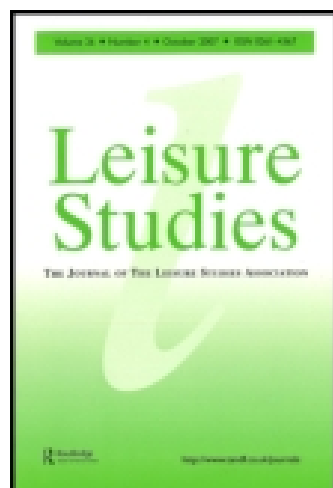


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‘We will show you Berlin’: space, leisure, flânerie and sexuality

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‘We will show you Berlin’: space, leisure, *flânerie* and sexuality

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Both the seat of the German government and the capitol of queer German culture, Berlin has been that spatial nexus of politics, sexuality and gender, work and leisure that has enabled the development of multifarious sexual and gender identities. This has caused celebration and consternation among Germans and foreigners alike. Contemporary studies of urban homosexual space cite an erosion of its ‘authenticity’ when cities market homosexual space in order to attract tourists. My literary analysis shows that Berlin’s homosexual male culture and space had already been subject to commoditisation in the Weimar period (1918–1933), when Berliners discovered marketing potential in the French slight *la vice allemand* [the German vice] – male homosexuality. This article’s examination of Weimar Berlin’s spatial binary as ‘sexy space’ and ‘sexualised place’ in literature by Klaus Mann and Curt Moreck engages with current debates in leisure studies on the gendering and sexing of geography and leisure. Central to this re-evaluation of leisure and tourism in Weimar Berlin is my discussion of *flânerie*: the figure of the *flâneuse* indicates that *flânerie* was not the lone dominion of heterosexual men. In the context of urban leisure and male homosexuality, I argue that Weimar Berlin consistently and successfully negotiated its dual function of sexy space (allowing self-fashioning for homosexual men in Berlin) and sexualised place (voyeurism and sexual exploration for Berlin’s newcomers and tourists).

Keywords: tourism; consumer culture; gender; geography; history; arts

Introduction

Berlin has long been known as a space of leisure and sexuality, a ‘sexy space’. For homosexuals in the Weimar period (1918–1933), Berlin was an ‘Eldorado’, as the name of a famous homosexual bar of the day suggests. Yet the male homosexual remained a social ‘double-outsider’. Firstly, he was an outsider in terms of the law: §175 of the German penal code outlawed sexual relations between men. Secondly, he was an outsider in terms of his orientation and/or non-normative gender performance.

Despite §175, Weimar Berlin was an affirming space for homosexual men as well as lesbians, transvestites and transsexuals.¹ Each social group had its own spaces: some were exclusive; others were open to other social groups. The homosexual bar was a space of leisure within Weimar Berlin which allowed for interaction among homosexual men and where the male homosexual could temporarily escape his status as a ‘double-outsider’. However, media such as literature and travel guides brought

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increased attention to these spaces, serving as voyeuristic means for a curious readership and tourists.

Strongly convinced of literature's role as a mediator of difference in 'thirdspace', or 'real-and-imagined places' (Soja, 1996, p. 6), I contribute to the current discourse on space, sexuality and leisure with my investigation of the reciprocal influence of space and literature on male homosexual culture in Weimar Berlin. My cross-analysis of *Der fromme Tanz: das Abenteuerbuch einer Jugend* [The pious dance: The adventure story of a young man] (1926/1987) by Klaus Mann (1906–1949) and *Führer durch das 'lasterhafte' Berlin* [Guide through 'naughty' Berlin] (1931) by Curt Moreck² (1888–1957) elucidates the extent to which literature defined identity by accentuating and sometimes celebrating difference in otherwise marginalised spaces that defined themselves (or that were defined) as part of male homosexual culture.

The contrasting narrative perspective of these texts makes them excellent literary sources for this study. First published in December 1925 as an 'Excerpt of a Development Novel' in the journal of the elitist homosexual aesthetic circle *Der Eigene* [The Personalist], *The pious dance* is a literary expression of a modernist pursuit of urban leisure. Protagonist Andreas Magnus tries to come to terms with his sexuality by finding his way through homosexual spaces of leisure in Berlin. Although not a literary work per se, the *Guide through 'naughty' Berlin* brings Berlin's naughty sites to life by means of Moreck's captivating vignettes. Moreck also includes illustrations by artists such as Christian Schad and Jeanne Mammen, who are known for their depictions of homosexuals and their spaces in Weimar Berlin.

