders resisted them as well, thinking that it was better that the colonists marry native women, rather than have sinful sexual relations with them. The clergy were especially concerned about any insinuation that state regulations could render unions invalid that the church believed had been consecrated before God. Moreover, male colonists often did not appreciate this government interference in their personal lives. Despite these numerous objecting constituencies, however, the military authorities in the colonies imposed these rules by fiat.

The status of such regulations was dubious, because “race” was not actually a formal category in German jurisprudence after the revision of the legal codes in 1869 and before the implementation of National Socialist law that began in 1933. The German Empire’s Basic Law had eliminated all references to racial and religious differences, making concepts such as “miscegenation” or “mixed marriage” and “half-caste” or “half-breed” nothing but legal mumbo-jumbo. For liberals, the elimination of race-based categories in the law (primarily those that applied to Jews) had been one of the most important achievements of the legal reforms that accompanied the unification of Germany. While scientific investigation of racial difference continued apace in Germany in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, “race” itself did not exist as a defined concept in German legislation.

According to Wildenthal, the first generation of “imperial patriarchs” prized their own autonomy foremost. They tended to regard the natives in terms of social power, rather than race, and treated them as the equivalent of the working classes in Germany. They acted as though a *droit de seigneur* granted them sexual privileges among the natives. One such “imperial patriarch” was Carl Peters (1856–1918), the German adventurer who singlehandedly

created German East Africa as a colony. The masculinist Hans Blüher finds that in Peters's writings one is immersed "once again in the middle of *my* problem."⁵ Although Peters was ultimately sanctioned for his sadistic heterosexual abuse of native women, Blüher sees in him "one of those tireless conquerors, organizers, those men of action and politicians foreign to women," "who always work with men, who are constantly in masculine society."⁶ In Peters's writings, according to Blüher, one discerns a citizen capable of influencing kings and sultans alike. "No one who only turns to women could do such a thing," he asserts, concluding that such achievements can only be accomplished by "someone who looks for his 'other half' in men."⁷

While conservative masculinists often admired the colonial effort, Social Democrats and other leftists around Hirschfeld shared a distaste for the imperial project, in part because of its inherent racism. Hirschfeld's book *Racism*, first published posthumously in English in 1938, is one of the earliest recorded usages of the term "racism" in English. Hirschfeld did have a strong awareness of cultural differences in sexuality, observing in his 1933 *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers* (The World Tour of a Sexual Researcher), "in the whole world there are not two countries or peoples with completely identical sexual institutions."⁸ Nonetheless, he insisted that these differences had nothing to do with differing "sexual orientations and natural drives, which are completely identical in all peoples and races taken as a whole and which only differ in individual cases." In addition, he cautioned that sexual ethnographers should avoid describing native sexuality as "wild," since "the sexual life of more cultivated peoples is in many respects more unbridled and unregulated than that of primitives." According to Hirschfeld, only "an objective, scientific anthropology and sexology can prepare the way for the full realization of sexual human rights."

Ferdinand Karsch-Haack (1853–1936) worked particularly methodically on issues of sexual orientation in the colonized world. He had connections to Hirschfeld's world, having published in Hirschfeld's *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*—under the name of Ferdinand Karsch, he wrote the articles about Hössli and Desgouttes that effectively cemented the position of those early nineteenth-century figures in the historical canon of German male-male desire. He also wrote for the *Blätter für die Menschenrechte* (Journal for Human Rights). In 1921/1922, he coedited *Uranos: Unabhängige uranische Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft, Polemik, Belletristik, Kunst* (Uranos: Independent Urning Monthly for Science, Polemics, Belles Lettres, Art). Scientifically trained as an entomologist, Karsch-Haack pursued his subject with all the zeal

of that subsequent entomologist-turned-sexologist, Alfred C. Kinsey. His 1911 volume, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (The Homosexual Life of Primitive Peoples), well over 600 pages long, is the era's most thorough documentation of same-sex desire among non-Western cultures. Karsch-Haack shared with Hirschfeld the belief that sexual orientation was fixed, biologically based, and transcultural, declaring that homoeroticism does not differ from culture to culture, but that only its "characteristic form" might vary.⁹ He agreed with Ulrichs that very effeminate men who sexually desired other men were a genuinely widespread phenomenon, to be found in such forms as the berdache among the Native Americans and the fa'afafine of Samoa.¹⁰ Like Brand, Blüher, and the other masculinists, however, he also believed in the existence of a more masculine model of homosexuality.

Karsch-Haack shared the masculinist suspicions of the medical establishment, arguing that physicians neglected the phenomenon of more masculine male homoeroticism because they saw only patients who perceived of themselves as sick: "whether the treatment of homoeroticism by medical science (in comparison with which the ethnological approach is much more recent) has had an exclusively positive influence on the purely humane assessment of this natural phenomenon may certainly be doubted. Because physicians tend to get to know sick urnings, the physician who is well-informed regarding same-sex desire [*Gleichgeschlechtlichkeit*] as an inborn orientation is always in danger of conflating homoeroticism with its pathological side-effects."¹¹ Using his preferred term, homoeroticism (*Homoerotismus*), Karsch-Haack accepts innate sexual orientation as a concept, while refusing to pathologize it. He proposes that ethnology, rather than medicine, would be a useful discipline for analyzing the boundaries of biology and culture as they pertain to same-sex desire.

The psychoanalyst Sándor Ferenczi adopted Karsch-Haack's term, "homoeroticism," in an important lecture on male-male desire that he gave at the Third International Psychoanalytic Congress in Weimar in 1911 and that was subsequently published in the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse* in 1914. He specifically attributes the term homoeroticism to Karsch-Haack's book, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker*.¹² In a footnote added to the third edition of *Die drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, published in 1915, Sigmund Freud comments extensively and positively on Ferenczi's essay, agreeing that the word "homoeroticism" is better than "homosexuality."

A case that particularly outraged Karsch-Haack demonstrates some of the links between the colonial project and the emergence of modern discourses of sexuality in Germany.¹³ As recounted by Karsch-Haack, Dr. Victor van Alten

(born 1870), a German lieutenant and settler in German Southwest Africa, was expelled from the colony on August 9, 1906, because of “homoerotic intercourse with African natives.”¹⁴ This case received attention in Germany, much of it relying on somewhat contradictory notions, all repugnant to Karsch-Haack—on the one hand, commentators regarded this development as an example of the dangerous, overly civilized decadence to which Germans were exposing the pure and innocent natives, while on the other hand the strict enforcement of laws concerning sexuality was seen as part of the civilizing mission and thus legitimation of the colonial project. Believing that same-sex desire was as common among natives of German Southwest Africa as natives of Germany, Karsch-Haack took offense at the press’s temerity in daring “to step forward as the noble protector of black masculinity and at the same time to deliver a devastating assessment of German morality.”¹⁵

Karl May and the Honest Traders

Karl May’s novel, *Am stillen Ozean* (On the Quiet Ocean) provides a path to review the history of Germany’s relations with Samoa, often considered the pearl of Germany’s colonial possessions. It also illustrates the special relationship between the Germans and the Samoans particularly well, oscillating continuously between an anticolonialist rhetoric and a clear assertion of German superiority. The novel was published in 1893/94 and went on to be immensely popular, like all the work of Karl May (1842–1912).¹⁶ *Am stillen Ozean* consists of five narrations, four of which had appeared previously as stories in their own right. The first story, “Der Ehri” (translated simply as “The Ehri,” the title of the Polynesian character), deals with Polynesia, specifically Tahiti and Samoa. It was published three times prior to its inclusion in the novel, in 1878, 1879, and 1880, pointing to the popular nature of the theme.¹⁷ The complicated chronology of the story is important, for the Polynesian story was originally written before Germany had put any of its colonial ambitions into effect.¹⁸ Moreover, the story is set specifically at the beginning of the 1860s, before the establishment of the German Empire, let alone of German colonialism.

The action of the Polynesian story takes place in the heyday of nongovernmental German commercial trading activity in the South Pacific. As early as 1855, Hamburg businessman Johann Cesar Godeffroy (1813–1885) had established a mercantile empire in the South Sea Islands. The Godeffroys restructured their South Pacific possessions in 1878 as the Deutsche Handels- und

Plantagen-Gesellschaft or DH&PG (German Trade and Plantation Society). In 1879 the German government considered stepping in and bailing the company out with the so-called Samoa Subsidy Act. In 1880, however, the Reichstag rejected this plan, in part because it was seen as a first step toward establishing a colonial empire, a move many Liberal and Social Democratic politicians opposed.¹⁹ In a speech to the Reichstag, August Bebel (1840–1913), leader of the Social Democrats, declared: “Basically the essence of all colonial policies is the exploitation of foreign populations to the highest degree . . . and the driving motivation is always only money, money, and once again money.”²⁰ These crucial years between 1878 and 1880 are the years May published his Samoa story several times. His writings reflect newly unified Germany’s concern about its role as primary European trading partner with the South Pacific islands.

May avoids the controversies regarding colonialism by setting his narration in the 1860s, when German interaction with the islands could be seen exclusively as a commercial matter. The increasing economic activity the Europeans brought with them has in general worsened the situation, according to Potomba, the Polynesian nobleman whom the narrator rescues and who subsequently settles down to become a wealthy businessman in Samoa: “since the Europeans came to us, everything has become different and worse and even someone who was a prince must now earn money through work or trade.”²¹ But not all economic activity is bad—Potomba is able to prosper under the new system. Significantly, precisely the Germans trade honestly, in contrast to the Americans: “The Germans are good—I have seen their ships on the islands of Samoa; what they sell are honest wares, and what they say is as good as an oath. But the Yankees are different; their tongue is smooth and dishonest. Their products sparkle fraudulently.”²²

Non-German observers of the situation in Samoa had a decidedly more jaundiced view of the German presence there. Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894), who spent his last days in a palatial estate he built on the island, lambasted the German traders in a polemic he published in 1892, titled *A Footnote to History*. Stevenson shrewdly remarks that the immense capital investment and large number of laborers tended to go to the head of the well-paid employees of the DH&PG, inspiring the Germans “with a sense of the greatness of their affairs and interests.” “Upon this scale commercial sharpness has an air of patriotism,” he notes, insightfully cutting through the distinction between commercial and governmental that May tries to establish.²³

May, however, sticks to the story that the Germans were in Samoa for economic, not imperialistic, reasons. Because he can present German involvement

as honest trading, his novel harshly condemns the activities of the European colonial effort: "Whole races and peoples have disappeared or lie even now in their wild final death throes."²⁴ May's concern about the effects of European colonialism on native peoples encompasses a withering critique of the civilizing mission undertaken by European religions. His novel suggests to missionaries that their activities would be more worthwhile "among the decadent classes of the population back home [in Germany] . . . , rather than among those who believe differently, but often live in paradisiacal conditions."²⁵ His attitude is typical for Wildenthal's "imperial patriarchs," who saw their relationships to the natives in terms of their relationship to other "social inferiors" and thus frequently "compared African colonial subjects to Germany's working classes, implicitly comparing German colonists to the ruling classes at home."²⁶ On Samoa, this attitude was reflected by colonists such as W. von Bülow, who wrote that the "missionary work must be seen as thoroughly unsuccessful, when one takes into consideration that all the heathen customs still persist, although all the natives profess to be Christians."²⁷

Whereas the Americans are characterized by unfair trading, May's texts level much more severe charges against the French and the English regarding their involvement in China. Addressing the Chinese emperor as he approaches the mainland (after his travels through Polynesia), May's narrator asserts: "I am not from the land of the French and the English, who come to you with sword and gun powder to force the poison of opium upon your children, to destroy your cities, and tell your *Pings* that they are cowards. Rather, I come from the land of the *Tao-dse*, who admire your splendor, praise your greatness, and wish for nothing other than that the glory of your wisdom radiates in peace over their head as well."²⁸ May's own footnotes explain that the *Pings* are Chinese foot soldiers, and the *Tao-dse* are the Germans.

The example of opium, however, makes clear that May could only make this distinction before the German colonial era. This passage in May's novel directly alludes to the Second Opium War from 1856 to 1860, when France and England had in fact attacked China in part to force that country, in the name of economic liberalism, to open its markets to opium. Hard as it is to imagine, given the efforts today by the West to force developing countries to *stop* production of narcotics, European colonial powers in the nineteenth century were in the business of *promoting* the sale of drugs, and using military force to protect that industry. Germany was not involved in this business in the 1860s, when May's story takes place, or even in the late 1870s and early

1880s, when he published his story. May and his public could indulge in righteous indignation over England and France's drug-dealing.

By the 1890s, Germany had a much different relationship to China. The Germans had joined in the colonial land grab, using the murder of two German missionaries to establish the colony of Tsingtao (now known as Qingdao in the province of Shandong). In 1900, Germany under Kaiser Wilhelm II was the most aggressive of the Western powers in calling for severe retribution when the Boxer Rebellion led to the assassination of a German minister in Beijing. The Kaiser instructed his general, Field Marshall Count Waldersee, to inflict the same damage on the Chinese that the Huns had inflicted on Europe, so that "never again will a Chinese dare to look askance at a German."²⁹

At the same time, Germany's official relationship with Samoa changed, as it took official possession of the islands in 1899. By this point, the government attitude toward opium was quite different from the attitude portrayed in May's novel. When the Germans began to allow Chinese laborers to immigrate Samoa in the first decade of the 1900s, they also sanctioned the opium trade. The frequent public announcements in the *Samoaanische Zeitung* regarding the dosage and cost of opium available at the apothecary demonstrate that the Germans had come to terms with Chinese opium consumption and were willing to profit from it.³⁰ May's pride that his people were not involved in poisoning the Chinese had given in to the economics of the drug trade.

When *Am stillen Ozean* appeared in the 1890s, German interest in colonizing the island had become quite strong. But even at this point, Germany had not officially taken possession of the islands. Instead, as a result of the Berlin Conference of 1889, Britain, Germany, and the United States formed a "consortium" overseeing the islands, which remained independent under the rule of King Malietoa Laupepa (1841–1898). May could thus represent the Germans as honest traders, equal partners of the Samoans, not like the exploitative colonial powers. In 1899, however, the treaty of 1889 was revoked and Germany received full colonial control over the western half of the Samoan archipelago, ceding the eastern half to the United States, which still holds them as an overseas possession. Once the Germans became the recognized colonial power, they continued to see themselves in the reflection that May's novels held up to them—free and just partners of the natives, particularly in Samoa. Repeatedly, German sources expressed the desire to avoid the wholesale destruction of peoples that followed, for instance, the Spanish colonization of the New World.³¹ Specifically regarding the South Pacific, the German

masculinist thinker Friedlaender reported with stern disapproval the decimation of the Polynesian people of Hawaii, following the American takeover of that formerly independent island nation. In contrast to the American experience in Hawaii, the Germans claimed to be benevolent rulers of Samoa.

Race and Intermarriage

As benevolent rulers, the Germans felt a particular need to help the Samoans preserve their racial purity. Ethnographic research, like Fr. Reinecke's study in 1896 of the measurements of the body parts of the Samoans, document the German interest in clearly delimiting the characteristics of the Samoan race.³² Germans rejoiced that the Samoans were racially the "purest" of the Polynesians.³³ In his two-volume study of the islands from 1902 to 1903, lavishly illustrated with gorgeous photographs, ethnologist Augustin Krämer emphasized: "In any case, one can say that the Samoan race, considered as a whole, may be taken to be pure."³⁴ The new colonial masters felt obligated to preserve this racial purity, which many in Germany lamented had become increasingly rare in the world.

The relationship of Krämer's concern for the racial purity of the islanders to issues in Germany becomes clear when he inserts an anti-Semitic observation into his discussion of the Samoans: "It is an old experience, which indeed we are often enough in the position to make regarding the blond Germanic race, that Jewish blood frequently makes its appearance after generations and generations. Black hair, dark eyes, a bent nose, and a brownish tint are the unmistakable signs."³⁵ His anti-Semitic rhetoric underscores the larger context around the German interest in Samoa, revealing that the interest in the racial purity of the islanders was part and parcel of the nineteenth-century concern for the racial purity of the Germans.

The mirroring relationship between the purity of the Germans and that of the Samoans becomes even more evident in the German effort to establish a biological and racial connection between the two peoples. Karl Friedrich von Behrens, who visited the islands in 1757 and was thus one of the first European explorers to reach Samoa, reported that the Samoans had lighter skin than the other islanders, and should perhaps be categorized as white.³⁶ In the late nineteenth century, Friedlaender argued that "the difference between Europeans and Polynesians was decidedly much smaller than that between Polynesians and Negroes."³⁷ Among the similarities observed between Germans and

Samoans were the hierarchical structure of the society, the especially Prussian virtues of obedience and courage in battle, the respect the chieftains enjoyed, hospitality, and cleanliness.³⁸ Reinecke's review of Krämer's two-volume ethnographic work on Samoa finds that it accurately portrays "the in many ways virtually ideal native life of the newest comrades under our protection [*unserer neuesten Schutzgenossen*]" and "their aristocratic perspectives and habits paired with enviable communism."³⁹ The praise for the aristocratic, yet communist, lifestyle of the noble savages of the island, is designed to appeal to all spectra of German political society, and arguably reflects the social state emerging under Bismarck and the monarchy.

Once the islands became a colony, postcards trumpeted the news of "Our new compatriots" (*Unsere neuen Landsleute*). Such an appellation clearly shows the German pride in possessing the new colonies, but also a willingness to regard the Samoans as compatriots that was not extended to all residents of colonial lands. Although indigenous Samoans and people of mixed Euroamerican-Samoan ancestry did experience discrimination, people like the Coe sisters, Emma Eliza Coe Forsayth (1850–1913) and Phoebe Chloe Coe Parkinson (1863–1944), daughters of a Samoan woman and an American envoy, moved in elite circles, married important colonists, amassed considerable wealth, and were on social terms with the highest levels of colonial authorities, a situation Wildenthal reports "would have been unthinkable in German Southwest Africa."⁴⁰ Scholars, finding it hard to believe that such similarities and sympathies between Euroamericans and Polynesians would appear out of thin air, resorted to theories of race to explain them. In an 1914 essay published in German in the *Berliner Tageblatt und Handels-Zeitung* and in English in the *Samoanische Zeitung*, a certain Dr. Thieme reports that it is a "fact, as laid down by a number of the best known leading scientists (Firtsch, von Baer, Stratz, Tregaer, Smith, Fornadener, and many others) that the Polynesian originally came from India, and, as a portion of the Indo-German race, are therefore our own kindred."⁴¹ The "fact" that the Polynesians are Indo-Europeans gives them a special status distinct from the other colonized peoples: "This common origin with the Aryan peoples is completely lacking among the Negroes, Mongols, American Indians and Native Australians."⁴²

This is not to say that all Germans equated their own racial standing with that of the Samoans. Dark-skinned people were simply far behind white-skinned people, declares one author cited in the *Samoanische Zeitung* in 1905: "We in Germany will have to get used to seeing in the colored man a person whose low cultural development level will not allow him equality with the



Figure 3. “Our new compatriots,” a postcard from Samoa in 1901.

Personal collection of author.

white man for generations to come.”⁴³ In another article the same year, the paper reports, “on the one hand, the colonizing power has the obligation to bring the natives closer to European culture, but on the other hand it cannot avoid the duty to protect them from the dangers that arise for every intellectually and economically inferior people when they come into contact with a higher culture.”⁴⁴ In such articles on colonialism, there is a repeated claim of concern about protecting the natives from the deleterious influences of European civilization.

This concern for the protection of the natives’ racial purity was part of the context informing the discussion of intermarriage. For many participants in the debate, intermarriages in the colonies needed to be halted eventually: “One of the most urgent duties of our colonial government is to make sure as soon as possible that marriage between whites and coloreds will no longer be valid.”⁴⁵ The *Samoanische Zeitung* continues its summary of supposedly scholarly opinion on the matter: “Because the number of white girls is very small, marriages between Samoan women and European men take place frequently;

Apia and other stations are swarming with half-blood girls and boys. The researcher does not consider these mixed marriages good, because they generally pull the Europeans down to the intellectual and moral level of the natives." The newspaper concludes its review of the scholar's view that the mixed-race children tended to succumb to the temptations of the climate, lose their work ethic, and generally go native: "in any case, such marriages do not promote civilization."⁴⁶ Bülow, so critical of efforts to educate full-blooded Samoans, sees little hope in trying to educate half-Samoans either: "Even the children of a European man and a Samoan woman offer at the critical age, despite better chances and education, a no more hopeful prospect than to return to the footsteps of the maternal relatives."⁴⁷

There were mixed feelings about the effects of intermarriage on the other races. Some felt that the admixture of German blood with that of non-Germans could conceivably benefit these other populations: "The Germans will continue to direct valuable bloodlines to other peoples and strengthen our rivals and enemies," asserts one author who is contemplating "the Germanization of the world" through intermarriage. He is ultimately concerned about these wasted genes: "Is this supposed to continue throughout the future, that the Germans provide the cultural fertilizer for other nations?"⁴⁸ Others claimed that such intermarriages, far from helping the other races, actually hurt them as much as they hurt the Germans. These people claimed to be opposed to intermarriage out of a desire to preserve the Samoan race, rather than to protect the whites. Reinecke's interest in his ethnological project is specially motivated by the concern that the Samoan culture might die out due to intermarriage especially with Caucasians: "Given the rapidly progressing change of the original type and the immanent dissolution thereof, a comprehensive comparative study of the individual racial and inherited characteristics of this native tribe seemed of particular interest to me." Reinecke was interested in particular in the traces that the race left "on the products of mixed marriages, especially marriages with the Caucasian race, which make the certain downfall of this splendid race of human beings merely a matter of time."⁴⁹ Reinecke maintained that intermarriage produced inferior peoples who were neither true Polynesians nor Europeans.

In the case of the Samoans and other Polynesians, however, there were voices in favor of intermarriage. One newspaper reported, "in no other colony does the mixed-race element have such a strong financial and social position as in Samoa."⁵⁰ Indeed, in Samoa, there was considerable resistance to the ban on interracial marriage. The *Samoanische Zeitung*, after citing critics of

intermarriage, finds such criticisms too simplistic, because they put all non-whites into one pot, whereas the Samoans are different. The assertion that the Samoans are not like the other natives recurs repeatedly and points to the special status of these islanders in the German cultural imagination as a particularly good mirror of the German *Volk*. In any case, the *Samoanische Zeitung* continues, blanket claims of German superiority to the Samoans cannot help the development of the colony: "Racial pride, especially legally sanctioned racial pride, has nothing to do with racial dignity and leads ultimately to racial hatreds, which prevent a prosperous development of the country and, once kindled, cannot be extinguished again."⁵¹ In his 1914 essay, Thieme rejects "the constantly repeated attacks of some German papers on the half-white population of Samoa."⁵² Like the 1905 *Samoanische Zeitung* article that reported on the issue of mixed-race marriage, Thieme's essay insists on the Indo-European roots of the Polynesians. Thieme spells out the consequences for the German colonial situation: "From this it is evident that the comparison between the half-white question in the different German colonies must lead to an entirely different issue for Samoa, as against Africa, New Guinea and Asia, and the refusal of the critic to recognise this proves his gross ignorance of existing facts and conditions." Thieme argues that intermarriage between Europeans and Samoans produced children who were "physically and intellectually . . . not at all inferior to Europeans." Thus the colonial effort would be strengthened by intermarriage in Polynesia.⁵³

In fact, Godeffroy had encouraged its traders to marry natives, giving the advice, "Have a woman of your own, no matter what island you take her from, for a trader without a wife is in continual hot water."⁵⁴ This attitude was typical of many colonists in the early days of German imperialism, as Wildenthal reports. Max Buchner, governor of Cameroon, waxed poetically that "the eternal feminine, also under dark skin, is an excellent charm against low spirits, to which one is so vulnerable in the solitude of Africa."⁵⁵ In Samoa, marriage and sex between Europeans and natives was much more socially acceptable than in Africa.

In addition to promoting intermarriage between whites and Samoans, the Germans knew they were responsible for bringing the Samoans in contact with other non-European races. Because the Samoans were generally assumed incapable of working regular hours, the colonists needed to find laborers elsewhere. Much of this labor came from Melanesians from other colonies in the German Pacific, like Micronesia and New Guinea. The colonists treated them brutally. As Stevenson reported, "It is said that the whip is very busy on some

of the plantations; it is said that punitive extra labour, by which the thrall's term of service is extended, has grown to be an abuse; and it is complained that, even where that term is out, much irregularity occurs in the repatriation of the discharged."⁵⁶ Whereas a close relationship between the Germans and the Samoans could be imputed, the Melanesians were represented as truly the Other.

Even more controversial was the hiring of Chinese laborers. A great deal of concern was expressed by the white settlers that the Chinese—in contrast to the Polynesians—worked *too* much and would drive out European business people. One article in the *Samoaanische Zeitung* reminded readers of other cities that had allegedly suffered considerably after the arrival of Chinese laborers: "We permit ourselves to remind readers of the circumstances in Australia, San Francisco, and particularly Honolulu, which have shown to what extent the Chinese amalgamate nationally and try not only to surpass the white enemy as a competitor, but also to eliminate him from the playing field in short order."⁵⁷ In the same issue, a letter to the editor in English concurred: "White dealers of whatsoever nationality are no match for them [the Chinese], because they will not, in fact, cannot, descend to the level at which a Chinese will content himself."⁵⁸ The report also denounced the Chinese habit of working on Sundays.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, the business interests that needed the Chinese labor eventually prevailed and brought in Chinese workers starting in 1903. Once on Samoa, the Chinese were kept far away from the Samoans. The efforts to preserve the racial purity of the Samoans were aimed most specifically at preventing intermarriage with the Chinese. After the Germans lost the colony, the New Zealanders remained concerned about Chinese-Samoan intermarriage. They kept and elaborated on German regulations trying to prevent such racial mixtures. In 1916, Governor Logan issued his Proclamation 42 declaring that "it is forbidden (a) that any indentured Chinese enters the house of any Samoan (b) that any Samoan allows any Chinese to enter his house." The Samoan villages generally supported such measures, and Governor Logan announced, "I consider it my duty to give them all the assistance I can to keep their race a pure one."⁶⁰ Nonetheless, an article from the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* predicted that intermarriage between Samoans and Chinese would be unavoidable: "The subsequent consequences for Samoa and its population will not be favorable."⁶¹ Here one can see the most complicated multiple reflections of the Germans in Samoa, for the Germans desire to protect a race that they admire for its purity (a purity that they also want for their own race) from contact with a race whom the Germans themselves had brought to Samoa.

Gender and Sexuality

The textbooks designed to teach German to the Samoans pay explicit attention to gender distinctions. The first sentence in the book underscores the importance of gender: “That is the man.”⁶² Shortly thereafter, gender boundaries are clearly defined: “Who sets the table? The girl.”⁶³ The German understanding of Samoan gender and sexuality repeats the pattern of alternating visions of Samoa as both the polar opposite of Germany and on the way to Germany. Samoans are seen in a way that both conforms to European stereotypes and also brings out some of the contradictions in these stereotypes. Particularly the reputed great beauty of the Samoans both fits into heterosexual patterns of desire for the colonies, and yet brings a destabilizing element of male homosexuality into the picture.

These constructions of gender were related to the assumption that the Samoans were astonishingly beautiful. From the first point of contact with Europeans, Samoans were seen as possessing considerable physical charms. In the eighteenth century already, Behrens had reported: “These were the prettiest and most charming people that I saw in the whole South Pacific.”⁶⁴ Exhibitions of Samoans marketed and stressed the comeliness of the “flexible brown bodies” of the Samoans.⁶⁵ After having visited one of the exhibitions of Samoans, the famous medical professor Rudolf Virchow declared that the race was extraordinarily attractive: “A race that combines such great bodily advantages with a veritable plentitude of natural grace and hardiness is in itself one of the most remarkable phenomena in the developmental history of humanity.”⁶⁶ Even the fact that these visiting delegations of Samoans were exhibited in zoos, which seems repellant today, could be seen as a perverse kind of honor. Although the Berlin Zoo had a plethora of exhibitions from 1878 (Eskimos) to—believe it or not—1952 (Laplanders), the Samoans had a special status. Advertisements about the Samoan troupes never characterized them as freaks, but rather always emphasized their pulchritude and grace.⁶⁷

It should be added that there was even in the nineteenth and early twentieth century opposition to the *Völkerschauen*, or exhibitions of native peoples. Peter Altenberg’s 1897 *Ashantee*, about the exhibition of the Ashanti people in the Prater in Vienna demonstrates what David Kim calls “colonial ambivalence.”⁶⁸ Kim adds that Rainer Maria Rilke’s poem *Der Panther* distills some of the concern about the exhibitions of people. Exhibitions of native peoples from around the world were not confined to the German-speaking world.

Samoans, for instance, were exhibited at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. In a particularly egregious case, Samuel Phillips Verner (1873–1943) exhibited eight pygmies at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904, and then put one of them, Ota Benga, on display in a cage with an orangutan in the Bronx Zoo in 1906, partly to demonstrate the tenets of Darwin's theory of evolution.⁶⁹ The *New York Times* reports that the director of the zoo, William T. Hornaday, defended his "action in placing Dr. Verner's very interesting little African where the people of New York may see him without annoyance or discomfort to him."⁷⁰ However, there was widespread outrage about the exhibition of the pygmy (in part from churches opposed to evolution), and he was eventually released. Benga lived in the States for several more years, but committed suicide in Virginia in 1916.

This assumption of beauty had specific and different implications for the men and the women of the islands. As women were, in general, more likely to be objectified, the gorgeous Samoan woman came easily to represent the Samoan people as a whole. Krämer opens his book with a chapter titled, "The Scientific Opening of Samoa," and illustrates the chapter with a young Samoan woman, who stands in for the Samoa that is going to be scientifically opened by this adventurous man of science. In contrast to most of the other women in the book, she is clothed. Krämer justifies the fact that he, in general, has many more photographs of Samoan women than of Samoan men, because young women represent the race more perfectly: "I have brought forth far more images of the women than the men because I have consistently made the experience that a race is characterized most clearly through the youthful female sex."⁷¹ If the traditional male heterosexual gaze is used to judging women as aesthetically beautiful and Samoans are beautiful, the tendency will be to regard Samoans in the category of the feminine.

In general, photographs of the beautiful Samoan woman became one of the most sought-after exports of the island. One traveler reports that the photography of the native women was one of the only things he liked about the islands, providing interesting information on the production and distribution of these images: "Especially the images of Samoan nudes in platinum prints aroused my admiration . . . I was told it was difficult to convince really pretty girls to be photographed. . . . The photographer was obligated, by the way, not to show the photographs to anyone residing on the island, but only to sell them to foreigners. In most photos there was an undeniable unforced and honest chasteness to be admired, in addition to beautiful forms and graceful positions."⁷² Although most of the photos are supposed to represent virtuous

girls, they nonetheless insist on showing these women with bare breasts, sometimes with such suggestive names as “Venus of Samoa.” The nudity of these women is particularly fascinating because it is a construct of the European imagination. Admittedly, Polynesian women had gone topless when the Europeans first contacted them, but European missionaries quickly changed this behavior.⁷³ Nonetheless, Europeans—although their own culture had forced the change in practice—held on to their dreams of the sexually available Samoan women and insisted on images of bare-breasted Samoans. The exhibitions of Samoans tended to feature women as well. The troop that visited Berlin Zoo in 1896 consisted of 22 women and girls and only 4 men. In 1900, it was 17 women (one of whom gave birth to a child during the exhibition) and 8 men.⁷⁴ Many of the posters for the Samoan exhibitions emphasized the beauty of the “bare-breasted, roe-eyed, and seductive” women, as Steffan Schrade notes.

While the beauty of the Samoan women fit easily into various tropes concerning the beauty of women in general, the pornographic gaze of the colonist, and the feminization of the tropics, the beauty of the Samoan men provided more complicated material for the Germans to digest. Lee Wallace notes that the South Seas are not just about naked women, asserting “the more sexually resonant figure inscribed within the representational archives of the Pacific is that of the male body.”⁷⁵ That the men in particular were beautiful, perhaps even more beautiful than the women, was clear, according to Krämer: “One may say that one finds the most beautiful figures that one can imagine among the young Samoan men between 15 and 25. The women are not quite as beautiful in their figure, as the legs are often somewhat too short and thick, especially above the ankles.”⁷⁶ Rochus Schmidt, author of *Deutschlands Kolonien*, which first appeared in 1898, agrees: “They are well-built people of rather significant bodily size, with a beautiful strong figure and light or dark brown skin color. The female sex is in general considerably smaller and less beautiful.”⁷⁷ The English, incidentally, also found the Samoan men remarkably beautiful. John Williams conjures up the image of the Samoan in particularly sensual terms: “Picture to yourself a fine, well-grown Indian, with a dark sparkly eye, a smooth skin, glistening from head to the hips with a sweet-scented oil, and tastefully tattooed from the hips to the knees, with a bandage of red leaves, oiled and shining also, a head-dress of the nautilus shell, and a string of small white shells around each arm, and you have a Samoan gentleman in full dress.”⁷⁸ Accordingly, Samoan men exhibited in Europe and North America were typically shirtless, as were the men in the entourage, when the



Figure 4. Filo and Solema. Ethnographer Augustin Krämer comments on how unusual Solema's "negritic" hair was for a Polynesian. Augustin Krämer, *Hawaii, Ostmikronesien und Samoa: Meine zweite Südseereise (1897–1899) zum Studium der Atolle und ihrer Bewohner* (Stuttgart: Strecker & Schöder, 1906), 481.

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king of Samoa came to visit the German emperor. This objectification, this constant discussion of their beauty, usually something done to women, had the effect of feminizing the Samoan men. On the one hand, this feminization of the male Samoans legitimized in the minds of many Germans the colonial effort to control them; on the other hand, it allowed for the suggestion of male-male desire to arise.

Despite—or perhaps because of—this feminization, Samoan men, like all Polynesians, were also regarded as highly sexed. The *Samoa Reporter* published an article bemoaning the immorality of the islanders, pointing out that concubinage, polygamy, divorce, and abortion were all common. "Adultery, too, is sadly prevalent," laments the author.⁷⁹ Bülow considers promiscuity with women (*Vielweiberei*) "a specifically Samoan sport," which prevented the Samoan males from studying.⁸⁰ The assertion of the high level of sexual activity



Figure 5. Tagislao, one of Krämer's *Lieblinge*: the image would have been at home in *Der Eigene*. Augustin Krämer, *Hawaii, Ostmikronesien und Samoa: Meine zweite Südseereise (1897–1899) zum Studium der Atolle und ihrer Bewohner* (Stuttgart: Strecker & Schöder, 1906), 483.

Goddard Library, Clark University.

among Samoan men could in fact be seen as a further feminization, for, as we have seen in Weininger's writings, at least one late nineteenth-century school of thought regarded precisely women as more influenced by their sexuality than men.

The feminization of the Polynesian men clearly played into the homoerotic desires of European men as well. The homoerotic element of the colonialist undertaking has been the subject of significant research, and it was not lacking in the German-Samoan relationship.⁸¹ For Wallace, "the Pacific voyage becomes the occasion for masculinist narrative animated by a homoerotic desire that must be defended against."⁸² As we know, Friedlaender, who hoped that the Samoans under the Germans would be spared the fate of the Hawaiians under the Americans, published extensively in favor of what he called "the Renaissance of Eros Uranios," or male-male love.

The writings of May certainly lend themselves to a homoerotic interpretation of the relationship between Westerners and native peoples of the colonized world. The close bonding of the heroic friends Old Shatterhand and Winnetou provides easy fodder for the theories of Arno Schmidt, who finds latent homosexuality throughout May's oeuvre.⁸³ In *Am stillen Ozean*, there is certainly an undercurrent of same-sex desire in the relationship between the narrator and his beautiful native friend. Potomba is described as "young and really beautiful," wearing clothes that advantageously show off "the proportions of his slim, powerful figure."⁸⁴ There is even a moment in the story where it seems Potomba will have to leave his wife and join the narrator's all-male society, because she has apparently returned to the heathen gods.

Sascha Schneider's cover art for the first edition of May's complete works, which appeared between 1892 and 1910, suggests that such homoerotic readings were possible in the early twentieth century as well. May himself commissioned these works from Schneider, who was his close friend and quite open about his sexual tendencies. Schneider wrote to May, "my perspective is not the normal one. This natural orientation, innate in me, cannot be fought or repressed. Why should it be?! In this sense, there is no sin for me. And has it hindered me from thinking great and noble thoughts?"⁸⁵ Schneider (1870–1927) was an artist who devoted himself primarily to depictions of strong young men, declaring in a somewhat futurist manifesto: "For me, strength is beauty and on this point I am so radical that I consider a highly developed musculature absolutely beautiful. The beauty of a man is his strength. For me the strongest man is the most beautiful."⁸⁶ His glorification of strength led him to plan a Kraft-Kunst-Institut (Institute of Strength and Art), where



Figure 6. “Through the Desert”: Sascha Schneider’s cover art for volume I of the first complete edition of Karl May’s works, 1892.

