



**HOMOSEXUALITY**  
and  
**MALE BONDING**  
in  
**PRE-NAZI**  
**GERMANY**

the youth movement, the gay movement  
and male bonding before Hitler's rise:  
original transcripts from Der Eigene,  
the first gay journal in the world

Harry Oosterhuis, PhD  
Hubert Kennedy, PhD  
Editors

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Photograph 1 appears on p vii.

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# DER EIGENE

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## ABOUT THE EDITORS

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**Hubert Kennedy, PhD**, whose research has mostly been divided between the history of mathematics and the history of the gay movement, has published in several fields and several languages. He edited and translated selected writings of the Italian mathematician Giuseppe Peano (1973); his biographies of Peano (1980) and the German pioneer of gay liberation Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1988) were translated into Italian and German, respectively. His own translations of the gay novels of the Scotch-German John Henry Mackay (1985, 1988) have contributed to a revival of interest in that anarchist boy-lover. He is the author of numerous scholarly articles, ranging from bringing "out of the closet" James Mills Peirce, first dean of the Harvard University Graduate School, to a mathematical explanation of why no species is known that requires the union of more than two sexes in order to reproduce. He is on the editorial board of the *Journal of Homosexuality* and *Paidika: The Journal of Paedophilia*.

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## The Nameless Love

Because still on the youthful wing  
The scent of innocent beauty lies  
That touched by a stranger scatters and dies—  
This love must I tenderly sing.

Yet since you think it a dirty thing  
Have dragged it through fear and infamy  
And kept in the dark under lock and key—  
This love will I freely sing.

To love's persecuted my song I bring  
And to the outcasts of our time  
Since happy or not this love is mine—  
This love dare I loudly sing.

John Henry Mackay, *Der Eigene*

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## Preface

The project of publishing English translations of selections from the German journal *Der Eigene* was initiated by Southernwood Press (Amsterdam) under the direction of Joseph Geraci and Donald Mader. It later appeared more suitable and feasible that it become a special issue of the *Journal of Homosexuality*. We wish to thank Messrs. Geraci and Mader for graciously relinquishing the project and are especially grateful to them for their early editorial work. Their generous cooperation insured a smooth transition and greatly contributed to the timely completion of the present anthology.

John De Cecco, Editor of the *Journal of Homosexuality* and Senior Editor of the Haworth Press, then furnished the encouragement and support that moved the project along. Indeed, his continued interest and concern were a mighty spur and we are deeply grateful to him.

The editor wishes to express his thanks to Gert Hekma, Jim Steakley, and George Mosse for their comments on earlier drafts of the introductions and for their encouragement. He is also indebted to Manfred Herzer for placing at his disposal several sources copied in the Humboldt University Library in East Berlin and in the *Deutsche Bücherei* in Leipzig and to Messrs. F. Frenkel, H. Bianchi, and J. Geraci, who gave him the opportunity to consult some issues of *Der Eigene*. Gert Hekma was a valuable support during the research done for this anthology: he furnished important bibliographical information and several sources from his private library. Last but not least the editor is much obliged to Betsy Pier for typing some parts of the manuscript.

Although this anthology has been a joint project of the editor and the translator and we have constantly consulted one another, it nevertheless allowed a simple division of labor. Harry Oosterhuis selected and edited the articles to be included and added occasional notes to make them more immediate to today's reader. (His notes are distinguished from those of the original authors by being put within square brackets [thus] and ending with the symbol: HO.) He also wrote all introductions, including the General Introduction and the Chapter Introductions, as well as the Epilogue, which sums up the significance of the articles in this anthology. Hubert Kennedy was responsible for translating those articles into English.

Oosterhuis mostly wrote directly in English, but some passages were originally in Dutch. For putting them into English, we wish to thank Leslie K. Wright, whose own interest in the subject matter contributed to his fine work.

For reasons of space and other considerations, only articles of non-fiction and a few illustrations were selected for this anthology. This does not give the full flavor of *Der Eigene*, which also included prose fiction and poetry and was liberally illustrated with drawings and photographs. For today's reader, however, the interest of that journal lies primarily in the challenge it presented to ideas then current, both within and without the "mainstream" homosexual emancipation movement. It is astonishing how relevant much of this still is today, indeed, how contemporary some (not all) of the ideas are. This is not the place for a lecture on "the uses of history"; we simply state our hope and belief that readers will find the present anthology both informative and entertaining.