The reciprocal influence of urban space and literature, especially with regard to gendered, narrative structures and the public/private divide, has been receiving increased attention among literary scholars and geographers alike. Pamela K. Gilbert explains that 'urban space' is the quintessential point of departure for literary and cultural analyses in western modernity. Literature not only reflects but also impacts our understanding of space; it 'intervenes in culture to produce new understandings' (2009, p. 105). Julie Abraham reminds us that '[l]iterature, it might be said, has taught us how to read – that is, how to interpret – homosexuals and cities' (2009, p. 43). And in his discussion of the spatiality of the metaphorical closet (to which I will return), Michael Brown calls 'for an increased interaction between geography and literary theory' (2000, p. 4). Thus, literary analysis of the 'city as text' has increasingly become an important complement to current empirical or historical studies on the interconnectedness of space, leisure and sexuality.³

My study begins with a discussion of 'Berlin as space'. The differentiation between an objectified 'place', which 'has a distinct location which it defines', and a subject 'space', which 'is composed of intersections of mobile elements with shifting[,] often indeterminate borders' as outlined by Wearing and Wearing (1996, p. 234) is central to my discussion. Their concept of the tourist destination as an 'interactive space' stands as a convincing case for a 'feminized conceptualization' of a non-objectifying interaction between tourist, tourist destination and the inhabitants of that destination (1996, p. 229). Such social networks, which negotiated the recognition of, respect for and even adaptation of social difference, simultaneously defined and blurred Weimar Berlin's space/place binary. Geraldine Pratt and Susan Hanson summarise this interconnectedness of space, place and difference as follows:

First, the city has been taken as a prototype of communities based on affinity rather than identity. Second, the constitution of difference is not only a social but also a spatial process and varying systems of difference operate in different places; this forces the recognition that differences are constructed. Third, the physical act of displacement can open up a moment of awareness of difference from others; it can prompt a reversal of 'centre' and margins. (1994, pp. 9–10)

In the second section, 'Berlin as leisure', I investigate this 'moment of awareness of difference' in the context of the homosexual bar in Weimar Berlin. On the one hand, the homosexual bar was a 'sexy space' in Weimar Berlin. I define 'sexy space' as an interactive, autonomous space of sexual agency and identity: in 'sexy space', the homosexual male could interact with other homosexual men based on their *shared difference*, namely, homosexual desire.⁴ On the other hand, the homosexual bar was a 'sexualised place': a commercialised and objectified place that defined homosexuals as the sexual and social Other. Tourists and newcomers, both hetero- and homosexual, both male and female, sought a thrill in *observing difference*.

I use this space/place binary to describe how homosexual men defined and were defined by Weimar Berlin. I am also aware that in using this spatial binary as a model of urban experience, I run the risk of re-establishing the associated binaries of subject/object, active/passive and male/female according to the normative, essentialist gendering of the City.⁵ Let me stress that this is not my intention. As my discussion will show, what makes Weimar Berlin so fascinating is its simultaneous reliance on and overcoming of these social and spatial binaries. To wit: as space, as place and as a topographical instance of difference, the male homosexual bar buttressed both non-normative and normative sexual identities. As sexy space, the homosexual bar allowed the homosexual male to be 'different from the others', as the title of the film *Anders als die Anderen* [Different from the others] (1919) suggests. Yet the homosexual bar also reaffirmed the 'normal' identity of non-homosexuals, who observed and enjoyed the difference between him/herself and the male homosexual Other in this sexualised place.

In 'Berlin as *flânerie*', I move through spaces and places in Mann's and Moreck's texts and reconsider *flânerie* in Weimar Berlin via their portrayals of the *flâneur* and the *flâneuse*. Analogous to the title of the chapter 'Walking in the city' in de Certeau's *The practice of everyday life* (1984), walking in Berlin is a spatial exercise of sexual leisure both for the homosexual *flâneur*, who interacts with homosexual sexy spaces, and for the *flâneuse*, who gains pleasure from observing homosexual sexualised places.

Indeed, homosexual bars often serve as the setting in Mann's and Moreck's texts, and the article's final section, 'Berlin as (homo)sexuality', investigates these texts' contrasting narrative perspectives. Mann constructs the homosexual bar as space for homosexuals. Moreck portrays the homosexual bar as a place for tourists, while at the same time appealing for the inclusion of homosexuals in society. Therefore, literary portrayals of homosexual bars in Weimar Berlin not only contributed to the acceptance – or new understandings – of homosexual men in cultural imagination, but also fuelled the development of an alternative cultural identity by negotiating Weimar Berlin's dual meta-roles of sexy, subject space and sexualised, objectified place. Both as sexy space and as sexualised place of leisure, the homosexual bar contributed positively to the self-fashioning of homosexual men in Weimar Berlin. However, it remains questionable if the interplay of space and literature was ultimately emancipatory or if it merely reified existing stereotypes associated with homosexual men and their spaces.