Personal collection of author.

young men could develop their physiques in order to be better models. In 1904, Schneider accepted a position at the Kunsthochschule in Weimar. However, he had to give it up just a few years later as a consequence of repeated blackmail attempts by a former lover. Like so many northern European homosexual men, Schneider lived in exile in Italy, returning to Germany only at the onset of World War I.⁸⁷

Because of the possible homosexual implications of the objectification of men, the representation of men was not as common as that of women. One phenomenon that did allow for the representation of beautiful male bodies was the Samoan tradition of tattooing. As Wallace asserts, "there is no defense against the peculiar erotic pull of tattoo, as it inevitably draws a sexualized look from the observer."⁸⁸ Although some Westerners found it beautiful, the custom was considered objectionable by the English missionaries who worked in Samoa: "The waste of time, reveling, and immorality connected with this custom have led us to discountenance it."⁸⁹ But Krämer, Stevenson, and others concerned with preserving local traditions supported the practice of tattooing and reported that the missionary efforts against it were relatively unsuccessful. Juniper Ellis reports that "Samoa was one of the few places in the Pacific where giving and receiving *tatau* continued unabated throughout colonial administrations."⁹⁰

Ethnologists interested in the tattoos, like Krämer, were able to print and publish images of naked and nearly naked men, allowing for a certain homoerotic colonial gaze. About the Polynesian residents of another island chain, Wallace writes "the Marquesan male with his skin-deep tattoo became the subjects of the naturalist's analysis."⁹¹ The tattoo became the object of study for the scientist, who under this cloak could unleash effusive descriptions of the beauty of the men. Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff (1772–1852), a German explorer who worked primarily in the Czar's service, wrote about the Marquesans, "the men are almost all tall, robust, and well made [with] such general beauty and regularity of form [that] many of them might very well have been placed by the side of the most celebrated chef-d'oeuvres of antiquity and they would have lost nothing by comparison."⁹² The Marquesan men were as beautiful as the Apollo of Belvedere, "in which is combined every integer in the composition of manly beauty." In contrast, the women weren't all that beautiful after all, according to Langsdorff.⁹³ The tattoo gives Langsdorff permission to develop his exposition about the beauty of the Polynesian men.

Sexual ethnologists like Friedrich Karsch-Haack suspected that the "immorality" that the English associated with the custom of tattooing was related

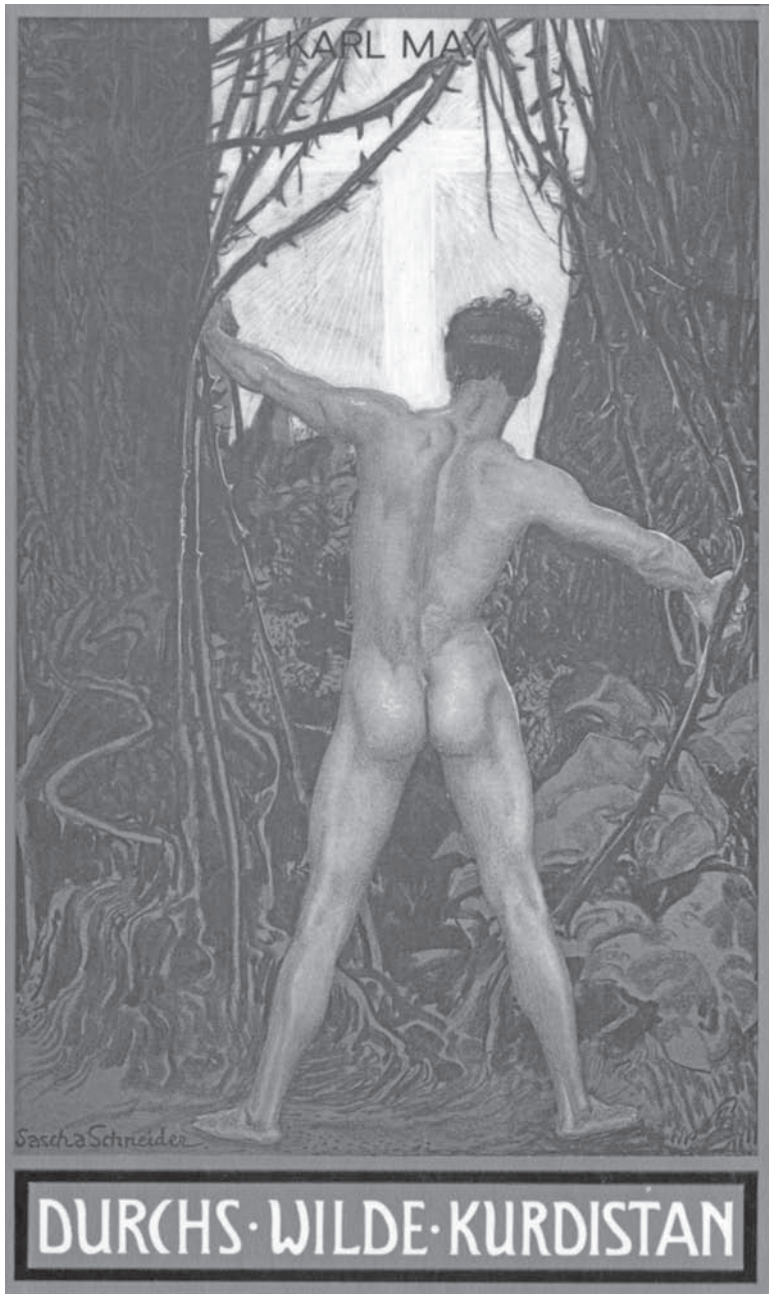


Figure 7. “Through Wild Kurdistan”: Sascha Schneider’s cover art for volume 2 of the first complete edition of Karl May’s works, 1892.

Personal collection of author.

to homosexuality.⁹⁴ Referring to an English article on the deleterious effects of Samoan tattooing, the ethnologist Berthold Schidlöf writes, "Taking into account the accompanying circumstances, one can conclude from his remarks that the Samoan youths also cultivated erotic friendships with members of their own sex."⁹⁵ Like Karsch-Haack, Schidlöf published an overview of same-sex desire among non-European peoples in a book called *Das Sexualleben der Australier und Ozeaner* (The Sexual Life of the Peoples of Australia and Oceania), which was the first and only volume of a series to be called *Das Sexualleben der Naturvölker* (The Sexual Life of Primitive Peoples).

It was generally agreed that other peoples of the South Pacific, including Polynesians in Hawaii and Tahiti, were prone to homosexual behavior. Captain Cook's men reported on the *aikane* of Hawaii, courtiers who were believed to engage in homosexual acts with the rulers of the islands. According to one explorer, "their business is to commit the Sin of Onan upon the Old King."⁹⁶ Schidlöf insisted that pederasty was a "national custom" in New Caledonia.⁹⁷ He noted that the New Caledonian men "are united together in a comradeship in arms closely related to and perhaps based on pederasty."⁹⁸ In Hawaii, "the crime 'against nature,' sodomy" was allegedly considered quite general.⁹⁹ The Tahitians, under French control, were a chapter unto themselves with regard to rumors of same-sex behavior. Already in the eighteenth-century, Jean Paul refers to the Tahitian custom of socially sanctioned male-male bonds.¹⁰⁰ The American author Herman Melville (1819–1891) also affirms in *Omoo* that Pomarre II of Tahiti was a pederast; like Jean Paul he passes on the story that ideal friendships between men were sanctioned by Tahitian society with formal celebrations.¹⁰¹

In addition to male friendship, Tahiti, and much of Polynesia, was known for a well-developed tradition of raising some of the boys from an early age as transvestites. Karsch-Haack reports: "On his trip to the Marquesas Islands after Tahiti at the end of the eighteenth century, Wilson met in various districts men who dressed like women, worked in finishing products like women, ate the same foodstuffs as women, and generally were subject to the same laws as the women."¹⁰² Making clear that this transvestite tradition overlapped with the phenomenon of male homosexuality on the island, Karsch-Haack continues that in Tahiti there was a class of men who lived as women from an early age and aspired to have relationships with men who did not have relations with women.¹⁰³

Anyone who visits Polynesia today, from Tahiti to Tonga to Samoa, will witness this indigenous transvestite culture of men who live as women. The

local transvestites are called *mahoos* in Tahiti, *fakaleiti* in Tonga, and *fa'afafine* in Samoa. But while nineteenth-century discussions of such surprising sexual practices are explicit with regard to other Polynesian islands, they are circumspect in their analysis of Samoa. Indeed, the anthropologist Jeannette Marie Mageo concludes that, because there are so few references to transvestism and male homosexuality on Samoa in the late nineteenth century, such behavior might have been absent from Samoa, despite the frequency of references to such practices on other Polynesian islands at the time: "I suspect that in old Samoa transvestism was merely an extremely marginal practice that suffered a historical drift into the cultural limelight."¹⁰⁴ Mageo puts forward the interesting thesis that the *fa'afafine* in modern Samoa have taken on many of the sexually provocative, assertive roles women had in pre-missionary Samoa.

Turn-of-the-century German sexual ethnologists lend some support for Mageo's claim that early observers of the island did not report on sexual deviations from the European norm. Karsch-Haack declares: "In fact the author of this compilation did not find a single reference to this subject."¹⁰⁵ Because Krämer had also published elsewhere that such "perversions" were common among the "primitive peoples" everywhere, Karsch-Haack was surprised Krämer did not mention homoerotic behavior in his book on Samoa. He wrote to Krämer asking for clarification regarding the Samoans. In response, Krämer merely reiterated that sexual deviations were common among all primitive peoples, without any specific reference to Samoa.¹⁰⁶

However, it is not entirely true that the early observers did not note any sexual and gender deviations among the Samoans. As mentioned above, Karsch-Haack and Schidlöf attempt to read between the lines of more general reports about "immorality" on the islands. In any case, the term *fa'afafine* was in the Samoan vocabulary in the German colonial period, as Karsch-Haack documents: "The Samoan word *faafafine*, 'not quite woman' or 'not woman,' describes effeminate male personas. According to Pratt the word means 'effeminate,' according to W. von Bulow 'Hermaphrodite' and is taken by this source, erroneously, as the designation of a physical deformation, while according to Pratt *amio faafafine* means female behavior in a man, an expression that makes clear enough what the subject matter here is."¹⁰⁷ This proves that the institution of transvestism existed in the German colonial period on these islands, and it was associated with male-male sexuality as well. Karsch-Haack adds further lexical evidence for the awareness of the Samoans of sex between men: "The Samoan is not lacking in an expression for sodomitical acts: for, as

Pratt indicates, *Sesé, o le ulaga* means 'to use from behind' . . . and really cannot be interpreted other than as sodomitical."¹⁰⁸

Mageo agrees that it is odd that "early records of transvestism among Samoa's Polynesian cousins evince an ensemble of behaviors that resembles contemporary Samoan transvestism," when the nineteenth-century reports are relatively silent on this subject in Samoa.¹⁰⁹ While she assumes that the nineteenth-century reports reflect the actual situation regarding same-sex behavior on the islands, Karsch-Haack has a more convincing theory for the lack of German discussion of nonheterosexual sexuality in Samoa. He asserts that in view of the overwhelming European investment in a positive image of the Samoans, who are characterized as in possession of "beauty," "cleanliness," "respectability," "generosity," and "hospitality," it is virtually impossible to attribute such vices as transvestism and homosexuality to them: "With such a thoroughly polished image, it can scarcely be surprising that one finds little in the European literature about pederasty among the Samoans."¹¹⁰ Karsch-Haack's thesis suggests that the German view of Samoa was always a mirror image characterized by a double perspective: certain weaknesses were seen in the Samoans that allowed the German viewer to regard himself as the subject of the specular relationship, but these weaknesses could never become so strong as to reflect badly upon the European viewer. Thus the Samoan male could be objectified as attractive in a way that the European male would not do to himself, but the feminization inherent in this projection was not allowed to become so strong as to permit an understanding of the Samoan as possibly homosexual.

The upsurge in German interest in researching and envisioning sexuality coincided remarkably with the German effort to establish a colonial empire. On the one hand, colonial administrators devoted increasing attention to sexual practices in the colonies. On the other hand, authors such as Blüher, Friedlaender, Hirschfeld, Schidlof and, above all, Karsch-Haack were deeply involved in the colonial, anthropological, and ethnographic discussion at the same time as they worked in the field of sexuality. There was considerable overlap between the imperial patriarchs such as Carl Peters and such masculinist thinkers on sexuality as Friedlaender and Blüher, who both championed the colonial effort and wrote approvingly of men like Peters. The enormously popular author Karl May, whose novels typically depict intercultural pairs of homoerotically bonded young men reveling in the discovery of the world beyond Europe, shared sympathies with both the imperial patriarchs and the masculinists, as his support for that outspoken proponent of the beauty of

male strength, Sascha Schneider, suggests. While progressives in the field of sexuality, like Hirschfeld, tended not to be invested in colonialism per se, their reliance on a scientific worldview that saw sexual categories as similar to racial ones put them in an oddly overlapping relationship with racist colonialists.

May's novel, *Am stillen Ozean*, gives insight into the German experience in Samoa, "the pearl of the Pacific," which became a prized possession in the German Empire in 1899, after a half-century of increasing interaction with German culture. The literary, cultural, sexological, and sexual emancipationist documents relating to Samoa show the intense interaction of discourses structuring the history of sexuality and discourses undergirding colonialism. The language of colonialism—from the level of the primers that taught the basics of German to the Samoans to the realm of journalistic and legislative discussions of intermarriage and the desirability of Samoans—clearly addresses questions of race, sexuality, and gender. Conversely, the language of sexuality, with its increasing focus on biological categorizations, relies on racial discourses that received their most extreme formulations in the imperialist context.

In analyzing the German cultural experience in Samoa, one notes that the intersection between sexuality and colonialism became extremely pronounced on issues of intermarriage. Sex needed to be controlled in order to preserve race and race became an important element in determining sexuality. Conceptually, it was the notion of "purity" that particularly upheld these concerns. German colonialists perceived a need to manage, preserve, and protect the very racial purity they knew their colonial effort was disturbing and endangering. Partly motivated by anxieties about *German* racial purity, colonists and colonial administrators worried about the racial purity of the Samoans.

Related to the question of purity was that of beauty. The Samoans were regarded as being extraordinarily beautiful, which led to their objectification, feminization, and sexualization. To a certain extent, this sexualization had to be disavowed, precisely because the Samoans were held in such high esteem. The putative beauty of the Samoans, male and female, along with the traditional gendering of the colonizer as male, allowed for the emergence of a homoerotic interaction between male colonists and colonized men. This homoerotic tension emerged as a glorification of the male body of the Samoan and his tattoos. The general European fascination with the cross-dressing found in many Polynesian cultures was curiously muted, although not actually absent, in the case of Samoa—perhaps a repression based on a desire to prove the purity and beauty of this race.

Colonialism brought with it an interest in regulating sexuality at the

same time as late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German thinkers on sexuality expressed an interest in the colonial project. Sexological emancipationists in the tradition of Ulrichs could find evidence for the universality of same-sex desire, as well as documented cases of gender inversion in anthropological accounts of people like the fa'afafine of Samoa. Masculinists in the tradition of Friedlaender and Blüher could celebrate the sheer manliness of the colonial project, the beauty of the men in the colonies, and their freedom from Christian sexual restrictions. Nowhere do the complications inherent in the notion of the periphery come into play more clearly than in the German representation of sexuality in the colonies. On the one hand, sexuality could be projected on to the colonies, as though onto the Other. On the other hand, it was in the Other that German authors could find answers to questions about themselves.

Chapter 6

Swiss Universities: Emancipated Women and the Third Sex

For Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and others, sexual orientation was particular and fixed, characterized by gender inversion, analogous to race, and specifically comparable to Jewishness as a racial identity. This approach to sexuality underscored the significance of female desire: if male urnings, inverters, and homosexuals were really women trapped in men's bodies, then female eroticism was a force with which to be reckoned. Theorists and practitioners of gender inversion indirectly celebrated female sexuality. Activists such as Ulrichs (who was a coalition builder by instinct anyway) found it illuminating to compare the urning to the emancipated woman. Admittedly, this comparison took some surprising turns. At one point, Ulrichs problematizes his own assertion that effeminized men constitute the third sex. It was easy to see, Ulrichs argues, why people might draw the conclusion that members of the third sex were effeminate men, given the tendency of third sexers to exhibit feminine bodily characteristics, wear women's clothes, take on female names, sing falsetto, smoke dainty cigarettes instead of cigars, and fail miserably at whistling. These traits, however, which the general public takes for perverse, incidental characteristics of the urning, are in fact, according to Ulrichs, indicative of his true nature. It is, instead, the alleged masculinity of the third sexer that is a secondary characteristic, imposed upon by society. "Like the *emancipata*," declares Ulrichs, the third sexer is "a virilized, feminine being."¹ Both emancipated women and male urnings are naturally effeminate, forced by society to take on masculine attributes.

Ernst von Wolzogen's enormously successful 1899 novel, *Das dritte Geschlecht* (The Third Sex), provides an informative introduction to the ways in

which sexuality and gender roles were conceived in relation to each other and the ways in which the gender/sexuality complex was seen in relation to matters of race and Jewish identity at the turn of the century. Ostensibly about emancipated women, not homosexuals, invertes, or urnings, the novel nonetheless had, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, some currency among people with sexual feelings toward members of their own sex. In his compendium, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (The Homosexual Life of Primitive Peoples), Karsch-Haack suggests that Wolzogen has a well-articulated concept of the third sex.² Indeed, same-sex desire returns in a number of ways in the novel. To begin with, many of the emancipated women are coded as lesbian. Moreover, the novel makes heavy use of the term *der Eigene*, the unusual expression that was in circulation among German masculinist theorists of male-male desire at the turn of the nineteenth century. As we have noted before, this difficult-to-translate term has been rendered into English in a variety of ways; the 1914 English translation of Wolzogen's *Das dritte Geschlecht* usually translates the word as "the free." With its coded lesbians and its use of the vocabulary of "the free," the novel seems to discuss both same-sex desire and the movement for the emancipation of women.

To be more specific, the analysis of the movement for the emancipation of women is structured in ways that correspond to late nineteenth-century approaches to same-sex desire. On the one hand, some women in the emancipation movement were seen as sexual intermediary types in Ulrichs's and Hirschfeld's sense and marked specifically as lesbians. These are the members of the "third sex." This group is associated with a variety of leftwing and social reform tendencies. Not coincidentally, certain members of this group are depicted as having Jewish ancestry. On the other hand, another type of women's emancipation is seen in terms of sexual liberation and the rejection of bourgeois constraints on sexuality. The model here is the ancient Greek courtesan, the hetaera. These women are allied with "the free," and correspond to the Grecophilic model of same-sex desire promoted by such antibourgeois, anti-liberal thinkers as Kupffer, Friedlaender and Brand. Thus, although *Das dritte Geschlecht* does not deal primarily with issues of same-sex desire, it constructs its analysis of the modern woman with the same categories that were used in the rhetoric of the homosexual emancipation movement.

Biography and Context

Ernst von Wolzogen (1855–1934) came from a noble family that had increasingly focused on cultural affairs in the nineteenth century. Ernst's older half-brother, Hans, settled in Bayreuth and became a Wagner acolyte. Hans von Wolzogen (1848–1938) published the first critical editions of Wagner's compositions, as well as sentimental writings about animals and their place in Christianity, right-wing nationalist treatises with anti-Semitic polemics, and poetry about the failure of the German *Volk* to support the soldiers in the field at the end of the First World War. Although Ernst increasingly shared his brother's anti-Semitic and nationalist tendencies, he disagreed with his Christian beliefs. Concurring with Nietzsche that Wagner's *Parsifal* was too Christian to be Germanic, Ernst stopped speaking with his brother in the 1890s.

Never well-to-do, Ernst dedicated himself to a life of letters, supporting himself and his increasing number of ex-wives (ultimately three) and children by prolifically churning out essays, poems, plays, novellas, and novels. He published at least one hundred books in various formats in his life. The two most popular, *Krafft-Mayr* (about a Lisztian pianist) and *Das dritte Geschlecht*, sold hundreds of thousands of copies and were translated into numerous languages. His novellas were regularly anthologized in collections of significant contemporary German writing. In 1910 he took an extensive lecture tour to the United States, about which he—true to form—quickly published a book, *Der Dichter in Dollarica. Blumen-, Frucht- und Dornenstücke aus dem Märchenlande der unbedingten Gegenwart* (The Poet in Dollar-ica: Flowers, Fruits and Thorns from the Fairytale Land of the Unconditional Present).³ He has received an entry into encyclopedias such as the *Brockhaus* and *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon* since at least 1898, although admittedly the most recent references have been short. Despite their original popularity, very few of his writings have stood the test of time. Many are now out of print, though a number have become available for free as electronic books.

If Ernst Wolzogen is known at all, it is generally for his work with the “Überbrett!,” the first intellectually ambitious cabaret in Germany, which he established in Berlin at the turn of the century. He attempted to bring the writings of authors such as Frank Wedekind, Julius Otto Bierbaum, and Detlev von Liliencron to the public in a cabaret format. The “Überbrett!” were a huge, but fleeting, success, sold out for weeks, but then passed over by the fickle public. Even here, Wolzogen's legacy is ambiguous. In fact, what remain

well-known from the Überbrettel' are Arnold Schönberg's compositions for the cabaret, called the "Überbrettel'-Lieder." Wolzogen's anti-Semitism seems to have prevented him from understanding the significance of Schönberg's contributions to the project. His own memories of the Überbrettel' are colored by a description of Schönberg that focused primarily on racial markers: he was a musician "with a slight figure, hard facial features and dark skin color."⁴ Similarly, Wolzogen's pioneering work at the Akademisch-dramatischer Verein (Academic Dramatic Association) in Munich in the 1890s is now known primarily because of the authors whose controversial works it championed, such as Frank Wedekind and Henrik Ibsen, as well as some of the prominent people involved in the project, such as Thomas Mann, for instance, who played in the Verein's 1895 production of Ibsen's *Wild Duck*, which Wolzogen directed.⁵

Wolzogen's very popularity has perhaps been partly to blame for his decline in reputation. As a writer of entertaining fictions, he did not enter the canon. Despite his contributions to literary anthologies, libraries did not necessarily collect his works. In his autobiography, *Wie ich mich ums Leben brachte* (How I Used Up My Life), Wolzogen struggles with the distinction between the poet (*Dichter*), who writes from an internal need, and the writer (*Schriftsteller*), who merely produces text to make a living.⁶ While the suspicion nags him that he is in fact merely a "writer," rather than a "poet," he complains that even in his own lifetime the literary historians have dismissed him because his books were regarded as nothing but entertainment.

His autobiography suggests that other factors might have helped to relegate Wolzogen to the list of literary also-rans—his monarchist politics and increasingly rabid anti-Semitism put his critical and ethical acumen into doubt. His gradually articulated syncretic philosophy of Nietzscheanism and neopagan religious elements is too far out of the mainstream.⁷

Nietzsche certainly had an enormous effect on Wolzogen. Each volume of the novelist's two-volume 1910 work, *Der Erzketzer* (The Arch Heretic), begins with an epigraph by the philosopher. The hero of that novel, Count Harro Bessungen, is a Nietzschean through and through. Alluding to the *Genealogie der Moral*, he declares, "sheepish Christian humility, which simply swallows whatever comes spoon-fed from the despicable world and its unreasonable morality, disgusts me to death, but otherwise I believe I am a well-tamed beast."⁸ Priests dislike Bessungen's writing because it betrays too much of the philosopher's influence.⁹ Others accuse him of being a "brutal master of the Nietzschean observance."¹⁰ His women friends and his Jewish banker agree in calling him a "blond beast."¹¹ The narrator confirms his protagonist's love of

Nietzsche's thought: "he despised the herd and considered himself one of the masters, without demanding his own morality."¹² Harro comes to see himself as a "practical Nietzschean," who "doesn't want to popularize Nietzsche's doctrines in the common sense . . . but rather wants to gather around himself a select few whose sense the poet-seer of Sils Maria had sung awake."¹³ His plan is "not to breed supermen but test the new moral values of virtue, nobility, honesty and justice for their contemporary human possibilities."¹⁴ He will do this by establishing a school where young Germans can grow up without Christianity and develop "a new secure conscience and a cheerful German [i.e., neopagan] faith."¹⁵ Because Count Harro Bessungen's life and opinions mirror those of Ernst von Wolzogen, this novel provides a sense of how Wolzogen applies Nietzsche's ideas to the complex of gender, race, and sexuality: he does so in ways similar to such post-Nietzschean writers as Kupffer, Friedlaender, and Brand.

Wolzogen's increasingly rabid anti-Semitism requires some attention. Again, *Der Erzketzer*, with its shockingly strong anti-Semitic statements, provides useful background material. Its protagonist, Harro von Bessungen, lands a lucrative contract with a journal called *Der Deutsche* (The German), which, despite its title, is run exclusively by "descendants of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob."¹⁶ The description of its editor in chief shows Wolzogen's increasing susceptibility to anti-Semitic discourses: "Jean Oppenheimer was by type an elegant Jewish businessman, of the upper intellectual class order." While he is still obviously "a Semitic type," he no longer exhibits "the greedy vulture's nose, the low slyness of the eyes, the lack of culture of the passionate lips," which Wolzogen implies were typical of traditional Jews. Instead his new look bears all the traces of "the stamp of international reform Judaism with the special characteristics of Berlin West, 1900."¹⁷ Oppenheimer's wife, Coralie, is also Jewish and far more charismatic and intellectually alive than any of the women that the protagonist had run into "in his circles."

One of Bessungen's Jewish colleagues, a professor, is obsessively Germanophilic: "I harbor an unhappy love for the Aryans. Men with fantasy often burn with passion for women who are essentially and racially other than they. So it goes for me with German thinking and feeling—especially German art. I love Bach and Wagner, Dürer and Hans Thomas, and I got myself a sweet little blond wife from Holstein."¹⁸ The connections the professor draws between erotic love and the relationship between Jews and Germans—both in his analogy about the "men with fantasy" and in his reference to his "sweet little blond wife"—underscores once again the many levels at which nationalist and racist

discourses were implicated in discussions of gender and sexuality. This particular colleague is so smitten with the Germans that he even loves their anti-Semites: "My critical consciousness lets me see the many completely wrong suppositions and impossible conclusions of Gobineau, Chamberlain, *et tutti quanti*, but I nonetheless love these fanatics almost as tenderly as Eichendorff and Mörike."¹⁹

In *Der Erzketzer*, Bessungen and Coralie Oppenheimer discuss the role of the Jews in supporting everything modern, including "social democracy, modern science, modern art, modern theater." They even support Bessungen, she notes.²⁰ When he argues that the Jews support modernity because they are rootless and have no traditions, she counters that he merely wants to use clichés: "I know what you want to say. . . . We are the parasites in your golden fleece, no?"²¹ And when he declares that Jews are astonishingly, almost admirably, able to assimilate themselves, she responds that Germans lose their nationality more quickly than anyone else, noting all the German royalty who ascend to thrones in Bulgaria, Mexico, and Greece and suddenly adapt the ethos and style of their new countries.²²

In his autobiography, Wolzogen returns frequently to derisive comments about Jews, from his earliest childhood memories to his experiences as a mature writer. Among other claims, he declares that he wrote an anti-Semitic novel called *Sem, der Mitbürger* (Sem, the Fellow Citizen), but that it could not be published, due to the power of Jews in the publishing industry.²³ He complains it is not possible to stage an anti-Semitic drama because of the role of Jews in the theatrical world.²⁴ On the other hand, he was willing to write and stage plays based on the story of Daniel, as well as Heinrich Heine's *Die Bäder von Lucca* (The Baths of Lucca), because he was sure Jews would finance these pro-Jewish productions.²⁵

The role of Jews in modernist German culture particularly preoccupies him. As in the *Erzketzer*, he mentions in *Wie ich mich ums Leben brachte* that many Jews supported his cultural endeavors, while non-Jewish Germans did not. He notes that the same "problem" befell Fontane, who was honored by the Jews of Berlin but neglected by the Junkers he loved. The only composers who volunteered to work with him in the *Überbrettel* were Jews, which he attributes to the satiric nature of the project, ostensibly inappropriate for non-Jewish German composers.²⁶ Like his character Coralie Oppenheimer, Wolzogen declares that only the Jews have supported modern theater, which he again explains in terms of their "homelessness," which requires that they appropriate the arts of other cultures.²⁷ At times, this assertion is framed

anti-Semitically (as when he calls “Expressionism,” “Express-Zionism”), but more often than not he gives grudging respect to the support that Jews have made to modern art.

Just as Jean Oppenheimer is portrayed positively in *Der Erzketzer*, a number of Jews, including Jacob Wassermann, who was his secretary for a while, and Arnold Mendelssohn, come across well in Wolzogen’s autobiography.²⁸ However, Wolzogen does not believe that the acceptability of a few Jews should speak in favor of the whole race: “I assume that most somewhat pure Germanics have undergone the same development as I. One resists with all one’s power passionate political anti-Semitism, because one is chivalrous. One would rather judge the Jews in general according to the few respectable, intelligent, charming, and interesting examples whom one happens to know personally, rather than according to the badly turned out, shabby individuals, whom one has only heard of by hearsay.”²⁹ Stubbornly intolerant, Wolzogen insists that it is these latter ones who in fact characterize the race.

Despite his anti-Semitism, Wolzogen repays study, partly because his status as a popular writer makes him a good measure of public opinion. Because so many people were willing to publish, purchase, and read his writings, there must have been some understanding for, if not concurrence with, his positions. Particularly because he tended to use models from real life for his fictional characters, his novels give a sense of the thinking in literary, artistic, and bohemian circles in the early twentieth century. Especially in the realm of gender and sexuality, Wolzogen provides illuminating insights into the Wilhelmine era.

Das dritte Geschlecht appeared first in 1899. An English-language version, translated by Grace Isabel Colbron, was published in the United States in 1914. The *New York Times* took a Wildean tone in its negative review, remarking “in the main, *The Third Sex* is a disappointing novel. It is not deep enough for a truly superficial book, and it is not superficial enough for a deep one.”³⁰ Deep or superficial, the novel, because it is a roman à clef, provides twenty-first-century readers with a glimpse of the tremendous intellectual and cultural ferment that took place in Munich at the fin de siècle. By his own account, Wolzogen took most of the figures in the novel from “the higher-class artistic bohemians,” whom he had a chance to observe when he lived in the Schwabing district of Munich from 1893 to 1900.³¹ In this milieu Wolzogen found ample material to discuss the women’s movement, and its relationship to the third sex.

The Modern Woman

Das dritte Geschlecht focuses on Claire de Fries and her emancipated female friends, who can be classified as either “third sexes” (comparable to Ulrich’s urning’s) or “hetaerae” (analogous to “the free” in Brand’s sense). She herself provides a dialectical resolution of the two categories, an idealized version of the modern woman. She is caught in the kind of dilemma that in the twenty-first century is still the subject of discussions in applied gender studies, from lifestyle magazines to academic gossip: She is trying to complete her doctoral dissertation in medicine at the University of Zürich while maintaining her relationship with her husband, an art historian in Munich. They had been living together, ideologically opposed to marriage, but now the professional needs of her husband are putting this protest against bourgeois values into question. Claire de Fries represents Wolzogen’s optimistic vision of the future of the new woman. Conventionally feminine, she pursues her study of medicine in Switzerland, with no interest in reverting to Christian or bourgeois models.

The modern woman is one of the recurrent topics of Wolzogen’s prose. His writing responds to Germany’s rapid industrialization at the end of the nineteenth century, which caused an economic boom that required a large number of women to work—more so than in other industrialized economies of the time. Repeatedly, he features working women, like the financially independent Berlin school teacher, unmarried by choice, who dresses up for a festival in the novella, *Die indische Sklavin* (The Indian Slave).³² In *Der Erzketzer*, Bessungen’s fourth girlfriend, Julchen Nedermann, is a hard-working modern woman who is able to preserve her femininity while adjusting to modern realities: “Julchen was living proof that it was possible to unify the harsh demands of economic necessity with the good intentions of eternal nature. She was the modern girl: independently earning, practical and clever to the point of sobriety, without sentimental prejudices and nonetheless with undamaged instincts like a free wild animal in the wilderness.”³³ Julchen “was basically one of the new woman, products of the economic necessities of modernity in civilized countries. She stood on her own two feet, needed neither motherly nor manly protection in order to survive in the world.”³⁴ Although lacking some of the charm of Claire de Vries, Julchen is an example of Wolzogen’s belief in the possibilities of the modern woman.

The positive representation of female characters like Claire de Vries and Julchen adds some complexity to Wolzogen’s otherwise antifeminist utterances. Certainly his parody of a woman’s movement in “Im Frauenklub” (In

the Woman's Club) indicates a dismissal of early feminism. This was his contribution to the *Roman der Zwölf* (Novel of the Twelve), a collaborative novel written in 1909 by twelve authors, each of whom composed a different chapter. Wolzogen's chapter, the novel's second, is a satirical look at the women's movement as it manifested itself at turn-of-the-century Munich. In *Der Erzketzer*, when Bessungen asks Julchen Neddermann what she thinks of the women's emancipation movement, she replies that it is only for "the ugly women" (*die garstigen*) and that beautiful women like herself don't need it.³⁵ *Der Erzketzer*, however, was published in 1910, somewhat later than *Das dritte Geschlecht*, and Wolzogen's views seem to have hardened in the decades after the turn of the century. In *Das dritte Geschlecht*, it is a man, Josef Reithmeyer, who asserts that only the ugly women (*die garstigen*) are interested in emancipation, while Claire de Fries quickly disabuses him of this notion, pointing out that attractive men are just as interested as unattractive ones in contributing to society, so why shouldn't attractive women want to improve themselves?³⁶ In *Das dritte Geschlecht*, Wolzogen maintains a bemusedly critical stance toward the women's movement, exemplified in his depiction of the party at which Box (as the Jewish businesswoman Hildegard Haider is known to her friends) spikes the punch with alcohol, although most of her emancipated female friends are also part of the temperance movement. While the women's slightly tipsy behavior allows Wolzogen to discredit their ideology, the novel as a whole is not dismissive of the women's movement. Various other characters, including quite positively portrayed ones such as Claire de Fries and Lilly von Robiceck, defend the women in the emancipation movement.

The Traditional Housewife

Wolzogen's *Das dritte Geschlecht* has no sympathy for the traditional bourgeois housewife. The only character who fits that description is a fairly minor one named Katja Rau, described at the end as "the eternally trembling housewife who has turned intelligent hypocrisy into an art form."³⁷ Katja Rau is based on Karl Wolfkehl's wife, Hanna, who was frequently made fun of in literary depictions of the era for being conventional and boring, as well as something of a doormat. In Reventlow's *Herrn Dames Aufzeichnungen* (The Notebooks of Mr. Dame), she is mocked as dull Lotte, and she fares little better in *Das dritte Geschlecht*.³⁸ Katja is seen as a bourgeois hypocrite who turns a blind eye to her husband's womanizing without embracing true sexual freedom.

In *Das dritte Geschlecht*, the conservative bourgeoisie is otherwise notable primarily by its absence from the bohemian milieu of Munich's artistic neighborhood, Schwabing, in which most of the novel's action takes place. Certainly, the initial assumptions of the novel reject bourgeois conventions of marriage. In general, the characters assume that marriage is an ossified social institution that primarily serves entrenched social interests. The feminist Frau Stummer believes that "marriage is good enough for the woman of the herd, who feels best in slavery."³⁹ Like Lily Braun, these feminists provide a Nietzschean analysis of the bourgeoisie as deeply and unconsciously enslaved to conventional social structures, even if it considers itself free.

Religious considerations certainly never weigh heavily in the discussions about whether Claire de Fries and Josef Reithmeyer should marry. When they do marry, Claire informs the magistrate who presides over their ceremony that they are certainly not going to be married in the Church and seems almost shocked that he would think otherwise.⁴⁰ Although this novel seems like a typical entertainment novel with a marriage as a happy ending, Wolzogen makes sure that this wedding in no way conforms to conventional bourgeois religious standards, as the ironic illustration by Walter Caspari indicates when it shows the couples marching uniformly up the stairs to the justice of the peace, past the sign that warns them: "Achtung! Proceed only in pairs!!!"

The Third Sex

If Claire de Vries is the delightful and exemplary model of the modern woman, her emancipated friends showcase a variety of alternative structures of gender and sexuality, ranging from the third sexers to the free hetaerae. Most of the emancipated women in the novel fall into the category of the third sex, which the novel ultimately rejects, as a statement by the character Arnulf Rau suggests: "Oh, those aren't women at all; they belong to the third sex. They are neuters with the external characteristics of femininity who, through cramped efforts, have gradually shed their feminine feelings and exchanged them for a kind of crippled man's psyche."⁴¹ Despite this scornful critique, however, the novel devotes a great deal of time to studying these emancipated women who are part of the "third sex."

Sind es Frauen? Roman über das dritte Geschlecht (Are They Women? Novel About the Third Sex) provides a particularly interesting point of comparison with Wolzogen's work. This novel, published in 1901 by Minna Wettstein-Adelt



Figure 8. “Achtung! Proceed Only in Pairs!” Walter Caspari’s playful depiction of marriage conventions. Ernst von Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, with art by Walter Caspari (Berlin: Richard Eckstein, 1899), 14.

Personal collection of author.

(born 1869), under the pen name Aimée Duc, also features women studying to be physicians in Switzerland. While Claire de Fries is enrolled at medical school of the University of Zürich, the women in Duc's novel are at the University of Geneva. German-speaking women who wanted a university education often chose to study in Switzerland at the end of the nineteenth century, as they were not allowed to enroll at the universities in Germany until the beginning of the twentieth century. These Swiss universities with their female students were seen as hotbeds of radicalism, allegedly particularly popular with Jews. At one point Russia demanded that all of its female citizens studying in Switzerland (a large percentage of which were indeed Jewish) return to Russia immediately or forfeit their citizenship.⁴² Another literary account of this scene is Lou Andrea-Salomé's 1898 novella *Fenitschka*, which features a German-speaking Russian woman who "began her university studies in Switzerland."

