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Sex Sells! Wolfgang Gurlitt, Erotic Print Culture and Women Artists in the Weimar Republic

Der Venuswagen (The Chariot of Venus) is loaded with piquant spices and juicy herbs from the Occident and Orient. Artists of reputation provide the trimmings. Mr Alfred Richard Meyer holds the reins. Eroticism looks – Eroticism pulls better than ever. Yippee, what a ride this promises to be! (Horst Stobbe, 1923)¹

Between 1930 and 1932 the Berlin artist Jeanne Mammen (1890–1976) produced a number of two-colour lithographs to illustrate Pierre Louÿs' *Les Chansons de Bilitis* (The Songs of Bilitis) – a fictional set of Greek poems supposedly written by the lover of Sappho, 'Bilitis', which the French author had penned in 1894.² They tell the story of a peasant girl in ancient Greece, Bilitis, who becomes a member of Sappho's circle on Lesbos and falls in love with a female student, Mnasilika. Mammen's prints portray candid same-sex desire that notably propels Louÿs' ancient Greek setting into 1920s and early 30s Weimar Berlin. They were unlike anything the German art market had seen before (Figs 1–4).

Since the early 1990s, scholarship exploring much of Mammen's widely published *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity) artworks from the 1920s usefully engages with questions of sexual identity and the *neue Frau* (New Woman), fashion, mass media and queer visual politics.³ Examples of her work have become synonymous with the gay freedoms of 1920s Berlin, dramatically 'cut short' by the National Socialists' ascension to power in 1933.⁴ Her *Bilitis* suite, however, was in fact little known during her lifetime as it was never published. During the Second World War, Allied bombing shattered her studio window and the skylight, which destroyed much of her work. 'Only a few proof prints (Probe-Andrucke) [of the

finished *Bilitis* suite] in an attic space were spared.’⁵ It was not until 1974 that five motifs of these lithographs were first seen in public in an exhibition of Mammen’s work at Galerie G. A. Richter in Stuttgart.⁶

Only seven motifs from the *Bilitis* suite were known to exist until 2013. Two lithographs by Mammen with previously unknown motifs, *Bordellszene* (Scene in a Brothel) and *Frau und Mädchen* (Woman and Girl), were offered at the spring auction 2013 at Ketterer auction house in Munich and were presented to the public in an exhibition for the first time in 2015 (Figs. 3–4).⁷ The discovery of these two works depicting the intimate embrace of three women and the confident display of un-idealised female bodies, makes for a compelling reminder of the complexities faced by scholars studying gay histories, the stories of whose subjects were often censored or denied. Moreover, the sustained focus on male – as opposed to female – (homo)erotic histories of Berlin during this period remains perhaps symptomatic of the fact that whilst Paragraph § 175 of the German Penal Code criminalised male homosexuality with up to five years of imprisonment, it continued to entirely ignore the possibility that female homosexuality existed at all.⁸ Female same-sex desire in particular therefore, symbolised an iteration of ‘otherness’ during this period, in both legal and historical terms. By contrast, queerness in art was nothing new – lesbianism had become almost synonymous with representations of the *neue Frau*. But unlike the artwork of her contemporaries including, Otto Dix, George Grosz or Rudolf Schlichter, Mammen’s interpretation of female same-sex desire does not emphasize its grotesque alterity or its (heterosexual) voyeuristic potential. Instead her lithographs present same-sex relations as a homonormative experience.

Bilitis is of further significance as it was commissioned by art dealer and publisher Wolfgang Gurlitt (1888–1965). Wolfgang’s cousin, Hildebrand (1895–1956), was an important art dealer for the National Socialists. Yet, despite being a family of high cultural

standing – Louis Gurlitt became a landscape painter (1812–1897), Cornelius Gurlitt (1850–1938) an art historian and architect, and Wilibald Gurlitt (1889–1963) a musicologist – until recently the Gurlitt family were little known.⁹ Birgit Gropp’s unpublished dissertation ‘Studien zur Kunsthandlung Fritz Gurlitt in Berlin 1880–1943’ (2000) remains the most in-depth study of the Fritz Gurlitt art dealership.¹⁰ Lack of focus on Fritz’s son and heir, Wolfgang Gurlitt, occurs as a result of other more prominent art dealers such as Herwarth Walden and Alfred Flechtheim dominating scholarly investigation.¹¹ Walden, who avidly promoted modernist painters before the First World War established a new dealer prototype around his gallery *Der Sturm* (The Storm). Both formally and conceptually experimental, *Der Sturm* was a gallery, journal, publishing house, an art school and later even a theatre.¹² Flechtheim grew to prominence during the 1920s with his publishing magazine venture *Der Querschnitt* (Cross-section), a mouthpiece for cultural and social events both ‘high’ and ‘low’, which still has great appeal for Weimar scholars.¹³

Conversely, Wolfgang Gurlitt did not produce a journal, nor was he a ‘regular’ in Berlin’s prominent artisan cafés during the 1920s. Yet, as well as operating a highly successful art dealership, he was a prolific publisher and was involved in producing exclusive artist print folios and erotic prints and publications from a private printing press. Just how little we know about the Gurlitt family was made abundantly clear more recently when the revelations surrounding Hildebrand Gurlitt’s son, art collector Cornelius Gurlitt (1932–1914) hit the press in 2013. Cornelius had been hiding 1,280 ‘degenerate’ works of art in his flat in Munich.¹⁴ Now, one hundred years after Wolfgang took over the art dealership of his father, questions about the provenance of his own private collection of artworks are coming to light.¹⁵

In this article, I explore the lost histories of Wolfgang Gurlitt in order to uncover how he came to commission notable works of erotic by artists such as Jeanne Mammen. I show how

his commercial engagement with erotica material began almost immediately after the war. Between 1919 and 1920, he published a set of luxury illustrated erotic books entitled *Der Venuswagen* (The Chariot of Venus).¹⁶ This exclusive hand-printed series straddled the areas of art, literature and sexology and included original illustrations by Lovis Corinth, Franz Christophe and Otto Schoff (Figs 5, 7–8). Unlike many contemporaries he did not publish under pseudonyms, nor did he print his works abroad. The series saw Gurlitt taken to court in 1921. Yet the significance of his contribution to Germany's burgeoning erotic market during the post-war period has largely gone unnoticed. In line with scholarly approaches that challenge the persistent myth of Weimar as a period of unmitigated (sexual) freedoms, I show how the censorship of erotic material contributed to the complex and uneven process of homosexual emancipation for women in Germany during the First Republic. Scholarly perspectives on the role that sexual morality played in the rise of National Socialism vary. Julia Roos and Richard McCornick, among others, posit the idea of a sexual-political 'backlash' by cultural conservatives as fundamentally contributing to the collapse of the Republic.¹⁷ In contrast, Laurie Marhoefer suggests that economic crisis and social policy were more decisive factors.¹⁸ In exploring examples of examples of erotic material producing during both the incoming and outgoing years of the Republic, I show the extent to which censorship remained a contested issue. By doing so, I argue that the ongoing battle against sexual libertinism did indeed contribute to a backlash. Moreover, I question the underlying assumption that Weimar eroticism was produced by, and mostly for, men. Instead, I suggest that Mammen's version of *Bilitis* was probably intended for female viewers and/or collectors.¹⁹ In a country in which same-sex marriage and same-sex adoption has been the cause of heavy debate, a closer look at the conception and reception of erotic material reveals the importance of dealers such as Wolfgang Gurlitt in the role of homosexual emancipation during the era.

The Gurlitt Family Business Empire

As already noted, ‘Kunsthandlung Fritz Gurlitt’ (Fritz Gurlitt Art Dealer’s), was founded by Friedrich ‘Fritz’ Gurlitt (1854–1893) in 1880 on Behrenstrasse in Berlin.²⁰ From the beginning, the gallery was touted as being ‘bold’ and full of ‘youth and temperament’ for its regular exhibitions of French modernism in Berlin.²¹ In 1883, Gurlitt held the first exhibition of French Impressionism in Germany, showing works by Renoir, Sisley, Pissarro, Manet and Monet. During the same decade, Fritz’s brother, Cornelius Gurlitt (1850–1938), produced the first important three-volume history of the Barock and became a visiting lecturer at Dresden’s Technical University.²² By 1890 therefore, the Gurlitt family business was well and truly established. However, in 1893 Fritz died at the age of thirty-nine and for almost twenty years, Willi Waldecker, (the second husband of Gurlitt's widow, Annarella), ran the gallery with the help of Cornelius. During this period, it supported contemporary German artists, but its reputation of being at the forefront of the art market dwindled. It was not until the twenty-six-year-old Wolfgang Gurlitt, (Fritz's son), took over between 1912 and 1914 that their business began to grow once more.²³

Wolfgang expanded his father’s dealership in 1914 to include the ‘Fritz Gurlitt Verlag’ (Fritz Gurlitt publishing house). The press sold *Mappenwerke* (graphic folios), luxury illustrated books and original graphics.²⁴ During the war and post-war economic crises, works on paper held their value and collecting became extremely popular. In 1923, a print collectors’ handbook suggested that more art prints had been produced in Germany in the last five years than in the previous fifteen.²⁵ Between 1914 and 1922, Gurlitt moved in established artistic and literary circles and as a result, his press produced twenty-six volumes of what are now considered some of the most significant Expressionist limited-edition publications with original woodcut and lithographic illustrations.²⁶ As Lothar Lang succinctly

put it, a ‘community of ideas’ that often existed between writers and artists during this period was not only reflected in leading periodicals, but also fostered a ‘congenial spirit’ that resulted in a unique basis for the ideal illustration of contemporary literature.²⁷ Gurlitt's publishing projects coincided with the complete renovation of his gallery and private apartment on Potsdamer Strasse in 1918. Housed under one roof, this redesign by architects Walter Würzbach, Erich Rentsch and artist César Klein became an important showcase of the ‘modern spirit’ under which Gurlitt was operating. Gurlitt wanted to incorporate new building techniques and craftsmanship and use these as a backdrop for exhibiting contemporary art. The entrance hallway contained an imposing sculpture by Rudolf Belling, as well as glass windows and frescos by Klein, glass panels by Bruno Taut and a set of paintings and wall mosaics in the hallways and study by Max Pechstein.²⁸ Finished in 1921, the result, Paul Westheim noted in *Das Kunstblatt*, was ‘*einzigartig*’ (unique); an open, non-prejudiced vision of the art world, which incorporated imperial style, ethnographic objects and key examples of modern – particularly expressionist – art and design.²⁹ A year later, Gurlitt and his wife appeared in the popular magazine *Die Dame* in separate photographs, Wolfgang elaborately dressed in the costume of a Maharaja.³⁰ Ullstein photographer Karl Schenker took both of the pictures. Schenker’s image of Gurlitt’s wife appears on the magazine cover, signalling the increasing renown of the dealer and his exotic home. The family business was once again at the forefront of the contemporary art scene, with Wolfgang Gurlitt’s gallery, apartment and family members all showcased in fashionable magazines.