Berlin as space

Already at the *fin-de-siècle*, not only bars but also bookstores and a full range of businesses for homosexual men and women had been established in Berlin, especially in Berlin-Kreuzberg and Berlin-Friedrichshain.⁶ As commercial venues of homosexuals for homosexuals, the owners' and patrons' sexual orientation and identity transformed these places into sexy spaces; spaces which fostered interaction among their inhabitants, thus enhancing urban identities. My use of the term 'sexy space' recalls recent discussions on how the interrelation of performativity, sexuality, identity and space determines leisure's role in western culture. Chris Rojek maintains that individuals' appropriate *performance* of social roles sustains culture: 'work-performance disciplines carry over into our non-work emotional relations and leisure activity' (2000, pp. 48–49). To be sure, for the homosexuals who lived, worked and revelled in Weimar Berlin's sexy spaces, the boundaries between work and leisure were fluid.

When considering sexy space, one must take account of debates on the concept of today's 'gay ghetto'. Michael Sibalis's study of Le Marais, the 'gay ghetto' in Paris, is largely positive. Although the social relationships within Le Marais are largely commercial in nature (e.g. gay businesses, restaurants, etc.), Sibalis argues that these same venues 'permit the emergence of a self-aware community' (2004, p. 1744).

In a similar vein, David Bell and Jon Binnie frame their concept of 'gay space' with a discussion of 'the interweaving of urban governance and sexual citizenship agendas' (2004, p. 1807). In the context of tourism and leisure, these are in turn defined by production and consumption, marketing and exclusion. In order for 'gay space' to be marketable, it must first be 'desirable', and it follows that only those persons deemed 'desirable' (in terms of race, class, gender, sexuality and, I would add, aesthetics) are welcome in 'gay space'. Bell and Binnie thus take issue not necessarily with 'gay space' and the marketing within it but rather with cities' efforts to market their 'gay space' as part of a 'global competition' for (gay) tourists. Such efforts erode the 'authenticity' – a 'kind of essential retreat or defence from commodification and spectacle' – of urban 'gay space' (2004, p. 1807).⁷

Both Mann's and Moreck's texts demonstrate that these questions were already in play in Weimar Berlin. For instance, Moreck notes a 'sharpness of the categorical imperative' and 'a shade of didacticism' in the slogan of the Berlin Tourism Bureau: "'Berlin – at least once in your life!'" That has something irresistible about it. Something tempting, auspicious, fascinating hovers about this word' (1931, p. 6). Playing with the reader's voyeuristic imagination, Moreck is alluding to the sexual aura of Berlin. However, his response to a French commentator who had labelled homosexuality *la vice allemand* is sober:

It is well known that every nationality assigns its own vice to another nationality. And yet Berlin is certainly no more immoral than Paris or London or any other city in the world – Berliners are just partly less bashful and partly less hypocritical. (1931, p. 132)

Homosexuality, then, is a vice, but homosexual spaces are worth seeing, being written about and 'sold' either by the Tourism Bureau, in travel guides or in literature. And by reading – itself a mode of leisure – one could pursue urban leisure from practically anywhere.

For better or worse, these homosexual spaces were quickly sexualised (read: objectified) by sociologists, sexologists and even writers and artists via their studies and portrayals of the localisation, commercialisation and professionalisation of sex in

modernist Berlin. Literary tours of homosexual Berlin were not uncommon in the Wilhelmine (1871–1918) and Weimar (1918–1933) periods. Sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld's *Berlins Drittes Geschlecht* [Berlin's third sex] (1904) and publisher-activist Friedrich Rasdzuweit's *Männer zu verkaufen: Ein Wirklichkeitsroman aus der Welt der männlichen Erpresser und Prostituierten* [Men for sale: A reality novel from the world of the male blackmailers and prostitutes] (1931) were quite popular in homosexual circles.⁸ And each features a literary tour of homosexual bars.