In Duc's novel, the emancipated lesbians have taken the title of "third sex" for themselves. They do not consider themselves women, but rather members of another sex ("neither woman nor man").⁴³ When confronted as to whether women should be allowed to be physicians, the heroine, Minotschka, responds that they shouldn't—but that she and her crowd are not to be confused with women: "we constitute another category!"⁴⁴ Minotschka is physically androgynous: "There was a bit of the tom-boy, the teen-age boy, the male youth in her."⁴⁵ Among other characteristics that the era would have considered masculine are her tendency to wear men's clothes and smoke.⁴⁶ The group also prominently includes a Jewish member, Bertha Cohn, who is so brilliant that she is actually too young to be at the university, although she is enrolled. In addition, there is a Russian nihilist, Tatjana, who gets into trouble with the state because of her politics.⁴⁷ Duc outlines a view of the third sex from a sympathetic viewpoint that shares many of the characteristics of Wolzogen's more satirical image of the third sex: androgynous and physically different from women who love men, while also connected to Jewishness and political activism.

In Wolzogen's novel, the third sex is portrayed most thoroughly in the character of Hildegard Haider, known affectionately to her friends as "Box." Her nickname presumably points to her lack of feminine wiles. She is of Jewish descent (the family name was originally Cohn), has a boyish appearance, and runs her own business firm, "Moritz Haiders Töchter." She is described as "tomboyish" and "masculine," which apparently explains why she takes over her father's business.⁴⁸ Even her feminist friends find it hard to believe that

she could ever get a man. The one man who does show interest in her is a scoundrel only after her money. Her relationship with the super-feminine Lilly von Robiceck makes her aware of the value of femininity, however, and in a discussion with Lilly she ends the novel with a critique of “these horrible man-women. . . . They aren’t new women at all, but merely abnormalities, such as there have always been.”⁴⁹ She indicates a certain distance between herself and these monstrous members of the third sex, when she sighs, “they all assign me to the third sex.”⁵⁰ Despite the fact that she transgresses gender norms, she remains one of the more positive figures in the novel.

Box is the center of a group of women involved in the political aspirations of the emancipation movement. They have formed an organization that they themselves jocularly title “The Agitation Committee for the Evolution of the Feminine Psyche” (Agitationskomitee für die Evolution der femininen Psyche), which is probably based on the historical organization founded in Munich in 1894, “The Society for the Advancement of the Intellectual Interests of Woman” (Gesellschaft zur Förderung der geistigen Interessen der Frau). In the novel, the president of the “Agitation Committee” is Agathe Echtele, who is probably based on Ika Freudenberg, the historical president of the society.

A leading character in the novel is Dr. Babette Girl, who is described as having “already acquired a significant reputation as one of the most eloquent and incisive defenders of the modern efforts at the emancipation of her sex.”⁵¹ Babette Girl’s doctorate is in jurisprudence, linking her to Anita Augspurg, the fiery Munich advocate of women’s rights who began as a school teacher and went to Switzerland in order to study to become a lawyer. Wolzogen’s use of Augspurg as a model for his feminist characters is even clearer in the novella, *Im Frauenklub*, his contribution to *Der Roman der Zwölf*. The narrative features a leader of the women’s movement called Dr. Benita Ulm, “who had enjoyed for years great fame as a lawyer and tirelessly sharp agitator for women.”⁵² She is quite similar to Dr. Babette Girl in *Das dritte Geschlecht*, as well as to Anita Augspurg. In addition to her philosophy of life, Dr. Benita Ulm shares with Anita Augspurg the following characteristics: (1) a doctorate, (2) similar sounding first names (Anita and Benita), and (3) last names similar to Southern German cities. In his autobiography, Wolzogen mentions both Freudenberg and Augspurg as having held “flaming speeches against the tyranny of men, against the disempowerment and stubborn submissiveness of women.”⁵³

Many of the other members of the Agitation Committee for the Evolution of the Feminine Psyche are portrayed as sexual intermediary types. Frau

von Grötzinger has a “masculine organ” (the reference is to her voice); she smokes cigars, typically a prerogative reserved for men in turn-of-the-century Europe.⁵⁴ Frau Stummer looks like “a beautiful disguised male youth.”⁵⁵ The fact that she supports her husband, who is out of the picture except when he needs money, is a further gender reversal. And Hildegard Haider describes Dr. Babette Girl as “a real man.”⁵⁶ While much of this description is typical for antifeminist efforts to discredit the women’s movement, it also reflects the tradition of thinking about the third sex from Ulrichs to Hirschfeld, which grants a great deal of significance to innate qualities emerging from bodily constitution.

Confirming their status as intermediary sexual types, many of the women of the third sex are marked as lesbians. Wolzogen is circumspect in this respect, probably because his novel is intended for a broad public, but the signs are clear. Frau Stummer, who looks like a beautiful youth, and Fräulein Wiesbeck, a “small-shouldered, pointy-nosed pastor’s daughter,” studying philosophy at Zürich, are “inseparable girlfriends.” Of course, the two women might be “just friends,” but all the indications are that they are life partners. That Stummer is masculine while Wiesbeck is dainty, petite, and feminine fits turn-of-the-century thinking about the third sex.

The novel also suggests that Babette Girl and Agatha Ehteler are a couple, when it refers to them “standing arm in arm” at Hildegard Haider’s party.⁵⁷ Later on Haider implies that neither one of these women is available for men when she describes them as “strong minds without sensuality, for whom the man plays no role.”⁵⁸ Both of these characters are clearly based on women who were lesbians and lived more or less openly with their life partners. The model for Babette Girl, Anita Augspurg, had moved to Munich with her companion, the wealthy Lida Gustava Heymann, whom she had met in 1896 and with whom she spent the rest of her life.⁵⁹ As mentioned earlier, Agatha Ehteler is presumably based on Ika Freudenberg, whose life partner was Sophia Goudstikker. Their well-known photo atelier likely served as the model for the fashion atelier that Lilly von Robiceck opens at the end of *Das dritte Geschlecht*. Wolzogen’s in-depth knowledge of the personalities in the women’s movement in Munich suggests that his references to their “inseparable friendships,” their hand holding, and their gender inversion are all clearly meant as indications of their homosexuality.

This notion of same-sex desire as part of the phenomenon of sexual intermediary types with an innate identity is textually linked to Jewishness. Haider is explicitly and early described as the daughter of a Jew whose original name

had been Moritz Cohn.⁶⁰ The family's business success fits into stereotypes about wealthy Jews. When Hildegard Haider lends money to the man with whom she falls in love, she pedantically writes up a bill including interest, which also conforms to stereotypes about Jews.

Hildegard's father's support for her unconventional gender behavior also fits into the beliefs of many nineteenth-century Germans about the untraditional roles available to Jewish women.⁶¹ Hildegard Haider's masculine characteristics fit into the bodily gender reversal often attributed to Jews in central European thought at the turn of the last century. In addition to Boyarin, many scholars, including George L. Mosse and Sander Gilman, have documented extensively how Jewish men were perceived as not only culturally effeminate but actually physically less masculine than their Aryan counterparts.⁶² Jewish women, too, were viewed as having a tendency toward masculinity, according to many thinkers of the time.⁶³ Box's Jewishness is no coincidence, therefore, as Wolzogen is typical for his era in understanding her qualities as a member of the third sex as analogous to being a Jew.

The Hetaera

While Wolzogen portrays the political women's movement satirically and views it as an extension of a kind of bodily identity that determines sexuality in a manner akin to the way that Jewishness determines character, he falls in love with another kind of sexual emancipation, one that endorses sexual freedom and hearkens back to Greek ideals. The hetaera, embodied in Lilly von Robiceck, is his proposal for a women's movement, and she looks strikingly like a mirror image of the masculinist vision of male-male desire as well.

Despite the "von" in her name, Lilly von Robiceck is impoverished; nonetheless, she is the life of the party in bohemian Munich. She is in the process of divorcing her husband and leading a sexually free life while rejecting marriage offers out of hand; she carries her commitment to her principles so far as to insist on bearing her child out of wedlock, refusing to indicate who the father is. It is generally assumed that Lilly von Robiceck is based on the historical figure Franziska, Countess zu Reventlow (1871–1918), who also moved to Munich to study painting, barely made ends meet despite her noble title, and took Schwabing by storm with the force of her personality. Reventlow's diary entries indicate that she spent a great deal of time with Anita Augspurg.⁶⁴ However, she was primarily interested in sexual, rather than political or professional,

emancipation, as indicated in her 1899 essay, “Viragines oder Hetären” (“Viragos or Hetaerae”), which specifically discusses Wolzogen’s *Das dritte Geschlecht*.⁶⁵ She was an apostle of free love whose celebrity was enhanced by her decision to bear a child out of wedlock without ever indicating who the father was.⁶⁶

Oddly, Wolzogen does not mention Reventlow in his autobiography. He refuses to give the name of the woman who served as a model for Lilly von Robiceck, but indicates that it was the same woman whose story is told in the novella *Tinis Ende*. According to Wolzogen, the woman in question arrived in Munich to try her luck as an actress and performed in a play by Ibsen, but wasn’t particularly talented. She was married at the time to a dissolute medical student, who with her help and encouragement finally passed his medical exams. After she got him through medical school, however, he dropped her, leaving her in difficult straits.⁶⁷ This is indeed precisely the story told in *Tinis Ende*, which can be found in the 1898 collection, *Die Geschichten von lieben süßen Mädeln* (Stories of Sweet Dear Maids), but bears little resemblance to the story told in *Das dritte Geschlecht*, where Lilly von Robiceck is not married to a medical student, not helping him through medical school, and not left in the lurch by anyone. Nor does the salient feature of both Reventlow’s and Robiceck’s life—their decisions to keep their babies—appear in the account told in the autobiography and in *Tinis Ende*.

Conceivably, simple forgetfulness and confusion explain Wolzogen’s account in his autobiography. He does mention that his old friend Gabriele Reuter chose to keep her baby and raise it as a single mother, saying that her action provoked “an almost revolutionary enthusiasm . . . in the world of young educated women in Munich.” Wolzogen’s refusal to acknowledge Reventlow in his autobiography might also have to do with his increasingly conservative and nationalistic perspective. During the First World War, Reventlow had achieved worldwide renown for the act of civil disobedience of rowing from Switzerland across Lake Constance to rescue her son from his boarding school in Germany where he faced imminent conscription. She refused to take any credit for this act from the peace movements of the time, instead declaring it was simply an act by one woman concerned about her son, without wider political consequences.⁶⁸ Wolzogen, however, would have regarded such an act as treasonous on its face. Even though Wolzogen himself refuses to connect Robiceck with Reventlow, it is clear that there are great similarities between the character and the real-life historical figure and that there are a number of plausible explanations—from simple confusion caused by the passage of time to political animosity—for Wolzogen’s refusal to link the figures.

Lilly von Robiceck, with her vivacious manner, intelligent artistic sensibility, free sexuality, and her decision to become a single mother, incorporates all of the ideals associated with the hetaera in turn-of-the-century German culture. One must turn to the 1898 collection, *Geschichten der lieben süßen Mädchen*, however, in order to find explicit references to the ideology of the hetaera. *Tinis Ende*, the story Wolzogen claims is about the same woman who inspired Lilly von Robiceck, discusses the hetaera in detail. On her deathbed, Tini, who is certainly as free in doling out her affection for men as Lilly von Robiceck, declares, "If I had lived in classical Athens, I believe that I might have become one of the famous hetaerae."⁶⁹ Although she is speaking in a resolutely heterosexual context, it is interesting that her yearning for the alternative sexual morals of ancient Greece mirrors that of many men who loved men in the nineteenth century, who also imagined they would have had great futures had they only been born in Athens in the fifth century BCE.

The narrator of *Tinis Ende* insists that she represents the rebirth of that ancient tradition: "And for us few modern heathens who search for their bliss on earth in a life full of beauty goodness and free intellectual activity, for us heathens, I say, you really have been a Laïs, Leontion, Aspasia."⁷⁰ For late nineteenth-century Germans, the hetaera stands in not just for sexual and erotic liberation, but also for an entire Grecophilic worldview, which explicitly stands in contrast to the Judeo-Christian one. Just as the emancipated women are linked to Jewishness, this worldview is described as entirely Greek.

The positive depiction of the hetaera found in a variety of Wolzogen's works is thus a product of a number of the cultural developments, including the new enthusiasm for ancient Greece at the end of the nineteenth century, aestheticism, and the rise of anti-Semitism. These developments had an effect on other writers as well, which meant that the hetaera showed up in a number of other writings of the time as well. In 1907, Fritz Wittels, a member of the Wednesday Psychological Society that met at Sigmund Freud's, published psychoanalytically oriented essays in Karl Krauss's *Die Fackel* celebrating the innocent sexual freedom of the hetaera, essays that reappeared in his 1909 collection, *Die sexuelle Not* (Sexual Need).⁷¹ Franz Blei's acclaimed 1907 translation of Lucian's *Conversations of the Hetaerae* was one sign of the turn-of-the-century's new interest in rediscovering the ancient courtesans. Kurt Tucholsky followed up with a humorous version in 1931, set in the bordellos of Berlin.⁷² Hesse's Siddhartha learns from a courtesan, Kamala, who shows him the art of love. In Thomas Mann's *Doktor Faustus*, which was admittedly written much later, but set in a culture clearly informed by turn-of-the-century Germany,

the most important woman in Adrian Leverkühn's life—the woman who probably gives him syphilis and to whom he dedicates his music and who perhaps supports him later on in life as a mysterious benefactress—is a prostitute who is referred to in the novel as “Hetaera Esmerelda.”

The cult of the hetaera in turn-of-the-century Germanic culture was particularly strong precisely among the Munich bohemians parodied in *Das dritte Geschlecht*. Bachoven's *Mutterrecht* inspired the three “Kosmiker”—Karl Wolskehl, Albert Langen, and Ludwig Klages—to glorify the hetaera as the model for modern woman: “If one believed that the original maternal period was the most alive and real, one had to affirm the hetaera and praise the maternal hetaera who gives herself to all and becomes and wants to become a mother outside of marriage.”⁷³ Reventlow herself was often seen as a modern hetaera, although Klages ultimately denied her the title, because she was too independent.⁷⁴ Wolzogen actually puts similar concerns in the mouth of Tini, who would like to have been an ancient Greek hetaera. She admits that she didn't give of herself to all men, but only to those she liked, meaning that she was not as altruistic as one would have expected from a priestess of love.⁷⁵

Later in life, at least, Reventlow had an ironic approach to the cult of the hetaera and paganism among the bohemians of the turn of the century. In her novel, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Herrn Dame*, it is stated that “the girls there took paganism with a grain of salt; it mainly served as an excuse to amuse themselves without inhibitions.”⁷⁶ Her interest in the matter is more than just additional evidence of the era's cult of the hetaera. As the author of “Viragoes or Hetaerae,” she was one of the era's theoreticians on the subject. In addition, because she mentions *Das dritte Geschlecht* by name in that essay, her discussions of the hetaera seem to be very much part of the conversation on the role of women that *Das dritte Geschlecht* tries to move forward.

In “Viragoes or Hetaerae,” originally published in 1899 in Oskar Panizza's *Zürcher Diskussionen*, Reventlow begins her debate about the merits of the two approaches to women's rights with a virulent rejection of anything bourgeois or philistine. Just as Wolzogen has no interest in resurrecting the traditional Christian housewife, Reventlow is adamant that her critique of the women's movement not be seen as a defense of the conventional role of woman in late nineteenth-century Europe. Reventlow sees that outmoded responsibility as consisting of the following elements: “preserving an unblemished reputation and locating a well-situated man.” In the pursuit of these two goals, “any efforts at freedom or joy are oppressed as soon as possible.”⁷⁷ Like Wolzogen, Reventlow considers the bourgeois ideal of womanhood a fraud.

As a further qualification to her critique of the woman's movement, Reventlow gives full support to efforts "to liberate women of the working class from their misery, to create better living conditions and higher salaries for them, to care for children and mothers, especially unmarried ones."⁷⁸ Although Reventlow did not take up proletarian themes in her own novels, she read Social Democratic literature, including authors like August Bebel and Ferdinand Lasalle.⁷⁹

Reventlow finds misguided, however, the initiatives of the women's movement to improve the fate of women in the upper classes. She argues that efforts to create women's schools and open the universities to women miss the important point. In order to reach this conclusion, she—like Weininger—asserts a basic biological difference between men and women, with men having a bodily predisposition to aggression, while women tend toward the passive and the submissive.⁸⁰ When men study, according to Reventlow, their studies are just one aspect among many in their lives; for women, however, studying requires all of their energy, meaning that they cannot have a romantic life or function as a mother.⁸¹ It is here that Reventlow takes Wolzogen to task, chiding him for his unrealistic portrayal of the sensuous, yet academically successful Claire de Fries: "We practically never run into the charming type of the studious lover whom Wolzogen depicts in his Claire de [F]ries in *Das dritte Geschlecht*. In real life, we get to know only overworked, nervous professional women who are alienated from the world and happiness because they cannot unite both in their lives."⁸² Although this is the only explicit reference to *Das dritte Geschlecht* in Reventlow's short essay, the remainder of the piece conforms so well to Wolzogen's novel that it seems certain that the two writings are in dialogue.

While Reventlow finds Claire de Fries an unrealistic solution to the question of the modern woman, she agrees wholeheartedly with Wolzogen's parody of the other emancipated women in the novel. Wolzogen calls them "the third sex," while Reventlow complains about "sexual intermediary forms" (*sexuelle Zwischenformen*) and "the hermaphrodites," which she believes will die out anyway.⁸³ While this sounds alarmingly eliminationist, she insists that she has no intention of "condemning lesbian love in principle." Her "modern heathen viewpoint" is far beyond "the condemnatory position," and she admires lesbianism as "an enriching and gracious vice."⁸⁴

Instead, she applies the vocabulary of sexual intermediary types to emancipated women, who she believes are carrying things too far, to the point of legislating sex out of existence: "We have it on good authority that last year

here in Munich a meeting of viragoes took place where among other issues the question was raised, whether men should be permitted to have sexual pleasures at all. With a bare majority of a single vote the question was answered in the affirmative 'for now,' although with a series of restrictions."⁸⁵ Reventlow mockingly rejects the model of the woman's movement associated with sexual intermediary types and liberal bourgeois aspirations.

Instead, she proposes, much like Wolzogen, a modern paganism that would endorse sexuality, especially in the form of the hetaera: "Perhaps a women's movement of this kind will arise again, which frees woman as a sexual being, teaches her to demand what she is entitled to demand: full sexual freedom, that is, free control over her body." This movement would bring back the hetaera: "Please, no cries of horror! The hetaerae of ancient times were free, highly educated and respected women, who offended no one when they gave their love and their body to whomever they desired, as often as they wanted, and at the same time participated in the intellectual life of the men."⁸⁶ Reventlow considers her plan to be both "more aesthetic" and "more moral" than the current world order, linking aestheticism to this neo-pagan view of the modern woman. Polemics against Christianity, which Reventlow holds responsible not only for the bourgeois marriage, but also modern prostitution in its debased form, naturally accompany this neo-paganism. All of these views accord well with Wolzogen, who pays homage to Reventlov both in the form of the character, Lilly von Robiceck, and with the novel, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, which is dedicated to that character.

Queer Overtones

Wolzogen was one of the many public figures of his day who signed Hirschfeld's petition calling for the repeal of Paragraph 175. A number of his male characters have characteristics that would suggest they fit Hirschfeld's understanding of the sexual intermediary type. The baron, a confidence man who worms his way into Box's life, acknowledges her masculinity when he proposes to her, saying he needs a strong woman because he himself "belongs to the weak sex."⁸⁷ This is reminiscent of Weininger's theory that effeminate men should couple with masculine women, so that each pair would have the requisite amount of masculinity and femininity.

Prince Cloppenburg-Usingen seems queer in a number of ways. Although he does speak in a falsetto, he does not have other gender-inverted

characteristics that would suggest he belongs to the third sex.⁸⁸ It is said nonetheless that he is cold to the charms of the female sex.⁸⁹ Lilly von Robiceck is actually pleased that he is the one man who has never told her he loved her.⁹⁰ Far from gender inverted, though, he is a man's man. His birthday party is an all-male affair, with the exception of Lilly. The world of art that he supports is as masculine as the military world that he leaves behind. He has paid for the education of a young male actor, and sent two male painters to Italy and Paris. While Wolzogen does not make explicit the prince's motivations in supporting his artistically inclined male friends, there is room to wonder why this figure appears in a novel entitled "the third sex." The prince is not, in fact, a member of the third sex, which is gender inverted, but rather a representative of the alternative to the third sex that Wolzogen favors: a man whose attraction to other men is not a product of his inner feminine nature, but rather a result of his virility.

In addition, the prince turns out to be a fan of the poet Stefan George. He pulls out a book printed in the new-fangled art nouveau style, which is none other than a collection of George's poetry. The George poem that the prince reads begins, "Indess deine Mutter dich stillt . . ." (While your mother nurses you . . .) and appears in George's 1897 volume, *Das Jahr der Seele* (The Year of the Soul). About George's poetry, Mosse writes, "Never would homoeroticism and nationality be so plainly linked, stand so starkly exposed to view."⁹¹ While others in the group, such as Rau, reject George's "enigmatic muddling in riddles," the prince is taken with George's poetry.⁹² On the same page that the reader learns the prince has never said "I love you" to the otherwise so irresistible Lilly, the prince reports he has written a declaration of love to Stefan George: "I have written to this man that I love him" (102). The prince's taste for George's poetry, with its homoerotic flavor hidden behind the vocabulary of "enigma" and "riddle," provides more tantalizing suggestions that his sexuality is marked as something other than normal.

George's circle overlapped many times with members of Brand's *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen*, "the Community of the Free." This community was founded in 1903, shortly after the publication of *Das dritte Geschlecht*. In *Das dritte Geschlecht*, the character Arnulf Rau, refers to the *Gemeinde der Eigenen*. Despite Wolzogen's use of the word *Gemeinde*, rather than *Gemeinschaft*, there are connections between his *Gemeinde der Eigenen* and Brand's *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen*. While the historical *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* was founded a little after Wolzogen's novel was published, the term *der Eigene* has a somewhat older provenance. Already in 1896, Brand had published his first volume

of the journal *Der Eigene*. Although it is not clear whether Wolzogen meant to refer to this concept of *der Eigene* in his novel, it is a striking coincidence that the vocabulary would show up in a novel called “the third sex.”

The character Rau uses the vocabulary of *der Eigene* extensively in the novel. The ideals that *der Eigene* stood for included a Nietzschean rejection of the herd and endorsement of an *Übermensch* who created his own morality, including in the sexual realm. Rau unites the categories in an epigram:

Der Eigene erhitzt sich nicht;
 Der Übermensch erschwitzt sich nicht.
 [The Free Man doesn't get hot;
 The Superman doesn't sweat.]⁹³

The banality of this epigram ironizes Rau's philosophy. When the narrator notes that Rau smokes cigars rather than cigarettes because he's *ein Eigener*, he distances himself from the ideals of the “Free,” by making the distinguishing feature of this special group something so banal and trivial as the choice of tobacco products. On the other hand, preferences for or against cigars or cigarettes were certainly understood by sexologists to indicate gender standards, so it would have been expected that effeminate men would prefer cigarettes and masculine men like Rau would smoke cigars. Wolzogen is thus getting the gender distinctions of his era right, while also presenting them as potentially humorous. This nuanced treatment of the material makes it all the more like that *der Eigene* in *Das dritte Geschlecht* alludes playfully to Brand's sense of *der Eigene*.

Moreover, there is a suggestion at the end of the novel that Rau himself is the narrator. Rau claims in any case that he is going to write up the events that have transpired around him as a novel titled *Das dritte Geschlecht*.⁹⁴ If the book is thus meant to be the product of Rau's writing, then the narrator's ironization of *der Eigene* becomes less biting and more of a loving self-critique. Many of Rau's other speeches, including his critiques of the third sex and emancipated women, both convey Wolzogen's opinions and are not seriously challenged in the novel, thus indicating that Rau's basic worldview is endorsed by the novel.

In any case, *der Eigene* appears structurally in the novel in the same way that it was to appear in the nascent homosexual world of the turn of the century: as an opposition to “the third sex.” Whereas the third sex is a kind of intermediary sex, which corresponded to the understanding of Ulrichs,

Krafft-Ebing, Hirschfeld, and the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, *der Eigene* was supposed to be hypervirile and in no way an intermediary sex, corresponding to the understanding of Kupffer, Friedlaender, Brand, and the Community of the Free (die Gemeinschaft der Eigenen). In Wolzogen's novel, the same dynamics apply, with "the third sex" representing the somewhat pathological lesbian characters and *der Eigene* standing out as a masculine Übermensch, allied with the grecophilic and superfeminine hetaera.

It remains unclear whether Wolzogen intended his novel to map the varying conceptualizations of same-sex desire current in fin-de-siècle Germany. There is little evidence in the rest of his oeuvre that he was at all interested in overt expressions of male-male desire. Nonetheless, he uses vocabulary of *das dritte Geschlecht* and *der Eigene* at the same time that such vocabulary emerges to describe opposing understandings of male-male desire. Moreover, he fairly clearly uses "the third sex" to refer in a coded way to lesbians. To top it off, he brings in Stefan George! *Das dritte Geschlecht* is not only about emancipated women, but also about the conflict emerging between what it refers to as "the third sexers" and "the free."

Wolzogen's ability to move into mainstream popular fiction the division between "third sexers" (who are prone to gender inversion, politically progressive, and include among their ranks Jews) and "hetaerae" and "the free" (who represent stable gender structures, are antiliberal in their sensibility, and have a non-Jewish, German nationalist bent) suggests that the worldviews that created such similar divisions among the theorists of male-male desire was quite widely held, which itself implies that the construction of modern sexuality has deep roots in late nineteenth-century German thought.

Chapter 7

Thomas Mann's Erotic Irony: The Dialectics of Sexuality in Venice

In his ferociously illiberal diatribe, *Die Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (The Observations of an Apolitical Man), published in two volumes in 1917/1918, Thomas Mann's definition of conservatism is "the erotic irony of the spirit."¹ This "erotic irony of the spirit" can help readers through one of Mann's most beautiful and difficult texts, *Der Tod in Venedig* (Death in Venice), which was first published in the journal *Die neue Rundschau* in 1912. The short but dense story—now firmly ensconced in the canons of both world literature in general and gay literature in specific—deals with a prominent middle-aged writer, Gustav von Aschenbach, who falls in love with the Polish youth Tadzio, whom he first sees while vacationing in Venice. Aschenbach promotes a Hellenizing, masculinist, antiliberal, antimedical understanding of sexuality. The narrator, however, undercuts Aschenbach's view with liberal presumptions of homosexual identity as a characteristic of a fixed, biological, pathological, and gender-inverted minority. Ultimately, the novella's "erotic irony" moves beyond the split between the antiliberal, antimedical, masculinist perspective and the liberal, sexological, emancipationist belief in sexual identity. It confronts the conflict between these two approaches dialectically by accepting the existence of sexual identity but then arguing that in the modern world this specific homosexual identity has universal relevance and societally structuring power.

The Masculinist Thesis: The Greek Model

Mann's Theories on Male-Male Desire

Thomas Mann (1875–1955) was acutely conscious of the discourses surrounding same-sex desire in his lifetime. Writing from Rome on April 6, 1897, to Otto Grautoff, a childhood friend who became something of a confidant on sexual matters, Mann insists that he observes the world—and the context of the letters indicates that he is referring to same-sex desire—with “neither moralistic nor medicinal, but with artistic eyes.”² Decades later he refines this distinction between the moralistic-medical and the artistic perspective on sexuality. In an important letter about *Der Tod in Venedig* that he wrote on July 4, 1920, to Carl Maria Weber (1890–1953), he distinguishes between the pathological, medicinal, and humanitarian approaches to same-sex desire and the symbolic, spiritual, and cultural viewpoints.³ The moralistic, pathological, medicinal, and humanitarian outlook, which Mann rejects, maps precisely onto the sexological and emancipatory goals of Carl Westphal, Karl Maria Kertbeny, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and Magnus Hirschfeld, to whose Scientific-Humanitarian Committee Mann is almost certainly referring. The artistic, symbolic, spiritual, and cultural angle, which Mann endorses, maps just as well onto the masculinist work of Adolf Brand, Elisar von Kupffer, Benedict Friedlaender and, above all, Hans Blüher.⁴ Mann’s beliefs thus seem to fall in line with the masculinists. Like Friedlaender and Blüher, he is under the sway of Nietzsche and open to the radical individualism, rejection of socially constructed categories, and celebration of a nonhumanistic vision of ancient Greece these antiliberal thinkers propose. Point for point, Mann’s essayistic writings, journal entries, and letters to friends overlap with the antiliberal perspective.

Of all these masculinist authors, only Blüher is represented in the library Mann’s estate presented to his archive in Zürich (with *Die Aristie des Jesus von Nazareth* of 1921). In the letter written about *Der Tod in Venedig* to Weber, on July 4, 1920, Mann discusses his debt to Blüher.⁵ Following Blüher, Mann sees a fundamental contrast in his own life as a family man, who loves wife and children, and his other interest in male society.⁶ Mann, however, departs from Blüher in insisting that as a “family man” he had renounced homosexuality.⁷ The letter to Weber was written shortly after the publication of Blüher’s most important work, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft*, and still within the period in Mann’s life when he saw himself as conservative. Although Mann quickly adjusted to the Weimar Republic and became a spokesperson

for liberal causes, his most explicit support for the antiliberal point of view on homosexuality comes in his essay "Über die Ehe" (On Marriage).⁸ There he directly cites Blüher and fully concurs with his notion that, while the family is a heterosexual institution, society is a male homoerotic one. Homoeroticism is aesthetic, according to this essay, while heterosexuality is prosaic.⁹ In "Über die Ehe," Mann emphasizes more than Blüher the importance of self-overcoming and renouncing the homoerotic sphere to do one's duty in the family sphere, but he adheres to Blüher's basic worldview.¹⁰ Since Mann opposes heterosexuality to Blüher's homosocial male bonding, he has relatively little to say about female homosexuality, like most masculinists.

Despite his belief in the necessity of overcoming male-male desire, Mann is generally positive when he reflects in the letters, diaries, speeches, and essays of the later part of his life on his own homoerotic experiences. Mann associates this love with strength, pride, gratitude, fulfillment, happiness, and humanity. In his letter to Weber, he insists that "in both [heterosexual and homosexual love], everything depends on the individual case, both produce commonness and kitsch and both are capable of the highest."¹¹ Just as he rejects shame, Mann is also hostile to pathologizing medical views of sexuality in his non-fictional works. This may be surprising given the obvious relish with which Mann depicts such illnesses as cholera, typhus, tuberculosis, and syphilis in his writings. However, when in 1897 his friend Grautoff revealed that he was seeing sexologist Albert Moll, Mann wrote that he had never had much respect for Moll's branch of medicine.¹² In both his letters to Grautoff and Weber, Mann insists that he has never viewed sexuality medically or pathologically. *Die Betrachtungen* is filled with vituperative attacks on the medical understanding of human nature, mocking efforts at interpreting politics in terms of sexual pathologies.¹³ He sarcastically notes that literary psychologists always turn to Richard von Krafft-Ebing to find sex at the basis of everything.¹⁴

In his essayistic writings, Mann rejects the idea that male-male desire is the product of gender inversion. In the early thirties, he repeats the claim that male homosexuality, rather than being the product of a female soul in a male body, is in fact a matter of hypermasculinity and belongs in the sphere of warriors and heroes.¹⁵ The military is in particular a site for the homosexuality about which Mann writes. In his essay, "Von deutscher Republik" (On the German Republic), Mann suggests that many of the believers in "this Eros" are militarists. In that essay, Mann discusses "that zone of erotics, in which the law of sexual polarity, which is believed to be universally valid, proves itself deactivated, defective, and in which we see similar with similar in passionate

community: mature masculinity with adoring youth, in which one partner can idolize a dream of himself in the other, or young masculinity with its mirror image."¹⁶ About the adherents of this eros, Mann asserts that "the political attitude of these believers tends to be nationalistic and warrior-like, and it is said that relationships of this sort form the cement of monarchist alliances, indeed that an erotic-political pathos along the lines of certain ancient love-friendships has been the basis for individual terrorist acts of recent days."¹⁷ (These passages do not appear in the translation in the volume, *Order of the Day*.¹⁸)

Once the Nazis took over Germany, Mann links them with homosexuality as well, making fun of the moralistic campaign surrounding *die Nacht der langen Dolche* (the Night of the Long Knives), which was the culmination of the persecution of high-level homosexual officers around Ernst Röhm in the Sturmabteilung (the SA, also known as the Brown Shirts), because—Mann asserts—homosexuality "belonged essentially to the movement, to the warrior spirit, indeed to Germanness."¹⁹ He objects to the Nazi "denial of another of its essential features, homosexuality," on August 5, 1934.²⁰ And in some published memoirs of the time, Mann asserts again that homosexuality is an integral feature of Nazism, because it consists of "hypermanliness," is "militaristic-heroic," and is at home in militaristic nations like Germany. The Germans he calls a "homoerotic folk."²¹ When his son Klaus publishes an essay contesting the identification of homosexuality and fascism,²² Mann's response in his diaries is "problematic."²³

Like Friedlaender and Blüher, Mann links same-sex desire to the German character. Whereas many antiliberal authors such as Blüher had phrased this claim to a particular German affinity for male homosexuality in an anti-Semitic way, Mann's relationship with Jewishness was more complex. His wife Katia came from a prominent Jewish family, yet anti-Semitic asides appear in many of his early writings. In the *Betrachtungen*, Mann clearly regards the Jews as a foreign element in the German body politic, but he attempts to portray the presence of this foreign element positively. Because of the incorporation of the Jews into the German "national body" (*Volkskörper*), according to Mann, the German psyche has become so finely attuned that it hurts to study the products of German intellectuals.²⁴ Mann means this as a compliment. He defends Jews against Dostoyevski's claim that they will betray their homelands, pointing out that the German Jews were patriotic through the bitter end of the First World War.²⁵ Like Blüher, however, he cites approvingly the bonding that goes on between the German soldiers as they utter anti-Semitic

epithets on their way to the front,²⁶ continuing the tradition of associating male bonding with anti-Semitism.²⁷

Writing in his diary from exile on February 2, 1934, by which time Nazi politics had increased his sensitivity to the consequences of anti-Semitic rhetoric, Mann makes an observation that reflects the complicated ways sexuality and nationality are interrelated. He complains, namely, that non-German films do not show enough beefcake: "German films give me something which those of other nationalities scarcely offer: pleasure in youthful bodies, particularly male ones, in their nakedness. This is connected with German 'homosexuality' and is lacking in the attractions of French and also American products: the showing of young male nudity in flattering, indeed loving photographic lighting whenever the opportunity presents itself. . . . The Germans, or the German Jews, who do this are certainly right: there is basically nothing 'more beautiful.'"²⁸ On the one hand, he seems to accept the notion that male homosexuality and an appreciation of the male body are particularly present among Germans; on the other hand, he seems in his final sentence to be including German Jews in the larger category of German culture.

In general, Mann sees his desire for men as expressing itself primarily in terms of the visual. On May 25, 1934, for instance, he sees "with great pleasure and emotion in the garden a young man, dark-haired, a small cap on his head, very pretty, naked above the belt." He reflects that the "enthusiasm" he feels "at the sight of this so cheap, pedestrian and natural 'beauty,' the chest, the swelling biceps" leads him to contemplate "the unreal, illusionary and aesthetic of such an inclination, whose goal, it would seem, remains in looking and 'admiring' and although erotic, does not know of any realization."²⁹ Because such love is not capable of realization, Mann sees homosexual desire as an aesthetic and nonphysical phenomenon. As far as Mann is concerned, male homosexual desire is primarily satisfied through visual observation.³⁰ Typically, Mann also emphasizes eyes in his essay on Michelangelo's poetry, in which he pursues a Platonic interpretation of the effect of the Italian Renaissance artist's sexuality on his works.³¹

The aestheticism of homosexuality explains for Mann its connection to form and formalism. An attractive young man he sees on the coast of California is "extraordinarily pure of form."³² In his 1930 essay on August von Platen, Mann attributes the beauty of that poet's works to his homosexual desire, which he claims expresses itself not physically but formally: "I am convinced that his choice of the poetic forms in which he so wonderfully shone was conditioned by the source of all his ardors and anguishes. Yet not alone out

of caution, not out of fearfulness as Heine thought, but above all because the strictly formal and form-plastic character of the verse forms had an aesthetic affinity with his Eros.”³³ Platen’s “Eros,” “the source of all his ardors and anguishes,” was his sexual interest in men. According to Mann, this male-male desire produces a particular attendance to form.

Mann eschews the progressive political agenda of the proponents of the third sex. As the thrust of his essay on marriage concerns the importance of overcoming one’s homosexual desires and doing one’s duty in heterosexual marriage, he certainly does not call for the legal possibility of homosexual unions. While even the most ardent antiliberals called for the decriminalization of same-sex activity between consenting adults, Mann wavered in his public support for the removal of Paragraph 175. He first signed Hirschfeld’s petition for the repeal of the paragraph, then withdrew his signature.³⁴ Rather than fear, a consciously antiliberal agenda motivated him to remove his endorsement from the petition.