*Harry Oosterhuis*  
*University of Amsterdam*

*Hubert Kennedy*  
*San Francisco State University*

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## I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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# Homosexual Emancipation in Germany Before 1933: Two Traditions

Harry Oosterhuis

Before the Second World War, homosexual emancipation was largely a German phenomenon. The first organization advocating the rights of homosexuals was the Scientific Humanitarian Committee (*Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee*) founded in 1897 in Berlin. The driving force behind this Committee was the sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1935), who tried to change negative opinions toward homosexuality, which had traditionally been regarded as sinful and criminal, and from the late nineteenth century was increasingly seen as an illness. The main objective of the Committee was the abolition of Paragraph 175 of the German Penal Code, which punished with a prison term so-called "vice against nature."<sup>1</sup> Besides a political campaign to this end,<sup>2</sup> the activities of the Committee were directed to public education about homosexuality and to giving support to individual homosexuals who had fallen victim to Paragraph 175 or to blackmail. To advertise scientific research on homosexuality it published an annual, the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (1899-1923).

For Hirschfeld, fighting the oppression of homosexuals was primarily a matter of revealing what he considered to be the true nature of "uranism." Being a physician by profession he tried to prove scientifically that it was a

biological phenomenon and that the psychological makeup of urnings differed from that of "normal men." According to his widely publicized theory, homosexuality was an inborn mental and physical condition of a specific minority, the so-called "third sex," which he described as an intermediate human species between full-blown men and women, comparable to androgynes, hermaphrodites, and transvestites.<sup>3</sup>

To validate scientifically his third sex theory, Hirschfeld referred to embryology and Darwinism. Having pointed to the fact that the embryo is bisexual in the first stages of its development, he maintained that its growth reflects the evolution of mankind: ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny. In complete accordance with Darwin's law of natural selection, maleness and femininity became differentiated in the process of evolution, resulting in the predominance of heterosexuality because of its usefulness for procreation. Like other *Zwischenstufen* (intermediate stages) such as hermaphroditism and androgyny, uranism, Hirschfeld wrote, should be considered as a remnant of the process of evolution, comparable to other "minor disorders in the natural development."<sup>4</sup>

Hirschfeld's name remains fairly well-known since his activities have been described extensively in some histories of the German gay movement<sup>5</sup> and in a biography.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, in 1983, fifty years after the Nazi destruction of his *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft* (Institute for Sexology), a Magnus Hirschfeld Society was formed in Berlin to promote the re-establishment of that institute, to work for sex education, and to support the gay movement in its tactical aims.<sup>7</sup>

Less well-known than Hirschfeld is the name of Adolf Brand (1874-1945), who edited and published the first homosexual journal, *Der Eigene* (The Self-Owner), which appeared between 1896 and 1931. Brand was the leader of the second gay organization in Germany, the *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* (Community of Self-Owners). The attitudes of Brand and his followers, which differed substantially from those of Hirschfeld and his supporters, are the focus of this anthology. Essays from *Der Eigene* and other writings by members of the *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* have been collected and translated into English so that non-German readers can take cognizance of their remarkable views on male homosexuality.<sup>8</sup>

### **ADOLF BRAND'S CAREER AS A GAY ACTIVIST, 1896-1933**

The publisher Adolf Brand was one of the most controversial activists in the gay movement. After abandoning his profession as teacher because of his anarchistic opinions and his associations with bohemians and free-thinkers in fin-de-siècle Berlin, he started a bookshop and publishing firm

and began publishing the journal *Der Eigene*, which appeared from 1896 until 1931 in different forms and with changing frequencies.<sup>9</sup> The first issues of *Der Eigene* were characterized by a particular kind of anarchism, formulated fifty years earlier by the philosopher Max Stirner. Brand borrowed the title of his journal from Stirner's main work, *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (The Unique One and His Property),<sup>10</sup> which strongly rejected any subordination of individuality, not only to ecclesiastical and temporal authorities, but also to morals, rationalism, and ideology.<sup>11</sup>