Hirschfeld's main concern when writing *Berlin's third sex* was to differentiate between the 'respectable' homosexual, who was a victim of §175, and the 'criminal' (and 'false') homosexual, the male prostitute, who profited from §175 by blackmailing his clients. He made this crucial differentiation by distinguishing between 'respectable' and 'criminal' homosexual locales.⁹ Jaimey Fisher and Barbara Mennel cite 'the long-term centrality of space and spatial imaginary to German culture' (2010, p. 9). To be sure, already in Wilhelmine literature on urban life (including homosexuality), a focus on space was manifest, evidencing a literary spatial turn. By this, I mean that authors based their narratives not only on time – from 'beginning to end' – but also on space – from 'here to there'. This literary spatial turn not only enables but also knots together moments of belonging and identity, of a homosexual aesthetic and narrative¹⁰ and autobiographical angst, in Mann's *The pious dance*.

Although *The pious dance* has not received the same amount of critical attention as Alfred Döblin's much-celebrated *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (1929), Berlin is also very much a character – an active agent – in Mann's novel. True to the spirit of the Weimar period, it is not so much science and sexology but rather Berlin's topography that defines the characters' sexuality and gender performances. Mann's Weimar celebratory portrayal of seedy homosexual bars challenges Hirschfeld's normative Wilhelmine categorisation of 'good' and 'bad' homosexuals and bars.

The bars in *The pious dance* are scenes of crime and vice, sometimes literally underground and stay open far into the night. Weimar Berlin's homosexual sexy spaces were analogous to those in New York, which police saw as dangerous sites of celebration of non-normative, criminal behaviour. In New York in 1920, police raided German-born George Koenig's 'Hotel Koenig', charging him with "keeping a disorderly house" and "a resort for degenerates" (Chauncey, 1995, pp. 170–171). A sexuality tinged with criminality increasingly came to define homosexual spaces and aroused the interest of those outside of homosexual space not just in Weimar Berlin but also in other western metropolises.

With its disregard for respectability and focus on space and time, Mann's literary portrayal of urban leisure resembles the visual narrative of urban leisure in Otto Dix's famed triptych, *Großstadt* [Metropolis] (1927–1928). The central panel depicts an urban text of decadence and depravity. This visual urban text is framed by the real social outsiders: those who are truly lost, who have neither a text nor a voice – wounded veterans and prostitutes. Dix's work was chosen as the cover art for the 1999 reprint of *The pious dance*, thereby underscoring the spatial-temporal interrelationship of leisure in Mann's literary and Dix's visual narratives and the contemporary fear surrounding social outsiders and their spaces. In terms of the Weimar literary and visual imagination, Berlin is thus the ideal space in which the author Klaus Mann and his fictional protagonist Andreas Magnus can engage with economic and political instability and urban sexual identity.

The pious dance comprises the younger generation's disillusionment resulting from the First World War, its critique of the older generation and a portrayal of

homosexuals. The Foreword doubles as an apologia: 'Perhaps no book needs to apologise more for its confusion at the very start [...]' (Mann, 1926/1987, p. vii). Thus, from the novel's outset, its author, its readers and even the narrative itself are confused and in need of rejuvenation.

Despite its confusion, urban life enables social outsiders such as male homosexuals to create and to define their own space, identity and narrative. Commenting on the 'ambivalent relationship to both placement and identity' (Knopp, 2004, p. 124), Larry Knopp explains that agency must be seen as 'the product of negotiations, of sorts, between all kinds of actors with seemingly autonomous (but actually mutually interdependent and determined) capabilities' (2004, p. 125). Homosexual 'sexy space' in Weimar Berlin fostered such negotiations, which most often challenged the societal norm. As de Certeau suggests:

If in discourse the city serves as a totalizing and almost mythical landmark for socio-economic and political strategies, urban life increasingly permits the re-emergence of the element that the urbanistic project excluded. (1984, p. 95)

To be sure, a unique male homosexual aesthetic was emerging in Weimar Berlin that stemmed from the interaction of homosexual men with their sexy spaces. Urban experiences and fantasies were being increasingly incorporated into the contemporary German homosexual aesthetic.

For example, the body culture and life reform movements, which promoted cultural renewal via a return to nature, continued to exert great influence on photography in popular homosexual journals. However, literary and visual representations of street youth began to appear more frequently, as a cover of a homosexual magazine, *Der Eigene* [The Personalist], illustrates (Figure 1). Such images would have been unthinkable in the Wilhelmine period, when homosexual aesthetes portrayed the German male in the manner of Greek antiquity.