Gustav von Aschenbach’s Illiberal Thoughts on Male-Male Desire

In his public and private writings on homosexuality, Mann generally aligns himself with a masculinist understanding of male-male desire and he attributes many of these antiliberal sentiments in *Der Tod in Venedig* to Gustav von Aschenbach. Aschenbach’s understanding of same-sex desire draws on the classical tradition, relying heavily on a variety of texts by Plato, including *The Phaedrus*, *The Symposium*, and *The Republic*. Aschenbach sees himself as Socrates and implicitly compares Tadzio to Phaedrus. Tadzio reminds him of “Greek sculpture from the noblest era,” specifically the “Spinarrío,” the beautiful youth pulling a thorn out of his foot.³⁵ Tadzio’s youth points in the direction of the pederastic love that masculinist writers find endorsed in writings from antiquity. From the outset, Mann referred to this novella as a story of *Knabenliebe* or the love of boys.³⁶

The novella’s writing incorporates not just classical references, but also metric patterns from Greek poetry. The references to “the Trojan Shepherd,” Ganymede, enraptured by Zeus in an eagle’s form, and Hyacinth, beloved of the two gods Apollo and Zephyr, liken Tadzio to two famous icons from the Greek tradition of homosexuality.³⁷ Because of Mann’s free indirect narrative style, it is unclear whether passages that incorporate Greek poetic metrics or references represent Aschenbach’s consciousness, the narrator’s consciousness, or some combination of both. Dorrit Cohn, who has written the most subtle treatment

of the narration in *Der Tod in Venedig*, concludes that “the Hellenic allusions and the mythical imagery . . . properly belong to Aschenbach’s consciousness.”³⁸ By the end of the novella, the turn to Greece is notably Nietzschean, heavily infused with the spirit of the Dionysian. The orgy scenes in Aschenbach’s dream celebrate the arrival of the “Stranger God”—another name for Dionysus—and present the ancient world not as a place of Winckelmannian serenity and grandeur, but as one of Nietzschean irrationality and sensuality. The culmination of the dream, which features shaggy men and smooth youths, is shockingly explicit: “with foam on their lips, they raged, exciting each other with lewd gestures and wooing hands, laughing and groaning they stabbed their goads into each other and licked the blood from their members.”³⁹

As a masculinist, Aschenbach vehemently rejects medical and psychological approaches to the world. His antipsychological attitude appears most prominently in his narrative, *Ein Elender* (An Abject Man). This story is “the expression of disgust at the indecent psychologization of the era,” meaning that it rejects the era’s increasingly medical and psychiatric approach to the human condition, which the zeitgeist reduces to sexuality.⁴⁰ In this respect, the novella follows the antimedical attitude of most antiliberal authors on sexuality and foreshadows Mann’s rejection of psychology in *Die Betrachtungen*. Aschenbach’s refusal to pay attention to medical advice and leave the cholera-ridden city of Venice further shows his contempt for medicine. Because this cholera parallels his own sexual desires, Aschenbach’s act of ignoring the plague implies a rejection of the medical approach to sexuality.

Nor does Aschenbach believe that gender inversion explains male-male desire. He is adamant that his love for young men is masculine. Aschenbach characterizes his own writing, all about men, as a kind of “manliness.” Tellingly, Aschenbach writes a novel about Frederick the Great, who was frequently cited by masculinist authors as an example of a hypermasculine man who sexually desired other men.⁴¹ Concerned about what his ancestors, with their “decent manliness” would have thought about his “exotic emotional dissipations,” he defensively reflects that his whole project has been “manly.”⁴² Defending his own masculinity against the imaginary reproaches of his forefathers, Aschenbach links “the Eros that controlled him” (homosexual desire) both with his previous life of letters and the military: “Had it [this particular Eros] not been preferred among the bravest nations—yes, was it not said that it had blossomed in their cities because of its bravery? Numerous war heroes of antiquity had willingly borne its yoke.”⁴³ To the very end, Aschenbach insists that men who love men make “respectable warriors.”⁴⁴

Moreover, Aschenbach does not see himself as part of a minority group that needs to build coalitions with other oppressed groups. Recently ennobled, he is part of the establishment, both in Germany and throughout Europe. When he dons his evening clothes, there is no doubt that he is entitled to wear what the narrator dubs “the uniform of civilization.”⁴⁵ He is able to travel at will, with staff taking care of his personal needs at home and abroad. He distinguishes himself from the provincial Austrians who vacation on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea as well as the Italians working in the tourism industry in Venice.

The incorporation of Aschenbach’s texts within the school curriculum demonstrates his centrality to the establishment. Just as Blüher would argue, male-male desire binds together such social institutions as the school system, linking teacher and student together, erotically more than rationally. Early in the novella, the narrator mentions that “ministries of education adopted selections of his works for their textbooks.”⁴⁶ At the end of the novella, the narrator reminds the reader that the lovesick protagonist eating strawberries in a small squalid square of Venice is the great writer “whose style boys were taught to emulate.”⁴⁷ Although the sarcasm shows how far the mighty master has fallen, the presence of his works in the school textbooks provides further evidence for the centrality of male-male desire for societal structures such as education.

Commenting on Allan Bloom’s reading of *Der Tod in Venedig*, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick sees this link between Phaedrus and Tadzio, Aschenbach and Socrates, as indicating that “the history of Western thought is importantly constituted and motivated by a priceless history of male-male pedagogic or pederastic relations.”⁴⁸ Her analysis points to the exclusion of women from the societal (for instance, pedagogical) institutions held together by bonds between men. Misogyny, a part of the antiliberal understanding of homosexuality, plays a role in this novella as well. The “difference in educational perspective, so to speak, shown in the way that the brother and his sisters were clothed and treated” strikes Aschenbach immediately. While Tadzio merits comparison with masterpieces of Greek and Renaissance sculpture, his sisters are “grimly chaste to the point of disfigurement,” wearing clothes “intentionally unbecoming in cut,” with hairstyles that give “them a nunnishly vacant expression.”⁴⁹ Mann’s indirect free narrative style complicates matters, but the narrator seems to be passing on (and perhaps even sharing) Aschenbach’s opinions.

Although part of the establishment, Aschenbach has no interest in using his power for the kind of social hygienic reform Ulrichs or Hirschfeld would

support. His complicity in maintaining the status quo in plague-ridden Venice mirrors his general lack of interest in medical reform and public policy. Instead of regarding sexual identity as a political or medical phenomenon, Aschenbach regards it as visual and aesthetic. At the beginning of the novella, when Aschenbach sees the stranger in the North Cemetery at the English Gardens, the narrator reports: "His desire became sighted." The German is difficult to translate: *Seine Begierde ward sehend*.⁵⁰ This unusual construction, with an archaic preterite of the verb *werden* (to become) and its unconventional use of the participle *sehend* (seeing), makes the sentence stand out, almost Biblically. Since it is clear from Mann's statements in his diaries that he regards same-sex desire as something for the visual realm, the prominence of this sentence underscores it as an important clue, pointing to the visual, aesthetic, and thus for Mann homosexual nature of this desire. Falling under the spell of the Polish youth, Aschenbach becomes "the observer." The German, *der Schauende*, emphasizes this aspect even more strongly.⁵¹ Repeatedly, Aschenbach compares Tadzio to artwork from antiquity and the Renaissance.

This visual relationship becomes mutual quickly, as Tadzio meets Aschenbach's eyes repeatedly. Aschenbach and Tadzio exchange glances as the young Pole is entering the dining room: "For whatever reason he turned around before he crossed the threshold and since no one else was in the room his peculiar twilight gray eyes met Aschenbach's, who, lost in observation with his paper on his knees, stared back at the group."⁵² When Aschenbach is following Tadzio through the canals of Venice, the narrator reports: "In the flickering mists Aschenbach watched as the beautiful youth turned his head, looked for him and saw him."⁵³ There is another example as Tadzio and Aschenbach are listening to the band of street musicians who perform at the hotel: "In the general commotion and distraction, he dared to look over at Tadzio, and as he did this he was privileged to see that the beautiful youth in returning his gaze remained serious."⁵⁴ In fact, there are so many references to the eye as the main organ uniting Tadzio and Aschenbach that the narrator is forced to remark on this visual relationship: "Nothing is queerer, nothing more delicate, than the relation between people who know each other only through their eyes—who meet daily, indeed, hourly, watch each other and yet by some whim or force of convention feel constrained to maintain the appearance of indifferent strangers, silent and without greeting."⁵⁵ The mysterious camera standing alone on the beach "apparently without its master" at the end of the novella can perhaps stand in for the enduring visual nature of this kind of desire.⁵⁶

In this respect, Aschenbach mirrors Mann, who also frequently frames

male-male desire in terms of the visual. In general, Aschenbach puts forth views in his literature and in his thinking that Mann himself espoused. Like most literary European authors of the fin de siècle, he rejects the notion of sexual orientation as an identity that medicine, psychology, or sexology can document. Male-male desire is not gender inverted, but rather hypermasculine. It is not confined to a small, discrete, and peripheral minority, but rather a building block of society, dominant in such cultural institutions as the military and the schools. Rather than regarding male-male desire as the basis for political change in society, Aschenbach opts for the status quo. Instead, he sees same-sex desire as a primarily aesthetic and cultural phenomenon.

The Liberal Antithesis: Homosexual Identity in Mann's Fiction

If anyone would greet Aschenbach's opinions on sexuality enthusiastically, it would be the poet Stefan George (1868–1938), who clearly ascribed to the antiliberal view of male-male sexuality. Yet George condemned the novella for associating male-male love with degeneration and sickness.⁵⁷ George understands that the novella's biological, pathological views of sexuality, rooted in nineteenth-century German liberalism, prove more powerful than Aschenbach's self-deluding beliefs. The narrator, in his capacity as a character with opinions and thoughts, frequently takes for granted a liberal view of sexuality as a matter of sickness, gender inversion, and identity. Notably, male-male desire does not seem to be something that can befall any man, as the masculinists would claim, but rather is at home in a specific homosexual subculture. By the end of the novella, even Aschenbach himself comes to accept at least some of these liberal assumptions.

Sexually Suspect Men in Der Tod in Venedig

In *Der Tod in Venedig*, the authorial narrator creates a coherent argument about sexual identity around a series of sexually suspicious men. Foreign, as though they belonged to a different and identifiable race, they are all strangers, up to and including the "Stranger God," Dionysus, who arrives from the East in Aschenbach's final orgiastic dream. Thomas Mann bedecks these characters with a series of shared characteristics. Distinctive features, such as snub noses and large Adam's apples, mark their bodies. They have yellowish, slightly sickly, skin, linking them to medical discourses of the time. Some of them are

effeminate, suggesting gender inversion. Others are overly formalistic, reminiscent of Mann's analysis of Platen. They seem to signal their membership in this group with a number of fashion markers—rakishly tilted and colorfully beribboned straw hats, red ties and sailor's outfits, for instance. These characters are arguably more than just "other"—enough of the characteristics of this group overlap with the realia of early twentieth-century homosexual subculture that Anthony Heilbut can call the novella, "a virtual Baedekker's guide to homosexual love."⁵⁸ Ultimately, Aschenbach comes to recognize himself as one these implicitly homosexual men.

Aschenbach meets his first suspicious stranger at the beginning of *Tod in Venedig*, in the North Cemetery, abutting Munich's English Garden. Given Munich's liberal reputation in matters of sexuality in the nineteenth century and given that the park has been a meeting place for men interested in sexual contacts with other men from shortly after its construction in the late eighteenth century to the present day, there is clearly the potential that this man is a member of the third sex. This man's milky, freckled skin, slight (if tall) build, and lack of beard suggest to at least one critic, "youthful innocence, yet with homosexual implications."⁵⁹ His "yellowish" clothing, his broad hat, his small upturned nose, reddish eyebrows, and large Adam's apple are all part of the network of signifiers that link this man to the other sexually suspect men Aschenbach meets on his journey.⁶⁰ Most saliently, this man makes "a foreign impression, as though he had come from afar."⁶¹ This particular man is also noteworthy because his aggressive eye contact acts as a kind of sexual overture, an early documentation of the practice of "cruising," by which homosexual men proposition each other through eye contact in public spaces. Realizing that his gaze "had very likely been so inquisitive that it was disrespectful," Aschenbach "suddenly became aware that the stranger was returning it, and indeed so combatively, so directly in the eye, so clearly intending to push the matter to the extreme."⁶²

Following his encounter with the man in the cemetery, a series of similarly sexually suspicious men accompany Aschenbach's journey. One of the first is the salesman who sells him the ticket to Venice. The salesman wears his hat at an angle and has yellowish fingers, connecting him to the other male outsiders. His dramatic flair echoes other stereotypes of homosexual men. He also speaks with "empty phrases," echoing unflatteringly Aschenbach's protagonists, who—like Platen—rely on a highly formal textual style to confront their homosexuality.⁶³ Although his written production consists of writing out bills and receipts, the salesman is a parody of the single male author who purchases a ticket from him.

The next man on the way to Venice who suggests homosexuality is the fop who wears cosmetics in pretense of youth. He is bedecked with colorful ribbons.⁶⁴ The fop's clothing is not the only morally suspect aspect of his persona. Quickly Aschenbach notes that his crimson cheeks are made-up, his hair and his yellowish teeth are false.⁶⁵ His unpleasant behavior has explicit sexual overtones: "in a disgustingly suggestive way, he licked the corners of his mouth with the tip of his tongue."⁶⁶ On departing the ship, he sends his compliments to Aschenbach's "beloved," using a suspiciously neuter noun in the German original: *Liebchen*.⁶⁷ He thereby implies that Aschenbach belongs to his sexually deviant group, which horrifies the distinguished writer.

Before he reaches his destination, Aschenbach has an encounter with another sexually dangerous man, the gondolier. His "blue seamen's clothes," his "yellow sash," his "straw hat tilted rakishly on his head," his "short up-turned nose," and his "reddish eyebrows" connect him to the other potentially homosexual characters.⁶⁸ Roughly but perversely pleurably, the gondolier takes control of Aschenbach's life: "It was the cleverest to let things take their course, and above all it was highly pleasant."⁶⁹ Psychoanalysis has seen a wish for "a homosexual union"⁷⁰ in the physical pleasure that Aschenbach takes as the gondolier "with great energy put his whole body in every stroke of his oar."⁷¹ Aschenbach's apparent enjoyment at being "softly rocked by the powerful gondolier stroking his oar behind him" suggests a desire to be the passive recipient of the man's sexual attention.⁷² The anxiety that he may have fallen into the hands of a criminal reflects the "false dangerous life" of Aschenbach's heroes, the "born swindlers."⁷³ In addition, there is a hint that the man is going to extract money from him, as though he were a blackmailer: It occurs to Aschenbach that he might have "fallen into the hands of a criminal" whose real goal is "extorting money from him."⁷⁴ The implication of blackmail is strengthened in Aschenbach's desire to pay the gondolier once he has finally landed. Like any blackmailer, the gondolier flees when he sees the police. He is "a bad man, a man without license . . . the only gondolier who has no license."⁷⁵

Even Tadzio seems to move in the orbit of these sexual outcasts. From the beginning, Aschenbach wonders whether Tadzio is "suffering from an illness."⁷⁶ The word Mann uses is *leidend*, bringing together the semantic complexities of *leiden* (to suffer) and *Leidenschaft* (passion) in a way that points directly to sexuality. Aschenbach subsequently reassures himself repeatedly that Tadzio is sickly, suggesting that his situation requires medical attention. Tadzio's Polish birth makes him a foreigner, both in Venice and with respect to Aschenbach. A delicate, pampered Mama's boy, he is not as masculine as his

friend Jaschu, indicating that a certain amount of gender inversion is at play. He engages in the same kind of silent eye communication that the stranger in the cemetery pursues with Aschenbach. He wears a sailor's suit and later appears in a sailor's overcoat. Tadzio possesses all the characteristics that identify the potentially homosexual men in *Der Tod in Venedig*.

The network of leitmotifs unifying the sexually suspect men reflects the lives of homosexual men at the turn of the century in Europe. Tadzio's sickness points to the general sexological pathologization of same-sex desire. The foreignness of these characters references the fact that homosexuality is often viewed as a vice that comes from other cultures; in any case, the homosexual is one of the paradigmatic "outsiders," as the literary critic Hans Mayer has noted. Something as seemingly minor as the red tie that the fop and Aschenbach both wear is significant because ties of that color were something of a marker for male homosexuality from the turn of the century well into the 1920s. One historian of sexuality reports that male prostitutes also often wore such ties.⁷⁷ In Bierbaum's 1906/1907 novel *Prinz Kuckuck*, the character Karl sports a bright red tie once he discovers what his orientation is.⁷⁸ Wyndham Lewis, who visited Berlin in the 1930s, indicated that the red tie was the invert's bourgeois badge of sexual revolt.⁷⁹ Similar comments could be made about the importance of sailor's outfits to the homosexual subculture.

The allusions to blackmail in the episode with the rogue gondolier would have resonated in homosexual circles in early twentieth-century Germany, who were constantly endangered by blackmail. Hirschfeld reported that 3,000 of the 10,000 homosexuals he interviewed had been blackmailed.⁸⁰ Moreover, one of the first German cinematic treatments of homosexuality, a 1918 film called *Anders als die Anderen* (Different from the Others), empathetically depicts the plight of the blackmailed homosexual.⁸¹ Other characteristics of these men, too, fit well with historical accounts of homosexuals at the turn of the century, including the penchant for theatricality and use of cruising to solicit sex in public parks. Thus these men are more than just queer in the sense of odd or different, but actually reference homosexual subculture in turn-of-the-century Europe.

Gustav von Aschenbach as a Homosexual

Aschenbach begins the novella as a solid member of the European intellectual establishment. Even when he finds himself sexually attracted to men such as the stranger in the cemetery, he feels secure in the centrality of his position in

the world. Completely in the tradition of Friedlaender and Blüher (and Mann himself), he can take comfort in the fact that he has been married—in his case, to “a girl from a scholarly family.”⁸² His only child, a daughter, is now married. But neither his dead wife nor his married daughter plays a role in his emotional life any more. Instead, his attraction to the masculine increases as the story progresses: Aschenbach discovers that he belongs to the group of sexually deviant men. As Foucault argues in *Histoire de la sexualité*, the modern conception of sexual identity presupposes, among other characteristics, a principle of latency: even if someone does not act on his or her sexual desires, even if someone does not know what the desires are, these desires still point to a *latent* sexual orientation.⁸³ This principle of latency functions strongly throughout Aschenbach’s story in *Der Tod in Venedig*.

The novella suggests that, even if Aschenbach does not fully understand his desire, his decision to go for a walk in Munich’s English Garden could have to do with its reputation as a place to solicit male-male sex, especially since he prefers to search out those “quieter and quieter paths” where casual passers-by are not so likely to interrupt clandestine couplings.⁸⁴ The description of Aschenbach’s reaction to his meeting with the stranger underscores the narrative claim to a latent sexual desire on Aschenbach’s part. The stranger disappears, but he has a lasting effect on the writer’s imagination, “some physical or psychological influence” on him. Vaguely and surprisingly, Aschenbach becomes aware of a “strange expansion of his inner life,” “a sort of rambling excitement, a youthful thirsting desire,” “a feeling, so lively, so new, or at least so long outgrown and forgotten,” all of which refer to a long-repressed homosexual desire.⁸⁵

The narrator, perhaps transmitting Aschenbach’s defensive thoughts, interrupts by calling this desire “a longing to travel, no more,” albeit a “passionate” one.⁸⁶ The narrator’s vocabulary, however, reveals that this traveling has a sexual nature. He refers to travel as *Weltverkehr*, which literally means “world traffic,” with the added connotation of *Verkehr* as (sexual) intercourse. Several crucial sentences from later in the novella reinforce the sexual nature of *Verkehr*: “Strangely productive traffic/intercourse [*Verkehr*] of the spirit with a body!”⁸⁷ “The hideously brisk traffic [*Verkehr*]” between the hospital and the cemetery is mentioned in the same paragraph that concludes with the reference to wild prostitution: “Professional vice was rampant, displaying excesses heretofore unknown and only at home much further south and east.”⁸⁸ Moreover, Aschenbach views this erotically tinged traffic as a “hygienic measure,”⁸⁹ placing it in the same medical discourses that engulfed sexual intercourse in the late nineteenth century.

The physical and emotional desire associated with Aschenbach's "longing for travel" becomes apparent in the vision provoked by the stranger, a vision of a tropical swamp with "rank" ferns and hairy and misshapen trunks of palms and mangroves. The German word translated as "rank" is *geil*, which also means "lewd" when referring to people. In Aschenbach's frightening last vision the word appears in its other meaning, when the shaggy men and smooth youths drive each mad with "with lewd gestures" (*mit geilen Gebärden*). The fact that the vision in the cemetery makes Aschenbach's heart pound with "terror and enigmatic desire" further points to its erotic origins.⁹⁰ The phallic nature of the hairy and misshapen tree trunks suggests that this sexual desire is concentrated on men.⁹¹ The "queer birds," with their curious phallic bills, possibly refer to homosexual men, seen as odd eccentrics.⁹² This tropical swamp is identical with the swamp that is later identified as the source of the cholera affecting Venice, strengthening the association between disease and desire in the novella.

Having intimated that a deeply rooted homosexual desire is nestled in Aschenbach's soul, the novella moves on to his literary works. Strongly corroborating the thesis that Aschenbach has repressed homosexual desire for the sake of his writing, all his works contain a return of the repressed in powerful allusions to homosexuality. His protagonists are all Sebastian figures, representing "intellectual and boyish masculinity, which in proud modesty clenches its teeth and calmly stands while swords pierce its body."⁹³ The erotically charged references to Sebastian have a homosexual subtext, for aestheticized and eroticized images of the penetrated saint, said to have been a beloved of Diocletian before turning to Christianity, have been popular for generations with men who are sexually attracted to other men.⁹⁴

The specifics of Aschenbach's works—all of which mirror projects Mann himself was interested in taking on—overflow with homosexual implications. The novel, *Maia*, is named after a concept from Schopenhauer, the misogynist old bachelor who provided an early formulation for the role of pederasty in nature. (Mann quotes Schopenhauer's speculations in his essay, "Von deutscher Republik," though they are omitted in the English translation.) Another work is Aschenbach's "passionate treatise *Intellect and Art*," which is comparable to "Schiller's reasonings *On Naïve and Reflective Literature*,"⁹⁵ bringing to mind Mann's appropriation of Schiller as homoerotic. Tonio Kröger, for instance, uses Schiller's *Don Carlos* as a homoerotic love offering to Hans Hansen.⁹⁶

The title of the next publication by Aschenbach the narrative mentions, *Ein Elender*, comes from an ancient German word meaning "in a strange land"

or “banned,”⁹⁷ linking its main character to all the strangers in this novella, like the man in the cemetery, who are foreigners and homosexually tinged. The word *Elend* (abject, miserable) comes up in Mann’s letters to Grautoff as a possible (although not desirable) reaction to homosexuality.⁹⁸ In the novella, it is said that *Ein Elender* offers a successful “moral decisiveness after the deepest insights.”⁹⁹ As previously mentioned, Aschenbach uses the novel to attack sexologists, psychoanalysts, and others with an indecently psychological approach to life.

The text written by Aschenbach referred to first, last, and most frequently in the second section of *Tod in Venedig*, however, is his prose epic on the life of Frederick the Great, an epic that above all concerns “perseverance.”¹⁰⁰ What made perseverance so difficult for the great Prussian monarch was his sexual interest in other men—Mann knew the rumors of homosexuality surrounding Frederick. These rumors originated in part in the “flashing rejoinders between Frederick and Voltaire,” when the French philosopher denounced the Prussian king as a sodomite.¹⁰¹ Mann himself alludes to these stories in his notes made around 1906 in preparation for a novel about Frederick. Because Mann’s first references to this subject appear late in his notes, Böhm assumes that Mann learned of the king’s alleged same-sex desires after he began the project and perhaps even gave it up on account of his own difficulties with that subject.¹⁰² Mann’s awareness of this male-male sexual desire explains his decision to hand this project off to his character Aschenbach.

All Aschenbach’s protagonists thus exhibit the “heroism of weakness,” a weakness circling around sexuality.¹⁰³ His heroes are passive, not heterosexually active. Like Oscar Wilde’s Dorian Grey, another figure quickly recognized by homosexual readers as a role model, they demonstrate “elegant self-control that hides from the eyes of the world its biological decay and internal disintegration until the last possible moment.”¹⁰⁴ The biological decay clearly points to a bodily disorder made specific in that “yellowish sensually disadvantaged ugliness.” “Yellow” is memorably one of the characteristic colors of the potentially homosexual men in the novella. Unable to express itself sensually, this ugliness must hide itself always, producing “the false dangerous life . . . of the born swindler,” similar to the closeted secrecy of the homosexual at the turn of the century. This secrecy, however, simultaneously produces the self-control that results in the “pleasant attitude in the empty and stark service of form,” clearly related to the formalism Mann associates with the poet Platen’s homosexuality.

Having established the presence of homosexuality in his literary works,

the narrator returns to Aschenbach's wanderlust in the third section of the novella. Aschenbach wants the "queer"—the "fabulously deviant"¹⁰⁵ and he wants it "overnight,"¹⁰⁶ stressing the nightly realm in which sexuality is at home. For Germans of Mann's era, the place to find such queer deviancy was Italy, at least since the eighteenth century when Goethe made his erotic discoveries there and Winckelmann moved there to lead a sexually freer life.¹⁰⁷ In particular, Venice had become by the late nineteenth century a vacation center for homosexuals with means.¹⁰⁸ Mann himself already plays on this topos in an 1896 story, *Enttäuschung* (Disappointment), which describes a conversation between two solitary men in the Piazza San Marco of Venice that can easily be read as a meeting between two upper-class homosexuals.¹⁰⁹ Given this background, Aschenbach's desire to visit Venice is a logical extension of his sexuality as exhibited both by his reaction to the man in the cemetery and his writing.

In this second level of analysis, Aschenbach's love of Tadzio is not the kind of appreciation for beautiful male youth that might befall any man, as the masculinists would have it, but the obvious consequence of his specific sexual identity—an identity that is latent in him, that reveals itself in his writings, and that finally explodes when he is confronted by another homosexual man in a sexually tense situation. Aschenbach discovers that he too is the kind of male who falls in love with other males. It is instructive here to compare Aschenbach at the end of his life with the old fop on the ferry to Venice who so disgusts him when he first arrives. At the end the two men share a host of traits: both have crimson makeup on their cheeks, both have artificially young-looking hair, both wear straw hats with colorful ribbons, both wear red ties.¹¹⁰ Aschenbach is now that man. His initial delusions that he is normal in terms of sexuality and gender are shattered by the end of the novella. Instead, the leitmotifs indicate Aschenbach is one of the homosexuals in *Der Tod in Venedig*.

Sexual Identity in Tod in Venedig

In contrast to Aschenbach's (and Mann's) antiliberal view of sexuality, the authorial narrator of the novella, *Der Tod in Venedig*, presents a vision of sexuality that devastatingly rejects the masculinist attitude toward male-male desire. Fully in accord with liberal emancipationist and sexological structures, this "second author" argues that male-male desire is the product of gender inversion and a biological phenomenon.¹¹¹ For him, sexual identity is analogous to

a disease or a racial category. Because this particular sexual identity is shameful, it needs to be hidden or closeted, revealed only by a series of hints and clues that make sense only to those initiated into a homosexual subculture. In sum, the narrative explicitly rejects the Greek vision of male-male intercourse, even to the point of declaring that such love is bad for the male youth. Although Aschenbach speaks the language of a masculinist vision of male-male desire, the portrayal of that desire in *Der Tod in Venedig* is formed by the late nineteenth-century understanding of sexuality emerging out of liberal medicine, political activism, and the *Zeitgeist* of realism and naturalism.

To begin with, Aschenbach's desire is clearly linked with disease. In *Der Tod in Venedig*, his erotic interest for Tadzio appears simultaneously with the arrival of cholera. The city's relationship to the plague is identical with Aschenbach's relationship to his desire, in that neither he nor the city wants to eliminate the source of the problems: "Thus Aschenbach felt an obscure sense of satisfaction at what was going on in the dirty alleyways of Venice, cloaked in official secrecy—this guilty secret of the city, which merged with his own innermost secret and which it was also so much in his own interests to protect."¹¹² Ultimately, the disease that parallels Aschenbach's sexual desire kills him and puts his beloved at risk.

When Aschenbach identifies the cholera epidemic that is the city's evil secret with the pederastic desire that is his own secret, he develops a rhetorical strategy: "It's supposed to be secret!" he whispered violently. "I will keep it secret!" The consciousness of his complicit knowledge intoxicated him as small quantities of wine intoxicate a tired brain."¹¹³ Cholera and the male author's homosexual desire thus have the formal effect of encouraging secrecy, covering tracks, closeting sexuality. Both sickness and the artist's desire produce the basic narrative of secrets hidden and disclosed. Thus, anything productive about male-male desire comes not from the elevated sources that Socrates discusses in the *Symposium* or the *Phaedrus*, but rather from a desire to hide and conceal a disease.

This medical approach to sexuality is related to the notion that same-sex desire is connected to some sort of gender inversion that can be noted on the body. Ultimately Aschenbach must concede that—manly as his art and his Eros are—he is nonetheless effeminate. In his final speech, Aschenbach tells Phaedrus/Tadzio that "we are like women, for we exult in passion, and love is still our desire—our craving and our shame."¹¹⁴ As he falls entirely victim to his disease, he gives up his pretense of manliness. The narrator's late-nineteenth-century view of homosexuality based on gender inversion, with its roots in liberal medicine, outlasts Aschenbach's antiliberal, post-Nietzschean view.¹¹⁵

The biological approach to sexuality, which frequently views same-sex desire as pathological, also tends to regard sexual orientation as analogous to a fixed racial identity. *Der Tod in Venedig* often hints that this sexual identity is somehow related to questions of race. The potentially homosexual men in the novel are identified as foreigners wherever they are found: the man in the cemetery in Munich is not from Bavaria, the rogue gondolier is not from Venice, the entertainer at the end of the novella is not from northern Italy. As much as Aschenbach likes to identify with the establishment of his own world, he too is the product of mixed blood. While he hopes to live up to the heritage of his Prussian father, he still has the legacy of his Bohemian maternal line. In general, the novella's extended discussion of the connections between sexual desire and wanderlust reinforces the racializing tendencies of late nineteenth-century approaches to sexuality by physically locating same-sex desire on the periphery. The disease that stands in for male-male desire in *Der Tod in Venedig* is specifically labeled "Indian cholera" and originates in tiger-infested bamboo swamps far from Europe.¹¹⁶

The novella even seems to reject explicitly classically grounded approaches to male-male desire, particularly Plato's *Phaedrus*. Aschenbach's two speeches addressed to Tadzio as Phaedrus reverse the arguments Plato presents on love. In Plato's *Phaedrus*, Socrates argues first against and then for love. Initially he demonstrates his rhetorical prowess by "proving" that lovers want to keep their beloveds subordinate, for which reasons, beloveds should cynically choose "non-lovers," who just want to enjoy them sexually and are willing to make it worth their while. Socrates then recants and argues that lovers truly want the best for their beloveds, which is why a beloved should always choose a lover over a "non-lover," even if the jaded "non-lover" can offer more.¹¹⁷ Aschenbach, however, first speaks in an idealistic way about love as a desire for beauty that can be a means of reaching the divine and the spiritual, emulating Socrates' final defense of love.¹¹⁸ In his second speech, Aschenbach condemns the poetic attraction to beauty as inherently unable to transcend the corporeal, essentially taking the position that Socrates had first issued.¹¹⁹ While Socrates becomes more idealistic about love in the *Phaedrus*, Aschenbach becomes less so in *Der Tod in Venedig*. The narration presents Aschenbach's arguments in a way that rejects the Grecophilic understanding of male-male desire.

Even though Aschenbach's first speech is a typical Hellenizing, masculinist defense of male-male love as beautiful, it also reveals at the end a powerful critique of the Platonic model, when it points out how self-serving that model's arguments are: "And then the cunning lover said the subtlest thing of all: that

the lover was nearer the divine than the beloved for the god was in the one but not in the other—perhaps the tenderest, most mocking thought that ever was thought, from which all the cunning and secret bliss of desire flows.”¹²⁰ This claim that the lover is closer to the divine than the beloved suggests is, according to the narrator, by the standards Socrates himself sets, closer to cynical sexual objectification than those who believe in an entirely innocent Platonic Eros can admit. By the end of Aschenbach’s first speech, the notion of a Platonic love that moves from the carnal to the spiritual begins to unravel in a way that prepares for his subsequent self-identification with Zephyr, the lover who kills Hyacinth out of jealous possessiveness. When Aschenbach refuses to tell Tadzio’s family about the cholera epidemic, he strengthens the argument that he is a destructive lover, like one of the “non-lovers” from the first speeches of *Phaedrus*, who do not look out for their beloved’s best interest and are therefore ultimately rejected by Socrates. Aschenbach’s reversal of Plato’s hopes for a desire that leads to art and his declaration that art remains stranded in lust explains why Stefan George was angered by the way *Der Tod in Venedig* dragged “the highest” down into the mud.

In a further rejection of the classical model, male-male desire in *Der Tod in Venedig* leads astray and does not produce role models for youth. At the end of the novella, Aschenbach follows the Plato of the *Republic* to denounce the role of the artist in society, declaring: “to teach youth, or the populace, by means of art is a dangerous practice and ought to be forbidden.”¹²¹ No longer does Aschenbach, the sexually suspect artist with an intermediary gender, have a privileged relationship to youth. Instead, he is dangerous, in Tadzio’s case specifically neglecting his well-being and putting him in mortal danger.

Thus, by the end of the novella, the reader is left to believe that, contrary to Aschenbach’s deluded belief that his love for Tadzio contributes positively to the construction of masculine society, in fact, the love for the youth is pathological and feminizing, identifies him as a member of a marginal group in society, and exerts a bad influence on the object of his desire. The novella rejects the Greek model of male-male desire with a thoroughgoing critique. The authorial narrator Mann has inserted between himself and his readers differs from Mann partly in his acceptance of the notion of sexual identity as a biological feature analogous to disease. People with this sexual identity belong to a specific group of men who—in *Der Tod in Venedig* more than in other short fiction by Mann—exhibit features that indicate they belong to the homosexual subculture of the time. Although Aschenbach initially distances

himself from these characters, in fact, his latent homosexual identity eventually inevitably emerges and forces him to acknowledge who he “really” is.

Conservative Synthesis: Erotic Irony

Yet this answer, too, is inadequate to the text. In his July 4, 1920, letter to Weber about *Tod in Venedig*, Mann disavows the medical understanding of same-sex desire as a sickness, claiming the era's naturalistic mindset “forced” him to regard Aschenbach's situation in a “pathological” light.¹²² Everything Mann wrote about male-male desire in his essays, diaries, and other nonfiction contradicts the idea that people have clear-cut sexual identities that are inborn, biologically determined, and characterized by gender inversion. It is indeed an example of charming modesty that Mann ironizes his own positions so heavily by attributing them to Aschenbach, who succumbs to cholera and his own inappropriate desires. However, it is unlikely that Mann really means to denounce his own positions as thoroughly as this second, modern, liberal reading implies. Instead, we need to look beyond the interpretation that seems to emerge from the narrator's narrative. Ultimately the novella knows more than its narrator. It synthesizes Aschenbach's antiliberal, masculinist critique of identity and the authorial narrator's liberal understanding of the third sex as a minority. That is to say, *Der Tod in Venedig* moves beyond what Mann identifies in his letter to Weber as the split between the psychological-medical-humanitarian approach to sexuality and the symbolic-spiritual-cultural approach. This resolution consists in the suggestion that the era's culture glorifies—perhaps even produces—this identity, even as it denigrates it. Moreover, Aschenbach's identity, as minoritized as it might be, turns out to be typical for identity in the modern era. And the novella leaves tell-tale traces that his desire, as pathological as it might be, produces art that is central to our society. The novella manages all this with the kind of (erotic) irony for which Mann remains famous.

In *Der Tod in Venedig*, Mann transcends the division between the liberal sexological-emancipatory (what he calls the pathological-medical-humanitarian), which the narrator's narrative seemingly endorses, and the antiliberal masculinist (what he calls the symbolic-spiritual-cultural) views of male-male desire, which Aschenbach incorporates. Although Aschenbach may in the end learn he has a specific sexual identity (contrary to his own belief in a

Greek ideal of masculinity), it turns out that that sexual identity is the product of Western culture, typical for Western culture, and produces art that is central to Western society. Even if Aschenbach is disgraced at the end of the novella, he maintains a centrality that cannot be denied. Indeed, that centrality may be a product of his disgrace.

Despite the narrative's constant efforts to analogize Aschenbach's desire with a foreign sickness, something both biological and external, there are clues that his feelings are a product of his own culture. When Aschenbach sees Tadzio, his vision of the youth activates the repository of Western thought going back to this ancient Greek culture: "His mind spiraled, its store of culture simmered, his memory threw up thoughts from ancient tradition that he had learned as a boy but which had never yet come alive in his own fire."¹²³ A strong reading of this passage suggests that Aschenbach might never have been receptive to Tadzio's beauty had not his cultural tradition made his brain a fertile bed for such beautiful inseminations. Nor is it exclusively the ancient Greek tradition that has prepared him for this love. On the way to Venice, for instance, Platen's poetry puts Aschenbach in the mood for an erotic encounter: "He thought of the melancholic-enthusiastic poet for whom previously these waves had inspired the cupolas and bell towers of his dreams. He quietly repeated some of the reverence, joy and sadness that had been transformed into measured verse. Effortlessly moved by this previously constructed feeling, he asked his grave and weary heart whether new inspiration and confusion, a late adventure of the heart might still be in store for the leisure traveler."¹²⁴ Platen, the male poet who loved men and who also died of cholera, establishes another precedent for Aschenbach's emotional development. Society and its cultural institutions, such as the classically grounded educational system and Europe's modern literary heritage, have all preordained that Tadzio has to be a boy: Aschenbach's "own self and the collective European psyche"¹²⁵ point him *and everyone else* in the direction of loving male youth. The novella, therefore, does not in the end endorse the idea that Aschenbach's love comes, like the Indian cholera, from the exotic miasmas of the East. Instead, it is also a product of the West.