Gurlitt’s connections with expressionist artists and writers led him to work with the author and editor Alfred Richard Meyer (1882–1956) who owned a private printing press in Wilmersdorf (Berlin).³¹ Meyer’s publication portfolio ranged from books documenting cocktail recipes and Hungarian gypsy music, to expressionist dance and saucy books on Lady

Emma Hamilton, published under the pseudonym 'Munkepunke'. In 1919 Meyer and Gurlitt joined forces to produce a luxury erotic series of books titled, *Der Venuswagen* (The Chariot of Venus).

***Der Venuswagen* (The Chariot of Venus) and Middle Class Liberalism**

By the end of 1920, the Meyer and Gurlitt collaboration had produced nine volumes of what would be the first and in fact the last of 'Privatdrucke der Gurlitt-Press' (Gurlitt Private Printing Press) – *Der Venuswagen* (The Chariot of Venus). As an imprint of the Fritz Gurlitt Verlag, Gurlitt joined a growing number of erotic private presses in Berlin including those of Willy Schindler and Kurt Wolff.³² Only 740 editions of each volume were produced; forty comprised of luxury editions printed on handmade paper and bound in leather and parchment. The covers are bound in red silk, with ivory clasps, and blind tooled with the depiction in gold of an amorous exchange between a scantily clad male and a female figure.³³ Each volume has green moiré inner covers with accompanying text printed by Otto von Holten in Berlin.³⁴ The series is polyhistoric, promoting erotic narratives by both German and non-German authors; volume I is a narrative by Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805); volume II, Victor-Joseph Étienne de Jouy (1764–1846); volume V, Henry de Kock (1819–1892); volume VIII, Wilhelm Heinse (1746–1803); volume IX, Joris-Karl Huysmans (1848–1907) and volume IV is written by the series editor, Alfred Meyer himself.³⁵ Three further volumes comprise a selection of anonymous Indian fables, erotic Christian votives compiled by Heinrich Lautensack (1881–1919) and an anonymous, spoof Revolutionary opera from 1789.³⁶ Together, *Venuswagen* synthesizes diverse sources from art, literature, sexology and history, and explores sexual mores from Eastern and Western traditions and combines both high and low cultural forms.

For art historians, the series is of particular value due to its lavish illustrations. The editions are quarto 30.7 x 25 cm and boast six to eight original prints per book by Expressionist artists Lovis Corinth, Willy Jaeckel, Willi Geiger, and lesser-known erotic artists Otto Schoff and Franz Christophe, who all illustrated one volume each. The nine volumes constitute a set, which could be purchased together. Volume one – Friedrich Schiller’s exploration of sensual desire in his poem *Der Venuswagen* (1781), after which the whole series was named, proclaims that lust knows no bounds. Lovis Corinth’s eight lithographic illustrations portray voyeuristic monks and pleased judges, as well as mythological references to Venus herself. His image of her, naked, and riding on a white bull, provocatively cupping her breasts in her hands, is a play on Zeus and Europe (Fig 5).³⁷ When the series was conceived, Corinth and his wife – artist Charlotte Berend – shared an established friendship with Gurlitt, completing other graphic folios for his press.³⁸ One of the few extant portraits of Gurlitt by Corinth, showing the art dealer confidently sitting in a three-piece suit and holding a print, further attests to their closeness (Fig. 6).

The explicit nature of *Der Venuswagen* continues in volume two of the series, a story by Victor-Joseph Étienne de Jouy, *Sappho oder die Lesbierinnen* (Sappho or the Lesbians), about the sexual experiences of three women in Paris, originally written in 1799. It is significant that de Jouy’s text, like four of the other nine volumes, are either set in the eighteenth century or written by authors from that period. The illustrations accompanying de Jouy’s *Sappho* by Otto Schoff reinforce this historical context and depict women caressing, bathing and playfully scolding one another in rococo-like pastoral settings (Fig. 7). Henry de Kock’s story, *Der Mord im Kastanienwäldchen oder die ergebnislose Hochzeitsnacht* (The Murder in the Chestnut Copse or The Uneventful Wedding Night) is set in eighteenth-century Germany and recounts the violent rape of ‘Klothilde’. Having given birth to an illegitimate child and been fortunate to marry into respectable society, the protagonist perversely gives in

to the advances of her original attacker, portrayed in illustrations by the Viennese artist Franz Christophe (Fig. 8).³⁹ An anonymous spoof opera script from 1790, *Die königliche Orgie oder die Österreicherin bei Laune* (The Royal Orgy or The Austrian in the Mood), forms the text of volume seven, which mocks Marie Antoinette and her allegedly scandalous behaviour at the French court. The accompanying lithographs of erotic liaisons set in courtly interiors by the artist Paul Scheurich, deliberately invoke the style of seditious Revolutionary leaflets showing Marie Antoinette in supposed acts of fornication with male and female lovers.⁴⁰

The series' historical references to eighteenth-century sources are deliberate. The Enlightenment not only offered the enduring appeal of libertinage, but such historical frameworks aestheticised sexual reform in a respectable manner, thereby appealing to a liberal *Bildungsbürgertum* (educated middle class), as a way of critiquing obsolete moral (sexual) codes during a period of continued censorship after the war.⁴¹ Early twentieth-century German histories of erotica by Curt Moreck and Paul Englisch both recognised the importance of the eighteenth century as a sustained period of *sexuelle Aufklärung* (Sexual Enlightenment) when ideals of liberty extended towards sexual libertinism and political pornography. France in particular boasted a number of publishers during this period, such as Hubert-Martin Cazin and Jean-Joseph Girouard, who specialised in the erotic. Therefore the freedom of printing presses in France allowed for the production of racier texts far earlier than in Germany. According to the two scholars, bourgeois forms of repression however, marked the century that followed.⁴² Thus the production and exploration of erotic material from the Enlightenment (often from France) upheld its importance in Germany during the first decades of the twentieth century. Many keen erotic bibliophiles collected translations of Voltaire, Denis Diderot, Restif de la Bretonne (or Rétif) and the Marquis de Sade produced by an array of semi-clandestine German publishers such as Hermann Barsdorf, Heinrich Conrad, Gebrüder Wegen and Willy Schindler.⁴³

The study of the Enlightenment was also important in the field of Sexual Science (Sexology) developing during the late nineteenth century in Central Europe, and with whose advancements *Der Venuswagen*, in turn, can also be closely linked. Many works by Iwan Bloch (1872–1922), one of the discipline’s founding figures, continued to explore the sexual history and culture of eighteenth-century society through scientific studies and literary translations of works by Rétif (1906) and Sade (1900) into German.⁴⁴ Particular fascination with Sade’s *Les 120 Journées de Sodome* (The 120 Days of Sodom) written in 1785 was sustained through Bloch’s advocacy of the text as an important precursor to Richard von Krafft-Ebing’s 1886 *Psychopathia Sexualis*, written over one hundred years later.⁴⁵ Moreover, the original manuscript of Sade’s work remained in Germany until 1929 and was multiply reproduced during the first decades of the twentieth century.⁴⁶ No writing by Sade features in *Der Venuswagen*, yet his opinions and other manuscripts owned by Sexologist Iwan Bloch do.⁴⁷ In the introductions to each book we are told the origins of the text. Volume VII, *Die königliche Orgie*, was a manuscript from Bloch’s library, which housed a huge number of erotic works and to which, the editor, Meyer, tells the reader, he gained access. The version of the opera is from a 1790 Revolutionary pamphlet that deliberately mocked a serious Royal opera.⁴⁸ In his introduction to de Jouy’s narrative, *Sappho*, Meyer likewise nods towards Bloch’s authority, citing his opinion on the text as a classical masterpiece of French eroticism from the First Republic.⁴⁹ How Meyer and Bloch became acquainted is unclear, nonetheless their connection is significant.⁵⁰

The publication of Schiller’s *Venuswagen* in 1919 coincided with the opening of the first Institute for Sexual Science in the world in Berlin-Tiergarten, which quickly became an important hub of the Sexual Reform movement in Germany. Many of the issues addressed in *Der Venuswagen*’s nine volumes attempted to deal with contemporary topics explored through the work of the institute’s founder, Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935) and the ideas of