At the end of 1898, *Der Eigene* changed from an anarchist into a literary and artistic homosexual journal. Its readers, as Brand declared, would be men who "thirst for a revival of Greek times and Hellenic standards of beauty after centuries of Christian barbarism."<sup>12</sup> After having discontinued the publication of *Der Eigene* for three years due to lack of money, Brand edited it again in 1903 as "a journal for male culture, art, and literature." In *Der Eigene*, contributions alternated between somewhat sentimental love poems and short stories and essays on social, political, and aesthetic aspects of *Männer- und Jünglingsliebe* (love among men and youths). Brand connected his defense of male eroticism to his anarchism, which to him required complete self-determination over mind and body. His bitter attacks were directed not only against government authorities and Christian moralizers, but also against physicians and psychiatrists, whose scientific research on human sexuality, Brand maintained, "took away all beauty from eroticism."<sup>13</sup> In this way he took his first stand against Hirschfeld, whom he had met in 1896, when they planned together a political campaign for the abolition of Paragraph 175. For a short time Brand supported Hirschfeld's Committee, but very soon he and other writers in *Der Eigene* gave voice to their dislike of sexologists such as Hirschfeld.

Brand's frequent use of abusive language in his writings showed his militant and somewhat quick-tempered character: he did not mince words. Many times he got mixed up in public quarrels, scandals, and trials. In 1899 he caused a sensation in the German parliament by striking a member of the Reichstag with a dog whip. In 1903 he had to stop publishing *Der Eigene* for a while because a moral purification group accused him of distributing "lascivious writings." Pictures of nude boys by the famous photographer Wilhelm von Gloeden and the well-known painter Fidus (Hugo Höppener) were considered to be especially offensive, but also some prose and even a reprint of Friedrich Schiller's poem "*Die Freundschaft*" (Friendship) were designated as immoral. Brand was sentenced to prison for two months on immorality charges. Even in the more liberal

Weimar Republic Brand had to put up with police searches of his house and with trials because of his photographs of nude young men, which he published in special magazines with titles such as *Blätter für Nacktkultur* (Journal for Nudism), *Rasse und Schönheit* (Race and Beauty), and *Deutsche Rasse* (German Race). Sometimes he managed to defend himself by arguing that his motivation was not sexual but artistic and scientific, and that showing male nudity was in the interest of “racial health and purity.”

It comes as no surprise that Brand had to be very cautious in distributing his journals. Subscribers were requested to sign a declaration promising not to be shocked by the literature and pictures, especially, as Brand couched it in guarded words, “unconcealed depictions of the human body, which evoke shame in so many average people.”<sup>14</sup>

To gain moral and financial support for his activities, Brand and a few of his friends in 1903 founded a society “for friendship and freedom,” the *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen*. Among those who signed the constitution of this society were some prominent men: the philosopher and biologist Benedict Friedländer, who was also on the board of Hirschfeld’s Committee; the renowned classical scholar Paul Brandt, who wrote a history of sexual morals in ancient Greece under the pen name Hans Licht;<sup>15</sup> Wilhelm Jansen, a rich landowner and respected leader in the *Wandervogel* youth movement; the then well-known poet Peter Hille; and the Dutch physician Lucien von Römer.<sup>16</sup> Information on most of the members of the *Gemeinschaft* is scarce, however. The names and number were known only to Brand, who was the sole administrator. Probably there were never more than about 1500 subscribers to *Der Eigene*, who by subscribing became members of the society.<sup>17</sup> The contributors to *Der Eigene* were for the most part literary men. Some of them were talented and were known at that time, but most of them were of minor importance and only known in small circles.

The *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* was not a political organization and even less, Brand emphasized, a society for mere amusement. It was in fact more a literary circle, comparable, Brand explained, to a masonic lodge or the classical symposium; women were explicitly excluded. At the weekly gatherings at Brand’s house in the Berlin suburb of Wilhelmshagen, poems and prose pieces were recited and issues concerning male homosexuality discussed. Beyond these private meetings, Brand sometimes organized public lectures in the city of Berlin and also excursions into the countryside. In the twenties he planned to establish a *Licht-Luft-Sportbad* (Sun-Air-Sport Bath) in the tradition of the German nudist movement

(*Freikörperkultur*), of which he and other members of the *Gemeinschaft* were advocates. He also tried to establish an idyllic vacation resort in an old castle or monastery. Both projects were not realized because of lack of financial support. Members of the *Gemeinschaft* were entitled to support and advice if they, as homosexuals, got into trouble, for example, by being blackmailed. At the same time they had an opportunity to find a lover by means of a personal ad in *Der Eigene* or in one of the other journals through which Brand informed them of his activities, including the weekly report *Wochenberichte der Gemeinschaft der Eigenen*, an occasional supplement *Extrapost der Eigenen*, and *Eros*.<sup>18</sup>