The novella consistently emphasizes the widespread popularity of Aschenbach's works. An entire culture responds so positively to his writings because the desire that goes hand in hand with these writings is at the center of that culture: "For a significant intellectual work to have a broad and deep effect, there must be a profound affinity, indeed, a congruence between the personal fate of its author and the general destiny of his generation."¹²⁶ The narrator

recognizes this historic pattern when he asks, concerning the protagonists of Aschenbach's writings, "what other heroism could be more in keeping with the times?"¹²⁷ Aschenbach's readers see themselves in his homosexual writings: "And they all recognized themselves in his work, they found themselves confirmed, exalted and celebrated in song . . . they were grateful, they heralded his fame."¹²⁸ While homosexual readers may well have also seen themselves in Aschenbach's texts, the narration is quite clear that everyone is able to access this writing as well.

At least some of the shared "destiny" that constitutes the "congruence" between author and reader in *Der Tod in Venedig* is a basic pattern of adulation of masculinity at the foundation of patriarchal society. The masculinist center of the culture that produces Aschenbach, his desires and his writing, ensures the success of that desire and that writing. Mann's novella provides support, not only for Blüher's belief in "male society," but also for Luce Irigaray's critique of the "hom(m)osexuality" that she argues keeps patriarchy together. When Jane Gallop expresses a certain distrust of male homosexuals, "because they choose men over women, just as do our social and political institutions," she could look to *Der Tod in Venedig* for evidence of the interconnections between male-male desire and patriarchy.¹²⁹

The novella does more than expose society's masculinist bent, however. It also suggests that the male homosexual might have specific significance for the broader public, because he is, in Matti Bunzl's word, "a symptom of modernity," a prototypically modern figure, a product of society and its discourses, be they medical, legal, racial, nationalist, colonialist, or gendered. Aschenbach's vulnerable and weak characters are so appealing to his world precisely because they "stand in spite of all, in spite of grief and anguish, poverty, abandonment, physical weakness, vice, passion and a thousand hindrances."¹³⁰ Mann's dialectical conclusion seems to be: we are not the Greek heroes in the sexual realm that Blüher imagines us to be; moreover, we are indeed constrained to the sexual identities that Hirschfeld analyzes and that Friedlaender would call "stunted"; but because everyone in modern society is constrained by impersonal discourses, these "stunted" figures do indeed have universal resonance. Once again, a version of the masculinist thesis returns: if it's not the case that male-male desire permeates all of society, it is the case that society looks to the homosexual as its prototypical member.

It is no surprise, then, that the narrator and the entire cultured world truly admire "that page and a half of choicest prose" Aschenbach writes on the beach while watching Tadzio.¹³¹ In the criticism, a tradition has arisen that the

essay concerns Wagner, whose presence in Mann's works often signals unconventional and forbidden eroticism. With Wagner as its subject and Tadzio as its inspiration, the piece is clearly a product of Aschenbach's Venetian sexual experiences.

On one level, this passage documents that there is some truth to the classic Hellenizing belief that male-male love can produce great artwork. As the narrator exclaims, "Strange hours! Strangely enervating effort! Strangely productive [*zeugend*] traffic of the spirit with a body!"¹³² *Zeugend* is the gerund of *zeugen*, "to beget," which makes the sexual nature of this (re)-productive traffic or intercourse quite clear. Observing Tadzio, Aschenbach compares him to a statue and glides effortlessly into thought of his own writing as sculpture. The form of the youth's body is compared to the "slender form" of Aschenbach's writing. Soon Aschenbach decides that "his style should follow the lines of this body."¹³³

The narrator muses that people wouldn't want to know the origins of this work: "It is certainly good that the world knows only the beautiful work, not its origins, not the conditions of its creation; for the knowledge of the springs from which the artist's inspiration flowed would often confuse and frighten and thus prevent the full effect of its excellence."¹³⁴ Here, the narrator seems to contradict his earlier claim that the audience of a work ultimately reacts at least unconsciously to the overlap between its own situation and that of the author. Attempting to unify both of the narrator's remarks, one could argue with the masculinists that audiences react positively to Aschenbach's writings because both they and he erotically desire male youth, whether they know it or not.

Even if this passage rehabilitates some of the Greek model, however, enough of the liberal critique of the Hellenizing model remains in force that it is clear that the novella does not fully endorse masculinists such as Kupffer or Blüher. *Der Tod in Venedig* accepts the masculinist, Grecophilic belief that Aschenbach's love is culturally productive, but also affirms the liberal position that this love is specific to a particular type of person with a specific homosexual identity. It resolves the conflict between the two positions by arguing that the homosexual is a prototypically modern entity, buffeted by social and political forces that restrict him to a specific, less than Greek, identity. All moderns can identify with the fragmentary existence of the homosexual artist.

An illustration of this effect appears at the end of the novella, when a visiting troupe entertains the nearly depleted hotel society. The guitar-playing leader of this group is the last of the seemingly homosexual men to confront Aschenbach. The leitmotifs are all there: not from Venice, he has red hair, a

large Adam's apple, a snub nose, and a tongue slipping into the corners of his mouth in a morally repellent way. He, of course, denies any connection to the epidemic, or that there is any epidemic at all. Reeking of antiseptic, though, he is practically a walking incarnation of cholera. Despite his connection to the sickness, however, his act resonates extraordinarily well with the residents of the hotel. They have no idea what he is singing in his incomprehensible dialect, although the narrator implies it is obscene. Nonetheless, they love the song. Gradually, a "cheerfulness without object" takes over the audience as they observe the performance.¹³⁵ He mocks his audience, which causes them to laugh even though they don't understand him. He plays the same role the novella does, captivating a heterosexual audience that does not understand its homosexual codes. Yet this queerness, far from marginalizing him, makes him all the more important for the audience. Despite their wealth and privilege, they too are foreign and victims of medical and policy regimes over which they have little control. Thus, although they don't understand the jargon of the homosexual artist, they identify and relate to him.

This guitar-playing foreigner stands as a mirror for Aschenbach, who by this point in the narrative has joined him as one of the novella's sexual outcasts. Aschenbach mirrors, in many ways, Thomas Mann himself. Layers of irony in *Der Tod in Venedig* thus help reconstruct the debates around sexuality at the beginning of the twentieth century. To begin with, Mann critiques himself, by attributing many of his own views on male-male desire to Aschenbach, who gradually must give up his Greek ideals of a diffuse, beauty-loving, male-male eroticism for a modern system of sexual categories. Instead of imagining himself with self-satisfaction as a cultured aesthete who happens to fall in love with male youth, he comes to realize that he is one of the peripheral and marginalized homosexual men. But the novella doesn't rest there, with a flat acknowledgment of sexual difference. Instead, it looks for a synthesis of the two positions that were poles in the debates on sexuality in the early twentieth century. It further ironizes and complicates its own arguments by suggesting that the sexual categories that do really exist are nonetheless products of culture. Moreover, it rehabilitates the larger objective of the masculinist arguments by suggesting that, even if there are specifically homosexual people, such identities are prototypical for modern society, because modern society is structured, on the one hand, by a patriarchal classical tradition and, on the other, by biological and medical identities that prevent us from attaining the greatness of antiquity. Thus the artwork produced by homosexual figures such as Aschenbach (and Mann) is of central importance for modern society.

The stakes here concern not only sexuality, but textuality. In *Der Tod in Venedig*, Mann situates many of the opinions regarding sexuality held by the “first author” (i.e., himself) in the character of Aschenbach. He then submits those opinions to a rigorous and thoroughgoing critique by his “second author,” the authorial narrator whom Mann inserts between himself and his readers. In clearly indicating that his second author’s understanding of sexuality is as erroneous as the first author’s, Mann allows the novella, the literary work itself, to go beyond both the author and the narrator in developing an understanding of sexuality. Literature does not merely cloak the ideas of the author in a more or less accessible form—it can at times allow ideas and concepts to develop in ways that go beyond the rational thought processes of the author. Mann’s ironic narration allows him to make a powerful case for the insight and wisdom that can come from literature.

Chapter 8

Pederasty in Palestine: Sexuality and Nationality in Arnold Zweig's *De Vriendt kehrt heim*

In 1924, the ultra-Orthodox anti-Zionist Jewish thinker, Jacob Israël de Haan, was murdered in Jerusalem. Although the pro-Zionist press in Israel was not unhappy to lose a vocal opponent, it generally assumed he was the victim of an Arab family whose honor had been outraged by de Haan's predilection for young Arab males. For Arnold Zweig, this material was already worthy of literary treatment, as it underscored the conflict between the public, political belonging to a racial and ethnic group and the personal, erotic longing for a forbidden object. It became all the more fascinating for Zweig when he found out that de Haan was actually killed by Zionists opposed to his politics, not by a family member of the allegedly besmirched Arab youth. To his friend Sigmund Freud, Zweig wrote, "the new fact was much better than the old one."¹ This story of violence among Jews and forbidden sexual desire between Jews and Arabs, set against the backdrop of Palestine in the 1920s, became the material for Zweig's 1932 novel, *De Vriendt kehrt heim* (De Vriendt Goes Home).

De Vriendt kehrt heim provides an excellent capstone for the discussion of the emergence of modern concepts of sexual identity in German-speaking central Europe because it refers to almost all the issues that contributed to the development of these modern discourses on the subject. On the one hand, an anti-identitarian model of intergenerational male-male sexual desire is associated with classical antiquity. On the other hand, modern Jewish identity (specifically in its Zionist incarnation) stands opposed to this Greco-Roman understanding of sexuality. The nation-building efforts of the Zionists have

repercussions in the realm of sexuality that are comparable and indeed related to those of the Hungarian nationalists. In Zweig's version of events, aspects of Zionism interact with sexual discourses in ways reminiscent of the relationship between colonialism and sexuality. The novel also documents the effects of the changing status of women in modern Western society on the evolution of sexual discourses. Finally, like Thomas Mann, Zweig makes a plea in his novel for the acknowledgment of literary approaches to sexuality that expose some of the weakness in modern liberal concepts of sexual identity. Ultimately, Zweig does not see same-sex desire as constituting an identity similar to the national and religious identity of the Jews in Palestine. Instead, he sets up sexuality as resisting identity, particularly the kind of national identity Zweig sees in Zionism and other nationalist causes.

Arnold Zweig—not to be confused with his more famous, somewhat older contemporary Stefan Zweig—was born in 1887 in Silesia and died in 1968 in East Germany (the German Democratic Republic). After spending some time among the bohemians of the artsy neighborhood in Munich known as Schwabing, he married his cousin, Beatrice Zweig, with whom he spent his whole life in an open marriage that he called “polygamous.”² Fleeing the Nazis in 1933, Zweig and his family moved first to Switzerland and then—because of his longtime Zionist leanings—to Palestine. To novelist Lion Feuchtwanger, who had found a presumably more comfortable exile in Malibu, Zweig wrote that he had moved to Palestine instead of the United States because he “didn’t want to drink wine secretly after having preached water for 25 years.”³ His Zionist convictions, however, did not diminish his concern about the fate of Arab Palestinians, as his 1924 statement indicates: “The national homeland of the Jews can be constructed only in Palestine and only with applause of the Arabs of Palestine.”⁴ Gradually Zweig became disillusioned with the identity politics behind Zionism, concluding—as he explained to Freud—that he didn’t necessarily belong with “people of the same descent, but rather with people of the same spirit.”⁵ After the Second World War, Zweig returned to the German Democratic Republic in order to build a socialist society. He resided there for the rest of his life, continuing to publish, although increasingly neglected outside the German Democratic Republic (GDR).

Zweig’s novel *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, published in 1932, had a fate that in some ways echoed the trajectory of its author. Although the novel was quickly translated into English, Czech, and Dutch, and although it was reviewed by prominent intellectuals in major venues, it fell victim to the political and historical vicissitudes of the twentieth century. Shortly after it was published, the

Nazis took power in Germany, and the novel was banned. Because it seemed to sympathize with a man who was deeply unpopular in Zionist circles, it was never translated into Hebrew and was not well-received in Palestine or the newly formed Israel after the war. Because it also, however, seemed to sympathize with the British authority figures in Palestine, as well as with the overall objectives of the Zionist cause, it was deemed politically inappropriate for the officially anticolonialist, anti-Zionist German Democratic Republic. Once Zweig moved to East Germany, neither the Federal Republic of Germany nor any other country in the capitalist West bothered to reprint it. Only after the unification of Germany did it finally reappear as part of a scholarly edition of Zweig's collected works.

Jacob Israël de Haan

Jacob Israël de Haan (1881–1924) did not start out as an ultra-Orthodox rabbi in Palestine, but rather as a socialist Zionist in the Netherlands. Besides his political activities, he researched and wrote about male-male desire, studying with Arnold Aletrino (1858–1916), a medical physician who helped introduce to Holland such works on same-sex desire as Raffalovich's *Uranisme et unisexualité* (1895). In 1904, de Haan published his first novel on male-male sexual desire, *Pijpolijntjes*, literally “Pipelines,” but according to Gert Hekma best translated as “Scenes from the Pijp,” the neighborhood of Amsterdam in which de Haan lived. The novel features Sam, loosely based on Aletrino, as a sadistic bisexual, and Joop, loosely based on de Haan, as his younger lover, who in turn is sexually interested in male adolescents. Aletrino was outraged by the work. Because of the novel, de Haan lost his job as a teacher in Amsterdam, as well as his position as editor of the children's page of the socialist newspaper, *Het Volk*.⁶ In 1908, de Haan published a second novel focusing on these topics, *Pathologieën*. In this decadent novel, the wealthy young Johan von Vere de With falls in love with the up-and-coming artist René Richell.

De Haan's quatrains, published posthumously in 1924, are his most successful literary output. These poems combine intense religiosity with frank sensuality, repeatedly blurring the boundary between the divine love of God and the earthly love of young males:

Why do I wait in this nightly hour
The City stolen upon by sleep

Sitting at the Temple Wall—
For God, or the Moroccan lad?⁷

There is something Platonic about this worldview, in which desires for “the Moroccan lad” can produce pious songs, yet the concern about salvation is undoubtedly religious in ways that differ from the Greek tradition. Moreover, there is a lingering sense of guilt in these quatrains that distinguishes them from the classical Greek ethos of Diotima’s ladder. Part of what makes the poems so appealing is their delicate insecurity, their lack of moral certitude, what Joseph Boone calls “the ceaseless movement of his soul’s unrest.”⁸

Once in Palestine, de Haan soon abandoned his original Zionist viewpoint and came to embrace ultra-Orthodox tenets that rejected modernity and secularism, especially in the form of a Jewish state. Hekma proposes that “one could make the argument that the Arab boys turned him from a Zionist to an anti-Zionist.” Be that as it may, it is clear that “the various modernist projects” that Hekma sees affecting de Haan’s life—“sexology, socialism, Zionism and its nationalism, masculinity and exclusivity”—became increasingly dissatisfying for de Haan.⁹ Anticipating Daniel Boyarin’s experiences, de Haan found a more comfortable home in the premodern world of ultra-Orthodox Judaism.¹⁰

National Identity

The conceptualization of identity—national, ethnic, religious, and sexual—is a central concern for Zweig. Set in the 1920s, the scene is Palestine, where a huge variety of peoples have converged: a small class of British administrators oversees the not always peaceful coexistence of Arabs and Jews, along with Copts, Abyssinians, Greeks, Druses, and even the “Templer,” a group of Württembergian pietists who have settled in Palestine. Among these groups are further divisions. Particularly the Jews, who are at the center of Zweig’s perspective, are divided between recent immigrants and ancient local communities like the Samaritans, between “nordic” and “oriental” categories, between Russian and Austro-German traditions.¹¹ Some ultra-Orthodox like de Vriendt reject the secularization of the Jewish identity as a state, while most of the rest support the Zionist cause. Even among the Zionists, there are class divisions, as the socialists struggle with characters like the bemonocled Dr. von Marschalkowicz, who represents the “radical bourgeois youth, young

nationalists who treated the Arabs as native colored people” and saw the Jews as a “master race,” a *Herrenrasse*.¹² Marschalkowicz mocks “these limp-dicked, soft-hearted German and Austrian Jews,”¹³ while the Orthodox Jews in turn feel that “masters” like Marschalkowicz scarcely even count as Jews.¹⁴

Out of this mishmash of peoples from various cultures and various religious and political backgrounds, the Zionists are attempting to forge a new identity just as the Magyars had in Hungary. The novel repeatedly mentions Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), who grew up in Budapest and who resisted Magyarization while still an ardent German nationalist.¹⁵ The Magyarization program must have been on his mind when he called the Zionist movement into being in Basel in 1896, an event mentioned in the novel.¹⁶ The Russian groups that had been urging emigration to Palestine to escape the pogroms as early as the 1880s also make an appearance.¹⁷

Issues of identity are discussed particularly in terms of nationalism. As one character declares, “We have to become a big majority with special laws for living, otherwise we’ll gradually disappear and with us a certain type of human, a type that it would be a shame to lose.”¹⁸ This is a particularly positive formulation, for it argues for identity politics, not as a way to exclude others, but as a way to ensure diversity in the world. Another character, a woman, also argues in a reasonable way for national identity as a means of survival: “Nationalism only has a justification in so far as it secures certain basic rights for a certain type of human on a piece of the earth’s crust that halfway corresponds to the nature of that type of human: its own language, self-government, and a creative development of the national talents.”¹⁹

While the novel as a whole may present these articulations of nationalism as reasonable (for which reason the GDR found it too pro-Zionist), its primary character, Josef de Vriendt (based on Jacob Israël de Haan), is in decided opposition to any sort of secular identity (for which reason many in Israel found it not Zionist enough). De Vriendt argues “against the secularizers of Judaism, the destroyers of the teachings in this very land, these Sabbath-defilers and law-breakers who believed that they could replace the living armor of the teachings with their modern national way of speaking.”²⁰ National identity is seen as a modern discourse, one which de Vriendt rejects. He does not want to exchange “Israel, the people of God, with modern nationalism.”²¹ He has contempt for those “Jewish pagans who want nothing more than to be a people like all the other peoples, with a Hebrew vernacular, a nation state, and all the comfort of the West.”²² For de Vriendt, this new national identity is not only a product of secular modernity, it is also linked to the *Heiden* (“pagans”

or “heathens”), a general word that, however, has specific ties to the ancient Greeks and Romans, who—as we shall see—are connected with de Vriendt’s sexual orientation. In addition, this new national identity, although it claims to speak for “all peoples,” is in fact associated with the “comfort of the West” and is thus a specifically European product.

With respect to nationalism, if not to Orthodox Judaism, de Vriendt’s attitudes mirror those of Zweig, who wrote in his 1933 afterword to the Dutch edition of the novel that he felt himself duty-bound to function as a “critic of the modern nationalism in Jewish nationalism.”²³ In general, Zweig tends to take views on Palestine and Zionism that are quite similar to those taken by Hirschfeld in his travelogue, *Weltreise eines Sexualforschers im Jahre 1931/32* (A Sexual Researcher’s Trip Around the World, 1931/32), published in 1933. Like Zweig, Hirschfeld is struck by the astonishing multiculturalism of Jerusalem in particular: “Monks, nuns and priests of all confessions—Roman and Greek Catholic clergy, Russians, Copts, Protestants—walk casually amongst the ass- and camel-driving Fellachim and Beduins and the elegant automobiles with world travelers from America and Europe . . . in addition one sees turbaned Arab effendis and Jews of very varying appearances, from older and younger Chassidim with sidelocks (payot) in caftans to disciples of Zionism in ultramodern clothing. As an addition to this mixture, a considerable number of English soldiers march hurriedly from the English barracks and back again.”²⁴ In this book, Hirschfeld mobilizes a generous celebration of difference throughout the world as part of a confrontation with racist ideologies, most obviously in Nazi Germany.

Hirschfeld finds aspects of the Zionist experiment thoroughly admirable. He is particularly interested in the innovative child-rearing practices and modern approaches to marriage and sexuality that he witnesses in the kibbutzim Beth Alpha and Ein Charod, which he believes are laudable in their communist and utopian ideals.²⁵ For Hirschfeld the free and open attitude toward the body that he witnesses in the handsome settlers testifies that certain aspects of Zionism are enriching to humanity: “The attractive energy and heart-warming naturalness of these thoroughly healthy young people, who proudly call themselves ‘chalutzim’ (i.e., pioneers), are among the things that impressed me most about Palestine. Obviously influenced by the modern Wandervogel and Pfadfinder movements, they have no affectations. The easy way in which they clothes themselves (hatless, open necks, bare calves) bespeaks so much joy, power, and affirmation of life that they seem to have overcome all the inferiority complexes and tensions that normally emerge subconsciously from the

erotic.”²⁶ On these social levels, Hirschfeld finds among Zionists an openness to questions of sexuality and the body that transcends much of what he had experienced in leftist circles in Germany. In fact, his reference to the Wandervogel movement (the youth groups devoted to a return to nature, which, according to Blüher, were held together by male-male sexual desire) suggests a similarity between the Zionists and the masculinists, who had argued that Zionism would regenerate the Jews.

Like Zweig and Zweig’s character de Vriendt, however, Hirschfeld is also highly aware of the rights and claims of the Arab Palestinian population. He knows that they have as much or more of a claim to the land in Palestine as the Jews and that Zionism is threatening many of their most heartfelt dreams.²⁷ Like de Vriendt, he is also suspicious of the effort to introduce Hebrew as the new national language in Palestine. Partly this is because Hirschfeld thinks it will discourage people like himself, who don’t feel prepared to learn a new language, from immigrating. But more importantly, he thinks that the linguistic isolation that would come from developing a separate language for what he assumes will always be a small country will inevitably lead to the strengthening of “nationalist and chauvinist instincts.”²⁸

For Hirschfeld it is clear that excessive nationalism is the most pressing concern in the early 1930s. Palestine is the final stop in his world travels and his travelogue ends with his discussion of Zionism. The last words are a plea for restraining the nationalist impulses of the era: “We know of times in which supporters of panhumanism and cosmopolitanism could freely announce themselves as citizens of the world. Such a standpoint does not prevent one from enjoying one’s membership in national, familial, religious, professional, linguistic, tribal and other groups. The only requirement is that no one should consider membership in one of these groups more essential than membership in humanity.”²⁹ Clearly, Hirschfeld is speaking against National Socialist racism, but it is as though he is urgently pleading with his fellow Jews not to allow their own nationalism to overwhelm a commitment to humanism and cosmopolitanism.

Sexual Identity

Zweig wrote to Freud that he composed descriptions of the “homosexual sex life . . . with particular distaste and particularly well-seated concentration.”³⁰ However real his distaste for the male-male love scenes was, his well-seated

concentration served him well, as he composed a realistic, sympathetic, and surprisingly vivid depiction of same-sex love. In describing the sexual intimacies that take place between de Vriendt and his young Arab beloved, Saûd, Zweig goes much farther than most of his contemporaries.

At times the novel seems to portray male-male sexual desire as belonging to a distinct group of people who could be said to have an identity of their own, a group similar to the Jewish community the Zionists were attempting to forge. To begin with, the novel adopts a minoritizing stance toward same-sex desire in the very real sense that only a few people—in fact only de Vriendt and his youthful beloved—are seen as having this desire. Thus it is not the case that all male-male relationships are seen as possibly imbued with erotic desire. In Palestine, at least, same-sex desire between males is an unusual and rare thing that outrages the Arab families and shocks the Jewish community.

Interestingly, the novel emphasizes that such relationships are more common in Egypt: “We are not in Egypt, sir, the friendship of a grown man with an Arab boy is not an everyday occurrence here.”³¹ Egypt represents a world in which male-male sexual desire permeates the entire society—instances of pederastic affection are apparently not unusual there. In Zweig’s account, Palestine does not belong to the Orient in the same way that Egypt does—somehow Palestine is more Western than the countries that surround it. The novel reminds its readers that Antinous, the beloved of the Roman Emperor Hadrian, comes from Egypt, the land where sexual identity takes other forms than in Palestine.

In Palestine, the desire of men for other males is a given, a specific fate that only applies to a specific group. De Vriendt sees this desire as God-given, rather than as biological. He refers to “the horrible plague with which God had struck him.”³² His sexual desire is not a matter of his own choice, but rather something imposed upon him—it is a “passion . . . that he had not chosen himself, but that a scornful God had placed in him.”³³ As a man of God, de Vriendt does not emphasize biological interpretations, but his insistence that this desire is something caused by a higher force has the same effect as a biological interpretation. Indeed, just as the biological explanation for homosexuality tended to go hand in hand with comparisons between homosexuals and Jews when both were seen in the light of heredity, race, and the body, de Vriendt’s religious interpretation of his sexuality as given to him by God also reveals parallels to the fate of the people chosen by God, who might also suffer in ways that do not afflict peoples whom God views more indifferently.

While de Vriendt sticks to a religious understanding of the origins of his

sexuality, another voice in the novel promotes a biological understanding of same-sex desire. The British administrator who attempts at first to protect de Vriendt and then to bring his murderers to justice, Lollard B. Irmin, has a liberal tolerant point of view regarding de Vriendt's sexuality, concluding "love is love and everything else is humbug and prudery."³⁴ As this liberal view had, in the tradition of nineteenth-century German sexuality, become associated with the minoritizing view that saw same-sex desire as a biologically determined phenomenon, it is not surprising that Irmin promotes the argument that de Vriendt's condition has a medical explanation: "it is a sickness, a mortal one if we don't do anything about it."³⁵ Like the religious position, this liberal biological stance sees homosexuality as fixed in certain individuals. Thus, there are voices in the novel that argue for something like a homosexual identity that is either God-given or biologically determined and confined to a few people, who should—in the opinion of liberals—be afforded certain rights and privileges.

Sexual Anti-Identity

This liberal perspective is not, however, the dominant one in *De Vriendt kehrt heim*. Instead, the novel much more frequently cites a model of same-sex desire based on classical Greece and Rome. Following the tradition of Elisar von Kupffer, Benedict Friedlaender, John Henry Mackay, Adolf Brand, and Hans Blüher, the model rejects identity as a structuring concept in its discussions of male sexual interest in other men. Indeed, in *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, this ancient form of same-sex desire is personified in the figure of the emperor Hadrian, well-known for his love of the male youth Antinous *and* for his persecution of the Jews.

Hadrian, de Vriendt's old "frenemy" (*Feindfreund*),³⁶ is first mentioned in the context of de Vriendt's collection of Roman coins, some of which feature the emperor's face. Speaking to such a coin, de Vriendt initially emphasizes the Roman emperor's persecution of the Jews, and then alludes to his famous love for the youthful Antinous: "Your soldiers butchered us pretty nicely, but it didn't help you. You're gone and we're still here and fight the old fight just as we did in your time, when you erected the divine beauty of the boy Antinous throughout Egypt."³⁷ Hadrian's vain opposition to the Jews is specifically connected to his pederastic desires, implying that pederasty is ephemeral while politics builds permanent institutions. Ultimately, these coins melt as de Vriendt's

house is set on fire, suggesting the passing nature of Hadrian's approach, compared to the inevitable success of Zionism. Just as Hadrian persecuted the Jews, so too did the Jews condemn pederasty, particularly Hadrian's pederasty: "The great teachers of the Talmud and all the rabbis after them shook with disgust at this passion that they called the vice of Sodom and the sexual sin of the damned emperor Hadrian."³⁸ By emphasizing Hadrian's homoerotic desire as well as his persecution of the Jews, Zweig further strengthens the opposition between pederasty and Jewish identity.

Following the pattern set by the classical model, Zweig articulates male-male desire as exclusively pederastic in nature. The older man loves the young Arab males because of the "flexibility of their bodies and their minds."³⁹ According to the logic of classical pederasty, once the youth grows up, he becomes a man, is no longer an appropriate object of desire, and does not want to be desired in such a way. Such is the fate of Saûd, who suffers no emotional damage from his relationship with de Vriendt. Already at de Vriendt's death, he proves that he is a man by not crying, although he is inwardly distraught at the murder.⁴⁰ By the end of the novel, he is still attractive, according to the narrator, but now a fully matured man, and no longer interested in other men.⁴¹ Significantly, the youth is not construed as having a fixed homosexual identity—he easily develops a heterosexual life without any significant trauma.

A further part of the classical mode of male-male desire is its exclusion of female sexuality. The liberal, minoritizing understanding of same-sex desire includes a conceptual space for female-female desire, as well as acknowledging the existence of heterosexual female desire. For the classical understanding of sexuality in the novel, female desire—for women or for men—is utterly irrelevant. Freud remarks on the masculinity of the work and notes the connection of this masculinity to the sexual desire detailed in the novel: "It is striking that Woman plays practically no role in it, that it is a book of the struggles and battles of men. Justifiably, the love of a boy is the only love that appears in it."⁴²

Sexual Individualism

Zweig's interpretation of the pederastic nature of de Vriendt's homosexual desires does allow for identification, if not identity construction. Specifically, he sees the desire for the youth to be a search for the self: "Whenever an adult passionately loves a child, he is looking for himself in it."⁴³ When de Vriendt caresses Saûd, he is able to find himself: "a self had found its way back to

itself.”⁴⁴ The return to the self that takes place has something to do with the identification that Zweig felt for both of his characters. He writes to Freud (whom he incidentally addresses in his letters as “Papa”): “I was both, the Arab (Semitic) boy and the godless, Orthodox lover and writer.”⁴⁵ Within the text this dual identification finds itself replicated in de Vriendt’s identification with Isaac, whom Abraham is able to sacrifice to God.⁴⁶ This identification is a dual one, because—as the older man in his relationship to Saûd—de Vriendt must also have an unspoken identification with the father figure who has such a powerful position with respect to his son’s body that he is willing to kill him, although he loves him. Implicitly de Vriendt claims that he treats his beloved Saûd better than Abraham treats Isaac or God treats de Vriendt. De Vriendt is analogous to Abraham as well as Isaac.

In identifying with Isaac, de Vriendt lays claim to one side of a dichotomy when he is in firm possession of the other side as well. The links between this identification and de Vriendt’s relationship with Saûd are clear. When de Vriendt realizes that both the British Secret Service agent Irmin and the Arab community knows that he is having a relationship with a youth, he thinks of himself immediately as “a good follower of that youth Isaac, who had lain over there at the peak of the mountain, scarcely a thousand meters away, on the butcher’s stone to be sacrificed by the hand of his own father, Abraham, son of Terach.”⁴⁷ (Rabbinical sources had traditionally set Isaac’s age at the time of the sacrifice at thirty-six, though he is generally understood to have been a mere boy.⁴⁸) De Vriendt sees himself in the masochistic position of the younger man in this relationship, perhaps because of the modern societal condemnation associated with pederasty. For this reason, the sexual relationship with Saûd is a kind of return to the self. In having sex with Saûd, he can have intercourse with the vulnerable youth that he sees himself as being.

As he is dying after being attacked, these Isaac-fantasies return in full force, providing him with an opportunity to give his life and death meaning. His anger at God, which is related to the desires that he believes God has implanted in him, emerges in terms of the story of Isaac. As he dies, he hears a voice ask him, “Won’t you finally love me, Isaac, my son, as I am?” De Vriendt’s last moment of life is spent as a youth, defying the authority of this identity-seeking father figure: “And the defiant youth parted his teeth with difficulty and breathed ‘No!’”⁴⁹ Here, de Vriendt’s longtime fantasy reveals its strength, its ability to encompass many aspects of de Vriendt’s personality. In his incarnation as the father figure, the pederast, he ultimately desires and seeks acceptance for his personal identity. In his incarnation as the son,

however, de Vriendt continues to reject such identity claims—and the son has the last word.

In fact, this last word denying the father's identity claim is also the novel's strongest opinion on the level of the narrator as well. Pederastic desire leads more clearly to an explosion of identity rather than a solid, clearly defined position. Most drastically, it is set up as parallel to death. The pederast is described as wanting "to throw away the misshapen self, to abandon one's false and accidental embodiment and to free one's atoms to create new embodiments under a happier sun, in a better time."⁵⁰ In very similar language, the narrator describes de Vriendt's death: "When the soul of a man explodes and the subconscious floods him, time falls away from him and the eternal, that which is not subject to a statute of limitations [*das Unverjähnbare*], that which is arrayed concurrently [*das Nebeneinandergeordnete*], fills him up."⁵¹ This observation, made as de Vriendt is dying, shows the connections between de Vriendt's experiences with the eternal and his experiences with the youth, who has also not aged, not been submitted to the ravages of time. The loss of identity that accompanies sexual release also takes place, more permanently, with death, as the novel makes clear: "However, de Vriendt the man under his mound of earth: he's doing better than ever. He lies dissolved there, literally dissolved into his constitutive parts, and sends his substance, the molecules and the cells that constructed him, upwards to the roots and rootlets of the plants, which despite everything have felt their way down to him."⁵² Like the coins with Hadrian's image on them, which melt down in a fire that destroys de Vriendt's house after his death, the pederastic de Vriendt has lost all identity and become once again one with the cosmos.

Sexuality, Textuality, and Nationality

The issues of identity surrounding de Vriendt's sexuality are intimately connected with his writing, and particularly his poetry. Asked what he wants, he answers: "What every respectable writer wants"⁵³: "the courage to defy one's own people and to tell it what it needs."⁵⁴ This sentence impresses the British Secret Service agent, Lollar, so much that he repeats it to Mendel Glass, the young Zionist who in the novel murders de Vriendt.⁵⁵ This courage is needed to tell "the truth for its own sake."⁵⁶ In this case, the truth to be told is of a sexual nature, and it requires that its speaker disturbs his people. Zweig calls his protagonist an "antagonist."⁵⁷ De Vriendt cannot "find it in himself to

respect the feelings of his people" because he always plays the "enemy in their midst."⁵⁸

The Zionists repeatedly label de Vriendt a traitor because he opposes the establishment of the Jewish state. On the political level, his journalistic writings reveal him to be a traitor, just as his poetic writings do on the private level. In either case, this status of "traitor"—an allegation that has long been aimed at both Jews and homosexuals—has a kind of ontological status in the minds of those who use it. He's called "the eternal traitor" by one pro-Zionist newspaper in an article that declares that there have always been such traitors.⁵⁹ The repeated assertion that there have always been such "traitors" implies that this is a kind of identity, perhaps comparable to Jewishness or homosexuality. De Vriendt's status as "traitor" to the Zionist Jews, which is paralleled by his status as a pederast, sets into motion the same kind of exclusionary forces, going all the way to murder, that the differences attributed to Jews generate in Christian Europe.

De Vriendt's writings shed light on these questions. Zweig uses de Haan's actual poetry in the novel. Freud commented that he particularly liked the quatrains, and Zweig had to admit that he had not written them.⁶⁰ The quatrains that de Vriendt secretly writes are occasions for him to try out alternative worldviews; particularly in the realm of theology they offer him a chance to rage against God. This rage against God is related particularly to his sexual desires, although only a few of his poems reveal the origins of his anger. Describing de Vriendt's anxieties concerning his relationship with Saûd, the narrator reveals that these anxieties are the secret heart of the poetry: "Only a few of the most concealing of his poems knew more; he dared to expose poetically only his fight against God, he could scarcely give letter and verse to the reason for that fight."⁶¹

Nonetheless, it is in literature that this sexuality finds its expression, albeit in a closeted way. Irmin, the British Secret Service agent the narrative follows, believes that "priests, physicians, and possibly also writers" are the people who can best address personal and intimate matters. The English colonialist Irmin has the liberal belief in the power of medicine to replace or augment religion as an arbiter of the private. His limited concession that writers might also have such abilities is an ironic touch by the narrator, as well as an indication of the more distanced approach of such scientifically oriented liberals toward literature. Whatever Irmin thinks, however, de Vriendt does indeed express himself enough in his poetic writings to make himself vulnerable and open to attack. Almost as soon as he realizes that some people know his secret, he

worries that his poems will be discovered.⁶² Indeed, his poems remove any shadow of a doubt about his predilection. “His unimaginable poems” are the only piece of evidence that make clear that he had a passionate love for Arab youth.⁶³ One reader expresses the opinion of most of the Jewish community when he declares, “his love of Arab boys seems to me to have been of a highly earthly nature. The old pig!”⁶⁴ De Vriendt’s pederasty, which is only revealed in his poems, becomes the standard justification for his murder, as his actual murderer explains.⁶⁵

The historical de Haan also published frequent articles in the European press that undercut the Zionist position. He revealed, for instance, the sometimes dubious details of the financing of land purchases by Zionist agencies. In the novel, de Vriendt’s essayistic writings transmit his political opinions to the public, while his poetry ultimately reveals his sexual preference. Like his poetry, his essayistic writings also have an experimental side to them. He polemically tries out opinions that are more radical than he himself believes, and gets carried away. Conversely, he can be convinced by the colonial administrators to modify those opinions and restate his argument in a more moderate way. His political and poetic writings codify everything about him that is objectionable. When the Zionists attack him because of his publication, it is perhaps the case that they are describing a transposition between de Vriendt’s political and his poetic publications. In addition, just as his poetic writings ultimately resist the claim to identity found in the minoritizing model of homosexuality, his political writings fight against the identity politics of the Zionists. Here, de Vriendt seems at times to be allied to his *Feindfreund* Hadrian, the pederast who had smashed the Jewish state in ancient times. Like Hadrian, the pederast de Vriendt is interested in preventing establishment of a Jewish state.