Bloch before him. The books explore marriage; erotic traditions; illegitimate pregnancy; rape; Sadism and other perversions such as cannibalism and paedophilia, many of which Sexology sought to codify and understand through its scientific research and publications. This research fervently instrumentalised cultural sources as a useful way of revealing diagnostic 'truths', drawing on the lives of prominent cultural figures from both past and present, such as Sade, Sappho, Michelangelo and Rosa Bonheur. *Der Venuswagen* mobilises similar processes, foregrounding culture to do so. The volume on *Sappho*, for example, sustained its relevance in relation to Hirschfeld's tireless campaigning for the reform of Paragraph § 175 of the German Penal Code that criminalised male homosexuality in Germany. When de Jouy's story was originally written during the 1790s, Revolutionary pamphlets fought for the liberation of French homosexuals. With the introduction of the Code Napoleon in 1804, more lenient laws towards (male) same-sex relationships were introduced.⁵¹ Reproduced by Gurlitt and Meyer in 1920, de Jouy's narrative, accompanied by Schoff's erotic lithographs, challenged what Sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld classed to be a 'double injustice' of the law, which failed to recognise the existence of female same-sex relations, even in order to criminalise them (Fig. 7).⁵²

With its heady combination of historical French libertinage and contemporary Sexology, expressions of freedom were at the forefront of what the publication of *Der Venuswagen* might achieve. In the first almanac produced by Galerie Gurlitt advertising the newly renovated galleries and graphic production of 1919, Meyer penned a long article to introduce the erotic series and its meaning.⁵³ Whilst illustrations by established artists like Corinth were a key selling point, the chance to rediscover risqué texts was also crucial. He explained, '[...] freedom of expression is a grace of God, a flame that never extinguishes; but has to, regrettably, repeatedly raise itself above the stifling confines to enlighten the earth.'⁵⁴ Meyer's comments signal his (and perhaps Gurlitt's) desire for cultural enfranchisement and

would have found much sympathy amongst liberal middle class collectors in Germany for whom the series was intended. Accordingly, advertisements for Gurlitt publications were included in specialist art journals such as *Der Cicerone*, with *Der Venuswagen* fetching prices as high as 350 Marks.⁵⁵ As Robin Reisenfeld explains, the sustained growth in private print collecting in the first decades of the twentieth century was important to modern bourgeois conceptions of 'self' – in both an intellectual and material sense. Collecting 'became an endorsement of "creative freedom" and signalled resistance to more traditional genres'. During the early years of the republic therefore, prints and bibliophile publications expressed the hopes (and frustrations) of liberal beliefs.⁵⁶

It is no coincidence that the series emphasized sexual Enlightenment as primarily a *French* phenomenon. Such freedoms noted previously, were 'lacking' in Germany, partly because of particularly stringent attitudes towards German *Kultur* in its recent history. Whilst the impact of the Revolution and the Wars of Liberation that followed accelerated political liberalism and Germany emerged in 1821 as a Confederation (Deutscher Bund), as T. J. Reed persuasively argues, Germany (unlike France) failed to benefit fully from the virtues of Western Enlightenment because of those who sought to shape a particularly authoritarian model of life, upholding strict political structures and social divisions.⁵⁷ Such authoritarianism certainly shaped attitudes towards what constituted culture, which, as Corey Ross has noted, was inherently linked to the idea of a *Kulturnation* (cultural nation). In other words, culture acted as an important 'surrogate' to political unification prior to 1870. Thus Germany's educated elite considered itself more of a cultural elite, whose duty it was 'quite literally to act as guardians or "bearers" of German national culture.'⁵⁸ This included of course, guarding against 'Schund' (filth), by which was meant pornography and erotica. Appearing on the market shortly after the First World War, Gurlitt and Meyer's *Venuswagen*

should therefore be understood as an act of defiance against such elites at a time when both men perhaps hoped that Germany's imperial structures were finally starting to unravel.

Yet such structures remained. *Der Venuswagen* offered a dangerous mix of erotic sources that the authorities were not prepared to ignore. Radically, Article 118 of Germany's first democratic constitution prohibited censorship. It expressly stated that 'every German has the right, within the limits of the general laws, to express his opinion freely in writing, print, image or in any other way.'⁵⁹ Yet in reality the state often intervened – usually only after the publication of material that the central authorities deemed offensive. Gurlitt was thus summoned to court in Berlin Moabit in 1921 and fined 1000 Marks for producing *Der Venuswagen*, which classified as 'obscene material.' Both Schoff's and Christophe's illustrations were considered a danger to public morality by the court, the consequences confounded scholars until the closing years of the republic.⁶⁰ Most censure was directed towards the sexual crimes against children in Huysmans' narrative, *Gilles de Rais*, the last volume of the series. Huysmans' novel, *À Rebours* (Against the Grain), exploring the homosexual inclinations of a young man, had previously gained notoriety in 1895 in the famed trials of Oscar Wilde.⁶¹ Such associations were presumably not lost on the German court, and the judge had little hesitation to call *Gilles de Rais* a 'disgrace' (Schande) and 'disgusting' (ekelerregend).⁶²

Similar views were also shared in some quarters of the Gurlitt family itself. In 1920 Wolfgang's cousin, Hildebrand Gurlitt, complained in a letter to his brother about the 'Schweinerei' (filth) the press was producing. 'You need only look at the Gurlitt almanac', Hildebrand wrote, 'es kotzt Dich an' (it makes you puke).⁶³ Printed reviews were also mixed. Writing in the bibliophile journal *Der Sammler: Deutsche Kunst und Antiquitäten Börse* (The Collector: German Art and Antique Exchange), conservative critic Ludwig Sternaux proclaimed Gurlitt part of a lamentable erotic renaissance in Germany. For Sternaux, 'a

“Venus chariot”, laden to its full capacity with private erotic prints, was about to start in Berlin on its victory lap along the Kurfürstendamm.⁶⁴ Conversely, a critique of the Schiller volume, quoted at the opening of this article, initially signalled the author’s excitement. Yet halfway through the piece, the tone changed remarkably, falling more in line with Sternaux by not only complaining that the reprint of the poem was full of ‘nonsensical mistakes’ (voll von unsinnigen Fehlern), but questioning to what extent the work could actually be considered purely on the grounds of artistic merit. After all, it railed, ‘Some of the images are wild’ (Ein Teil der Bilder ist massiv).⁶⁵

Such concerns were to plague critics and writers alike throughout the decade. In 1926 a new censorship law was passed designed to protect ‘youth’ (those under the age of eighteen) from what the authorities considered ‘*Schund- und Schmutzschriften*’ (trashy and filthy literature).⁶⁶ However, as Peter Jelavich points out, the emphasis on youth disguised the fact that in reality this law was directed at everyone.⁶⁷ Thus censorship became not just a question of what kind of material was permissible but also a battle undertaken by publishers, artists and writers against the very existence of such legislation in the first place. Censorship acted as a type of ‘litmus test for how far the state could legitimately intervene in the cultural life [...] of its citizens’.⁶⁸ It was perhaps not a surprise therefore that during 1926, *Der Venuswagen* appeared to be at the forefront of critics’ minds once more. In two articles that appeared in the popular cultural journal *Der Querschnitt*, lawyer Fritz Grünspach and author Bernhard Kellermann echoed Alfred Meyer's initial comments about the series, arguing that artistic expression was tantamount to the middle class principles of (economic) freedom; you should be able to both create and collect what you wanted. To call such books ‘obscene’ (unzüchtig) and not fit for public consumption was absurd, given that this particular series were limited editions published expressly for ‘connoisseurs’ (Sachkenner) and ‘collectors’ (Sammler).⁶⁹ Article 142 of the Constitution was supposed to protect ‘art, science and their

teachings' (*Die Kunst, die Wissenschaft und ihre Lehre*), areas with which these critics, and indeed Meyer, sought to fully align *Der Venuswagen*.⁷⁰ Moreover, it was unfortunate, to say the least, Kellermann concluded, that the judge presiding over the Gurlitt court case in 1921, Professor Brunner, had in fact previously been the head of Berlin's Police Presidency that routinely confiscated material of this nature.⁷¹

In reconsidering the controversy surrounding *Der Venuswagen* ten years on in his erotic literary history published in 1931, Paul Englisch asked his readers whether such censorship had made the world a more moral place? In his eyes, that was not the case.⁷² Englisch's diagnosis is testament to the initial ruling falling on deaf ears; the courtroom was almost entirely empty. Even Gurlitt and Meyer did not attend. Yet, the case clearly reveals the troubled relationship Weimar sexual politics had with the law, which continued throughout the 20s. Gurlitt did not give up, however, but turned his attention towards other erotic projects with renewed vigour.⁷³

The Legacy of Pierre Louÿs

By the mid-1920s, the print market had imploded. As Clemens Klöckner points out, along with economic stabilization came a move by collectors away from the saturated print market towards painting instead.⁷⁴ Galerie Gurlitt was also in financial difficulties. The renovation of the new gallery and home no doubt cost a substantial amount, and by 1925 Gurlitt had also amassed legal debts due to financial wrangling with artist Max Pechstein, whom the gallery had represented. Yet he continued to produce erotic print folios under the Fritz Gurlitt Verlag franchise. In 1924 Gurlitt commissioned Expressionist artist Willy Jaeckel (1888–1944) – who had previously illustrated the volume of erotic votives for *Der Venuswagen* – to produce twelve etchings for a luxury German translation of Pierre Louÿs' 1894 homoerotic narrative, *Lieder der Bilitis* (Songs of Bilitis).⁷⁵ The original story of Bilitis is written in the first person and divided into three parts: *Bucolics in Pamphylia* describing Bilitis's early life when she

gave birth to a child out of wedlock; *Elegies at Mytilene* outlining Bilitis's liaison with Sappho and her subsequent relationship with the youthful Mnasidika and *Epigrams in the Isle of Cyprus*, in which Bilitis recounts her time as a renowned courtesan under Aphrodite's tutelage, up until her death. Throughout, Louÿs' text is highly erotic; many intimate moments through bathing, game-playing, undressing and love-making amongst women are explored. Bilitis' description of her lying with her one great love, Mnasidika, is indicative of the sensuality of much of the text:

Underneath the cover of transparent wool, we slipped, she and I. Even our heads were covered, and the lamp illuminated the cloth above us.