Accompanying this shift to include urban 'types' and settings in visual imagination, technical modes of artistic reproduction prompted a widespread concern that a lack of taste and a love for kitsch was manifesting itself in all levels of German society. Kitch was seen as a form of corruptive leisure as it was consumer-oriented, morally corruptive and aesthetically inferior. Gerard Schulze stresses that kitsch mirrored a cultural deverticalisation in urban socio-cultural space. By means of its grounding in everyday life – its triviality – kitsch exemplified both a level of conformity and a level of security and social belonging (1992, p. 165). Whereas the upper class once looked down on the petty bourgeois, who in turn looked down on the lower classes, this 'social ladder' became a 'social platform' that no longer privileged the urban dweller according to his/her class (1992, p. 167). Thus, in terms of the urban project's influence on aesthetic production, the *interest* of differing social groups in 'urban kitsch' marked a cultural turn (e.g. who produces art and what it is); the *interaction* of these same groups in 'urban space' marked a spatial turn (e.g. who produces art and where s/he produces it).

Such issues are at play in *The pious dance*: neither Klaus Mann's novel nor the personal narrative of his protagonist Andreas were expressions of a lofty new ideal. The son of a famous artist in Munich, Andreas, had gone to Berlin to become a famous artist as well. Instead, he becomes a cabaret performer at the fictional cabaret, the *Pfütze* ['Puddle', or 'Mud-hole']. Performing in this homosexual space, Andreas receives 'heartfelt applause' from his audience of homosexual men (Mann, 1926/



Figure 1. Cover. (1924). *Der Eigene: Ein Blatt für männliche Kultur* [The Personalist: A Journal for Masculine Culture], 10, [cover].

1987, p. 74). Yet the applause is not so much in appreciation for Andreas's artistic ability as it is for his good looks and sailor costume. An older patron, Doktor Dorfbaum, shows great interest in Andreas, who becomes an object of sexual desire. The homosexual space of agency becomes a homosexual place of objectification: Dorfbaum even offers Andreas money to be with him (Mann, 1926/1987, p. 88). Thus, the cabaret not only evidences an aesthetic devrticalisation in urban socio-cultural space: it also blurs the boundaries between 'authenticity', performativity and spectacle and exemplifies the tension surrounding the pursuit of leisure in sexy space and sexualised place in Weimar Berlin.

Berlin as leisure

By the 1930s, Berlin had firmly established its reputation as a place for tourists to find entertainment and excitement. Moreck's *Guide* opens with the heading: *We will show you Berlin*. Work, which 'has primarily become compulsion and drudgery', instils in individuals a 'curiosity and a hunger for new experiences' that literally moves them to new tourist destinations in other cities, countries and continents (1931, p. 5).¹¹ According to Moreck, tourism is not only a *means to escape* 'the landscape and images of his or her day-to-day surroundings' but also a possibility 'to rejuvenate him- or herself and to have fun' (1931, p. 5). As Mann's fictional cabaret has shown, Berlin's sexy spaces of leisure and work for homosexuals became sexualised places that marked a *divide* between leisure and work for homosexuals and for tourists.

Yet since German Classicism, leisure has been understood as a necessary *complement* to labour. This is most evident in Friedrich Schiller's treatise *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in einer Reihe von Briefen* [On the aesthetic education of man in a series of letters] (1795/2004). Schiller understands *Spiel* [play] to be a necessary mode of leisure. It lies between a sensual, idealist mode of artistic experience and a material, rational impulse that seeks to understand the world in terms of measurable data. He writes that '[m]an plays only when he is in the full sense of the word a man, and *he is only wholly man when playing*' (1795/2004, p. 80, emphasis in original). Leisure is a playing field that allows the individual to act on one's *Spieltrieb* [play drive]. Doris Sommer explains that for Schiller, '[t]he best part of humanity is our capacity to experiment, to rearrange and select existing materials, to imagine unprecedented combinations; that is, to play' (2009, p. 89).

I contend that Schiller's understanding of leisure as play – an artistic, experimental, interactive process – reflects the interrelationship of leisure and space in German culture. In Weimar Berlin, interaction with spaces of leisure and sexuality such as the homosexual bar allowed for self-assessment. In addition, *where* the tourist 'pursues' leisure and *how* s/he interacts with this space/place were already important factors of the tourist experience in Weimar Berlin. This conceptualisation supports the contemporary relevance of Schiller's understanding of leisure. Tourism (as a mode of leisure) should not be seen as escape *from* labour but an escape *to* a space of tourism, a 'chora', a 'social space which allows for learning and growing' (Wearing & Wearing, 1996, pp. 229–230).¹² However, Moreck's portrayal of tourism as an escape from labour reflects his patriarchal view of tourist destination as place.