Unlike the persecutor Hadrian, though, de Vriendt is operating against the trend of his time. In fact, the novel is in many ways about the end of his model of existence and the rise of the identity politics he is trying to reject. According to the narrator, de Vriendt’s entire group of anti-Zionist Jews is out of touch with the reality of early twentieth-century Palestine: “the men and boys around de Vriendt have, like him, almost no access to reality—narcissistically fenced in to their own intellectual world.”⁶⁶ According to some characters, de Vriendt in particular is an anachronism because he doesn’t think in terms of group identity: “The good de Vriendt is up to his neck in olden times. He only saw the individual Jew, who asks for tolerance.”⁶⁷

Precisely this kind of individualism must disappear from group identity

politics. Indeed the mark of success for the group is its ability to wipe out the individual differences of its members, even at the cost of destroying those members. "It's clear that we're becoming a *Volk*," declares one character: "a *Volk* treats its own children pretty rough."⁶⁸ In a nod to conservative political theory, the narrator declares that every state is built on blood, and indeed murder: "Fratricide is the basis of the foundation of every state."⁶⁹ The group identity politics associated in this novel with Zionism is set in opposition to de Vriendt's more individualistic pederastic desires that are in no way affiliated with groups.

Liberalism and Sexuality

Many aspects of the novel critique the solid notions of identity that ground liberal attitudes toward sexuality and nationality. De Vriendt's classical, pederastic model of male-male desire stands in opposition to liberal conceptions of identity and is usually aligned with conservative thinkers such as Kupffer and Blüher or antiliberal anarchists such as Mackay. On a more explicitly political level as well, the novel critiques liberalism and gently suggests its weaknesses.

De Vriendt himself is virulently antiliberal. He mocks the claims of democracy to produce a better world,⁷⁰ contemptuously dismissing the fact that a majority of the Jews coming to Palestine are in favor of establishing an independent Jewish state. In general his resistance to the efforts of Zionism to change Palestine and the world politically fits into the overall ethos of most of the generally conservative theorists who understood male-male desire according to the Greek model.

Interestingly, the novel thereby exposes some of the tensions in the thought of these conservative theorists, who despite their overall distaste for political change, generally actually admired Zionists, in contrast to other Jews, because they perceived the Zionists to be manly. Weininger and Blüher, for instance, both exempt Zionists from their anti-Semitic analyses, and argue that the world should support the Zionist cause in its effort to reinstill masculine values among the Jews.⁷¹ Zweig, however, suggests that in general the Zionists have beliefs that are incompatible with this conservative approach. While the conservative philosopher Blüher, for instance, theorizes that male-male erotic desire was fundamental for the creation of social structures such as the state, Zweig seems to indicate that sexual desire disrupts state structures.

An interesting aspect of the rapprochement between the leftwing writer

Arnold Zweig, who eventually ended up writing in the German Democratic Republic, and the conservative vision of same-sex desire is the similarity between his views and some of Mann's. Like Zweig, Mann (who, incidentally, also had a fairly positive view of East Germany) frequently establishes the male-male desire in the context of the love of a beautiful youth (personified as Tazio in *Der Tod in Venedig* and Hans Hansen in *Tonio Kröger*). More specifically, Zweig associates the desire to travel with sex, just as Mann does in *Der Tod in Venedig*. There, Gustav von Aschenbach feels the need to go to someplace exotic immediately after he has a sexually provocative encounter with a stranger in the English Garden.⁷² In Zweig's novel, de Vriendt similarly feels the need to travel when his sexuality is exposed: "The desire to travel had hit like a sudden attack."⁷³ In Aschenbach's case, the exposure of sexuality has taken place internally, within the character's consciousness, while in de Vriendt's case, the exposure is taking place at the level of the law, but in both instances travel becomes a metaphor for sexuality.

In another interesting parallel to Mann—this time to *Der Zauberberg* (The Magic Mountain)—the British Secret Service agent Irmin experiences bodily symptoms from the change of elevation that takes place when he searches after Mendel Glass, de Vriendt's murderer. Like Hans Castorp, who has difficulties adjusting to the climate in the Alps and finds that his cigars, his beloved Maria Mancinis, no longer taste right, Irmin experiences the descent to the Dead Sea as physically difficult and discovers his tobacco has lost its taste: "Irmin felt his ears getting fat and his pipe didn't taste good anymore."⁷⁴ While Castorp was ascending to a realm of metaphysics only accessible to the wealthy, Irmin is following Glass into a self-imposed hell in a factory where generally only the poor would work. In both cases, this journey of discovery involves a departure from the middle classes symbolized by a change of elevation that causes corporeal symptoms. While Mann goes up to the mountains in order to find truth, Zweig locates it deep in the bowels of the earth.

Most significantly, Zweig's novel parallels Mann's novella *Der Tod in Venedig* in its narrative structure. Both narratives take a liberal identity-oriented perspective on a fictionalized author who sees his sexuality in a way that accords more with the conservative masculinists. In *Der Tod in Venedig*, a liberal narrator tests the antiliberal understanding of sexuality incorporated by Aschenbach. In *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, the British agent Irmin provides the most clearly admirable liberal colonialist figure in the novel. Emphasizing the positive portrayal of the Englishman, Freud suggests that Irmin above all reflected Zweig: "I doubt that there are many Englishmen in the S.S. [Secret

Service] who are so similar to Arnold Zweig.”⁷⁵ Assuming Freud is correct, this is an important distinction from Mann’s work, because Mann is closer to Aschenbach than to his narrator, whereas Freud argues that Zweig is closer to Irmin than to de Vriendt. Generally, *De Vriendt kehrt heim* follows Irmin’s liberal, colonialist, administrative perspective as he attempts first to save de Vriendt and then to track down his murderer. While de Vriendt is both European and Oriental,⁷⁶ Irmin is clearly European, liable to what he calls “European days.”⁷⁷ While most of his colleagues favor the Arabs and are explicitly anti-Jewish,⁷⁸ Irmin is supportive of the Jewish settlers. At the same time, he vehemently defends de Vriendt. He is in the position of the neutral administrator, far above the internal conflicts of the people whom he oversees. He fulfills his duties far more reasonably than actual British administrators, for which reason the Jewish novelist Moshe Ya’akow Ben-Gavriel wrote to Zweig from Jerusalem, “I’m sorry that there are no Irmings here.”⁷⁹ The comment has the function of a mild critique of the unrealistically positive depiction of Irmin—there were much more pointed attacks from other circles, as Zweig himself notes: “all Zionist critics rejected my novel violently—one representative of the Young Zionists demolished it in an essay called ‘Neither Truth nor Poetry.’”⁸⁰ In this respect the Zionist critique overlaps Marxist criticisms from the GDR, which had objected to the positive depiction of a colonialist power. Its censors felt the novel ultimately accepts “the justification for the exercise of the political power of the English Empire in a colonial state.”⁸¹ These analyses are essentially accurate—Irmin does seem to be an ideal colonial administrator with liberal views.

This liberalism goes hand in hand with a belief in law and medicine. As an administrator, Irmin represents the law. He attributes to physicians an ability to handle personal problems like sexuality.⁸² These are the two world-views that concern Irmin: “That is the medical perspective,” declares the Secret Service agent at one point, “we and the lawyers are concerned with a little afterthought—it’s called justice.”⁸³ Law and medicine are the two discourses that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had the most to say about same-sex desire, as well, producing a typically liberal understanding of homosexuality. To begin with, this liberal understanding of homosexuality sees it as a product of nature. Irmin tells an Orthodox friend of de Vriendt that the Dutch scholar’s desires are of a bodily nature and thus cannot be controlled by the mind: “Human nature follows other laws than the human spirit.”⁸⁴ This goes so far as to allow for the consideration of the condition as a sickness.⁸⁵ But because it is natural, this condition should not be penalized

by law or by societal opprobrium. The two pillars of medical pathologization and legal decriminalization remain the basic supports of the liberal view of same-sex desire.

In this novel, a liberal tolerance with regard to same-sex desire is intricately related to a liberal approach to ethnic difference. A few lines after Irmin decides that all love is just love, Saûd refers to the epoch “when Jews and Arabs lived peacefully together in Spain.”⁸⁶ At the time Saûd refers to this era, he is angry and determined to avenge himself on the Jews; in fact, the novel and Irmin hope for a peaceful resolution of conflict between the peoples of Palestine. Standing above the ethnic differences, as above the sexual differences, Irmin calmly attempts to administer justice.

Irmin does indeed attempt to stand above de Vriendt’s sexual otherness. The novel makes clear—almost too clear—that Irmin is heterosexual. On the second page of the novel, the reader learns that Irmin would like to have a wife and beget children.⁸⁷ Others agree: “It’s too bad that you don’t have a wife,” says one woman.⁸⁸ At the end of the novel, this theme returns with urgency: “He had to bring an English girl over here, after he fell in love with her—a blond, grey-eyed creature with a good heart, healthy mind, nice limbs; she should bear his children.”⁸⁹ It is noteworthy that the necessity of falling in love with the girl is practically an afterthought. It seems marriage is more of a necessity because of the social conditions in which Irmin lives. In those conditions, Irmin seems to want a “girl” who is a “creature.” Using two words that are neuter in German (*Mädchen* and *Geschöpf*), Irmin tries to defeminize the wife he claims to want.

Given this treatment of the subject, one begins to wonder *why* Irmin doesn’t have a wife. Perhaps he is more implicated in de Vriendt’s perversity than he realizes. Intriguingly, the woman who tells him that it is too bad he doesn’t have a wife is one of the new women of the 1920s, athletic and boyish: “after she had received him in comradely way, the charming lady chatted with him like a clever boy.”⁹⁰ One has the sense here that Irmin’s heterosexual relationships are based on the pederastic model that de Vriendt champions. Here the boundary between homosexual and heterosexual dissolves, as Zweig—once again, like Mann—establishes binaries only to subvert them. Sexuality turns out once more to flow freely and widely through many people, even those whose liberal worldview is based on solid identities.

Ultimately the novel uses de Vriendt’s pederastic desires to critique identity politics and group orientations. It sees identity politics as inevitable, but also as inevitably leading to exclusion and oppression of quirky individualists

like de Vriendt, who are in and of themselves worthy human beings. Pederastic desire is associated with this quirky individualism, and not seen as producing a cohesive group identity comparable to that of Zionist Jews. Zweig looks with melancholy appreciation at a way of being human that is doomed to obsolescence. The individualistic, pederastic, antique ideal of sexuality is seen, admittedly, as no longer relevant, but its loss is mourned as the loss of individualism and rigorous critique.

Conclusion: American Legacies of the German Discovery of Sex

In the century between the publications of Hösli's *Eros* in the 1830s and Zweig's *De Vriendt kehrt heim* in the 1930s, a new model of homosexuality (and, by extension, of sexuality in general) took root in German-speaking central Europe. This emancipatory sexological model saw same-sex desire as innate, specific to a definite group of individuals, medically diagnosable or biologically ascertainable, characterized by gender inversion, applicable to men as well as women, analogous to race or ethnicity, especially comparable to Jewishness, deserving of human rights protections, and meriting a place in the liberal polity. Even as the model became increasingly accepted, an alternative model persisted that saw male-male desire as something that the majority of men might enjoy, primarily cultural (rather than biological) in its origins, if anything more masculine than heterosexual desire, best exemplified by the ancient Greeks, and not an appropriate topic for liberal politics. The rise of the National Socialists in the 1920s and 1930s brought a temporary end to the debates between these two camps in Germany. However, the discussions begun in nineteenth-century German-speaking central Europe continue to inform the rhetoric of sexuality in the United States and throughout the world. Scientific, journalistic, political, legal, and administrative discourses have coalesced around the emancipatory sexological views that Westphal, Ulrichs, and Kertbeny pioneered. At the same time, critiques of that model—many reminiscent of the ideas found in the masculinist writings—remain alive in academic and, above all, literary sources.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Hösli relied on the classical tradition of ancient Greece to legitimize and celebrate male-male erotic desire as a noble and valuable part of the human experience. In the wake of Nietzsche's revaluation of the Greek tradition as tragic and illiberal, the classical texts no longer carried the same uplifting humanistic force as defenses of

male-male sexual love. Moreover, close readings of the Greek texts revealed that they imply that any man might occasionally take a sexual interest in another, usually younger, male. They neither posit that there is a biologically distinct subgroup of people with a sexual orientation toward members of their own sex, nor do they rely on gender inversion to explain such people. By the end of the century, authors such as Kupffer, Friedlaender, Mackay, Brand, and Blüher (known as the “masculinists”) reconstituted the Greek model of same-sex desire in a Nietzschean, antimodernist, often anti-Semitic, misogynist, and illiberal mode.

Almost every aspect of this masculinist reinterpretation of the Greek model of same-sex desire was politically and culturally unacceptable to liberal bourgeois sensibilities of the nineteenth century, starting with the claim that same-sex desire was not an innate immutable characteristic of a small specific minority, but rather something that could confusingly befall anyone, including heterosexually married men. Progressive thinkers thus moved away from the Greek model and instead came to think of homosexuals, urnings, or inverters as analogous to a racial minority. From this perspective, homosexuality was innate and immutable. Although invisible to the casual observer, its traits were scientifically detectable, most typically by signs of gender inversion. Gender and race were thereby linked: the third sex was analogous to a racial category. For many in German-speaking central Europe, Jews (understood as members of a race) were the obvious group with which to compare people who innately loved members of their own sex. The tireless activist Ulrichs argued forcefully for gender inversion as the primary explanatory model for same-sex desire and frequently made comparisons between Jews and urnings. The medical scientist Westphal provided scholarly evidence on gender inversion. Sexologists like Krafft-Ebing and Hirschfeld continued in this line of thinking.

Alternating between the masculinist and the emancipatory sexological understandings of sexuality, other thinkers, writers, and artists came up with various hybrid approaches to the debate. For many, culture helped define sexuality as much as biology—again and again, writers produced lists of great literary and artistic figures who were homosexual, creating a kind of homosexual canon that helped create and re-create a certain homosexual culture. Particularly those like Kertbeny who were familiar with the program of Magyarization in the eastern parts of the Habsburg Empire saw the possibility of the cultural construction of a malleable sexual identity analogous to the construction of a new national identity. Colonialism and the emergent women’s movement also inflected understandings of sexual identity. Karsch-Haack collected research

on homosexual behavior, customs, and rituals among many of the colonized peoples of the world. Some of this research reinforced the notion that a homosexual orientation was universal and affected roughly the same percentage of the population worldwide. Other ethnographic experiences cast doubt on the biological constancy of sexual identity and tended to lend support to the illiberal reactionary politics of the masculinist, Grecophilic thinkers. The women's movement interacted with the homosexual emancipation movement when discussing female sexual desire and the importance of deconstructing social and political constraints on that desire as well as promoting alternative models of gender that promoted the possibility of new sexualities.

Literary authors constantly documented, assessed, and questioned the new vocabulary of sexuality. In the 1830s, Hössli's work was in dialogue with contemporary literature such as Zschokke's novella, *Eros*. Kertbeny was professionally primarily a man of letters, a translator, critic, and advocate of Hungarian literature; Ulrichs devoted much of his life to Latin poetry. Among the masculinists, Kupffer saw himself as a visual and verbal artist and relied on literary sources as he developed his thinking on sexuality. Mackay also regarded himself primarily as a literary author, while Brand's *Der Eigene* featured literary, rather than scientific, writing. Bierbaum's *Prinz Kuckuck* incorporates both the Greek and the Jewish models into its portrayal of sexuality in Wilhelmine Germany. Stifter's *Brigitta* hints at the comparison between an emergent Hungarian identity and a sexual one. Echoes of colonialist attitudes toward sexuality emerge in May's oeuvre. Literary texts such as Ernst von Wolzogen's *Das dritte Geschlecht* and Aimée Duc's *Sind es Frauen?* commented on the emergent women's movement in central Europe and entered into debates with Reventlow's writings on the relationship between women's emancipation and sexual liberation. The sexologists Krafft-Ebing and Hirschfeld cite literary sources with some frequency; Freud relies on literature even more consistently. Literary analyses, such as Mann's *Der Tod in Venedig* or Zweig's *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, combine and play off the multiple discourses of sexuality that emerged in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in German-speaking central Europe, providing a subtle and nuanced analysis of sexuality.

Literary representations of same-sex desire, particularly in the form of novels, contributed to the discussion in a number of important ways. They documented the rise of a vocabulary about homosexuality and depicted the new personalities and subcultures that came with that rhetoric. They described new thoughts about same-sex desire, and situated those thoughts in different individual and social contexts. They brought out the connotations of

male-male erotic desire, and the associations that accompanied it. Focusing on language, the literary texts were particularly aware of the cultural aspects of same-sex desire. With their Bakhtinian polyphony, novels could present multiple, often clashing, discourses about sexuality. Narrative fiction—from Stifter to Musil, Wolzogen, Mann, and Zweig—took a perspectival and ironic distance from its content, compelling the reader to rethink his or her conceptions of sexuality.

Particularly—although not exclusively—in these literary representations, homosexuality was projected onto the periphery of German-speaking central Europe: Greece, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy, Palestine, Samoa. Locating homosexuality at the margins of the world of the authors and their readers emphasized its peripheral nature. At the same time, precisely that marginality helped establish the boundary of the known. Just as the representation of these non-German countries defined Germanic culture, the literary analyses of homosexuality limned the boundaries of heterosexuality. In part because of their reliance on geographical metaphors, these literary texts were particularly likely to provide insight into the relationship between central European German-speaking culture and the emergence of modern vocabularies of sexuality.

After an analysis of political, medical, and literary texts, a number of explanations for the emergence of a modern version of homosexuality in German-speaking central Europe suggest themselves. The particular position of the Jewish population in German-speaking central Europe, on the brink of assimilation yet clearly distinct in the minds of many, provided a model for an invisible minority that was easily transferable to sexual minorities, especially in an era that increasingly saw Jewishness as a racial, rather than a religious, characteristic. The high prestige of classical culture in the German-speaking world of central Europe allowed Greek models to stand as an easily comprehensible alternative to the analogy between homosexuality and Jewishness. As the nineteenth century progressed, the influence of Nietzsche on artists and intellectuals encouraged many antiliberal thinkers to contrast the Jewish model with a Hellenic model in sexuality as in other categories. The Habsburg monarchy, with its rich ethnic and religious diversity, produced subtle and complex thought about questions of identity. The colonial project coincided in Germany almost exactly with the explosion of sexological research in the late nineteenth century. Similarly, the advancement of the women's movement in late nineteenth-century German-speaking central Europe clearly moved in tandem with developments in the understanding of sexuality.¹

The Rise of the National Socialists

When the National Socialist Party took power in Germany in 1933, the progressive sexual research that had characterized Germany for half a century lost its home. The annexation of Austria drove out many psychoanalysts and others interested in sexuality from that country. The research and writing on homosexuality came to an end, except for efforts to cure, eliminate, or demonize it. Defenses of same-sex desire, which had reappeared on the German cultural scene from Hössli's writings in the 1830s to Ulrichs's and Kertbeny's works in the 1860s to Hirschfeld's publications at the beginning of the twentieth century, vanished from the scene. Probing literary analyses of sexuality, like Mann's *Der Tod in Venedig* and Zweig's *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, were no longer published or collected.² The uniquely German cinematic apologies for same-sex desire, such as *Anders als die anderen* (1919) and *Mädchen in Uniform* (1932), moldered in obscure foreign libraries. It seemed as if the legacy of the work of the liberal sexual emancipationists and their more radical masculinist critics was demolished.

Already in 1932, as the political climate was growing more conservative, there were increased prosecutions of Paragraph 175, raids on gay bars, and closures of gay organizations. The world famous club El Dorado, which had been part of regular tours of queer Berlin in the Weimar era, closed in 1932. Brand shut down his presses in 1932 and Die Gemeinschaft der Eigenen folded the same year. Once the Nazis took power on January 30, 1933, this trend strengthened. Between February 23 and 24, the Prussian Ministry of the Interior closed a large number of commercial establishments "in which primarily or exclusively people congregate who are pursuing unnatural vices"; at the same time, a prohibition of "offensive" publications went into effect.³ On March 4, the *Berliner Tageblatt* reported the closure of a whole series of gay bars with charming names like "Zauberflöte," "Dorian Gray," "Monokel-Bar," "Geisha," "Mikado," "Silhouette," and "Hollandais."⁴ Homosexuals started being sent to concentration camps almost from the beginning of the Nazi rise to power.⁵

Many authors went into exile after the National Socialists came to power. Hirschfeld settled in France after his world tour; there he witnessed via newsreels the destruction of his institute shortly before his death. Mann emigrated to Switzerland and then to the United States. Zweig went to Palestine, Freud to London. If the antiliberal masculinists, who in some cases harbored certain

sympathies for the fascists, thought they would be well treated by the new regime, they quickly learned better. Brand's house was searched several times after 1933 and the remainders of his publications were confiscated. Despite living in relative peace until his death in a bombing attack in 1945, he did not publish any more of his provocative writings. Similarly, Blüher lived in quiet obscurity, no longer publishing after the Nazi takeover.⁶ Kupffer wisely remained in his "self-imposed exile" in Switzerland.

Outside Nazi-controlled Europe, traces of both the emancipationist sexual and the masculinist traditions managed to survive. Libraries throughout the world collected the writings of academically well-known sexologists like Westphal, Krafft-Ebing, and Hirschfeld. Jonathan Galthorne-Hardy declares that Alfred Kinsey "wouldn't have become a sex researcher," but for sexologists like Krafft-Ebing and Hirschfeld.⁷ The activist tradition carried on, in more hidden and recondite channels. Karl Meier, born in Switzerland in 1897, embarked upon a career in acting in Germany, where he knew Hirschfeld's institute and published in Brand's *Der Eigene*. Through the work of these activists, he also knew Hössli's *Eros*. Fleeing the Nazis, he returned to Switzerland, where—under the pseudonym Rolf—he kept the German tradition alive with the journal, *Der Kreis—Le Cercle—The Circle*, a trilingual gay magazine based in Switzerland that ran from 1943 to 1967. As Hubert Kennedy argues, if one includes its immediate predecessors, *Freundschafts-Banner* (Banner of Friendship [1932]), *Schweizerisches Freundschafts-Banner* (Swiss Banner of Friendship [1933–1936]), and *Menschenrecht* (Human Rights [1937–1942]), then it bridged the entire period from the Nazi takeover until 1968, which is to say it reached almost into the era of Stonewall and the modern gay movement.⁸ As Thomas Waugh notes, the journal's "importance to North American gays, especially those cosmopolitans and intellectuals who were attracted to its high-culture sensibility and could afford to smuggle it back home was immeasurable."⁹

The Consolidation of the Liberal Model in the United States

There is not time or space in this study to determine how the German models spread to the United States. Nonetheless, it is certainly the case that a model has taken hold in America that is very similar to the one that Kertbeny, Ulrichs, and Westphal developed in the mid-nineteenth century. In the United States, a liberal, biologically based model with implications of gender inversion and analogies to race has made strikingly successful efforts to effect

political change in the realm of human rights, antidiscrimination law, and such matters as marriage. This model is particularly strong in journalistic accounts of scientific research, certain strands of popular culture, jurisprudence, and political rhetoric.

A cornerstone of that modern approach is the assumption that homosexuality is an innate characteristic. Defying that assumption can be difficult in the United States. As David Halperin notes in 2012, “gay people in the United States get very upset at the slightest implication that any aspect of homosexuality might not be inborn.”¹⁰ In a 2007 debate of Democratic presidential candidates, singer Melissa Etheridge asked Bill Richardson whether he thought homosexuality was a choice. His positive answer “angered many gay rights activists who hold the opposite view,” reported the *New York Times*.¹¹

In order to prove the innateness of homosexuality, scientists have continued to search intensively for biological evidence of homosexuality, generally relying on assumptions comparable to the gender inversion models of Westphal and Ulrichs. Much of this research presumes that homosexuality is biologically identifiable, gender inverted, and similar to the identity of racial minorities. A string of studies purport to show that male homosexuals demonstrate genetic or endocrinal histories that are more typical of women and that female homosexuals will have more masculine traits.

One of the first major examples was Simon LeVay’s article, “A Difference in Hypothalamic Structure Between Heterosexual and Homosexual Men,” which made a splash in 1991 with the finding that the hypothalami of homosexual men were more like those of women than like those of heterosexual men. It received widespread, generally uncritical coverage in the mainstream press.¹² Following Ulrichs’s basic model, LeVay assumed that gay men were an easily identifiable group (in his case, men who had recently died of AIDS), that the sexuality of this group could be ascertained by bodily markers, and that these markers coincided with gender inversion. Lesbians fell out of the picture, although LeVay declared that he wanted to do more research on them. Explicitly, LeVay insisted that his scientific work would help the political cause of securing rights for what he believed to be a naturally occurring variation of the human species.

Such research continues to receive prominent coverage in the twenty-first century. On the front page of the *New York Times* of May 10, 2005, Nicholas Wade reports that Ivanka Savic of the Karolinska Institute in Stockholm has found that “homosexual and heterosexual men responded differently to two odors that may be involved in sexual arousal, and that gay men respond in the

same way as women.”¹³ The study assumes that homosexuals and heterosexuals are distinct groups of people. The press reports give no indication of how “homosexuals” are defined, indicating that the journalists assume their readers have a similarly unquestioning view of the existence of gays and straights as preordained categories—there is none of the universalized bisexuality found in the Greek model. In addition, the research attempts to locate in the body gender inverted characteristics.

Barry Dickinson, from the Institute of Molecular Biotechnology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna, received similarly broad press coverage in 2005 for experiments in which he placed a certain gene from male fruit flies in female fruit flies and vice versa. The transference of these genes caused the genetically altered flies to seek sex with members of their own sex. An article in the *International Herald Tribune* trumpeted that the “sexual orientation” of the flies had been “tilted.”¹⁴ The reporting falls into an unsurprising pattern: sexual orientation is either homo- or heterosexual, there is little room for fluid bisexuality; the cause of that orientation is located in the body; and it is explicitly a matter of gender inversion.

Reporter Wade returns to the fray in an article called “Pas de Deux of Sexuality Is Written in the Genes,” published in the *New York Times* on April 10, 2007. Following in the tradition of liberal activists like Ulrichs and sexological experts like Hirschfeld, Wade marshals biology and genetics to prove that sexuality is inexorably written on the body: “Desire between the sexes is not a matter of choice. Straight men, it seems, have neural circuits that prompt them to seek out women; gay men have those prompting them to seek other men. Women’s brains may be organized to select men who seem likely to provide for them and their children.”¹⁵ Once again, Wade and the scientists he quotes assume the existence of solid categories of “straight men” and “gay men”—further investigation invariably reveals that these categories are rarely defined, discussed, critiqued, or analyzed. Usually, researchers rely simply on self-identification, tautologically reproducing a category of “gay men” who act like “gay men,” while excluding all those who don’t self-identify as gay men but whose practices might, in fact, include physical or psychological expression of male-male desire.

The research discussed in Wade’s 2007 article assumes that hormones “masculinize” brains to a greater or lesser degree.¹⁶ The normally “masculinized” brain is interested in women. Gay men have less masculinized brains—Wade passes on the speculations of Canadian researchers Ray Blanchard and Anthony F. Bogaert, who believe that fraternal order plays a significant role in

the origin of homosexuality: “Some 15 percent of gay men can attribute their homosexuality to it, based on the assumption that 1 percent to 4 percent of men are gay, and each additional older brother increases the odds of same-sex attraction by 33 percent.” This research assumes that there is something like “a maternal immune response to succeeding male pregnancies,” which means that “antimale antibodies could interfere with the usual masculinization of the brain that occurs before birth, although no such antibodies have yet been detected.”¹⁷ Setting aside the striking admission that these antibodies remain theoretical, it is also significant that research on same-sex desire continues to conflate transsexuality with same-sex desire, assuming that male desire for men is essentially the product of a feminine (or at least nonmasculinized) brain in a male body.

Similar research shows up in the *Seattle Times* on June 24, 2008, in a piece by Rob Stein of the *Washington Post*. Stein quotes many of the same experts, including LeVay and Savic. In this particular article, Stein focuses on a study by Savic and her colleagues that compared “the brains of 25 straight men and 25 straight women with those of 20 gay men and 20 gay women”—again assuming the existence of such categories. The conclusion is in line with other studies: “Gay men tended to have brains that were more like those of straight women than of straight men. . . . Gay women’s brains tended to be more like those of straight men than straight women.” Positron emission tomography (PET) scans corroborate the similarity between gay men and straight women and gay women and straight men. The newspaper article connects this study with research by the psychologist Richard Lippa, “who has found evidence that in gay men, the hair on the back of the head is more likely to curl counter-clockwise than in straight men”—research that seems to come straight out of the empirical biological studies of the late nineteenth-century German sexologists. Stein concludes by noting that “these findings also fit with studies showing that gay men tend to choose professions that typically attract women, such as teaching and social work,” thereby grounding a whole array of gendered behaviors in biological necessity.

Stein’s article regards female homosexuality as symmetrically structured with male homosexuality, which also fits the gender inversion model. Often, however, recent scientific studies elide female homosexuality, just as nineteenth-century studies had. While Wade’s 2007 reporting in the *New York Times* clearly and neatly distinguishes straight men from gay men, all women—regardless of sexuality—apparently prefer “men who seem likely to provide for them and their children.” Similarly, his 2005 article reports that

gay men respond to odors “like women,” again apparently regardless of the women’s sexuality. Even though liberal efforts at defining homosexuality have always made a space for female-female as well as male-male desire, they have nonetheless traditionally had a very hard time grappling with lesbianism.

The belief that sexuality is innate makes it for many analogous to race, understood as purely biological. In an impassioned editorial titled, “Keep Marching for Equality,” and published in the *New York Times* on March 21, 1991, David Dinkens, mayor of New York City, explicitly compared late twentieth-century marches for the civil rights of gays with mid-twentieth-century marches for the civil rights of African Americans. As Janet Jakobsen points out, the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian Gay and Bisexual Rights and Liberation made constant reference to the 1963 Civil Rights March.¹⁸ In an article called “Proud Americans, Be Who You Are,” published online in 2012 in *The New Civil Rights Movement*, author and activist Max S. Gordon continues in this vein twenty years later, declaring, “Denying gays and lesbians full equality in this country is no different from having separate bathrooms for colored people.”¹⁹

While the comparison between the gay rights movement and the civil rights movement carries considerable weight, the analogy between homosexuals and Jews remains powerful in Western culture as well. Intellectuals and artists, from Hannah Arendt to Susan Sontag to Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, from Paul Monette to Larry Kramer to Tony Kushner, make frequent comparisons between the two groups. Media like the *New York Times* have picked up this theme as well. In an article published in 2001, David Kirby writes about the prevalence of gay writers in sitcoms today, noting that “among the writers, producers and critics interviewed for this article comparison was often made to the influence that Jewish writers and performers had over contemporary comedy.” Kirby quotes the writer and actor David Drake as saying, “when it comes to humor in America, gays are the new Jews.”²⁰

These comparisons to race, ethnicity, and Jewish identity are made within the context of a progressive agenda. Indeed, developments in gay rights have been one of the most noteworthy liberal successes in the early twenty-first century in the United States in particular and in the West in general. These successes have built upon the advances of the American civil rights act. Overall, the American gay rights movement reinforced comparisons between sexuality and race in order to replicate the success of the civil rights movement in improving the status of racial minorities from the 1960s on, a strategy that echoes efforts by Ulrichs and others to build on the successes of the emancipation of

Jews in central Europe. In particular, the efforts to achieve legal gay marriage have relied in the United States in no small part on the 1967 decision, *Loving v. Virginia*, in which the Supreme Court struck down Virginia's antimiscegenation laws, declaring that "the freedom to marry has long been recognized as one of the vital personal rights essential to the orderly pursuit of happiness by free men."²¹ The sweeping defense of marriage in *Loving* made it an irresistible precedent for those demanding the right to gay marriage. Its usefulness in the debate about gay marriage reinforces that sexuality and race are in some way comparable in the eyes of the law.

Liberal approaches to sexuality reached a major milestone when the U.S. Supreme Court finally ruled sodomy rules unconstitutional in the seminal decision, *Lawrence v. Texas* of 2003. Justice Anthony Kennedy's majority decision makes clear that he is concerned with many of the same issues that structured the thinking of Kertbeny and Ulrichs. Just as they had insisted that the state had no right to regulate private noncommercial sex between consenting adults, Kennedy outlines the boundaries of the sexual rights the Court is willing to guarantee: "The present case does not involve minors. It does not involve persons who might be injured or coerced or who are situated in relationships where consent might not easily be refused. It does not involve public conduct or prostitution. It does not involve whether the government must give formal recognition to any relationship that homosexual persons seek to enter. The case does involve two adults who, with full and mutual consent from each other, engage in sexual practices common to the homosexual lifestyle." The parameters of the debate are strikingly similar to those of liberal activists like Ulrichs and Kertbeny who had been thinking about these matters in the mid-nineteenth century.

Kennedy's majority decision assumes the existence of "sexuality" as formative force in the development of a person: "When sexuality finds over expression in intimate contact with another person," he writes, "the conduct can be but one element in a personal bond that is more enduring." Kennedy is insistent that sexuality, specifically homosexuality, is more than merely physical, but rather incorporates a whole "lifestyle." In reversing the 1986 decision in *Bowers v. Hardwick*, which had declared Georgia's sodomy laws constitutional, Kennedy writes, "to say that the issue in *Bowers* was simply the right to engage in certain sexual conduct demeans the claim the individual put forward, just as it would demean a married couple were it to be said marriage is simply about the right to have sexual intercourse." For a majority of the Court, "sexuality" is a major constituent of a person's identity.

Not only does the Supreme Court decision accept the existence of sexuality as a significant identity category, it also specifically accepts the existence of “homosexual persons.” The Supreme Court took into account its 1996 decision, *Romer v. Evans*, which had ruled that a Colorado law prohibiting local antidiscrimination ordinances regarding sexuality violated the rights of homosexual people to agitate politically on their own behalf, accepting the existence of homosexuals as a class of people. After discussing *Romer v. Evans*, Kennedy argues that the Texas antisodomy laws affect not behavior, but individuals with a specific identity: “When homosexual conduct is made criminal by the law of the State, that declaration in and of itself is an invitation to subject homosexual persons to discrimination both in the public and in the private spheres.” Thus, for Kennedy, sexual behavior is a sign for a sexual orientation—there are in fact “homosexuals,” not just people who may or may not commit homosexual acts.

Justice Sandra Day O’Connor’s concurring opinion, which is based not on Kennedy’s right to privacy, but on the principle of equal protection under the law, is even more clear in its assumption of the existence of homosexual identity. Rejecting the arguments of Texas that the state was merely regulating conduct, as it has a right to do, she asserts: “While it is true that the law applies only to conduct, the conduct targeted by this law is conduct that is closely correlated with being homosexual. Under such circumstances, Texas’ sodomy law is targeted at more than conduct.” Rather colloquially, she concludes, “it is instead directed toward gay persons as a class.” Following an identity-based model, she believes homosexuals are identifiable people who constitute a class with a lifestyle that goes beyond their sexual behavior.

Besides the Supreme Court, other branches of the U.S. government have developed policies based on belief in sexual identity. In 2011, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton gave a remarkable speech in Geneva in honor of Human Rights Day, committing the United States to the protection and encouragement of the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered people. In 1995 in Beijing, Clinton famously declared, “human rights are women’s rights—and women’s rights are human rights.” With her Geneva speech, she continued in this tradition, asserting that “gay rights are human rights, and human rights are gay rights.” Paired with President Barack Obama’s simultaneous memorandum on initiatives to advance the human rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender persons, Clinton’s announcement enshrined a modern liberal approach to sexual identity in government policy.

Building on precedents established in particular under Janet Reno,

President Bill Clinton's attorney general, Hillary Clinton's speech puts the United States officially on record as declaring homosexuals are a specific "group of people." "Being LGBT," Clinton declares, is "like being a woman, like being a racial, religious, tribal or ethnic minority." Sexuality as a form of gender, even if it doesn't specify gender inversion as the scientific studies do, is a descent of thinking in terms of "the third sex." Comparisons to race similarly root sexual orientation in biology.

Clinton's speech makes clear that sexual orientation falls in the category of characteristics that are unchangeable or should not have to be changed. In addition to presuming the immutability of sexual orientation, her speech explicitly downplays the importance of cultural difference in the construction of sexuality. Speaking for the U.S. government, she asserts that "in reality, gay people are born into and belong to every society in the world." She adds, "being gay is not a Western invention; it is a human reality." According to this view, sexual orientation is innate and universal, a biological constant. The government puts its full weight behind a growing consensus that sexual orientation is analogous to gender and homosexuals form a discrete minority comparable to racial and ethnic minorities—a set of beliefs first articulated by thinkers like Hössli, Ulrichs, and Kertbeny.

Persistence of Resistance: Queer Theory and American Literature

While the modern liberal minoritizing view of sexual orientation has taken root in the U.S. journalistic, scientific, political, legal, and administrative cultures, critiques of that model persist, especially in humanistic and literary circles. While these critiques reject the misogynist and anti-Semitic rhetoric of the masculinists, they often share the suspicions that Kupffer, Friedlaender, Brand, Mackay, and Blüher exhibit toward beliefs in fixed minoritizing sexual identities, biological and medical understandings of those identities, and gender inversion as a cause for same-sex desire. This resistance to the minoritizing view of sexuality is particularly strong in academic and literary writing.

Freud, Foucault, Halperin, Sedgwick, and Butler have all contributed in various ways to the emergence of a critical body of Queer Theory that centers fundamentally on the critique of essentialist notions of sexual identity. This approach often replicates the late nineteenth-century German analysis of the

ossification of liberal medical and juristic categories as sexual identities based in biology. As Andrew Hewitt remarks, a masculinist like Blüher could be considered “the first theorist—and a reactionary one at that—of the Queer Nation.”²²

In contemporary American literature, one finds ongoing reflection on sexual identity. The enormous critical and popular success of Ang Lee’s 2005 film adaptation of Annie Proulx’s 1997 short story “Brokeback Mountain” reveals the continued public interest in male-male love that is not necessarily based in a fixed sexual identity and that is not gender-inverted, but instead rooted in a kind of nationalist patriarchy. More recently, two novels with explicit references to Mann’s *Tod in Venedig* have been critical and popular successes: Michael Cunningham’s *Before Nightfall* (2010) and Chad Harbach’s *The Art of Fielding* (2011). Both structure debates about sexuality in ways that emerge from nineteenth-century German-speaking central Europe.