Thus I saw her dear body in a mysterious light. We were very near, one to the other, more free, more intimate, more naked. "In the same chiton", she said.

We had left our hair bound up in order to be still more uncovered, and in the close air of the bed, the odours of two women ascended, of two natural cassolettes.⁷⁶

Conversely, there is little evidence of a tender, intimate relationship between Bilitis and her lover in Jaekel's etchings, which portray elongated, androgynous figures, who clasp one another against seemingly torrid, expressionist settings (Fig. 9).

Nonetheless Gurlitt's edition of *Bilitis* is likely to have garnered great interest in Germany due to the on-going scandals surrounding both Louÿs' story and his personal life.⁷⁷ When the text first appeared in French, a quarrel broke out in 1895 between German philologist Ulrich von Wilamowitz and Louÿs himself. Wilamowitz was appalled by Louÿs' assertion that *Bilitis* was a translation of poems allegedly etched onto her tomb and 'discovered' by a (fictitious) German archaeologist, G. Heim.⁷⁸ Avid interest in Sappho and the proliferation of facts and fictions surrounding her continued to divide German publics, as

philologists actually found and translated real Egyptian papyrus fragments of Sappho's poems.⁷⁹ Louÿs' duplicity proved even more lurid in light of the mysteries surrounding his own character, – insomniac, recluse, manic bibliophile, avid collector of photographs of young girls – who had been involved in the circles of André Gide and Natalie Clifford Barney in Paris.⁸⁰ He was rumoured to have composed much of *Bilitis* on his travels in the Mediterranean, and even changed the spelling of his name – Louis – to Louÿs, which enabled him to pronounce the final 's' as a way of signalling his admiration of Greek culture. In the three years following the author's untimely death in Paris in 1925, five posthumous publications of his work appeared in Europe, along with an extended edition of his notorious poem describing courtesan life in ancient Alexandria, *Aphrodite: moeurs antiques* (Aphrodite: Ancient Morals), published in German in 1928.⁸¹ Besides Gurlitt's edition, richly illustrated German translations of *Bilitis* abounded.⁸² By the late 1920s, Berlin had become the 'most permissive' city in Europe, enjoying tacit agreements between homosexual bars/clubs and the police.⁸³ The city's (erotic) art market seemed to keep pace. And so too did Gurlitt, who returned to the work of Louÿs once more.

Reconfiguring Hom(mo)sexuality: Jeanne Mammen's *Bilitis* Suite

Between 1930 and 1932 the artist Jeanne Mammen produced nine lithographs that Gurlitt commissioned for a new, deluxe German translation of *Les Chansons de Bilitis*. Her various motifs entitled *Freundinnen* (Girlfriends); *Siesta* (Fig. 1); *Eifersucht* (Jealousy); *Die Wahl* (The Choice); *Am Morgen* (In the Morning); *Beim Schminken* (Applying Makeup); *Damenbar* (Ladies' Bar) (Fig. 2); *Frau und Mädchen* (Woman and Girl) (Fig. 3) and *Bordellszene* (Scene in a Brothel) (Fig. 4) seem to visually represent various key themes from Louÿs' original text, but do so with the sensitivity not found in Jaeckel's etchings.⁸⁴ No specific prose exists that relates Mammen's lithographs directly to Louÿs' poem. However, when viewed together, we might tentatively connect some of her images to his original text.

Hildegard Reinhardt suggests the artist's works appear to relate primarily to the second part of Louÿs' poem, *Elegies at Mytilene* – the relationship between the older Bilitis and virginal Mnasidika, which describes the maturing of their relationship over ten years, from their initial meeting to the moment when Mnasidika sends a letter terminating her love.⁸⁵ Indeed, Mammen's lithographs place emphasis on the familial intimacy of two, sometimes three women (potentially Bilitis – whom Reinhardt identifies as the figure with short, dark hair – Mnasidika and another student), who are shown sleeping and embracing (Fig. 1).⁸⁶ Bilitis' rejection by Mnasidika seemingly forms the narrative of *Ladies' Bar*, where the triad of older woman and her two female protégés depicted in *Scene in a Brothel* (Fig. 4) is interrupted by a fourth, unknown dance partner (Fig. 2). Louÿs' *Bilitis* is significant in that it represents one of the *first* examples of the explicitly eroticised relationship between Sappho and her female students in fiction, one which particularly perturbed philologist Wilamowitz, whose work contrastingly placed Sappho firmly within the frameworks of heterosexual marriage.⁸⁷ Moreover, Bilitis' instruction on keeping house, personal appearance and sexual relations in the text makes her the female counterpart of the erotic teacher in ancient Greek *pederastia*, the programme of civic and virile initiation twinning an adult male teacher and a young boy. Male homosexuality in Greece was moralised and elevated, but by contrast, the female variant remained unhonoured. Louÿs' narrative challenged this. Bilitis explicitly asserts the viability of women as the virtuous 'other', stating, 'Thou askest, O Bilitis, why I have become Lesbian? [...] How then can we love man, who is rough with us? He takes us as women and leaves us before the delight. Thou, thou art a woman; thou knowest how I feel. Thou canst take it as for thyself.'⁸⁸ Through her visualisation of habitual rituals of a similar kind, Mammen's suite expressively reinforces Louÿs' alternative model. Her reiteration of the mature female and lithe, young girl, particularly seen in *Woman and Girl* likewise follows the pederast virtues of the virile and ephebic male (Fig. 3).

However, Mammen's images are not a direct transposition of Louÿs' text; in fact she takes his work beyond this Greek model entirely and radically disrupts it. Gone are the islands or arcadias evoking the civic virtues of Greek pederasty found in his tale. Instead, protagonists smoke cigars, sport make-up, cropped haircuts and wear tailored suits, cloche hats and translucent drapes out of modern, artificial fabrics. They move between contemporary bedroom, dressing-room and bar interiors, signalling social and economic independence. Mammen recalls how Gurlitt specifically requested her interpretation of Louÿs' work should be 'entirely free and modern'.⁸⁹ During the decade leading up to this commission, Mammen's *Neue Sachlichkeit* watercolours and drawings had become synonymous with mass media constructions of modish Weimar types. Her work had appeared in no less than ten popular magazines such as *Simplicissimus*, *Junggeselle*, *Jugend* and *Der Querschnitt* and she had held her first solo exhibition of similar works under the auspices of Galerie Gurlitt (Fig. 10). Wolfgang Gurlitt's demand therefore was certainly in keeping with the artist's oeuvre.

Beyond Gurlitt's initial request, evidence suggests that Mammen's visual interpretation perhaps stems from her own engagement with representations of gay identity in text and image, as depicted in some of her watercolours from magazines. Her assertion of an alternative female homoerotic, in which the female body replaces the male body, (the latter having been considered the purest aesthetic ideal of Greek antiquity since Johann Joachim Winckelmann [1717–1768]), was an enduring aesthetic worth challenging in 1920s Germany, and one with which the artist seemed fully familiar. In one of Mammen's scrapbooks two sepia toned photo postcards of young Mediterranean boys by Baron von Gloeden appear alongside postcards and pictures of diverse cultural themes cut out from magazines from the

1920s and 30s. One postcard shows a single teenage boy wearing a loincloth, his arms stretched above his head, the other, a group of young boys listening to music (Fig. 11).

Similar photographs were popular in Weimar's gay press.⁹⁰ The artist's library also contains numerous volumes of gay French literature, in part, perhaps, due to her own upbringing and artistic training in fin-de-siècle Paris. In addition to a 1911 edition of Louÿs' *Les Chansons de Bilitis* illustrated by 'Notor' (Vicomte Gabriel de Roton) with which her illustrations bear little resemblance, Mammen's collection contains the complete works of gay authors Arthur Rimbaud, Marcel Proust and Paul Verlaine, as well as Émile Zola's *Nana* (1880) and Charles Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du mal* (The Flowers of Evil), (1857), the latter of which both expressly explored female homosexuality.⁹¹ Yet Mammen's interpretation of *Bilitis* moves away from classifying female passion the lesser 'hom(m)osexuality'.⁹² Instead, her lithographic suite presented the viewer with modern Sapphic identity unlike anything on the German market before it. Besides Jaeckel's commission, her images also contrasted markedly with the 'sapphic' fictionalisation found in de Jouy's narrative in *Der Venuswagen*, and reinforced by Schoff's voyeuristic illustrations of the over-sexualised lesbian (Fig. 7). In doing so, Mammen's lithographs flaunted the unspoken 'threat' of Sapphism in Germany as a contemporary reality, which many middle class (male) collectors of erotica might have found unsettling. As a result, I would argue that Gurlitt's latest version of *Bilitis* was intended to appeal to a different audience, namely women.