In addition to offering escape from the mundane work routine, travel also means 'experiencing the present in its intensity' (Moreck, 1931, p. 8). Weimar Berlin was therefore the ideal tourist destination, and its quirks tickled the tourist: 'Berlin is the city of contrasts, and it is a pleasure to discover them. Merely enjoying the simple

contrast between day and night in her makes the effort worthwhile' (Moreck, 1931, pp. 8–9).¹³ Moreck presents Berlin as a feminised point of congruency in which opposites co-exist and collide. The enjoyment of opposites in 'her' – in Berlin, a place of pleasure – leads to an experience of leisure that bridges opposites of day and night, respectable and degenerate, work and play, public and private. As we will learn from Mann's text, however, Berlin's spaces resist objectification and remain leisure spaces where such intersections and negotiations of temporal and social boundaries are possible.

Moreck does acknowledge the link between the play drive, tourism and the greater interrelationship of sex, leisure and business:

This drive has been of great service to an industry which has also benefited from the rapid development and perfection of modes of transportation. The traveller has become a welcome object of usufruct; this sometimes borders on exploitation. (1931, p. 5)

This mention of exploitation problematises Schiller's naive depiction of the subject's play drive. In this modernist constellation, play and leisure are no longer in service of the development of the subject but are subordinated to capitalist modes of production. Theodor Adorno criticised Schiller's concept of play because it presents a possibility to a return to a state of subject autonomy that probably never existed (1970, p. 470).

Adorno's critique is a thorny point of contention in terms of Berlin's space/place binary because it calls into question both the neutrality of 'agency' in homosexual spaces and the pursuit of leisure in these spaces. In modernity, urban leisure as well as its literary portrayals are intrinsically tied to production. These texts do lend a voice to previously marginalised sub-cultures such as homosexuals. However, by reading these texts, the reader – both hetero- and homosexual – objectifies literary homosexual spaces. In this manner, literature transforms homosexual sexy spaces into sexualised places of escape. Voyeuristic readers could read about homosexual night life in the comfort of their living room, or they could experience it first-hand on a tour.

Berlin as *flânerie*

Mobility and tours of cities were not only narrative devices in homosexual literature; they were also key to the development of homosexual spaces in the city – be it New York, Paris or Berlin. Julie Abraham writes: 'Given the geographical mobility that fed the explosive urbanization of the nineteenth century, it was perhaps inevitable that the experience of arriving in the city would shape modern urban life' (2009, p. 46). This was still the case in the Weimar period: the initial encounter with the metropolis was the hallmark of the urban tourist experience, which included visits to spaces of sexuality and leisure.

In *The pious dance*, the promise of adventure and the interaction with sexy spaces are irresistible for Andreas. However, Andreas's arrival in Berlin would prove harrowing.¹⁴ His baggage reminds the reader of his personal ballast from Munich: 'Pulled downstairs sideways by the burden, he staggered across the platform. His entrance into the city was somewhat lopsided' (Mann, 1926/1987, p. 38). While riding in a cab, Andreas is unsettled by Berlin: 'The city did not care about him sitting alone in the vehicle. Every so often, though, it shot a small, dazzling sidelight on him through the window – [...] as if it wanted to test his mettle in passing [...]' (Mann, 1926/1987, p. 39). Mann's Berlin is more than space, more than place – it is a personification of

urban life that the newcomer must reckon with, testing instead of welcoming the tourist. Berlin discloses no information about itself and is difficult to befriend.

Andreas's cab drive seems to last for hours, an indication of Berlin's temporal and spatial boundlessness. He does not 'know his place', as it were. His spatial disorientation is immediately coupled with his sexual (dis)orientation: after being bitten by bedbugs and resisting the sexual advances of his landlord's daughter, Andreas decides to leave his first residence. The question at hand is not 'Where am I?' but 'Who and where am I?'

In Mann's *The pious dance* and Moreck's *Guide*, Berlin's sexy spaces liken an urban labyrinth in which one can easily get lost. Moreck writes that cities:

are indeterminate temptations, they are a conglomerate of unending possibilities. They are labyrinths in which the most beautiful streets do not give the visitor a hint of where they will lead him or her. (1931, p. 6)

He stresses the need of a good travel guide: 'Although one must dive into this bustling mess and get lost in it, one must be able to find his or her way back' (1931, p. 6). It is therefore not surprising that travel guides were popular among German tourists.