In 1907 Brand's name appeared in the national and foreign press because of his involvement in the sensational Harden-Eulenburg scandal.<sup>19</sup> This affair was one of many homosexual scandals around the turn of the century in Germany in which high-ranking men, especially army officers, were involved. In 1902 the social-democratic paper *Vorwärts*, trying to pillory the Kaiser's policy of armament, wrote that the rich steel baron F. Alfred Krupp was indulging in homosexual vice in his countryseat on Capri, suggesting that this proved the moral decadence of the capitalist class. Four years later the nationalist journalist Maximilian Harden started a campaign against two close friends and political advisors of Kaiser Wilhelm II, Prince Philipp zu Eulenburg-Hertefeld and Count Kuno von Moltke. These two noblemen were the center of the so-called "Liebenberg Circle," whose members cultivated romantic friendships and in which Wilhelm II often was a guest.<sup>20</sup> In one of his articles in his weekly *Die Zukunft* Harden hinted that they were homosexuals. Like that of *Vorwärts*, Harden's motivation was political — his aim was to obstruct the influence of the pro-French Liebenberg Circle on the Kaiser in foreign policy — but when Moltke charged Harden with slander, judicial and public attention was directed to the alleged homosexuality of the two noblemen. Brand meddled in the affair by writing a pamphlet in which he maintained that the prime minister, Bernhard von Bülow, who resented Eulenburg's pacifist influence on the Kaiser, was the instigator of Harden's accusations,<sup>21</sup> an assertion which was not without truth. Moreover, Brand charged Bülow with hypocrisy, because, he asserted, the *Reichskanzler* himself was having a homosexual relationship with one of his assistants. Bülow sued Brand for libel; Brand was convicted by the court and sentenced to prison for a term of eighteen months. He was in fact the only one who was actually imprisoned as a result of the scandal and this strengthened his role as a martyr for the cause of homosexual emancipation.

Brand's behavior can be explained in two ways. First, he admired

Eulenburg and wanted to defend him; during some of the trials the prince declared that he had “deep bonds with men” and considered his capacity for friendship as “one of the finest German virtues.”<sup>22</sup> Second and more important, Brand, as some other gay activists somewhat naively believed, was convinced that the disclosure of homosexual relationships among high-ranking men would not only make people aware of class injustice,<sup>23</sup> but would also eventually bring about the abolition of Paragraph 175. He had opted for this strategy of “the path over corpses” a few years earlier by publishing a pamphlet in which he revealed that the leading politician of the Catholic Center Party, Kaplan Dasbach, was sexually attracted to males.<sup>24</sup> Brand expected Hirschfeld and his Committee to support him in this policy, but they repudiated it. Indeed, they criticized him for embarking on such an extremist course.<sup>25</sup> Brand never forgave Hirschfeld for withholding support and to a certain extent even held him responsible for his imprisonment. While Hirschfeld had supported Harden in one of the trials by testifying as an expert witness and stating that Moltke was homosexual in a psychological sense, he would not do the same thing for Brand in his case against Bülow.

After having served his prison sentence Brand immediately distributed another brochure in which Hirschfeld was accused of having played an evil part in the “conspiracy” against Eulenburg.<sup>26</sup> Hirschfeld, the brochure claimed, had betrayed the homosexual movement by frustrating a plan to embarrass the police authorities and the government by means of a massive public admission of homosexuality by prominent men, thus making Paragraph 175 unenforceable.<sup>27</sup>

After the First World War Brand and Hirschfeld settled their differences for some time. Both welcomed the democratic Weimar Republic and in an atmosphere of optimism, Brand cooperated with the leaders of the Committee to prepare a new campaign for the abolition of Paragraph 175. The circulation and frequency of *Der Eigene* were greater than ever<sup>28</sup> and Brand’s fiftieth birthday was celebrated in Hirschfeld’s *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft*, on which occasion Hirschfeld praised, not without a touch of irony, Brand’s fighting spirit. However, their reconciliation did not last: in 1925 he published a small book in which Ewald Tscheck, a regular contributor to *Der Eigene* in the twenties, explained that the Scientific Humanitarian Committee should be fought, since its activities were “harmful to the German people.”<sup>29</sup> The same Tscheck ridiculed Hirschfeld and his assistants in Brand’s satirical magazine *Die Tante* (The Fairy).<sup>30</sup> Also in *Der Eigene* several ‘comic’ pieces appeared in which ‘Dr. Feldhirsch’ was held up to derision.