Already under Wolfgang's father, Fritz, the Galerie Gurlitt had pointedly commissioned and exhibited women artists such as Clara Siewert and Dora Hitz.⁹³ This continued under Wolfgang, who hosted exhibitions of Lene Schneider-Kainer in 1917, Renée Sintenis in 1920 and Lotte Laserstein in 1930. Of particular note is his support of Charlotte Berend across multiple projects, including the erotic portfolio of prints of the bisexual dancer Anita Berber in 1919, who boasted sexual attraction for many women, towards whom this folio might have

been directed.⁹⁴ Gurlitt is also understood to have moved for a time in the same circles as Anita Berber.⁹⁵ Numerous advertisements with inviting by-lines ‘Galante Mappe’ (gallant folio) and ‘mondäne Werke liefert auf besondere Anfrage,’ (refined work delivered upon special request) appearing in journals such as *Die Freundin* (The Girlfriend), *Ledige Frauen* (Single Women) and *Die Ohne* (Her Without), signal the popularity of erotic work amongst gay and straight female collectors. The range of works and prices is considerable; from cheap illustrated novels for less than three marks, to bibliophile rarities and luxury editions.⁹⁶ Advertisements also reveal that histories and fictional narratives of Sappho sustained importance amongst these readers. Thus, Ruth Margarete Roellig’s pioneering guidebook on Berlin’s lesbian bars written in 1928 is advertised in such journals alongside Heinz Martenau’s fictional novel *Sappho und Lesbos (Die Homosexualität unter Frauen)*, (Sappho and Lesbos [Homosexuality amongst Women]) from 1931.⁹⁷ Additionally, the Gurlitt publishing house used a *Damen Brevier* (Ladies Brevier) as a further opportunity to advertise Gurlitt’s own ‘Bilderbücher’ (picture books) containing works by artists Lovis Corinth, Max Pechstein and Willi Geiger to potentially encourage female collectors.⁹⁸

Gurlitt’s increasing awareness of the importance of female clients is reinforced by his substantial provision of images to the literary genre of erotic *Sittengeschichten* (Histories of Morals and Manners) throughout the 1920s, one of which in particular was aimed exclusively at women readers. *Das lasterhafte Weib. Schriften zur weiblichen Sexualität* (The Licentious Woman. Writings on Female Sexuality) (1930) stands out during this period as women collectively authored it. *Das lasterhafte Weib* combines views and opinions of doctors such as Hermine Stahl and Marianne Alvin, as well as ‘celebrity’ authors such as Ruth Margarete Roellig and Austrian actress Agnes Gräfin Eszterházy, (also the editor of the volume), and explores diverse sexual inclinations including flagellation, nymphomania and exhibitionism. Whilst the question of sexual pleasure continued to fervently divide feminists and Sexual

Reform movements during the 1920s, the aim of *Das lasterhafte Weib* was to challenge male diagnostics by throwing off the ‘Maske der Sphinx’ (mask of the Sphinx), and represent the sexual proclivities of women with precision.⁹⁹ Forty-eight erotic illustrations accompanying the textual passages by artists such as Otto Schoff, Lovis Corinth, Max Pechstein, Christian Schad and Willi Geiger, come from Gurlitt, who appears as the *only* named dealer in the publication. Furthermore, some of these works are original ink and watercolour drawings from his private collection.¹⁰⁰ Mammen is one of only several women artists represented in the book. It is also notable that with six illustrations, she features almost more than any other artist. Sections on male brothels, as well as passages on same-sex relationships, transvestites and gaming, use illustrations by Mammen.¹⁰¹ Not unlike the protagonists of *Bilitis*, these images invariably show fashionable 1920s women playing cards, reading newspapers, drinking schnapps or conversing. Whilst *Das lasterhafte Weib* ultimately remained within the frameworks of patriarchal diagnosis, the book was the first of its kind to directly address women, inviting them to become voyeurs. This marked an important shift from the origins of *Sittengeschichten* in the first decade of the century, when there was a legal ruling in Germany prohibiting women from even reading them.¹⁰² In supplying artwork to such a book, both Mammen and Gurlitt actively contributed to this shift. Moreover, the currency of Mammen’s artwork also meant that her version of *Bilitis* would undoubtedly have boasted contemporary relevance amongst women collectors.¹⁰³

Conclusion: Lost and Found

Had it been published, Gurlitt’s new edition of *Bilitis* would have undoubtedly made an important statement with regard to the growing visibility of gay women in Germany. However, Mammen’s notes suggest that although she actually completed the lithographs for the suite, the work in fact never went to press.¹⁰⁴ There are various reasons why this might

have been the case. Gurlitt had financial problems that potentially impacted upon his ability to complete transactions with artists during the early 1930s, likely including Mammen. Between December 1932 and January 1933, Kunsthandlung Fritz Gurlitt had filed for bankruptcy. In 1928, Gurlitt had already begun selling his own collection to raise funds for a 50,000-dollar loan he had taken out in 1925. This included the youthful portrait of him painted by Lovis Corinth. Yet the Fritz Gurlitt publishing house continued to exist and Wolfgang still conducted its business.¹⁰⁵ Another way of making money was to enlist the help of artists to sell their works from Galerie Gurlitt. From the end of August until December 1933, Mammen, most likely with fellow artist Hans Uhlmann, stood on the Wielandstraße at the corner of Kurfürstendamm with a *Bücherkarren* (book cart), selling not only second-hand books and magazines, but also original graphic works provided by Gurlitt, Galerie Nierendorf and others (Fig. 12). From the photograph it is possible to see the names of artists Max Liebermann, Max Slevogt, Heinrich Zille, Lovis Corinth, Conrad Felixmüller and Max Pechstein, many of the important artists the Galerie Gurlitt had once represented. We do not know who financed this *Bücherkarren*, or indeed whether Gurlitt was directly involved or not. However, what is clear is that it did not prove to be a lucrative venture. Pages with accounting notes documenting the sparse sales indicate that during a period of three months, the modest sum of ‘98.35’ Marks was earned.¹⁰⁶

There are, however, other compelling reasons beyond the financial as to why the suite perhaps never appeared. An ominous nexus between racial and sexual politics was gathering momentum during the early 30s. In 1933 both Wolfgang’s half-brother, Manfred, a conductor at the Berlin State Opera, and his cousin, Hildebrand, were dismissed from their posts as a consequence of being quarter-Jews.¹⁰⁷ The authorities began asking questions about Wolfgang’s family connections. Moreover, homoerotic poetry by a French author, whose work had already been labelled as ‘Schund- und Schmutzschriften’ (trashy and filthy

literature) and illustrated by an artist linked to erotic moral histories, would perhaps have been too risky to publish during the early 1930s.¹⁰⁸ We might conclude, therefore, that Gurlitt's *Bilitis* with Mammen's lithographic illustrations remained unpublished due to a 'backlash' – in other words, a clampdown by far-right conservatives on the Republic's relative toleration of immorality.¹⁰⁹ Without a doubt, issues of sexual morality contributed to the collapse of the Weimar Republic. Without a doubt, issues of sexual morality contributed to the collapse of the Weimar Republic. Whilst it may only have been one of many reasons why significant numbers of voters moved towards the NSDAP (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche ArbeiterPartei*, the National Socialist German Workers' Party or Nazi Party for short) sexual politics, as I have shown, had nonetheless been an ongoing area of conflict, particularly with regard to censorship. Similar issues had roiled cultural conservatives during the pre-war Wilhelmine era. Gurlitt's publication of *Der Venuswagen*, which suffered at the hands of republican censors in 1921, is a typical example of these enduring tensions. Purifying the sexual libertinism of Weimar was a persuasive way for the right to galvanize support. Using Magnus Hirschfeld on NSDAP anti-Semitic campaign posters in 1932 was a case in point.¹¹⁰ The fact that Gurlitt decided not to publish *Bilitis* was another.

Yet there is also a sense of hypocrisy and perhaps even irony in this. The man who arguably sought to promote homoerotic art and furnish his modern Berlin residence with Expressionist art and design, belonged to a family who became powerful arbiters of National Socialist taste. Since the 2012 revelations surrounding Wolfgang Gurlitt's cousin Hildebrand and his reclusive son, Cornelius, there have been numerous media reports concerning their 'degenerate' art collection.¹¹¹ As is the case with much lost art from the 1930s, complicated questions of restitution and responsibility arise. There is little doubt as to the role Hildebrand played as one of Hitler's key art dealers. In total, he acquired in excess of 160 artworks for Hitler's planned Führermuseum in Linz, making him the fourth most active buyer for the

project.¹¹² From 1937 until 1944, he bought, plundered and ‘saved’ modernist works by artists such as Kirchner, Manet, Monet and Munch, often acquiring them from Jews selling under duress.¹¹³ By the end of the war he had amassed his own private collection of four thousand artworks.¹¹⁴ For scholars of art history, Hildebrand provides yet another fascinating way of exposing the wider complexities and contradictions inherent in National Socialist totalitarian cultural policy – yet so does Wolfgang.

Little is known about Wolfgang's relationship with Hildebrand and even less about later potential dealings with his cousin's son, Cornelius.¹¹⁵ Despite rumblings about his Jewish descent, Wolfgang continued as an art dealer until 1943, whilst likewise being involved in the plans for the Führermuseum.¹¹⁶ Investigations about the extent of Wolfgang's own involvement with National Socialism are on-going. He has more recently been the subject of a media frenzy regarding the family home he purchased in Bad Aussee, Steiermark, in 1940.¹¹⁷ The villa was used to house much of his work from Galerie Gurlitt in Berlin, which had been destroyed in 1943 during the war.¹¹⁸ It is suggested that some of this collection could have been obtained under questionable circumstances.¹¹⁹ Investigations into the provenance of a collection of works that Wolfgang bequeathed to the city of Linz in the founding of the Neue Galerie der Stadt Linz, Wolfgang-Gurlitt-Museum in 1946 also continue.¹²⁰

Mammen noted how Galerie Gurlitt got back in touch after the war and enquired about the whereabouts of the *Bilitis* suite.¹²¹ However, there is no evidence to suggest that she ever sold any of the original prints to him, or that the commission was revived. Up until now, no works by Mammen have been found as part of the collections of Cornelius Gurlitt. In fact, it was only during the 1970s that Mammen's works [including those from the Weimar period] started appearing on the art market. Christopher Reed interprets Mammen's unpublished suite as ‘a testament to the obstacles artists faced in forthrightly representing homosexuality’.¹²²

Today Mammen's bold images act as important reminders of the many gaps in lesbian histories. Moreover, knowing about Wolfgang Gurlitt and his commissioning of erotic material during his early career adds another important piece to the Gurlitt family puzzle. As an art dealer and publisher of erotica, his commissions were often deliberately provocative and political, drawing on French libertinage as a way of attacking the limits of post-Enlightenment Weimar, which still censored obscene material. He was unusual, publishing without using pseudonyms, which saw him face charges in court and criticism from within his own family. Crucially, he supported women artists like Mammen whose work made a powerful visual statement about the normative experiences of Weimar's 'others' for female viewers. For art history beyond Weimar, investigations into Gurlitt help open up important lines of enquiry into the fascinating field of early twentieth-century erotica and women's role as active contributors and shapers of it. When the social dynamics of democracy came together with sexual morality and visual culture in early twentieth-century Germany, what emerged was a conflicted, uneven process of homosexual emancipation. Such tensions continue to characterize queer politics in liberal democracies in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries and in which visual culture continues to play an absolutely essential role.¹²³

My great thanks go to Helen Abbott, Ulrich Bach, Otmar Binder, Cornelia Pastelak-Price and Dorothy Price for informing this research.