Rudy Koshar frames the German tourist experience with a discussion of the Baedeker travel guide. This guide not only defined the travel experience of the wealthy bourgeoisie but also the wealthy bourgeois tourist, who:

embraced self-control, asceticism, and discipline – precisely the values that served the middle classes of Europe and North America in 'culture building' throughout the nineteenth century. (Koshar, 2000, p. 34)

Tourism as 'culture building' was understood to be a male project, as the male tourist was the norm in leisure travel up through the early years of modern tourism (Koshar, 2000, p. 31). As the standard travel guide of the day, the Baedeker guide was therefore intended for the educated German bourgeois male.¹⁵

Yet by the late 1920s, travel guides such as *Was nicht im Baedeker steht* [What's not to be found in the Baedeker] appeared on the market. Koshar explains that '[t]he idea of offering the traveller something beyond Baedeker tourism spoke to issues of both style and substance' (2000, p. 78). This 'something' was information on sex and sexy spaces in the City, and Moreck's guide offers just this. Koshar describes Moreck's sensational guide as being '[...] not only a product of Weimar's sexual revolution, but also of an enlivened literate interest in *flânerie*, the art of walking, observing, and representing the daily life of the modern city' (2000, p. 84).

For Walter Benjamin, *flânerie* is more than experiencing the city – his *flâneur* resists a guide; he is part of the urban labyrinth of sexy spaces. 'The labyrinth, whose image has become part of the *flâneur*'s flesh and blood, seems to have been given, as it were, a colored [*sic*] border by prostitution' (1923/2006, p. 166). Indeed, if anyone, it is the prostitute who guides the *flâneur*: 'Manifold are the spaces in the metropolises where one stands on the threshold to nothingness, and the whores are simultaneously the *lares* of this cult of nothingness' (Benjamin, 1936/1985, p. 472). As the quotes from Moreck and Benjamin illustrate, the metaphors of 'city as text', 'city as labyrinth' and 'urban text as labyrinth' are interrelated. David Frisby also reminds us that the *flâneur* shares the status of 'that of the dandy (as a downwardly mobile aristocratic and gentry figure) and the bohemian' (1994, p. 86). Indeed, the *flâneur* – often critiqued for being outside of production (Frisby, 1994, p. 86) – 'writes' his urban

texts by his interactions with the City as space. Likewise, the homosexual *flâneur* 'writes' his urban text/sexual identity in 'sexy spaces' in the urban labyrinth that is Weimar Berlin.¹⁶

But what is this urban labyrinth, and why is this metaphor so important for *flânerie* in Weimar texts? Manfred Schmeling has defined three basic literary functions of the labyrinth. It has a topological function, or the ability to structure space. It has a semantic – or symbolic, metaphorical – function. And in terms of value association, it has an axiological function (1987, pp. 41–42). For our understanding of *flânerie* in Weimar Berlin's homosexual spaces, all three modes of the labyrinth metaphor are at play.

Topologically, the urban labyrinth defines the scope of visibility and in turn the scope of cognisance in Mann's and Moreck's texts on *flânerie*. De Certeau explains that:

[t]he ordinary practitioners of the city live 'down below', below the thresholds at which visibility begins. They walk – an elementary form of the experience of the city; they are walkers, *Wandermänner*, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban 'text' they write without being able to read it. (1984, p. 93)

To be sure, Berlin's immense scale – the total urban text – is incomprehensible for Andreas. The fifth chapter opens with Andreas's bewilderment: 'Berlin was huge' (Mann, 1926/1987, p. 76). What Andreas lacks is de Certeau's bird's eye view of the City,¹⁷ which affords the viewer the 'pleasure of "seeing the whole", of looking down on, totalizing the most immoderate of human texts', the City (1984, p. 92). Similarly, Andreas lacks a 'total picture' of Berlin. Although Andreas will come to 'write' his own 'urban text' by means of walking, he remains unable to comprehend his own path, his own text, his own urban experience.

De Certeau writes that 'the act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered' (1984, p. 97). Semantically, Andreas's tour of the homosexual night life in the urban labyrinth equals a 'pedestrian speech act' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 97).¹⁸ This not only enunciates his homosexual identity but also indicates that he is a *flâneur* engaging with homosexual space.

To be sure, Andreas's 'idle footsteps' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 97) do more than define and connect these spaces; they generate Andreas's urban text by means of *flânerie*:

He walked around and observed everything – because so many people lived there and did try hard and did strive to make the most of themselves – [...] Truly, Andreas came into contact with so many of them. [...] He talked with them, looked at them, he tried to gain wisdom from them. (Mann, 1926/1987, pp. 76–77)

This passage reflects an axiological mode of the labyrinth metaphor. *Flânerie* knots together the tropes of leisure and space in Weimar Berlin. 'Wrong turns' equal poor value decisions: Andreas tries to follow a path that will lead him past the pitfalls of the urban labyrinth and to a safe exit. His interest in the hard-working Berliners underscores the contemporary concern for the commoditisation of things (e.g. leisure as industry, leisure as idleness vs. labour and productivity, art vs. kitsch).