At the end of the twenties Brand had become disillusioned; Weimar democracy and even the liberties of Berlin had disappointed him. Several times he had advised the readers of *Der Eigene* to vote for the Social Democrats, but when they were in the government they did not press on with the abolition of Paragraph 175. In 1929 Brand announced in *Der Eigene* that legal reform had become a minor goal of his movement, since the eros that he believed in was above the “coarse sensuality” forbidden by Paragraph 175. He also complained that most homosexuals were not interested in political struggles and preferred to amuse themselves in the thriving Berlin subculture.<sup>31</sup> Because of its intellectual tone — Brand liked to present himself as the leading man of a homosexual elite — the number of readers of *Der Eigene* remained rather small in comparison to mass-circulation periodicals such as the *Blätter für Menschenrecht* (Journal for Human Rights), *Das Freundschaftsblatt* (Friendship Journal), and *Der Insel* (The Island) published by Friedrich Radszuweit who headed a homosexual organization counting a membership of some thousands. Brand considered Radszuweit a vulgar man whose writings were in bad taste.<sup>32</sup>

The rise of National Socialism intensified Brand’s pessimism. In the early thirties he announced that he would write his memoirs, but Hitler’s rise to power prevented their publication and put an end to his activities. Soon after Hitler’s nomination as prime minister the *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* and its writings were banned. Nazi storm troopers raided Brand’s house five times and seized his journals, books, and photos.<sup>33</sup> A small part of his works was saved by his assistant, Karl Meier, who fled to Switzerland where he started *Der Kreis*, which in the forties and fifties was the most important European gay journal. Although he was well-known as a gay activist, Brand was not arrested by the Nazis: apart from not being Jewish, as were Hirschfeld and Kurt Hiller (another important leader of the Committee), Brand was probably not considered a leftist. I have found one indication that he was connected to a Nazi who might have protected him,<sup>34</sup> but above all his marriage appears to have been his safeguard. His erotic attraction to young men had not prevented him from taking a nurse as his wife. Their lives were never threatened by the Nazi regime, and it is likely that they would have survived the war were it not for the American bombardment which killed them at home in 1945.

## TWO TRADITIONS

The historical significance of the *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* was mainly ideological and is, in my opinion, closely connected to the aversion its spokesmen shared to contemporary medical theories on male homosexual-

ity, including the emancipatory one of Hirschfeld. Hirschfeld's preoccupation with proving scientifically that homosexuality was a biological phenomenon and that the psychological makeup of urnings differed from that of "normal men" linked him with contemporary psychiatrists. It was exactly this supposed continuity between medical explanations of homosexuality and Hirschfeld's biological approach that was the bone of contention for Adolf Brand and the other authors in *Der Eigene*. They criticized some very essential presuppositions that have determined the conceptualization of homosexuality from the late nineteenth century until the present day.

In many ways the European and American gay movements after the Second World War took up the cause of Hirschfeld's Committee: the striving of a minority for equal rights. The different perspective put forward by the *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen*, stressing the cultural importance of homoeroticism among men in general, was rooted in German history: the tradition of romantic friendship between males in the 18th and 19th centuries. The difference and competition between Brand's *Gemeinschaft* and Hirschfeld's Committee can be explained historically by the fact that in the second half of the 19th century this cultural tradition of friendship was superseded by medical theories about same-sex love. Before turning to the *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* itself, I will give a condensed overview of these historical developments which were so important for its position in the homosexual movement and its views on male homosexuality.

### **ROMANTIC FRIENDSHIP IN GERMANY, 1750-1850**

The period 1750-1850 in Germany has been referred to by literary and cultural historians as the "century of friendship." In certain 18th century religious and literary circles, friendship was held in high esteem as a bond of intimate feelings. In such circles, the personal character of friendship was closely related to an awareness of the gulf which existed between one's true self and the role one played in society. In anti-rationalist movements such as pietism and *Sturm und Drang*, friendship was seen as the region in which the individual was able to evolve par excellence in an atmosphere of privacy and sincerity. This link with emotion was distinguished not merely from the older customs, whereby friendship was much rather rooted in social intercourse, but also from the Enlightenment concept, according to which friendship was an expression of social virtue and served the general well-being.<sup>35</sup> In pietism, the Protestant school of thought which had many followers in Germany and which centered around one's personal relationship with God and introspection, it was one's inner reli-

gious feeling that was of prime importance. This type of friendship was based on a bond between kindred spirits and provided the exclusive atmosphere in which one could give expression to one's deepest and most personal emotion.