¹ 'Der Venuswagen hat kräftige Gewürze, saftige Kräuter aus Abendland und Morgenland geladen, Künstler mit Namen geben die Zukost, Herr Alfred Richard Meyer führt die Zügel. Erotik zieht besser den je. Heia, wird das eine Fahrt werden!' Horst Stobbe in *Die Bücherstunde*, München, 1 Jg. 2 Heft 1923, 71-2, cited in Hugo Hayn und Alfred N. Gotendorf, *Bibliotheca Germanorum Erotica & Curiosa*, vol. IX ed. Paul Englisch, Munich, 1919, 600

² Referred to from now on as *Bilitis*.

³ For specific enquiries into Mammen's *Bilitis*, Annelie Lütgens, "Nur Ein paar Augen sein..." *Jeanne Mammen – eine Künstlerin in ihrer Zeit*, Berlin, 1991, 70–75; Hildegard Reinhardt, 'Die Lieder der Bilitis' in, *Jeanne Mammen. Köpfe und Szenen Berlin 1920 bis 1933*, Emden, 1991/92, 55-73 and Hildegard Reinhardt, 'The Songs of Bilitis (1930-1932) – Jeanne Mammen's Artistic Interpretations of *Les Chansons de Bilitis* (1894) by Pierre Louÿs' in, *Jeanne Mammen. Paris – Bruxelles – Berlin*, ed. Förderverein der Jeanne-Mammen-Stiftung e. V., Berlin & Munich, 2017, 80–99.

⁴ Approaches put forward in Robert Aldrich ed. *Gay Life and Culture A World History*, London, 2006 and Christopher Reed, *Art and Homosexuality. A History of Ideas*, Oxford & New York, 2011.

⁵ '[...] nur die Probedrucke welche in der Bodenkammer lagen, blieben teilweise verschont.' Jeanne Mammen, handwritten drafts of a short letter to the gallery owner G. A. Richter, 1974, no exact date. Jeanne-Mammen-Stiftung, Berlin.

⁶ *Lithographien der zwanziger Jahre. Öl- und Tempera-Bilder aus drei Jahrzehnten*. Galerie G.A. Richter, Stuttgart, April–May 1974.

⁷ Both lithographs were displayed in an exhibition for the first time at the Worpsswede Museum, Barkenhof as part of the project, 'KunstWege-LebensZeichen [sic]. Kollwitz, Reylaender, Mammen' June–November 2015.

⁸ Approaches by Ilse Kokula, Laurie Marhoefer, Vibeke Rützou Petersen, Clare Rogan, Claudia Schoppmann, Katie Sutton and Katharina Sykora are notable exceptions.

⁹ Michael Löffler, *Hildebrand Gurlitt (1895-1956): Erster Zwickauer Museumsdirektor*. Zwickau, 1995 and more recently, Catherine Hickley's *The Munich Art Hoard: Hitler's Dealer and His Secret Legacy*, London, 2015, 26–42. For the Gurlitt family tree, 244–245.

¹⁰ Gropp, Berlin Freie Universität, 2000.

¹¹ For Wolfgang Gurlitt's life, Walter Schuster, 'Facetten des NS – "Kunsthandels" am Beispiel Wolfgang Gurlitt', in Gabriele Anderl & Alexandra Caruso eds. *NS-Kunstraub in Österreich und die Folgen*, Innsbruck, 2005, 212–226.

¹² Lothar Lang, *Expressionist Book Illustration in Germany 1907-1927*, Boston, 1976, 73–74.

¹³ Ottfried Dascher et. al., *Es ist was Wahnsinniges mit der Kunst: Alfred Flechtheim. Sammler, Kunsthändler und Verleger*, Wädenswil, 2013.

¹⁴ Since the research and writing of this article, some of the works from Hildebrand's collection have gone on show for the first time in two simultaneous exhibitions, 'Art Theft and its Consequences' Bundeskunsthalle Bonn, 3 November 2017 – 11 March 2018 and 'Gurlitt: Status Report "Degenerate Art"– Confiscated and Sold' Kunstmuseum Bern, 2 November 2017 – 4 March 2018.

¹⁵ The publication of this article coincides with the first substantial exhibition exploring the life of Wolfgang Gurlitt. 'Wolfgang Gurlitt Zauberprinz' Lentos Kunstmuseum Linz, October 2019 – January 2020. Further discussion of Gurlitt's commission of Mammen's work appears in the exhibition catalogue by this author.

¹⁶ The series is mentioned in Hayn, *Bibliotheca Germanorum*, 600; Max Bauer, *Bilder-Lexikon der Erotik*, vols. 1-3, (2), Vienna, 1929, 868; Paul Englisch, *Geschichte der erotischen Literatur*, Stuttgart, 1927, 287; Paul Englisch, *Irrgarten der Erotik. Eine Sittengeschichte über das gesamte Gebiet der Welt-Pornographie*, Leipzig, 1931, 299.

¹⁷ Julia Roos, *Weimar Through The Lens of Gender: Prostitution Reform, Woman's Emancipation and German Democracy, 1919-33*, Ann Arbor, 2010 and Richard McCornick, *Gender and Sexuality in Weimar Modernity: Film, Literature and 'New Objectivity'*, New York, 2001.

¹⁸ Laurie Marhoefer *Sex and the Weimar Republic: German Homosexual Emancipation and the Rise of the Nazis*, Toronto, 2015. In particular, ‘The Politics of “Immoral” Sexuality in the Fall of the Weimar Republic and the Rise of the Nazis’, 174-201.

¹⁹ This does not necessarily preclude straight (or gay) male viewers. But I demonstrate how Mammen’s motifs differ from heteronormative images of Sappho by artist Otto Schoff.

²⁰ Synonymous with ‘Galerie Fritz Gurlitt’ (Gallery Fritz Gurlitt) and ‘Kunst-Salon Fritz Gurlitt’ (Art Salon Fritz Gurlitt).

²¹ Gropp, *Kunsthandlung*, 20.

²² Claudia Nowak, ‘Cornelius Gurlitt – eine biografische Studie’, in Matthias Lienert, *Cornelius Gurlitt (1850 bis 1938). Sechs Jahrzehnte Zeit– und Familiengeschichte in Briefen*, Dresden, 2008, 11–30.

²³ Gropp, *Kunsthandlung*, 116–117.

²⁴ Gropp, *Kunsthandlung*, 137.

²⁵ Clemens Klöckner, ‘Plenty to Say: Print Portfolios in the 1920s,’ in Annelie Lütgens ed. *Strassen und Gesichter: Berlin 1918-1933*, Berlin, 2013, 90–92 (90).

²⁶ These include an edition of Bach’s cantatas *O Ewigkeit-Du Donnerwort* with lithographs by Oskar Kokoschka (1914), *Gilgamesh* with Richard Janthur’s illustrations (1919) and Merimee’s *Carmen* with illustrations by Willi Geiger (1920).

²⁷ Lang, *Expressionist*, 16.

²⁸ Wolfgang Gurlitt, *Almanach auf das Jahr 1919*, Berlin, 1920, 78–85 and Gropp, *Kunsthandlung*, 127–128.

²⁹ Westheim, ‘Wohnung Wolfgang Gurlitt’, *Das Kunstblatt* 5, 1921, 373-378, (373). Gurlitt’s residence is likewise discussed in detail by art historian Max Osborn in *Die Dame*, 7:19, 1921, 7–8.

³⁰ *Die Dame*, 2:9, 1922, 2

³¹ Paul Raabe, *Die Autoren und Bücher des literarischen Expressionismus*. Stuttgart, 1985, 329–337.

³² Englisch, *Geschichte*, 286.

³³ Blind tooling is a method of book decoration in which dark impressions are made upon a book cover by impressing dampened leather with a heated brass-finishing tool.

³⁴ Two exceptions: volume VI was printed by Gustav Ascher, Berlin and volume VII by the Spamersche Buchdruckerei, Leipzig.

³⁵ Friedrich Schiller, *Der Venuswagen ein Gedicht*, (1781) illus. Lovis Corinth with eight lithographs. ed. Alfred Richard Meyer, Berlin: Privatdrucke der Gurlitt-Press, Fritz Gurlitt Verlag, 1919. Victor-Joseph Étienne de Jouy, *Sappo oder die Lesbierinnen*, illus. Otto Schoff with seven etchings, trans. Balduin Möllhausen; Henry de Kock, *Der Mord im Kastanienwäldchen oder Die ergebnislose Hochzeitsnacht* illus. Franz Christophe with six coloured lithographs; Wilhelm Heinse, *Die Kirchen*, illus. Wilhelm Wagner with seven lithographs; J. K. Huysmans, *Gilles de Rais*, illus. Willi Geiger with sixteen lithographs, trans. August Döppner and Alfred Richard Meyer, *Das Aldegrevier-Mädchen*, illus. Georg Walter Rossner with eight coloured lithographs. All five volumes ed. Alfred Richard Meyer, Berlin: Privatdrucke der Gurlitt-Press, Fritz Gurlitt Verlag, 1920.