Michael Cunningham’s Before Nightfall

“No. This is my life, it’s not *Death in Goddamned Venice*,” declares Peter Harris, the protagonist of Michael Cunningham’s *Before Nightfall*.²³ As Cunningham indicates in *Paris Review*, however, “the seed of *By Nightfall* was really Mann’s *Death in Venice*.”²⁴ The novel’s allusions to the novella are clear. Right at the beginning, for instance, Harris sees a group of revelers, similar to the group Aschenbach notices boarding the ferry to Venice. Just as Aschenbach realizes with horror that one of the party is an old fop, “Peter sees, thinks he sees, that one of them, one of the four clamoring in the back seat, is actually an old man, wearing what must be a spiky black wig, shouting and shoving right along with the others, but thin-lipped and hollow-cheeked.”²⁵ Like Aschenbach, Harris, middle-aged and successful in the arts, falls in love with a much younger man, whose nickname “Mizzy” is reminiscent of “Tadzio.” Mizzy (short for “mistake,” because he was the product of an unexpected pregnancy) is more formally Ethan Taylor, younger brother of Harris’s wife. Although Cunningham does not describe Mizzy’s older sisters quite as misogynistically as Mann describes Tadzio’s, it is clear the favored Mizzy is coddled in ways they are not.

Just as Aschenbach regards Tadzio as sickly and suspects he will not live long, Harris sees Mizzy as fragile, vulnerable, and doomed: “And Peter knows—Mizzy is going to die. Peter knows that at some deep level of his

being.”²⁶ Cunningham’s insight is that this mortal beauty is precisely what Harris loves about Mizzy. Whereas Aschenbach endangers his beloved Tadzio by keeping him and his family in the dark about the spread of cholera in Venice, Harris fails to intervene as Mizzy falls back into drug abuse: he would rather have Mizzy in his life than in a rehab center.

By Nightfall and *Tod in Venedig* share a number of other similarities too. Both feature narrators who rely heavily on free indirect discourse, making it difficult to tell where the narrator’s reporting ends and where the protagonist’s consciousness begins. In both stories moments of truth, flashes of insight, take place at the liminal space of the shore. In *By Nightfall*, Harris has epiphanies about death and beauty while observing his gay older brother and his brother’s best friend, a girl Harris finds attractive, on the beach at Lake Michigan; later Harris and Mizzy consummate their relationship with a kiss on the Atlantic Ocean.

Most important, *By Nightfall* is similar to *Der Tod in Venedig* in that it interrogates questions of sexual identity. In the narrator’s indirect discourse, Harris asks about his desire to see the naked Mizzy, “How gay *is* it, how gay *isn’t* it?”²⁷ Repeatedly, the question arises, “Is it possible to be gay for one man only?”²⁸ Like *Tod in Venedig*, *By Nightfall* sets up two models of sexuality against each other, one majoritizing and the other minoritizing.

Like Aschenbach, Harris has a heterosexual history. Cunningham emphasizes his protagonist’s heterosexuality much more strongly than Mann. In *By Nightfall*, Harris’s wife is still alive and the novel explicitly portrays the sexual behavior of the married couple, which is much more physical than anything that develops between Harris and his male beloved. At the end of the novel, husband and wife seem to be on their way to a deeper and more committed relationship. While Harris tells himself to “accept that, like many men, you have a streak of the homoerotic in you,”²⁹ he objects to the label of gay, resists the notion that he is sexually attracted to men in general—he is “queer for you, boy, alone in the world, as if you were a gender unto yourself.”³⁰ Mizzy also seems to have a dating history that consists primarily of liaisons with women. When Harris asks if he’s gay, Mizzy sighs and declares, “I think I’m gay for you,” making the same claim as Harris for the individual, non-identity-based nature of his desire.³¹

In the novel, this model of intergenerational same-sex desire that does not preclude simultaneous heterosexual relationships has a Greek—and, interestingly, German—flavor. Harris dreams of moving with Mizzy to Greece—or Berlin. Like the masculinist vision of male-male love, this vision of same-sex

desire is closely connected with the pursuit of beauty and the arts. The art dealer Harris frequently conceptualizes his love for Mizzy (who himself co-quettes with the notion of doing “Something in the Arts”) in terms of beauty and its representation.

In contrast, the novel presents a number of characters who are clearly gay in a way that would resonate with sexologists and emancipationists. There is Harris’s hairdresser, Bobby, who “has never, it seems, met any man who was not drop-dead gorgeous.”³² There is “Rex and his goddamned endless parade of young geniuses who are invariably slender, tattooed young men, and are never actual geniuses.”³³ Most importantly, there is Harris’s brother Matthew, who has died of AIDS. When Harris begins to realize the physical nature of his attraction for Mizzy, he thinks, “there’s gay DNA in the family,” referring to his brother.³⁴ Harris recalls a discussion in which Matthew himself attributes the vagaries of desire to “DNA.” This biologically based sexual identity is connected in the novel with gender inversion: “Matthew was quite possibly the most effeminate person in Milwaukee.”³⁵ Matthew’s death from AIDS relates his sexuality to the history of medicalizing and pathologizing homosexuality—not in the crude sense that homosexuality is a disease, but rather in the historical sense that AIDS reinforced many of these pathologizing assumptions in American society.

Much in the manner of Mann and Zweig, Cunningham leaves his readers with an intact liberal model of gay identity, biologically based, featuring gender inversions and allusions to a history of pathologization. He in no way attempts to deny that reality. But, also like Mann and Zweig, he implies that such a model of sexuality will never fully explain human desire and will not go very far in clarifying the love between Harris and Mizzy. It would be reductive to say that either of them was “really” gay and had been merely mistaken in their sexual identity prior to this erotic adventure. Indeed, *By Nightfall* takes upon itself the very novelistic task of testing the limits of contemporary language of sexuality, desire, love and intimacy.

Chad Harbach’s The Art of Fielding

Chad Harbach’s *The Art of Fielding* similarly alludes to *Tod in Venedig* as it analyzes modern American sexuality. The novel was immensely successful and ranked as among the best novels of 2011 by such publications as the *New York Times*, *GQ*, and the *New Yorker*. It features two narrative strands, one about college baseball, focusing on the relationship between two players (Michael

Schwarz and Henry Skrimshander), the other an updated version of *Tod in Venedig*.

The Aschenbach figure is sixty-year-old Guert Affenlight, a Melville scholar turned college president. The name "Affenlight" scans similarly to "Aschenbach," and Guert is a Germanic name (although it also alludes to Hermann Melville's cousin, Guert Gansevoort). Like Aschenbach, Affenlight is a man of some import in the world of letters. He makes discoveries about Melville, his research attracts widespread attention, he teaches at prominent institutions, and he ends up as the president of a small college on the shores of Lake Michigan. His most famous scholarly work confronts issues of male sexuality: "The dissertation, a study of the homosocial and the homoerotic in nineteenth-century American letters, turned into a book, *The Sperm Squeezers* (1987), and the book turned into a sensation."³⁶ Like Aschenbach, Affenlight is a widower. Like Aschenbach, Affenlight has a daughter who has disappeared, married to a professional. In this novel, however, the daughter—named Pella—returns, has affairs with both baseball players, and intervenes in her father's love life. Like Aschenbach, Affenlight falls in love with a younger man, in this case, Owen Dunne. Like Aschenbach, Affenlight dies after nearly destroying his reputation with his inappropriate love affair. Unlike Aschenbach, Affenlight enjoys a reciprocal relationship with Owen. He receives a rather touching set of eulogies from his beloved Owen and his daughter, Pella, as well as from the two baseball players, as the young people dispose of his body in the waters of Lake Michigan. (As in *By Nightfall*, Lake Michigan continues to serve as a substitute for the Adriatic. Tazio beckons toward the sea while Aschenbach is dying on the beach in Venice; Owen, Pella, and their friends physically transport Affenlight's corpse into the Great Lake.)

The novel pairs Affenlight's desire with a general unhealthiness, manifested most notably in a weak heart that can bear neither the cigarettes and scotch that the college president enjoys, nor the threats of disciplinary action that arise when his affair with Owen comes to the attention of the faculty. Moreover, the novel's younger characters seem to accept the existence of fixed sexual identities. At one point, his beloved wonders whether Affenlight is gay or not: "If you're straight, you're straight," Owen said. 'C'est la vie.'³⁷ His daughter, Pella, initially responds negatively to the question of whether her father is gay, asserting, "Actually," Pella said, 'the book has very little to do with homosexuality per se. It's more about the cult of male friendship in nineteenth-century America: Boys' clubs, whale boats, baseball teams.'³⁸ As she becomes suspicious of her father's behavior, however, she realizes, "if you

swapped out just one premise—the premise that her dad was straight—it was just too obvious.”³⁹ Once she removes that premise, she concludes: “I mean if my dad’s gay, and he’s happy, then it’s no big deal, right? Or even if he’s gay and unhappy, it’s still not that big a deal. A certain number of people are gay, just like a certain number of people have blue eyes. Or Lupus. Don’t ask me why I just said Lupus. I barely know what it is. And I know being gay is not a disease.”⁴⁰ In the name of tolerant, liberal politics, Pella moves inexorably and unwillingly from the assumption of fixed identities to biologism (blue eyes) and eventually pathologization (Lupus). The characters who operate on the assumption of fixed sexual identities—Owen and Pella—represent the future. They are the ones who are alive at the end of the novel. Like Zweig’s *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, Harbach’s *The Art of Fielding* suggests that a liberal model of fixed sexual identities is the way of the future.

Affenlight, however, does not agree with that categorization. The narrator records Affenlight’s response to Owen’s question about his sexuality: “Well, was he? It was true that Affenlight thought of himself as straight. Or, at least, he didn’t think of himself as gay.”⁴¹ His research on male-bonding in nineteenth-century literature suggests his preference for the masculinist thinking that rejects sexual identity categories. At one point, he discusses Whitman’s concept of adhesion, “the liking of like for like,” which the masculinists would endorse.⁴² Tellingly, the self-identified gay Owen is somewhat dismissive of Whitman. Affenlight’s very relationship with Owen—the first male-male relationship in a lifetime that has apparently included many affairs with women—suggests that he is right to doubt the solidity of sexual identity categories.

While the narrator in *Der Tod in Venedig* seems to build a case against Aschenbach’s (and Mann’s) sympathies with the masculinists, *The Art of Fielding* has considerable sympathy for critiques of the liberal essentialist position. In addition to, at the very least, raising questions about the innateness and immutability of sexual desire, the novel also basically dismisses gender inversion as an interesting feature of male-male eros. Admittedly, Owen is less manly than his fellow baseball players, but Affenlight exhibits no such gender inversion. By embedding the love story between Owen and Affenlight in a baseball story about the coming of age of young men through athletics, the novel shifts the focus of the relationship between the college president and his student from homosexuality in particular to masculinity in general.

A Greek aura surrounds *The Art of Fielding*. Michael, the baseball player, frets that his Greek is not good enough, as the poorly endowed college offers only two years of the language. Michael thinks of himself as “like a minor

Greek god you've barely heard of."⁴³ In a black mood, his best friend Henry realizes, "he was no Ulysses, had no Ithaca to get home to."⁴⁴ Affenlight immediately thinks of Menelaus, coming to reclaim Helen, when his daughter's husband shows up, looking for Pella. Contemplating the nature of her father's love for Owen, Pella is aware of the intergenerational aspect of Greek love, wondering, "Why was the younger person always the prize, the older person always the striver?"⁴⁵

Fellow faculty and administrators employ the college's "strict and carefully delineated code with regard to student-teacher interactions" against Affenlight, forcing his resignation and provoking the heart attack that causes his death.⁴⁶ This is analogous to the kind of respectable liberal regulation of society that the masculinists continually find so problematic within modern regimes of sexuality. Watching her lovesick father parade his affection in public, Pella knows that "people didn't forgive you for doing what felt right—that was the last thing people forgave you for."⁴⁷ The "people" to whom Pella refers are the generally liberal polity that congregates around small colleges.

Like Cunningham's *By Nightfall*, Harbach's *The Art of Fielding* replicates the rhetoric of sexuality found in Mann's *Der Tod in Venedig*, which itself expounds upon the development of modern discourses of sexuality in nineteenth-century German-speaking culture. The protagonist of Harbach's *Art of Fielding*, Affenlight, is predisposed to focus on a generalized homosociality between men—Whitman's adhesivity—which would appeal to the masculinist Aschenbach. Other characters, who represent the future of thinking about sexuality, take for granted the existence of fixed sexual categories like "gay" and "straight." While these characters might seem to prevail over Affenlight, the novel as a whole investigates subtler and more nuanced registers of human behavior, exposing the limitations of modern liberal discourses of sexuality.

This brief overview of contemporary discussions about sexuality, desire, love, and intimacy in science, journalism, law, politics, academics, and literature in the United States at the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century must remain cursory and speculative. Rather than reaching a definitive conclusion, it suggests how debates that emerged in nineteenth-century German-speaking central Europe still structure discussions today. On the one hand, a modern, minoritizing, biologically based, liberal model of sexual orientation stands as a category comparable to gender and race. On the other hand, a model of a widespread, fluid, classically oriented, majoritizing, culturally based, aesthetically focused desire for members

of one's own sex persists. Both models echo the writings of political activists, medical, psychiatric, sexological, and psychoanalytic scientists, and literary authors of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German-speaking central Europe, many of whom may seem peripheral to the twenty-first century public, but whose thinking has helped construct the architecture of our most intimate desires.

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Notes

PREFACE: PERIPHERAL DESIRES

1. Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité*, vol. 1: 55.
2. Ibid., 56.
3. Berman, "All That Is Solid Melts into Air": *The Experience of Modernity*, 43.
4. Grandvilliers, *Essai sur le libéralisme allemand*, 7; Langewiesche, *Liberalism in Germany*, 1; Beiser, *Enlightenment, Revolution, and Romanticism*, 15.
5. *Lesbians in Germany: 1890's–1920's*, ed. Faderman and Erickson; Schoppmann, *Der Skorpion*.
6. Oosterhuis, *Step-Children of Nature*, 11.
7. Robb, *Strangers*, 12.
8. Ibid., 30.
9. Goodheart, "The Age of Uranians."
10. Müller, "Aber in meinem Herzen sprach eine Stimme so laut": *Homosexuelle Autobiographien und medizinische Pathographien im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 6.
11. Unless otherwise noted, however, all translations from German and French to English are my own.

INTRODUCTION. 1869—URNINGS, HOMOSEXUALS, AND INVERTS

1. H. Ellis, "Sexual Inversion," 60.
 2. H. Ellis, "Sexual Inversion," 133.
 3. *Goodbye to Berlin?*, 70.
 4. Hirschfeld, *Berlins drittes Geschlecht*, 171.
 5. For a vivid account of homosexual life around 1900 in Berlin, see Beachy, *Gay Berlin*, especially 44–83.
 6. "The Special" is in Steakley, *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement*, 42. "The Self-Owner" is in Oosterhuis, *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany*, 22–23. "The Personalist" is in Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*, 42. "The Free" is the translation of "der Eigene" in von Wolzogen's *The Third Sex*, 102.
 7. Mühsam, 43.
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8. Hirschfeld, *Geschlechtsverirrungen*, 172.
9. Robb, 52.
10. There are a few pages of Ulrichs and a sizable, but not complete, chunk of one of Kertbeny's essays in Blasius and Phelan, *We Are Everywhere*, 63–79.
11. Sedgwick, 133.
12. Taylor, "Was heißt Aufklärung?" 53.
13. Steakley, "Sodomy in Enlightenment Prussia," 164.
14. Crompton, *Byron and Greek Love*, 37–38.
15. Hull, *Sexuality, State and Civil Society in Germany*, 377–98.
16. Derks, "Die Schande der heiligen Päderastie", 163.
17. Cited by Derks, 162.
18. Hull, 358.
19. The report is attached as an appendix to Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Der Conträrsexuale vor dem Strafrichter*. Krafft-Ebing discusses it at length on page 19.
20. Steakley, *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement*, 10.
21. Bunzl, *Symptoms of Modernity*, 19.
22. Quoted by Krafft-Ebing, 22.
23. Kennedy, *Ulrichs*, 148.
24. Krafft-Ebing, 37.
25. Krafft-Ebing, 15.
26. To be more precise, Paragraph 175 criminalized "lewd conduct contrary to nature" (*widernatürliche Unzucht*) between men. The German courts generally understood this to refer to contact between the exposed genitalia of one party and the skin of another, usually leading to ejaculation. Mutual masturbation did not generally fall into this category. For more on this, see my two forthcoming essays: "Sexology in the Southwest: Law, Medicine and Sexuality in Germany and Its Colonies" and "Widernatürliche Unzucht! Paragraph 175 in Deutsch-Südwestafrika."
27. Bunzl, 68.
28. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 73.
29. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash translated an English edition that also appeared in 1994. Ulrichs, *Riddle of Man-Manly Love*.
30. Kennedy, 66.
31. Kennedy, 26.
32. Engling, "Ulrichs' Bewerbung um die Bürgermeisterstelle in Uslar (1865)."
33. The name is also sometimes spelled "Handtke" (Kennedy, 136). The name is spelled "Hanke" in *Eldorado: Homosexuelle Frauen und Männer in Berlin 1850–1950*, 11
34. Kennedy, 139.
35. Ulrichs, *Forschungen über das Räthsel der mann männlichen Liebe*, 8 (Incubus): 5.
36. Ulrichs, 8 (Incubus): 11.
37. Ulrichs, 9 (Argonauticus): 124.
38. Ulrichs, 9 (Argonauticus): 90.

39. Ulrichs, 9 (Argonauticus): 93.
40. Ulrichs, 8 (Incubus): 81–82.
41. Ulrichs, 9 (Argonauticus): 119.
42. Ulrichs, 9 (Argonauticus): 101.
43. Ulrichs, 9 (Argonauticus): 152.
44. Dobler, “Ulrichs vs. Preußen,” 50–51.
45. Kennedy, 21.
46. Derks, 172.
47. For a thorough account of Ulrichs and his place in gay history, see Beachy, 3–41.
48. His various names make him even harder to track down than he would be otherwise. In their anthology, Blasius and Phelan list him as “Karola Maria Benkert,” giving him a Hungarian first name and his German last name. A number of scholars have followed their lead. However, virtually all libraries and Manfred Herzer’s edition of his works use “Karl Maria Kertbeny.”
49. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 23.
50. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 18.
51. This is in “§ 143 des Preussischen Strafgesetzbuches vom 14. April 1851 und seine Aufrechterhaltung als § 152 im Entwurfe eines Strafgesetzbuches für den Norddeutschen Bund. Offene, fachwissenschaftliche Zuschrift an seine Excellenz Herrn Dr. Leonhardt.” Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 112.
52. Both Ellis and Carpenter sniffed at the linguistic impurity of the word, as Somerville notes in “Scientific Racism and the Invention of the Homosexual Body,” 250.
53. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 32.
54. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 110.
55. Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 15.
56. “Ein Brief von Kertbeny in Hannover an Ulrichs in Würzburg,” in *Capri* 1 (1987),
34. Cited by Herzer in Hössli, *Eros: Die Männerliebe der Griechen, ihre Beziehungen zur Geschichte, Erziehung, Literatur und Gesetzgebung aller Zeiten*, 3: 11 n 11.
57. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 115.
58. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 116.
59. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 142.
60. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 132–33.
61. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 78–79.
62. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 83. For further discussion on the genealogy of the discourse of “rights” in German, see Hull, 300–301.
63. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 99.
64. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 37.
65. Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality*, 53–54.
66. Cited by Bruns, “Skandale im Beraterkreis um Kaiser Wilhelm II,” 52.
67. Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité*, 1: 59.

68. Foucault is in good company. The date 1870 is given by a number of other authors, including H. Ellis, in “Inversion” (65) and Ellis and Moll in “Die Funktionsstörung des Sexuallebens,” 648.

69. Habermas, “The Role of Psychiatric and Medical Traditions,” 360–65.

70. Westphal, “Die conträre Sexualempfindung,” 108.

71. Westphal, 73.

72. Westphal, 97.

73. Westphal, 80.

74. Westphal, 82.

75. Westphal, 83.

76. Hirschfeld, *Berlins drittes Geschlecht*, 181.

77. Westphal, 80.

78. Westphal, 75, repeated on 79.

79. Rubin, *Deviations*, 352.

80. Westphal, 84.

81. Foucault, 59.

82. Westphal, 87.

83. Westphal, 87.

84. Foucault, 134.

85. For an exception, see Müller, “*Aber in meinem Herzen sprach eine Stimme so laut.*”

86. Rubin, 351–52.

87. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 51.

88. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 54.

CHAPTER I. SWISS EROS: HÖSSLI AND ZSCHOKKE, LEGACIES AND CONTEXTS

1. Reprinted in Hössli, *Eros*, 3: 40. Karsch also published under the name Ferdinand Karsch-Haack,

2. Kennedy, *Ulrichs*, 101.

3. Kennedy, *Ulrichs*, 114.

4. H. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, “Inversion,” 61.

5. Farrington, *Dark Justice*, 34.

6. Reprinted in Hössli, *Eros*, 3: 254.

7. Hössli, *Eros*, 3: 237.

8. Hössli, *Hexenproceß und Glauben, Pfaffen und Teufel* and *Eros*.

9. Hössli, 1: 297.

10. Hössli, 1: 300.

11. Kleist, *Sämtliche Werke*, 3: 138.

12. Hössli, 3: 226.

13. Hössli, 3: 208.

14. Hössli, 3: 243.
15. Hössli, 3: 250.
16. Friedrich Schiller to Wolfgang von Goethe, den 12. September 1794, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe*, 21.
17. Ramdohr, *Venus Urania*, 2: 106.
18. Hössli, 2: 37–38.
19. Hössli, 2: 37.
20. Ramdohr, 1: 208.
21. Ramdohr, 1: 229.
22. Ramdohr, 1: 227.
23. Ramdohr, 1: 212.
24. Ramdohr, 1: 171.
25. Ramdohr, 1: 171.
26. Ramdohr, 1: 234.
27. Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité*, vol. 1: 59.
28. Hössli, 3: 219.
29. Hössli, 2: 220.
30. Hössli, 2: 220.
31. Hössli, 2: 223.
32. Hössli, 2: 223.
33. See Tobin, *Warm Brothers*, 48.
34. Wiese, *Drei Dramen*, 83.
35. Wiese, 79.
36. Wiese, 15.
37. Wiese, 82.
38. Wiese, 17.
39. Cited by Krah, “Freundschaft oder Männerliebe?” 186.
40. Hössli, 2: 328.
41. Hössli, 2: 328.
42. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality*, 26.
43. Ramdohr, 3.1: 205.
44. Cowper, *Life and Works of William Cowper*, 7: 320.
45. Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany*, 6.
46. The original is in J. H. Schmidt, “Über die relative Stellung des Oertlichen zum Allgemeinen,” 166; cited by Hössli, 1: 302.
47. Hössli, 1: 161.
48. Richards, *The Romantic Conception of Life*.
49. Hössli, 3: 202–4.
50. Hössli, 1: 251.
51. Derks, 146–47.
52. J. V. Müller, *Entwurf der gerichtlichen Arzneywissenschaft* 3: 131.
53. Ramdohr, 2: 105–6.

54. Hössli, 1: 113.
 55. Hössli, 1: 166.
 56. Hössli, 2: 285.
 57. Hössli, 2: 348.
 58. Lee Edelman points out that the same confusion plagues translations of Plato's texts. Edelman, *No Future*, 52.
 59. Hössli, 2: 5; emphasis mine.
 60. Butler, *Undoing Gender* 16.
 61. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 115.
 62. Hössli, 2: 227.
 63. Hössli, 2: 200.
 64. Hössli, 2: 200.
 65. Hössli, 2: 230.
 66. Hössli, 1: 192.
 67. Hössli, 1: 267.
 68. Hössli, 2: 5–6.
 69. Hössli, 2: 227.
 70. Hössli, 2: 228.
 71. Hössli, 2: 310.
 72. Hössli, 2: 348.
 73. Hössli, 2: 201.
 74. Hössli, 2: 201–2.
 75. Blumenbach, "Über den Bildungstrieb," 249.
 76. Ramdohr, 1: 153. Ramdohr refers specifically to paragraph 37 of Blumenbach's treatment of the *Bildungstrieb*.
 77. Ramdohr, 1: 153.
 78. Krah, 212.
 79. Hössli, 1: 295, and on the opening frontispiece of volume 1.
 80. Hössli, 1: 296. For more on Frederick, see Hergemöller, *Mann für Mann*, 251.
 81. Kennedy, *Ulrichs*, 102.
 82. Ivory, "The Urning and His Own," 341.
 83. Hössli, 1: 59–60.
 84. Cited by Derks, 352.
 85. Hössli, 3: 229.
 86. Hössli, 3: 221.
 87. Hössli, 3: 235–36.
 88. Hössli, 1: 192.
 89. Hössli, 3: 237.
 90. Hössli, 2: 239.
 91. Hössli, 2: 239.
 92. Hössli, 2: 239.
 93. Hössli, 2: 239.
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94. Hössli, 3: 40.

95. Hössli, 1: 62.

96. Anna's case has inspired a considerable body of creative work in recent years, including the novel by Kaspar Freuler, *Anna Göldi: Die Geschichte der letzten Hexe* (Bern, 1947), the novel by Eveline Hasler, *Anna Göldin, Letzte Hexe* (Zürich, 1982), the play by Stephanie Bernhard, *Das Schicksal der Anna Göldi: Bühnenstück in 5 Akten* (Gundeldingen-Ost, 2008), the opera by Kaspar Freuler and Martin Derungs, *Anna Göldi: Stationen eines verführten Lebens: Musiktheater in 12 Bildern nach dem Göldi-Roman von Kaspar Freuler*, and the Swiss film directed by Gertrud Pinkus, *Anna Goldin—letzte Hexe* (1991). Scholarly research includes Walter Hauser, *Der Justizmord an Anna Göldi: neue Recherchen zum letzten Hexenprozess in Europa* (Zürich: Limmat, 2007).

97. Hössli, 1: 54.

98. Hössli, 1: 14.

99. Hössli, 1: 14.

100. Hössli, 2: 259.

101. Hössli, 1: 11.

102. Ulrichs, *Forschungen über das Räthsel der mannmännlichen Liebe*, 1 (Vindex): 13.

For a case study of a witchburning, see vol. 8 (Incubus): 65–67. For a werewolf, see vol. 3 (Incubus), 68–71.

103. Ulrichs, 3 (Vindicta): 16.

104. Ulrichs, 3 (Vindicta): 16, footnote 7.

105. Ulrichs, 3 (Vindicta): xiv.

106. Ulrichs, 1 (Vindex): 15.

107. Reprinted in K. Müller, "Aber in meinem Herzen sprach eine Stimme so laut," 346

108. Ulrichs, 1 (Vindex): 10.

109. Kertbeny, 99.

110. Hössli, 1: 23.

CHAPTER 2. THE GREEK MODEL AND ITS MASCULINIST APPROPRIATION

1. Hewitt, *Political Inversions*, 129.

2. Keilson-Lauritz, *Die Geschichte der eigenen Geschichte*, 290.

3. Hichens, *The Green Carnation*.

4. Bierbaum, *Prinz Kuckuck*, 287.

5. Bierbaum, 287.

6. Bierbaum, 287.

7. Mandozzi, *Elisarion*.

8. His first name is sometimes spelled with a "k" instead of a "c" and his last name is sometimes spelled with an "ä" instead of an "ae," which complicates bibliographic efforts. "Benedict Friedlaender" is the spelling on the title page of *Renaissance*, his most important work.

9. Beachy gives a thorough account of Blüher, as well as other masculinists, in *Gay Berlin*, 140–59.

10. Nieten, “Homophobie und Staatsräson,” 29.

11. Hergemöller, *Mann für Mann*, 143.

12. For information on Brand under the Nazis, see Müller and Sternweiler, *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen*, 170.

13. For more on this, see Ivory, “The Urning and His Own.”

14. Oosterhuis, *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany*, 183.

15. Reprinted in *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany*, 144.

16. Cited by K. Müller, “*Aber in meinem Herzen sprach eine Stimme so laut*”, 304. Elana Mancini emphasizes Hirschfeld’s interest in Nietzsche in her study, *Magnus Hirschfeld and the Quest for Sexual Freedom*.

17. Hössli, *Eros*, 3: 243.

18. Hössli, 3: 220.

19. Hössli, 1: 88.

20. Hössli, 1: 88.

21. Hössli, 2: 43.

22. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 110. Both Greek terms are spelled with Greek characters in the original.

23. *Goodbye to Berlin?*, 37.

24. Kupffer, *Lieblingminne und Freundesliebe in der Weltliteratur*, 9.

25. Friedlaender, *Die Renaissance des Eros Uranios*, 5.

26. Mackay, *Die Buecher der namenlosen Liebe von Sagita*, 1: 73.

27. Blüher, *Familie und Männerbund*, 21–22.

28. Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft*, 2: 54–73.

29. For developments in England, where Symonds and Pater also promoted Socratic eros as an imperial project, see Dowling, *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford*, 80.

30. Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 1: 268–76.

31. Meiners, *Vermischte philosophische Schriften*, 1: 82.

32. J. V. Müller, *Entwurf einer gerichtlichen Arzneywissenschaft*, 1: 134.

33. Ramdohr, *Venus Urania*, 3: 134, 137.

34. Jacobs, *Vermischte Schriften*, 3: 224.

35. For a Meiners citation, see, for instance, Hössli, 3: 231.

36. Hössli, 3: 251.

37. Hössli, 2: 216.

38. Hössli, 2: 234.

39. J. V. Müller, 1: 137.

40. Brand, “Liebe ist immer rein,” was originally published in *Freundschaft und Freiheit: Ein Blatt für Männerrechte, gegen Spiessbürgermoral, Pfaffenherrschaft und Weiberwirtschaft* 3 (February 17, 1921). This citation is from a reprint in his collection, *Die Bedeutung der Freundschaft für Führer und Volk*, 6.

41. Brand, “Laster und Verbrechen,” in *Die Bedeutung der Freundschaft für Führer und Völker*, 4.
42. Ibid.
43. Kupffer, 3.
44. Kupffer, 3.
45. Kupffer, 3.
46. Friedlaender, 6.
47. Friedlaender, xiii.
48. Friedlaender, 78.
49. Friedlaender, 86.
50. Friedlaender, 86.
51. Friedlaender, xiv.
52. Friedlaender, 105.
53. Friedlaender, 103 n. For more on Schiller and his appropriation by subsequent homosexual writers, see Tobin, *Warm Brothers*, 147–48.
54. Mackay, 1: 179.
55. Mackay, 1: 78.
56. Mackay, 1: 263.
57. Mackay, 1: 264.
58. Mackay, 1: 211.
59. Mackay, 1: 222.
60. For a convincing argument that Mackay and Hirschfeld agree more than they disagree, see Bauer, “On the Nameless Love and Infinite Sexualities.”
61. Mackay, 1: 223.
62. Mackay, 1: 223.
63. Mackay, 1: 346.
64. Mackay, 1: 281.
65. Mackay, 1: 224.
66. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 211.
67. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 30.
68. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 24.
69. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 226.
70. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 135.
71. Blüher, *Familie und Männerbund*, 26.
72. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 121.
73. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 212.
74. Freud, *Gesammelte Werke*, 5: 44 (footnote).
75. Freud, 8: 168–69.
76. Freud, 5: 44 (footnote).
77. Freud, 5: 44 (footnote).
78. Freud, 5: 42.
79. Freud, 5: 40.

80. Generally, I use the word “pederasty” to refer to the ancient Greek model of relations between lover and beloved and the efforts by masculinists to re-create some such structure. I use “pedophilia” to describe the modern diagnosis of a pathological sexual attraction to children.

81. Hössli, 3: 227.

82. Hössli, 3: 234.

83. For more on Schiller’s *Malteser*, see Tobin, *Warm Brothers*, 156–58.

84. Hössli, 1: 265.

85. Kupffer, 1.

86. Kupffer, 1–2.

87. Kupffer, 2.

88. Kupffer, 7.

89. Kupffer, 12.

90. Friedlaender, 14.

91. Friedlaender, 14.

92. Mackay 1:62.

93. Mackay, 1: 263.

94. Mackay, 1: 74.

95. Mackay, 1: 267.

96. Blüher, *Rolle*, 2: 25–26.

97. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 122.

98. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 123.

99. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 27.

100. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 7.

101. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 145.

102. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 166.

103. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 169.

104. Friedlaender, 144–45.

105. Friedlaender, 154.

106. Friedlaender, 46.

107. Blüher, *Rolle*, 2: 41.

108. Blüher, *Rolle*, 2: 41.

109. Schiller, *Sämtliche Werke*, 3: 173.

110. Ramdohr, 3: 149.

111. Hössli, 2: 222.

112. Richards, *The Romantic Conception of Life*, 28–30.

113. Waites, “The Age of Consent and Sexual Citizenships in the United Kingdom.”

114. Kupffer, 7, 9.

115. Bethe, “Die dorische Knabenliebe,” 438.

116. Bethe, 444.

117. Bethe, 446.

118. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 242.

119. Blüher, *Rolle*, 2: 39.

120. Blüher, *Rolle*, 2: 173.

121. Blüher, *Rolle*, 2: 39.

122. Kupffer, 16.

123. Kupffer, 5.

124. Friedlaender, 44.

125. Friedlaender, 182.

126. Friedlaender, 182.

127. Friedlaender, 2.

128. Friedlaender, 57.

129. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 3.

130. Blüher, *Rolle*, 2: 204.

131. Blüher, *Rolle*, 2: 220.

132. Cited by Nieden, "Homophobie und Staatsräson," 34.

133. For more on Kafka and the masculinists, see Anderson, "Kafka, Homosexuality and the Aesthetics of 'Male Culture.'" For more on Mann and Blüher, see Heilbut, *Thomas Mann*, 376–81.

CHAPTER 3. JEWS AND HOMOSEXUALS

1. The biblical passage is found in Deuteronomy 22:5. Fränkel's report is in the *Medizinische Zeitung*. Kennedy gives a lively summary of the facts of the case in *Ulrichs*, 59–60.

2. Ulrichs, *Forschungen über das Räthsel der mann männlichen Liebe*, 2 (Inclusa): 15–17; 3 (Vindicta): 5; 7 (Memnon): 11. See also Westphal, "Die conträre Sexualempfindung," 104–5.

3. Ulrichs, 7 (Memnon): 11.

4. Geller, "Freud, Blüher and the *Secessio Inversa*," 92. Luft, *Eros and Inwardness in Vienna*, 17, 195 n 17.

5. Useful statistics on these developments can be found in Pulzer, *Jews and the German State*..

6. Pulzer includes several significant articles on this law.

7. On a purely legalist level, the timeline for the emancipation of the Jews in the United Kingdom was quite similar to the timeline in Germany and Austria-Hungary. Politicians from the Liberal party began to fight for the rights of Jews in the 1830s. After the Reform Act of 1867, all male property owners in the UK, including Jews, received the right to vote. However, these developments took place in a state where the fundamental tenants of secular liberalism were much more secure than in German-speaking central Europe.

8. Sorkin, *The Transformation of German Jewry*, 175.

9. For a thorough account of this literary fight, see Derks, "Die Schande der heiligen Päderastie," 479–613. See also Mayer, *Außenseiter*, 215–30.

10. Volkov, *Die Juden in Deutschland 1780–1918*, 19.

11. Volkov, 19.

12. Sorkin, 20.
13. Herzog, "Die erste Emanzipationsphrase im Zeitalter Napoleons," 130–31.
14. Langewiesche, *Liberalism in Germany*, 13.
15. Gidal, *Die Juden in Deutschland*, 206.
16. Ulrichs, 1 (Vindex): 4.
17. Ulrichs, 6 (Gladius furens): 1 and 11 (Araxes): 1.
18. Ulrichs, 1 (Vindex): 5.
19. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*, 36. Gilman, *Freud, Race and Gender*, 36, 77, 79.
20. Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, 226; see also 184–85.
21. Braunschweig, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 47.
22. Ulrichs, 1 (Vindex): 5.
23. Ulrichs, 2 (Inclusa): 13.
24. Ulrichs, 10 (Prometheus): 4.
25. Gilman, *The Jew's Body*, 174.
26. Brown, "Tolerance and/or Equality?" 7–8.
27. Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité*, vol. 1: 59. Discussed in Brown, 28, n 5.
28. Blumenfeld, "History/Hysteria," 152.
29. Ulrichs, 4 (Formatrix): 53.
30. Ulrichs, 4 (Formatrix): xviii.
31. Ulrichs, 6 (Gladius furens): 22.
32. Ulrichs, 1 (Vindex): 4.
33. Ulrichs, 11 (Araxes): 34.
34. Ulrichs, 11 (Araxes): 34.
35. Ulrichs, 9 (Argonauticus): 93.
36. Ulrichs, 11 (Araxes): 1.
37. Ulrichs, 9 (Argonauticus): 93.
38. Ulrichs, 9 (Argonauticus): 93.
39. Ulrichs, 3 (Vindicta): 1.
40. Ulrichs, 9 (Argonauticus): 100–1.
41. Ulrichs, 5 (Ara spei): 79.
42. Ulrichs, 10 (Prometheus): 33.
43. Ulrichs, 10 (Prometheus): 40.
44. Ulrichs, 3 (Vindicta): 2.
45. Ulrichs, 8 (Incubus): 13.
46. Ulrichs, 10 (Prometheus): 10.
47. Luft, 18.
48. Ulrichs, 6 (Gladius furens): 18.
49. Ulrichs, 10 (Prometheus): 9.
50. Ulrichs, 10 (Prometheus): 9–10.
51. Hirschfeld, *Von einst bis jetzt*, 27–28.
52. Herzer, *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 120–24.
53. Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 451–54.