In its secular form, this cult of friendship reached its zenith in the literary *Sturm und Drang* movement and in Romanticism. In the idea of friendship formulated around 1800 by the philosophers Friedrich Schleiermacher and Wilhelm von Humboldt, what mattered was not so much a deepening of faith, as *Bildung*, the realization of the "unique self."<sup>36</sup> In such an ideal, true friendship was reserved for an intellectual elite consisting principally of men. Women, it was generally argued, would not be able to fulfill the high ideals, since for them, friendship with males would be merely an introduction to a sexual relationship, whereas among men it was an end in itself. Referring to Plato, friendship between men was often seen as superior to the excited, unpredictable love relationships between men and women.

Friendship between men was, nevertheless, seen as a form of love which could be passionate and sensual. The typically German expression *Freundesliebe* (love between friends) originates from the *Sturm und Drang* period, when in many university towns literary "Societies of Friends" were founded in which men wrote each other passionate letters, dedicated real love poems to one another, embraced and kissed each other warmly and shed many tears when they had to take leave of one another or met again after a long absence. Friendship and love are shoots from the same stem, according to the influential poet Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, who made friendship one of the main themes of his poetry. The terms the philosopher Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi and the novelist Jean Paul used around the year 1800 to give expression to their affection for each other were not exceptional in these circles. "My dear Heinrich, do tell me once again when the opportunity occurs that you love me. Like the young girl I want to hear that repeated, if not trillions then millions of times," wrote Jean Paul,<sup>37</sup> while in a letter of Jacobi's one can read, "I feel that exactly the same as you, that a friend should love his friend as the woman loves the man, the lover the loved one."<sup>38</sup>

To many of the Romantics, love between men and women and friendship between men were on one and the same level. The philosopher Schlegel said that friendship in love and love in friendship made both perfect. In (heterosexual) romantic love and in friendship too the ideal was spiritual love, but this did not mean that the Romantics rejected sensuality—they adopted a positive attitude toward it insofar as it went hand in hand with a

spiritual union. Seen the other way around, they proceeded from the idea that the ideal emotional and intellectual relationship went hand in hand with physical sensations. The author Heinrich von Kleist, who confided to a friend, "You have restored the age of the Greeks in my heart. I could have slept with you, dearest boy,"<sup>39</sup> was not the only one to bear witness to the fact that friendship was sensual. In 1785 Jean Paul expressed the view that "all our feelings must retain something physical, and the Greek fire of friendship would be more frequent among us, if it were still to feed itself on physical beauty."<sup>40</sup> Before this, the philosopher and theologian Johann Georg Hamann had already declared that physical contact was a natural expression of friendship. Hamann, who had criticized the hegemony of Reason in the Enlightenment and who held the opinion that thought and feeling were indivisible, wrote in his work *Sokratische Denkwürdigkeiten* (Socratic Memoirs, 1759), in which he treated the subject of Greek pederasty: "One cannot feel any vital friendship without sensuality, and a metaphysical love possibly does more harm to the nerves than an animal love does to flesh and blood."<sup>41</sup> The renewed interest in Greek culture and art in the 18th century contributed in no small measure to the appreciation of the physical side of male friendship. According to the art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Greek sculpture, which strongly concentrated on male beauty, was unsurpassable and under this influence various writers and poets (including Goethe, Herder, Schiller, and Hölderlin) expressed more or less positive views about Greek male love and a pedagogical Eros.<sup>42</sup>

The Platonic model, by which passionate friendships between men were justified until the middle of the 19th century, did indeed emphasize the importance of intellectual sympathy and similar ideas about morals, but it was at the same time a confirmation of sensuality. Appreciation of the spiritual character of friendship did not exclude passion as it did later on. By calling friendship a "bond between kindred spirits," the emotional element was, on the contrary, emphasized. Friedrich Schiller, who associated male friendship with sublime ethical ideas and valor, wrote, with reference to his sketch for the theatrical piece *Die Malteser* (a play about the relationship between two knights), that this should be "utterly beautiful, but also real passion, with all its symptoms," or "true sexual love" which found its expression in "tender care, recognizable by raging jealousy, by sensual adoration of the body, by other sensual symptoms."<sup>43</sup>

Although some literary men were criticized from time to time for being too sentimental or for allowing themselves to be carried away by the "ardor" of friendship at the expense of morals, friendship was able to be