³⁶ *Pantschatantra-Fabeln aus dem indischen Liebesleben*, illus. Richard Janthur with ten coloured lithographs; Heinrich Lautensack, *Erotische Votivtafeln*, illus. Willy Jaeckel with seven coloured lithographs and Anon, *Die königliche Orgie oder Die Österreicherin bei Laune*, illus. Paul Scheurich with six lithographs, trans. Engelbert Nern. All three volumes ed. Alfred Richard Meyer, Berlin: Privatdrucke der Gurlitt-Press, Fritz Gurlitt Verlag, 1920.

³⁷ Corinth also completed numerous drawings based on the poem. See, Roman Zieglänsberger, *Der Venuswagen. Friedrich Schiller. Lovis Corinth*, Regensburg, 2009.

³⁸ Robin Reisenfeld et. al., *The German Print Portfolio 1890-1930. Series for a Private Sphere*, London, 1992, 72–92.

³⁹ Christophe's biography, Englisch, *Geschichte*, 252 and Eduard Fuchs, *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. vol. 3, *Das bürgerliche Zeitalter*, Munich, 1912, 310.

⁴⁰ For similar material, Lynn Hunt, 'Pornography and the French Revolution' in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt, New York, 1993, 301–341.

⁴¹ Kate Sutton and Birgit Lang posit a similar reading of the magazine *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft* (1905–1927). See, 'The Aesthetics of Sexual Ethics: *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft* and Middle-Class Sexual Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Germany', in *Oxford German Studies*, 44. 2, June 2015, 177–198.

⁴² Paul Englisch, 'Verleger erotischer Schriften' in Englisch, *Irrgarten*, 1–100, particularly 68, and 99. Curt Moreck, *Kultur und Sittengeschichte der neuesten Zeit. Das Genussleben des modernen Menschen*, vol. 3, Dresden, 1929, 420–422. More recently, Patrick Kearney asserts a similar model in *A History of Erotic Literature*, London, 1982, 101–146 and Lynn Hunt argues that the production of erotic literature in Germany lagged far behind France. Hunt, ed. *Invention*, 23.

⁴³ For Sade and Rétif see, Hayn, *Bibliotheca Germanorum*, 226–227 and 488-490. For publishers Englisch, *Irrgarten*, 84–91 and 97.

⁴⁴ Iwan Bloch, *Der Marquis de Sade und seine Zeit: Ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Sittengeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Mit besonderer Beziehung auf die Lehre von der Psychopathia Sexualis*, Berlin, 1900 and Eugen Dühren (Iwan Bloch), *Rétif de la Bretonne. Der Mensch, der Schriftsteller, der Reformator*, Berlin, 1906.

⁴⁵ Sade in Germany, Kearney, *History*, 99. Bloch on Sade, Anna Katharina Schaffner, *Modernism and Perversion*, Hampshire, 2012, 126–136.

⁴⁶ Bloch's work on Sade appeared in seven different editions during his lifetime.

⁴⁷ Bloch was a bibliophile with a collection of some 10,000 works. Englisch, *Irrgarten*, 132.

⁴⁸ Meyer in, anon, *Die königliche Orgie*, 27.

⁴⁹ Meyer in, de Jouy, *Sappho*, 23.

⁵⁰ The same year the first volume of *Der Venuswagen* was produced, Meyer (editor) collaborated with Bloch (preface) to publish, Frank Wedekind's *Grablegung – Ein Requiem von Heinrich Lautensack*. Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 1919.

⁵¹ The Code stated that relations between consenting male adults in private were permissible, but did not guarantee immunity. Michael Sibalis, 'Male Homosexuality,' in Aldrich ed. *Gay Life*, 116–117.

⁵² Elena Mancini, *Magnus Hirschfeld and the Quest for Sexual Freedom. A History of the First International Sexual Freedom Movement*, New York, 2010, 109

⁵³ Meyer, 'Der Venuswagen. Vorrede zum Prospektbuch', *Almanach*, 75–79.

⁵⁴ 'Sie wissen, daß die Freiheit des Wortes eine göttliche Gnade ist, eine Flamme, die nicht verbrennt, nein, die erhebt aus der stickigen Enge, als die uns leider nur allzuoft die Erde erscheinen muss. Sie fühlen sich eines reines Geistes mit all den selbtherrlichen Geistern der Jahrhunderte. Sie sind mit ihnen Singende, Tanzende, Taumelnde, Vergessende, Verzückte, Erkennende, Prophetische des weißen Lichtes, das da immer noch Wahrheit heißt.' Meyer, 'Der Venuswagen,' 77.

⁵⁵ *Der Cicerone*, 11, I, 1919, 565–566. For the price, Hayn, *Bibliotheca Germanorum*, 528

⁵⁶ Reisenfeld, *German Print Portfolio*, 20.

⁵⁷ T. J. Reed, *Light in Germany, Sources from an Unknown Enlightenment*, London & Chicago, 2015, 6–29.

⁵⁸ Corey Ross, *Media and the Making of Modern Germany: Mass Communications, Society, and Politics from the Empire to the Third Reich*, Oxford & New York, 2010, 54.

⁵⁹ ‘Jeder Deutsche hat das Recht, innerhalb der Schranken der allgemeinen Gesetze seine Meinung durch Wort, Schrift, Druck, Bild oder in sonstiger Weise frei zu äußern’, in Peter Jelavich, ‘Der demokratische Giftschränk: Zensur und Indizierung in der Weimarer Republik und Bundesrepublik’, in *Der ‘Giftschrank:’ Erotik, Sexualwissenschaft, Politik und Literatur - ‘REMOTA’: Die weggesperrten Bücher der Bayrischen Staatsbibliothek*, ed. Stephan Kellner, Munich, 2002, 57–67 (57). Jelavich draws attention to the fact that beyond the law, libraries and other public institutions also played key roles in the censorship of erotic material. The state was able to intervene after publication because it maintained amended versions of Articles §166 and §184 from the Imperial Penal Code. For a useful overview of censorship, see Ross, as above and Klaus Petersen, *Zensur in der Weimarer Republik*, Stuttgart and Weimar, 1995. Examples of the range of the types of material censored and confiscated post-publication include novels by Rétif, Sacher-Masoch, sexual science books by Bloch, Max Hodann, and moral histories by Alfred Kind, Curt Moreck and Hans Ostwald, as well as magazines aimed at queer audiences, such as *Die Insel*, *Das Freundschaft* and *Frauenliebe*.

⁶⁰ Englisch, *Irrgarten*, 252.

⁶¹ Christopher Reed usefully discusses the impact of this court case on art. Reed, *Art and Homosexuality*, 93.

⁶² Bernhard Kellermann, ‘Der Venuswagen in Moabit,’ *Der Querschnitt*, 1:6 December 1926, 226–231 (230).

⁶³ ‘[...] zumal sein Verlag fast nur Schweinereien herausgibt, wenigstens mir dadurch bekannt ist. Sieh Dir mal seinen Almanach an, und es kotzt Dich an.’ Letter from Hildebrand Gurlitt to Wilibald Gurlitt 27 August 1920. For Gurlitt family correspondence, Cornelius Gurlitt’s

Nachlass at the Universitätsarchiv der TU-Dresden, digitised under <http://gurlitt.tu-dresden.de> and Lienert as before.

⁶⁴ '[...] schon steht in Berlin ein 'Venuswagen' bereit, um, hochbeladen mit erotischen Privatdrucken, seine Siegesfahrt über den Kurfürstendamm anzutreten.' Ludwig Sternaux, 'Eros als Rattenfänger,' *Der Sammler: Deutsche Kunst und Antiquitäten Börse*, 9:48, 29 November 1919, 5. My thanks to Abbey Rees-Hales for sharing this source.

⁶⁵ Horst Stobbe in *Die Bücherstunde*, Munich, 1:2, 1923, 71–2, quoted in Hayn, *Bibliotheca Germanorum*, 600.

⁶⁶ 'Gesetz zur Bewahrung der Jugend vor Schund– und Schmutzschriften' was originally proposed in 1923. See, Ross, *Modern Germany*, 77 and Jelavich, 'Giftschrank', 60. The law saw a list of culprit texts being compiled by authorities in Munich and Berlin known as the *Liste der Schund– und Schmutzschriften*.

⁶⁷ Jelavich, 'Giftschrank', 61.

⁶⁸ Ross, *Modern Germany*, 77–78.

⁶⁹ Fritz Grünspach, 'Der Venuswagen. Der Kampf gegen die Kunst', *Der Querschnitt*, 1:6, December 1926, 228. By the early twenties, Grünspach had made a name for himself as a lawyer who defended modern art, including work published in Paul Cassirer's *Pan*. He died in 1924 suggesting that his article appeared posthumously in *Der Querschnitt* and indeed, some five years after Gurlitt's case was taken to court.

⁷⁰ The existence of Article 142 meant that many erotic publications during this period deliberately included clauses, usually at the beginning, stating their intended function and/or audience – for scientific explication, art connoisseurs or bibliophiles. It was hoped that this might help evade post-publication censorship, although in most cases it did not. *Der Venuswagen* notably lacks any form of statement of this type.

⁷¹ Kellermann, 'Der Venuswagen in Moabit,' 230.

⁷² Englisch, *Irrgarten*, 299 and 317.

⁷³ For his other erotic publications see, Raabe, *Die Autoren*, 329–336.

⁷⁴ Klöckner, ‘Plenty to Say’, 90.

⁷⁵ *Lieder der Bilitis*, trans. Richard Hübner, Berlin: Fritz Gurlitt Verlag, 1924. A total of 200 editions were published with ten etchings, as well as a further limited edition of 50 with twelve signed illustrations.

⁷⁶ Pierre Louÿs, ‘The Songs of Bilitis,’ [Part II: Elegiacs at Mytilene] in *The Collected Works*, trans. Mitchell S. Buck, New York, 1932, 265.