54. "Nazi Students Raid Institute on Sex."
55. "Nazi Students Raid Institute on Sex."
56. Hirschfeld, *Sittengeschichte des ersten Weltkrieges*, 214.
57. Hirschfeld, "Die Objektive Diagnose der Homosexualität," 22.
58. Hirschfeld, *Geschlechtsverirrungen*, 215.
59. Hirschfeld, *Geschlechtsverirrungen*, 173.
60. Hirschfeld, "Die objektive Diagnose," 4.
61. Hirschfeld, *Geschlechtsverirrungen*, 212.
62. Hirschfeld, *Berlins drittes Geschlecht*, 14.
63. Foucault, 59.
64. Wolff, 43. See also Wolff, 449.
65. Hirschfeld, "Die objektive Diagnose," 9.
66. Hirschfeld, "Die objektive Diagnose," 9.
67. Beachy, *Gay Berlin*, 179.
68. Hirschfeld, *Sittengeschichte*, 226–27.
69. Hirschfeld, *Sittengeschichte*, 227.
70. Hirschfeld, *Sittengeschichte*, 226.
71. Hirschfeld, *Sittengeschichte*, 216–17.
72. Gilman, *The Jew's Body*, 40–48.
73. Cited by Herzer, 65.
74. Cited by Herzer, 55.
75. For more on this subject in the American context, see Ordovery, *American Eugenics*. Ordovery's study does not refer extensively to the German tradition and, unfortunately, when it does so, makes quite a few errors in matters of fact, such as dates of publication.
76. Hirschfeld, "Die objektive Diagnose," 8.
77. Hirschfeld, *Sexualpathologie*, 2: 44–48.
78. In *Body* (= Karl M. Baer), *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenjahren*, 164. An English translation is available: *Body, Memoirs of a Man's Maiden Years*.
79. *Body*, 166.
80. *Body*, 110.
81. Foucault, 59.
82. *Body*, 17.
83. *Body*, 18.
84. *Body*, 39.
85. *Body*, 73.
86. LeRider, *Der Fall Otto Weininger*, 36.
87. LeRider, 43.
88. LeRider, 52.
89. Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature*, 261.
90. Weininger, 406.
91. Weininger, 53.
92. Weininger, 55.

93. Sengoopta, *Otto Weininger*, 10.
 94. Weininger, 69.
 95. Weininger, 53.
 96. Weininger, 70.
 97. Weininger, 53.
 98. Weininger, 59–60.
 99. Weininger, 59.
 100. Weininger, 112.
 101. Weininger, 115.
 102. Luft, 65.
 103. Weininger, 342.
 104. Weininger, 82.
 105. Weininger, 81.
 106. Weininger, 404.
 107. Weininger, 404.
 108. Weininger, 410.
 109. Weininger, 410. He writes, “woman is absolutely the bearer of community thinking” (351).
 110. Weininger, 417.
 111. Weininger, 412.
 112. Weininger, 417.
 113. Weininger, 429.
 114. Weininger, 431.
 115. Boyarin, 354.
 116. Weininger, 430.
 117. Luft, 81.
 118. Luft, 85.
 119. Weininger, 441.
 120. Weininger, 441.
 121. Hewitt, *Political Inversions*, 128–29.
 122. Geller, 91.
 123. Friedlaender, *Die Renaissance des Eros Uranios*, 9, 33.
 124. Friedlaender, 26.
 125. Friedlaender, 15.
 126. Friedlaender, 17.
 127. Friedlaender, 43. See also Herzer, *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 19–20.
 128. Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft*, 2: 170.
 129. Blüher, *Rolle*, 2: 173.
 130. Blüher, *Rolle*, 2: 203.
 131. Blüher, *Rolle*, 1: 212.
 132. Blüher, *Deutsches Reich, Judentum und Sozialismus*, 8.
 133. Blüher, *Deutsches Reich*, 8.
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134. Blüher, *Deutsches Reich*, 10.
135. Blüher, *Deutsches Reich*, 9
136. Blüher, *Rolle*, 2: 170 n.; emphasis Blüher's.
137. Blüher, *Rolle*, 2: 170 n.
138. Blüher, *Rolle*, 2: 170.
139. Blüher, *Rolle*, 2: 171 n.
140. Blüher, *Rolle*, 2 171 n.
141. The most probing analysis of Blüher's understanding of homosexuality and Jewishness is in Halper's dissertation, "Mordechai Langer (1894–1943) and the Birth of the Modern Jewish Homosexual."
142. Bierbaum, *Prinz Kuckuck*, 37.
143. Bierbaum, 37.
144. Bierbaum, 192.
145. Bierbaum, 359–61.
146. Bierbaum, 496.
147. Bierbaum, 83.
148. Bierbaum, 269.
149. Bierbaum, 285.
150. Bierbaum, 283.
151. Bierbaum, 284.
152. Aldrich, *The Seduction of the Mediterranean*.
153. Bierbaum, 317.
154. Bierbaum, 317.
155. Bierbaum, 325.
156. Bierbaum, 277.
157. Bierbaum, 332.
158. Bierbaum, 333.
159. Bierbaum, 499.
160. Bierbaum, 322.
161. Bierbaum, 281.
162. Bierbaum, 305.

CHAPTER 4. "HOMOSEXUALITY" AND THE POETICS OF THE NATION IN AUSTRIA, HUNGARY, AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

1. Musil, *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*, 34.
2. The term *Kaiserreich und Königtum* was often shortened to *K. und K.*, or sometimes simply *K.K.*, for which reason Musil refers to the country as "Kakania."
3. Musil, 170.
4. Musil, 170.
5. Musil, 451.

6. Musil, 445.
7. Lendvai, *The Hungarians*, 192.
8. Cited by Lendvai, 199–200.
9. Schlipphacke, “Melancholy Empress,” 234.
10. Schlipphacke, 234.
11. The constitution is widely available on line, for instance on the webpage of the Federal Chancellor of Austria: https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/Erv/ERV_1867_142/ERV_1867_142.pdf, accessed January 13, 2015.
12. Landwehr, *Hunger*, 311.
13. Musil, 174.
14. Reifowitz, *Imagining an Austrian Nation*, 143.
15. Pulzer, *Jews and the German State*, 33.
16. Otto of Austria, “Danubian Reconstruction,” 246.
17. Reifowitz, 2.
18. Wolgast, *Geschichte der Menschen- und Bürgerrechte*, 152–56. Berka, “Zur Geschichte der Menschenrechte in Österreich,” 164–65.
19. Loening, *Geschichte der strafrechtlichen Zurechnungslehre*, xi.
20. Sayre, “Mens Rea.”
21. Austrian *Strafgesetzbuch* of 1852, paras. 1, 2, <http://www.koeblergerhard.de/Fontes/StrafgesetzbuchOesterreich1852.htm>, accessed May 1, 2013. Para 51, *Strafgesetzbuch des deutschen Reiches* of 1871, <http://lexetius.com/StGB/51>, accessed May 1, 2013.
22. Musil, 242.
23. Musil, 244.
24. Musil, 243.
25. Interestingly, Krafft-Ebing’s *Psychopathia sexualis* was well known for its twelve editions, suggesting a reference not only to law, but to sexology’s role in the enforcement of that law.
26. Musil, 317.
27. Musil, 244.
28. Musil, 243.
29. Musil, 243.
30. Musil, 263.
31. Musil, 122. The citation is from Maeterlinck’s 1896 *Le Trésor des humbles*.
32. Musil, 123.
33. Lendvai, 225.
34. Law XLIV of 1868; cited by Hoensch, *A History of Modern Hungary, 1867–1994*, 28.
35. Hoensch, 30.
36. Katus, *Hungary 1867–1914*, 18.
37. Lendvai, 201.
38. Lendvai, 240. See also Glatz, “Bourgeois Transformation, Assimilation, and Nationalism,” 33.
39. Lendvai, 207.

40. Szasz, "Government Policy and the Nationalities," 25.
41. Hoensch, 29.
42. Katus, 18.
43. Hoensch, 31.
44. Katus, 17.
45. Lendvai, 328; Katus 17; Hoensch 31.
46. Cited by Takacs, "The Double Life of Kertbeny," 29.
47. Deák, "Translator, Editor, Publisher, Spy."
48. Detrich, *Kertbeny Károly Élete Es Műfordítói Munkássága*, iv.
49. Féray and Herzer, "Kertbeny, une énigmatique 'mosaïque d'incongruités,'" 219.
50. Cited in Takacs, 27.
51. Takacs, 32–33.
52. Takacs, 29.
53. February 21, 1866; cited by Takacs, 33.
54. Cited by Takacs, 35.
55. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 268.
56. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 119, 289.
57. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 132.
58. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 132–33.
59. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 133.
60. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 300.
61. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 133.
62. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 210.
63. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 270.
64. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 238.
65. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 276.
66. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 281.
67. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 162.
68. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 99.
69. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 157.
70. "Ein Brief von Kertbeny in Hannover an Ulrichs in Würzburg," *Capri* 1 (1987): 34.
Cited in Hössli, *Eros*, 3; 11 n 11.
71. Cited in Hössli, 3; 11.
72. Cited by Takacs, 31.
73. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 272.
74. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 294.
75. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 309.
76. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 325.
77. See his sympathetic treatment of Charles Sealsfield (1783–1864), a novelist whose given name was Karl Postl and who Kertbeny speculates is Jewish. Kertbeny, *Erinnerung an Charles Sealsfeld*, 29. He dedicates his translation of Petöfi to Heinrich Heine and specifically praises Heine as a Jew. Kertbeny, "Einleitung," xvi.

78. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 261.
79. Kertbeny, *Petöfi's Tod*, 56.
80. Kertbeny, *Petöfi's Tod*, 60–61.
81. Kertbeny, *Schriften*, 289.
82. Carpenter, *Die homogene Liebe und deren Bedeutung in der freien Gesellschaft*, 7.
83. See, for example, Krafft-Ebing, *Der Conträrsexuale vor dem Strafrichter*, 6.
84. Braunschweig, *Das dritte Geschlecht (gleichgeschlechtliche Liebe)*, 12–16. See also Gerling, *Das dritte Geschlecht und die Enterbten des Liebesglücks*.
85. For an amusing essay on the subject, see Norton, "Lists of Famous Homosexuals," accessed August 17, 2014.
86. Riley, "Deviant Desires."
87. Haussmann, "Adalbert Stifter, 'Brigitta'."
88. Block, "The Gentleness of the Law in Stifter's 'Brigitta'."
89. See Tobin, "Making Way for the Third Sex."
90. Stifter, *Erzählungen: Erster Teil*, 165.
91. Stifter, 190.
92. Stifter, 202; emphasis mine.
93. Stifter, 160.
94. Stifter, 187.
95. Owen, "Zur Erotik in Brigitta's 'Stifter'," 110; originally in German, translation mine.
96. MacLeod, *Embodying Ambiguity*, 206.
97. For an extensive analysis of gender inversion in *Brigitta*, see Steele, "The Politics of Ambiguity."
98. Stifter, 223.
99. Stifter, 215.
100. MacLeod, 205.
101. Steele, 212.
102. Hössli, 1:295, and on the opening frontispiece.
103. Stifter, 157.
104. Stifter, 158.
105. Stifter, 214.
106. Block, 18.
107. Stifter, 183.
108. Stifter, 184.
109. Stifter, 163.
110. Steele, 246.
111. Steele, 41.

CHAPTER 5. COLONIALISM AND SEXUALITY: GERMAN
PERSPECTIVES ON SAMOA

1. Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire, 1884–1945*, 84.
2. Kenosian, “The Colonial Body Politic,” 189.
3. *Samoaianische Zeitung* 6.26 (June 30, 1906): 10.
4. Wildenthal, 126.
5. Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft*, 1: 195.
6. Blüher, *Die Rolle*, 1: 198.
7. Blüher, *Die Rolle*, 1: 199.
8. Hirschfeld, *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, 12.
9. Karsch-Haack, vii.
10. Karsch-Haack, 24.
11. Karsch-Haack, 26.
12. Ferenczi, *Bausteine zur Psychoanalyse* 1: 155.
13. See my articles on the subject: “Sexology in the Southwest: Law, Medicine and Sexuality in Germany and Its Colonies,” forthcoming in *Toward a Global History of Sexual Science*, ed. Veronika Fuechtner, Douglas E. Haynes, and Ryan Jones; and “Widernatürliche Unzucht! Paragraph 175 in Deutsch-Südwestafrika,” forthcoming in *Crimes of Passion*, ed. Japhet Johnstone and Oliver Böni.
14. Karsch-Haack, 129.
15. Karsch-Haack, 131.
16. My 1954 edition lists a press run of 497,000. May, *Gesammelte Werke*.
17. The 1879 version forms the basis for the version in the novel, and appeared in *Deutscher Hausschatz in Wort und Bild* 6. The 1880 version appeared in *All-Deutschland* 5, in the section “Für alle Welt.”
18. Disregarding the Prussian effort at establishing a fort at Gross-Friedrichsburg in what is now Ghana. See Heyden, *Rote Adler an Afrikas Küste*.
19. Townsend, *Origins of Modern German Colonialism*, 113.
20. Cited by Beer, *Samoa—Reise in den Tod*, 142.
21. May, II: 22.
22. May, II: 23.
23. Stevenson, *A Footnote to History*, 16.
24. May, II: 33.
25. May, II: 33–34.
26. Wildenthal, 81.
27. Bülow, “Sind die Samoaner bildungsfähig?” 58.
28. May, II: 63.
29. Quoted in Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany: 1840–1945*, 311.
30. *Samoaianische Zeitung* 5.31 (August 5, 1905): 1. See also *Samoaianische Zeitung* 7, 10 (March 9, 1907).
31. Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, 1: 2.

32. Reinecke, "Anthropologische Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen," 132–33.
33. *Das deutsche Kolonialreich*, 2: 473.
34. Krämer, 2: 35.
35. Krämer, 2: 35.
36. Cited by Krämer, 2: 4.
37. Friedlaender, "Aphorismen ueber die Rassenfrage in der Völkergeschichte," 357.
38. Steffan-Schrade, "Exkurs," 382.
39. Reinecke, Review of Augustin Krämer's *Samoa-Inseln*, 179.
40. Wildenthal, 121–22.
41. Thieme, "The Half-White Question in Samoa." This is a slightly altered translation of the German version that appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt und Handels-Zeitung*.
42. Thieme, "Die Halbweißen-Frage in Samoa," 1; Bülow writes about the Aryan nature of the Polynesians also in "Einige Bemerkungen über die Anthropologie der Samoa-Inseln," 4.
43. *Samoaanische Zeitung* 5, 10 (March 11, 1905): 1.
44. "Die Denkschrift der Kolonialverwaltung," *Samoaanische Zeitung* 5.1 (January 14, 1905): 1.
45. *Samoaanische Zeitung* 5.10 (March 11, 1905): 1.
46. *Samoaanische Zeitung* 1.26 (March 15, 1902): 3.
47. Bülow, "Sind die Samoaner bildungsfähig?" 58.
48. "Die Germanisierung der Welt," *Samoaanische Zeitung* 2.15 (October 11, 1902): 5.
49. Reinecke, 102.
50. Cited by Wildenthal, 326.
51. *Samoaanische Zeitung* 5.10 (March 11, 1905): 1.
52. Thieme, "The Half-White Question," 1.
53. Thieme, "Die Halbweißen-Frage," 1.
54. Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Samoa, 1845–1884*, 69.
55. Cited by Wildenthal, 81.
56. Stevenson, 16.
57. *Samoaanische Zeitung* 3.1 (April 4, 1903): 2.
58. *Samoaanische Zeitung* 3.1 (April 4, 1903): 6.
59. *Samoaanische Zeitung* 3.2 (April 11, 1903): 6.
60. Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 31–32.
61. "Koloniales," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* 23, 95 (February 26, 1903): 5, reprinted in *Samoaanische Zeitung* 3.3 (April 18, 1903): 1.
62. Heider, *Deutsche-Sprachlehre für Samoaner*, 1.
63. Heider, 3.
64. Cited by Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, 2: 4. Beer gives the same quote as from Jakob Roggewein, however (142).
65. Cited in Steffan-Schrade, 380.
66. Cited in Steffan-Schrade, 370–71.

67. In addition to Steffan-Schrade, see Eißenger, “Menschliche ‘Exoten’ im Zoologischen Gärten”; and Klös, “Wie Faitan das Herz der Berliner gewann.”

68. Kim, “The Task of the Loving Translator.”

69. Bradford, *Ota Benga*.

70. Newman, “If Complaining is a New York Art, Here’s the Exhibit.”

71. Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, 2: 45.

72. *Samoaanische Zeitung* 5.38 (September 23, 1905): 3. Originally in Pistor, *Durch Sibirien nach der Suedsee*.

73. Mageo. Mageo notes that the missionaries also convinced the princesses to grow out their hair, instead of wearing it short, as had been the custom among upper-class Samoans.

74. Steffan-Schrade, 379.

75. Wallace, 1.

76. Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, 2: 39.

77. R. Schmidt, *Deutschlands Kolonien*, 2: 419–20.

78. Cited by Cousins, “The Past and Present of Samoa.”

79. “Ethnology of Polynesia,” *Samoa Reporter* 10 (November 1849): 1.

80. Bülow, “Sind die Samoaner bildungsfähig?” 57–58.

81. See Aldrich, “Weiße und farbige Männer, Reisen, Kolonialismus und Homosexualität zwischen den Rassen in der Literatur.” See also Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, and Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*.

82. Wallace, 56.

83. A. Schmidt, *Sitara und der Weg dorthin*.

84. May, 11: 22–23.

85. Cited in *Eldorado*, 82.

86. Cited in *Eldorado*, 82.

87. For more on Schneider, see *Sascha Schneider*.

88. Wallace, 86.

89. “Ethnology of Polynesia,” *Samoa Reporter* 10 (November 1849): 1.

90. J. Ellis, “*Tatau and Malu*,” 698 n 6.

91. Wallace, 71.

92. Cited by Wallace, 71.

93. Cited by Wallace, 73–75.

94. Karsch-Haack, 231.

95. Schidlof, *Das Sexualleben der Naturvölker*, vol. 1, 124.

96. Cited by Wallace, 45.

97. Schidlof, 118.

98. Schidlof, 120.

99. Schidlof, 121.

100. Paul, *Werke in drei Bänden*, 1: 474. For more on Jean Paul and the connections between exoticism and eroticism, see Tobin, *Warm Brothers*, 44–64.

101. Karsch-Haack, 238, 239.

102. Karsch-Haack, 236.
103. He seems to be quoting Schidlof, who says practically the same thing, 121–22.
104. Mageo, 207.
105. Karsch-Haack, 229–30.
106. Karsch-Haack, 230.
107. Karsch-Haack, 230.
108. Karsch-Haack, 231.
109. Mageo, 207.
110. Karsch-Haack, 229–30.

CHAPTER 6. SWISS UNIVERSITIES: EMANCIPATED WOMEN
AND THE THIRD SEX

1. Ulrichs, *Forschungen über das Räthsel der mann männlichen Liebe*, 4 (Formatrix), 23.
2. Karsch-Haack, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker*, 8.
3. Wolzogen, *Der Dichter in Dollarica*.
4. Jelovich, *Berlin Cabaret*, 216–17.
5. T. Mann, *Tagebücher 1953–55*, 675. See also Mann, *Tagebücher 1940–43*, 864.
6. Wolzogen, *Wie ich mich ums Leben brachte*, 55.
7. Although interestingly, precisely his writings on this subject have been reprinted: Wolzogen, *Wegweiser zu deutschem Glauben*.
8. Wolzogen, *Der Erzketzer*, 1: 4.
9. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 1: 114.
10. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 1: 230.
11. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 1: 255, 2: 32.
12. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 1: 285.
13. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 2: 289–90.
14. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 2: 291.
15. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 2: 291.
16. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 1: 155.
17. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 1: 130.
18. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 1: 161.
19. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 1: 161.
20. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 1: 179.
21. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 1: 180–81.
22. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 1: 183.
23. Wolzogen, *Wie ich mich ums Leben brachte*, 261.
24. Wolzogen, *Wie ich mich ums Leben brachte*, 244.
25. Wolzogen, *Wie ich mich ums Leben brachte*, 244.
26. Wolzogen, *Wie ich mich ums Leben brachte*, 199.
27. Wolzogen, *Wie ich mich ums Leben brachte*, 102, 245.

28. Wolzogen, *Wie ich mich ums Leben brachte*, 168, 262.
29. Wolzogen, *Wie ich mich ums Leben brachte*, 109.
30. *New York Times*, October 25, 1914, 19.
31. Wolzogen, *Wie ich mich ums Leben brachte*, 184.
32. Wolzogen, *Geschichten von lieben süßen Mädeln*, 49–67.
33. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 2: 76
34. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 2: 69.
35. Wolzogen, *Erzketzer*, 2: 70.
36. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 15.
37. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 170.
38. Székely, *Franziska Gräfin zu Reventlow*, 114.
39. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 27.
40. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 148.
41. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 15.
42. Albisetti; see also Rogger, *Der Doktorhut im Besenschränk*.
43. Aimee Duc [=Minna Wettstein-Adelt], *Sind es Frauen?* 20.
44. Duc, 51.
45. Duc, 5.
46. Duc, 5, 7.
47. Duc, 59–60.
48. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 17–18.
49. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 167.
50. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 170.
51. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 24.
52. Wolzogen, *Der Roman der Zwölf*, 73.
53. Wolzogen, *Wie ich mich ums Leben brachte*, 188.
54. Wolzogen *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 23.
55. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 23.
56. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 170.
57. Wolzogen *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 25.
58. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 170.
59. See *The German Women's Movement*, ed. Drewitz.
60. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 18.
61. Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, 329.
62. See for instance Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*, 36, 149. As an example of one of Sander Gilman's many texts on this subject, see *Freud, Race, and Gender*, 36, 77.
63. Boyarin, 336, 343.
64. For references to Anita Augspurg, see Reventlow, *Tagebücher 1895–1910*, 198.
65. "Viragines oder Hetären" appeared in *Zürcher Diskuffionen* 22 (1899), and has been reprinted in Reventlow, *Autobiographisches*, 468–81.
66. The Bund für Mutterschutz, led by Adele Schreiber and Helene Stöcker, also endorsed a philosophy of free love and motherhood.

67. Wolzogen, *Wie ich mich ums Leben brachte*, 185–86.
68. Schröder, *Franziska Gräfin zu Reventlow*.
69. Wolzogen, *Geschichten von lieben süßen Mädeln*, 134.
70. Wolzogen, *Geschichten von lieben süßen Mädeln*, 135.
71. Cited by Rose, *The Freudian Calling*, 60.
72. Székely, 153.
73. Cited by Székely, 133.
74. Székely, 151.
75. Wolzogen, *Geschichten von lieben süßen Mädeln*, 134.
76. Cited by Székely, 134.
77. Reventlow, “Viragines oder Hetären,” 469.
78. Reventlow, “Viragines oder Hetären,” 470.
79. Székely, 40.
80. Reventlow, “Viragines oder Hetären,” 471.
81. Reventlow, “Viragines oder Hetären,” 473.
82. Reventlow, “Viragines oder Hetären,” 473–74.
83. Reventlow, “Viragines oder Hetären,” 481.
84. Reventlow, “Viragines oder Hetären,” 480–81.
85. Reventlow, “Viragines oder Hetären,” 480.
86. Reventlow, “Viragines oder Hetären,” 479.
87. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 130.
88. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 75.
89. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 83.
90. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 102.
91. Mosse, 36.
92. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 103.
93. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 51.
94. Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht*, 171.

CHAPTER 7. THOMAS MANN’S EROTIC IRONY: THE DIALECTICS OF SEXUALITY IN VENICE

1. T. Mann, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, 570.
2. T. Mann, *Briefe an Otto Grautoff 1894–1901 und Ida Boy-Ed 1903–1928*, 88.
3. Letter to Weber, July 4, 1920; T. Mann, *Briefe: 1889–1936*, 177–78.
4. Wisskirchen, “Republikanischer Eros.”
5. T. Mann, *Briefe: 1889–1936*, 177. See Schoeps, *Leiden an Deutschland*, 139–58.
6. T. Mann, *Briefe: 1889–1936*, 178.
7. Jofen, “A Freudian Commentary on Thomas Mann’s *Death in Venice*,” 238, 248 n 2.
8. Böhm, “Die homosexuellen Elemente in Thomas Manns *Der Zauberberg*.”
9. Lesér, *Thomas Mann’s Short Fiction*, 172.

10. Feuerlicht, “Thomas Mann and Homoeroticism.” See also Mayer, *Thomas Mann*, 267, 317–18.

11. T. Mann, *Briefe: 1889–1936*, 178.

12. T. Mann, *Briefe an Otto Grautoff*, 88.

13. T. Mann, *Betrachtungen*, 317.

14. T. Mann, *Betrachtungen*, 334.

15. T. Mann, “Leiden an Deutschland: Tagebücher aus den Jahren 1933 und 1934,” in *An die gesittete Welt*, 57–58.

16. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, II: 847.

17. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, II: 848.

18. These passages are not in the translation. In T. Mann, *Order of the Day*, they should be on page 42.

19. T. Mann, *Tagebücher 1933–1934*, 470.

20. T. Mann, *Tagebücher 1933–1934*, 497.

21. T. Mann, “Leiden an Deutschland,” *An die gesittete Welt*, 57–58.

22. K. Mann, “Homosexualität und Faschismus.” Reprinted in Mann and Tucholsky, *Homosexualität und Faschismus*.

23. T. Mann, *Tagebücher 1933–1934*, 592.

24. T. Mann, *Betrachtungen*, 471.

25. T. Mann, *Betrachtungen*, 530.

26. T. Mann, *Betrachtungen*, 112.

27. For more on Mann’s parallel treatment of Jews and homosexuals, see Härle, *Männerweiblichkeit*, 149; Heilbut, 26–28, 75.

28. T. Mann, *Tagebücher 1933–1934*, 309.

29. T. Mann, *Tagebücher 1933–1934*, 397–98.

30. Härle also notes the high frequency of visual male-male relationships in Mann’s oeuvre (192–94). See also Koné, “Aschenbach’s Homovisual Desire.”

31. T. Mann, “Die Erotik Michelangelos,” *Gesammelte Werke*, 9: 783–93.

32. T. Mann, *Tagebücher 1940–1943*, 565.

33. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 9: 275.

34. Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 43.

35. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 469–70.

36. Letter to Philipp Witkopp, July 18, 1911. Cited in Reed, *Thomas Mann*, 150.

37. Traschen, “The Uses of Myth in *Death in Venice*,” 94.

38. Cohn, “The Second Author of *Der Tod in Venedig*,” 223.

39. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 517.

40. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 455.

41. As an example, Gustav Jaeger is interested in K. M. Kertbeny’s discussion of Frederick the Great as supervirile. Kertbeny, *Schriften zur Homosexualität*, 309. Kupffer brings up Frederick the Great as prime evidence for the masculinity of male-male sexual desire. Kupffer, *Lieblingsminne und Freundesliebe in der Weltliteratur* 5.

42. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 503–4.

43. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 504.
44. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 522.
45. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 469.
46. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 456.
47. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 521.
48. Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, 55.
49. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 469–70.
50. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 447.
51. The narrator refers to Aschenbach as *der Schauende* quite frequently, from the time when he first sees Tadzio (T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 469) to the last minutes in his life (T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 524).
52. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 471.
53. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 501.
54. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 510.
55. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 496.
56. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 523. For more on the shrouded camera, see Rickels, *The Case of the California*, 316.
57. Quoted by Böhm, *Zwischen Selbstzucht und Verlangen*, 21. For a good analysis of George's approach to homosexuality see Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*, 60.
58. Heilbut, 261.
59. Traschen, 90.
60. Venable, "Structural Elements in *Death in Venice*," 27.
61. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 445.
62. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 446.
63. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 459.
64. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 459.
65. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 460.
66. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 462.
67. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 463–64.
68. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 465.
69. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 466.
70. Jofen, 242.
71. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 465.
72. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 466.
73. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 453.
74. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 466.
75. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 467.
76. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 470.
77. Karlen, *Sexuality and Homosexuality*, 243–54.
78. Bierbaum, *Prinz Kuckuck*, 285.
79. Cited by Hewitt, *Political Inversions*, 190.
80. Karlen, 248.

81. Dyer, *Now You See It*, 10–17.
82. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 456.
83. Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité*, 1: 88.
84. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 444.
85. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 446.
86. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 446–47.
87. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 493.
88. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 513–14; see also Härle on *Reiselust*, 180.
89. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 447.
90. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 447.
91. Jofen, 240.
92. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 447.
93. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 453.
94. Schäfer, “Pasolinis Auge: über die Wahrnehmung im Werk Hubert Fichtes,” 31. See also Böhm, *Zwischen Selbstzucht und Verlangen*, 339–41.
95. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 450.
96. See Tobin, “Thomas Mann’s Queer Schiller.”
97. Kluge and Götze, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 168.
98. Letter of April 6, 1897, T. Mann, *Briefe an Grautoff*, 88.
99. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 450.
100. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 451.
101. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 457. For Voltaire’s charges and early discussions of Frederick’s homosexuality, see Böhm, *Zwischen Selbstzucht und Verlangen*, 280–82.
102. Böhm, *Zwischen Selbstzucht und Verlangen*, 278–87. Some of the notebooks on Frederick have been published by Peter Richner.
103. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 453.
104. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 453.
105. *das märchenhaft Abweichende*, taking *abweichend* in the sense of *abweichendes Verhalten* [social deviancy]. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 458.
106. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 458.
107. Goethe’s *Italianische Reise* (Italian Journey), “Römische Elegien” (Roman Elegies), and “Venezianische Epigramme” (Venetian Epigrams) all demonstrate his sexual discoveries in Italy. On Italy and homosexuality more generally, see Mayer, *Außenseiter*, 179. See also Aldrich, *The Seduction of the Mediterranean*.
108. For specific connections to *Tod in Venedig*, see Jones, “*We of the Third Sex*,” 282.
109. For a queer analysis of this story as a predecessor to *Tod in Venedig*, see Härle, 168, and Heilbut, 80–81.
110. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 459–60, 519.
111. Cohn explains the concept of the “second author” in her essay.
112. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 500–501.
113. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 515.
114. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 522.

115. For more on misogyny in Mann, see Mayer, *Thomas Mann*, 259–70.
116. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 512.
117. Plato, *Phaedrus*, paras. 239–41, 244–57, pp. 53–58, 61–76.
118. Making it thus erotic, as opposed to sexual, which in the letter to Heinrich Mann is the *Unvergeistigte* (the unspiritualized).
119. Meyers, *Homosexuality and Literature 1890–1930*, 50.
120. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 492.
121. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 522.
122. T. Mann, *Briefe: 1889–1936*, 177.
123. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 490.
124. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 461–2.
125. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 447.
126. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 452.
127. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 453.
128. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 454.
129. Gallop, *Thinking Through the Body*, 113.
130. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 452–53.
131. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 493.
132. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 493.
133. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 492.
134. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 493.
135. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 510.

CHAPTER 8. PEDERASTY IN PALESTINE: SEXUALITY AND NATIONALITY IN ARNOLD ZWIG'S *DE VRIENDT KEHRT HEIM*

1. Arnold Zweig to Sigmund Freud, May 29, 1932, cited in Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 279.
2. Hermand, "Polygame Ehe und latente Homosexualität."
3. Zweig to Feuchtwanger, February 20, 1943, cited by Mattenklott, "Nelly Sachs, Arnold Zweig und Karl Wolfskehl," 151.
4. "Das Neue Kanaan" (1924). Cited by Cohen, "Arnold Zweig und die Araberfrage," 136.
5. Cited by Cohen, 125.
6. Hekma, "Jacob Israel de Haan."
7. "Twijfel," in: de Haan, *Kwatrijnen*, 77.
8. Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*, 290.
9. Hekma, "Jacob Israel de Haan."
10. Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, 1–8.
11. Zweig, *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, 144. Although translations are my own, there is an English translation that appeared in 1932 and is out of print.
12. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 138, 141.

13. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 142.
14. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 158.
15. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind*, 346.
16. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 103.
17. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 137.
18. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 147.
19. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 186.
20. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 38–39.
21. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 40.
22. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 54.
23. “Nachwort zur holländischen Ausgabe” (1933); rpt. in Zweig, *De Vriendt kehrt heim*, 247.
24. Hirschfeld, *Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, 423.
25. Hirschfeld, *Weltreise*, 415–18.
26. Hirschfeld, *Weltreise*, 398–99.
27. Hirschfeld, *Weltreise*, 426–28.
28. Hirschfeld, *Weltreise*, 404–5.
29. Hirschfeld, *Weltreise*, 435.
30. Zweig to Freud, May 29, 1932, cited in Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 281.
31. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 18.
32. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 42.
33. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 42.
34. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 134.
35. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 26.
36. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 119.
37. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 29.
38. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 44.
39. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 45.
40. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 132.
41. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 239.
42. Freud to Zweig, Nov. 27, 1932. Freud and Zweig, *Briefwechsel*, 59.
43. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 85.
44. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 86.
45. May 29, 1932. Freud and Zweig, 53.
46. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 33.
47. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 43.
48. *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1901–6), <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/360-abraham>.
49. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 124.
50. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 86.
51. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 121.
52. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 240–41.

53. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 130.
54. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 130.
55. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 233.
56. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 130.
57. “Nachwort” (1933); Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 247.
58. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 21.
59. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 96–97.
60. Freud to Zweig, Nov. 27, 1932. Freud and Zweig, 59.
61. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 43.
62. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 60–61.
63. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 213.
64. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 214.
65. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 230, 238.
66. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 71.
67. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 136.
68. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 147.
69. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 147.
70. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 29.
71. Boyarin, 74.
72. T. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8: 446
73. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 102.
74. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 225.
75. Freud to Zweig, November 27, 1932. Freud and Zweig, 59.
76. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 31.
77. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 11.
78. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 74.
79. Letter of December 12, 1932. Quoted in Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 288.
80. “Nachwort zum Roman 1955”; rpt in Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 251.
81. Attachment to a communication to Zweig from the Greifenverlag dated September 1, 1955. Cited in Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 292.
82. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 21.
83. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 187.
84. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 25.
85. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 26.
86. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 134.
87. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 12.
88. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 222.
89. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 199.
90. Zweig, *De Vriendt*, 219–20.

CONCLUSION: AMERICAN LEGACIES OF THE GERMAN DISCOVERY OF SEX

1. Robert Beachy has argued that some major features in the emergence of modern discourses of sexuality in Germany include “The criminalization of male same-sex eroticism and the inclusion of the Prussian antisodomy statute as Para. 175 in the new German Imperial Criminal Code after 1871; the research methodologies of nineteenth-century German forensic and psychiatric professionals; the public engagement of literate middle-class Germans who openly protested Para. 175; and, finally, a relatively free press.” I see my own list as complementing, rather than contradicting, Beachy’s arguments. Beachy, *Gay Berlin*, xv.

2. For more on the homoerotic literature that managed to slip through the censors, see Klein, *Schrieben im Schatten*.

3. Pretzel and Roßbach, *Wegen der zu erwartenden hohen Strafe*, 333.

4. *Eldorado*, 44.

5. For a thorough analysis of one concentration camp that played a significant role in the persecution of homosexuals, see Müller and Sternweiler, *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen*.

6. *Eldorado*, 45–46.

7. Gathorne-Hardy, *Kinsey*, 151.

8. Kennedy, *Der Kreis—Le Cercle—The Circle*, 9.

9. Cited by Kennedy, 10.

10. Simpson, “Camp for Beginners.”

11. Falcone, “Richardson Clarifies Gay Gaffe.”

12. LeVay, “A Difference in Hypothalamic Structure.”

13. Wade, “For Gay Men.”

14. Rosenthal, “For Fruit Flies, Gene Shift Tilts Sex Orientation.”

15. Wade, “Pas de Deux.”

16. For a bracing critique of the science behind the gendered brain, see Jordan-Young, *Brain Storm*.

17. Wade, “Pas de Deux.”

18. Jakobsen, “Queers Are like Jews, Aren’t They?” 65.

19. Gordon, “Proud Americans, Be Who You Are.”

20. Kirby, “The Boys in the Writers’ Room.”

21. *Loving v. Virginia*, 388 US 1 (1967).

22. Hewitt, 82.

23. Cunningham, *Before Nightfall*, 173.

24. LaForce, “At Work: Michael Cunningham.”

25. Cunningham, 4.

26. Cunningham, 191.

27. Cunningham, 204.

28. Cunningham, 119.

29. Cunningham, 115.

30. Cunningham, 117.

31. Cunningham, 194.
 32. Cunningham, 84.
 33. Cunningham, 90.
 34. Cunningham, 93.
 35. Cunningham, 101.
 36. Harbach, *The Art of Fielding*, 80.
 37. Harbach, 321.
 38. Harbach, 270.
 39. Harbach, 449.
 40. Harbach, 501.
 41. Harbach, 321.
 42. Harbach, 312.
 43. Harbach, 573.
 44. Harbach, 585.
 45. Harbach, 513.
 46. Harbach, 612.
 47. Harbach, 511.
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