⁷⁷ Louÿs’ *Bilitis* first appeared in German in 1900, with an edition published by ‘G. Grimm’ in Budapest and translated by Franz Wagenhoff.

⁷⁸ Louÿs compiles a fictional bibliography at the end of *Bilitis*, which includes G. Heim’s work as the first version of *Bilitis* in German published in 1894. He places his own French translation at the later date of 1895. See, Louÿs, *Collected*, 301. The name of this fictional archaeologist ‘G. Heim’ is a pun on the German word ‘Geheim’ (secret). My thanks to Abbey Rees-Hales for drawing my attention to this.

⁷⁹ Joan E. DeJean, *Fictions of Sappho 1546–1937*, Chicago, 1989, 200.

⁸⁰ Kearney, *History*, 167–176.

⁸¹ Hayn, *Bibliotheca Germanorum*, 377.

⁸² Bronis Puget, *Aus den Liedern der Bilitis nach Pierre Louÿs*. Holzschnitt Tafeln von Willy Zierath, Berlin: Leon Hirsch Verlag, 1922 and *Lieder der Bilitis*, freie Nachdichtung von Richard Dehmel, Berlin, Euphorion Verlag 1923.

⁸³ Florence Tamagne, ‘The Homosexual Age, 1870–1940’, in Aldrich ed. *Gay Life*, 187.

⁸⁴ The titles of all seven lithographs are listed in Mammen’s catalogue raisonné by Marga Döpping and Lothar Klünner in, *Jeanne Mammen, 1890–1976: Monographie und Werkverzeichnis*, ed. Jörn Merkert, Köln, 1997, 426–427.

⁸⁵ Reinhardt, 1991/92, 59.

⁸⁶ Reinhardt, 2017, 86.

⁸⁷ DeJean, *Fictions of Sappho*, 276–277.

⁸⁸ Louÿs, *Collected*, [Part III: Epigrams in the Isle of Kypros], 289.

⁸⁹ See note 5.

⁹⁰ For example, the cover of *Der Eigene*, X: 4, 1924 or *Neue Freundschaft*, 11, 1928.

⁹¹ Florence Tamagne argues that without a militant gay rights movement in France, literature became a key way of exploring gay identity. *A History of Homosexuality in Europe. Volumes I and II: Berlin, London, Paris 1919-1939*, New York, 2006, 89–90.

⁹² A term of Luce Irigaray cited in, DeJean *Fictions of Sappho*, 222–223.

⁹³ Gropp, *Kunsthandlung*, 115.

⁹⁴ Marsha Meskimmon argues that Berend’s prints are unusual in that the female body is not ‘subordinated to the masculine tropes of the prostitute which fragment and generalize the body of a woman’. See, Meskimmon, *We Weren’t Modern Enough: Women Artists and the Limits of German Modernism*, Berkeley, 1999, 50–56 (55). Besides the notable characteristics of the folio motifs themselves, Gurlitt’s commissioning of erotica potentially for women might have been motivated further by his own, unusual domestic circumstances. Wolfgang’s partner and business partner, Lilly Agoston-Christiansen, had a relationship with his first wife, the actress, Julia Goob. The two women lived together intermittently (with Wolfgang) under one roof. Such biographical detail is based on Gurlitt family recollections and speculations and should be understood with a degree of caution. Nonetheless, it suggests that at the very least, Gurlitt was probably sympathetic towards same-sex relations between women. My thanks to Elisabeth Nowak-Thaller for sharing these insights on the Gurlitt family. For Gurlitt’s relationship to Agoston-Christiansen also see, Schuster, ‘Facetten des NS – “Kunsthandels”’, 212–226.

⁹⁵ Exactly how intimate they were remains unclear. However, a drawing of Berber sitting on Gurlitt's knee attests to their closeness. For the drawing see Smith's essay for the exhibition, 'Wolfgang Gurlitt Zauberprinz' Lentos Kunstmuseum Linz, October 2019–January 2020, note. 15. My thanks to Elisabeth Nowak-Thaller for information on Berber and Gurlitt

⁹⁶ For example, *Die Freundin*, 3:15, 8 August 1927 and *Die Freundin*, 3:21, 31 October, 1927.

⁹⁷ *Die Freundin*, 8:14, 13 July 1932.

⁹⁸ Karl Schwarz, 'Neue Bilderbücher', in *Damen-Brevier*, Berlin: Fritz Gurlitt, 1920, 131–134.

⁹⁹ Agnes Gräfin Eszterházy, *Das lasterhafte Weib. Schriften zur weiblichen Sexualität*. (1930) Second edition, Berlin & Frankfurt/M, 1989, 7.

¹⁰⁰ Eszterházy, *Lasterhafte Weib*, 33–35.

¹⁰¹ Eszterházy, *Lasterhafte Weib*, 79, 149, between 208 and 209, between 224 and 225, 225, 227.

¹⁰² Stephanie D'Alessandro, "A Lustful Passion for Clarification: *Bildung*, *Aufklärung*, and the Sight of Sexual Imagery," *Studies in Twentieth Century Literature* 22.1, Winter 1998, 83–128, (105).

¹⁰³ It is perhaps noteworthy that the provenance history of the lithographs, *Scene in a Brothel* and *Woman and Girl*, reveals that they belonged to a woman, Mammen's contemporary Charlotte Schoenberner (1890–1976), the first wife of Franz Schoenberner (1892–1970). Franz Schoenberner was the editor-in-chief of the satirical journal *Simplicissimus*, between 1929 and 1933, a journal in which Mammen's watercolours and drawings frequently appeared. Provenance history – Ketterer Kunst, Munich. See also, Reinhardt, 2017, 82.

¹⁰⁴ In the letter drafts to gallery owner G. A. Richter, the artist states that she had completed printing the suite at the Hochschule für Bildende Künste in Berlin. See note 6.

¹⁰⁵ During the late 30s Gurlitt used the name of his lover, Lilly Agoston, as the owner of Galerie Gurlitt. After 1941 money from art sales was regularly paid onto the bank account of his ex-wife, Julia Gurlitt. Julia's name still appears as owner of Fritz Gurlitt Verlag in 1942. Walter Schuster, 'Die "Sammlung Gurlitt" der Neuen Galerie der Stadt Linz.'

Dokumentation des Archivs der Stadt Linz, commissioned by the city of Linz, 1999, 6–8.

Unpublished typescript. My thanks to Walter Schuster for sharing this.

¹⁰⁶ It should also be noted that the cart was not on the streets every day during this period. Accounting pages from a notebook in Mammen's archive show small cash sums in different handwriting next to sold items. Besides Gurlitt, there are also transactions with Galerie Nierendorf and others. Works by Albert Schaefer-Ast, Max Peiffer Watenphul, Lesser Ury and Otto Müller, as well as one of her own are also noted as sold.

¹⁰⁷ Schuster, "Sammlung Gurlitt," 9–14, and Hickley, *Art Hoard* 86–87.

¹⁰⁸ *Bilitis* along with other volumes by Louÿs, appear on the list of censored works compiled by Berlin's Police Presidency Headquarters. Walter von Murat, *Erotische Literatur in Deutschland 1928–1936*, Hamburg, 1986, 10, 13, 81 and 89. And Englisch, *Irrgarten*, 195.

¹⁰⁹ For a discussion on the meanings of backlash in this context see Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic*, 176–198. Marhoefer explores here why she does not agree with this thesis. Her analysis focuses particularly on electoral politics and the movement of the Centre Party to the right.

¹¹⁰ The Deutsches Historisches Museum has an anti-Semitic campaign poster from 1932 printed by Plakatkunstdruck Eckert, Berlin-Schöneberg. with the title 'Wir wählen Hindenburg! Wie wählen Hitler! Schau Dir diese Köpfe an, und Du Weißt, wohin Du gehörst!', which features Magnus Hirschfeld. In agreement with the idea of a backlash see also discussions on Hitler and homophobia in, Tamagne, *A History of Homosexuality*, 79 and 420–423, respectively.

¹¹¹ For a comprehensive article, *Weltkunst*, no. 82. January, 2014, 24–48.

¹¹² Hickley, *Art Hoard*, 85.

¹¹³ Hickley, *Art Hoard*, 60–94 and Vanessa-Maria Voigt *Kunsthändler und Sammler der Moderne im Nationalsozialismus: Die Sammlung Sprengel 1934 bis 1945*, Berlin, 2007, 142–155. And more recently for the richly illustrated catalogue documenting the collection's provenance history to date, *Gurlitt Status Report*, note 14.

¹¹⁴ Hickley, *Art Hoard*, 57.

¹¹⁵ The cousins later fell out and were only reconciled in 1955, shortly before Hildebrand's death in a car accident. Hickley, *Art Hoard*, 37 and 126–127.

¹¹⁶ There is documentary evidence that he dealt in 'degenerate' artworks taken from Jewish owners. Schuster, "Sammlung Gurlitt," 24–31.

¹¹⁷ <http://steiermark.orf.at/news/stories/2636202/> (accessed 14 November 2015).

¹¹⁸ Schuster, "Sammlung Gurlitt," 31–33.

¹¹⁹ Schuster, "Sammlung Gurlitt," 26–29.

¹²⁰ Gurlitt's collection formed the original basis of the Lentos Kunstmuseum in Linz. From 1953 to 1962 Gurlitt was the museum's director. For an inventory of Gurlitt's collection and its provenance, Schuster's archival report, "Sammlung Gurlitt."

¹²¹ In a letter draft to gallery owner G. A. Richter. See note 6.

¹²² Reed, *Art and Homosexuality*, 140.

¹²³ Two notable exhibitions in this respect, *Homosexualität_en*, Schwules Museum and the Deutsches Historisches Museum, 26 June–1 December 2015 and more recently, *Queer British Art 1861–1967* at Tate Britain, 5 April–1 October 2017.