For precisely this reason, Wearing and Wearing critique the *flâneur*, who, although feminised, is a male who consumes the 'urban spectacle'. He 'is away from home and in search of the unfamiliar' (1996, p. 232). Janet Wolff argues that the *flâneur*:

represents men's visual and voyeuristic mastery over women. According to this view, the *flâneur*'s freedom to wander at will through the city is essentially a masculine

freedom. Thus the very idea of the *flâneur* reveals it to be a masculine concept. (1985, cited in Wearing & Wearing, 1996, p. 233)

The Baedeker model of tourism supports Wolff's argument. When seen in a fixed gendered perspective of space vs. place, the *flâneur* is that male individual who is privileged by the subject gaze. However, I join with Deborah L. Parsons in urging feminists to reconsider the *flâneur* in the context of twentieth-century urban modernity and 'its possibilities for female [or non-normative male] urban expression' (2000, p. 6). And I follow Sally Munt's lead in acknowledging but moving beyond the male gaze and privilege of the *flâneur*:

I'm interested in this observer [the *flâneur*] as a metaphor, who offers at once a symbolic hero and anti-hero, a borderline personality in a parable of urban uncertainty, of angst and anomie. (1995, p. 116)

In *The pious dance*, Andreas's *flânerie* is initiated by a woman, 'Fräulein Franziska'. It is she who initiates him to Berlin, who finds him a flat and a job and who introduces him to her male homosexual friends. Franziska is the *flâneuse* whose knowledge of Berlin's sexy spaces help Andreas along his own path as a *flâneur* in Berlin.

This increasing public presence of women in Weimar Berlin and the figure of the prostitute is the focus of Jill Suzanne Smith's study of Moreck's *Guide*. She includes Moreck among writers such as Siegfried Kracauer and Bertolt Brecht, whose texts on sexually and financially emancipated women in Weimar Berlin 'can be read to express both men's anxiety in regard to urban emancipation and their acknowledgment or even celebration of it' (2010, p. 59, emphasis in original). In his discussion of homosexual spaces, Moreck also features the *flâneuse* as she visits the sexy spaces of homosexual males. His portrayal of the 'Silhouette' bar is of particular interest for the reconsideration of the *flâneuse*. After entering the bar and ascending some steps, one finds 'intimate loges' behind balustrades with comfortable easy chairs and padded benches. Although many of these are occupied by patrons engaged in 'amorous comedies', the guest could relax in the loges and take in the exotic, erotic atmosphere as 'a spectator' (Moreck, 1931, p. 154).

It is intriguing that many of these 'spectators' are women. Although the homosexual male patrons of the 'Silhouette' were once openly misogynistic, '[t]oday, the woman dominates. She has overcome the dissenters. Only as lone figures do they pay visits to the once sacred sites of their cult' (Moreck, 1931, p. 156). This passage carries several packed messages. The *flâneuse* has found her space in the sexy space of the homosexual man by appropriating it. She does this not by reversing but by assuming the objectifying gaze of the male *flâneur* as she consumes the erotic escapades of the homosexual men. Indeed, this sexy space becomes a theatrical space (or place) where homosexual men perform their sexuality for the enjoyment of heterosexual women. Much like Andreas's cabaret performance in *The pious dance*, this performativity of male homosexuality is problematic in as much as it expresses the tension between gay authenticity (i.e. homosexual sexy space) and gay spectacle (i.e. homosexual sexualised place of entertainment) (cf. Bell & Binnie, 2004, pp. 1807, 1812, 1816).¹⁹

In *The pious dance*, 'Fräulein Franziska' also derives pleasure from observing and interacting with homosexual men. She even succeeds in seducing Andreas's love interest, Niels. In contrast, the fledgling *flâneur* Andreas remains at odds with Berlin and its sexy spaces. He primarily experiences Berlin at night, when it:



Figure 2. Krain, W. (published 1931). *Nachbetrieb an der Kranzler-Ecke in Berlin* [Night life at the Kranzler-Corner in Berlin]. In H. Ostwald, *Sittengeschichte der Inflation: Ein Kulturdokument aus den Jahren des Marksturzes* [A moral history of the inflation: A cultural document from the years of the market crash] (p. 138). Berlin: Neufeld & Henius.

escalated to a flaming epic dream [...]. The city was huge beyond measure when, every evening, it ignited the sweeping splendour of its lit advertisements and all of its lights which spun and ascended and descended brightly, making it all seem like a huge festival. (Mann, 1926/1987, p. 78)

In addition to a spatial turn, a temporal turn continued to be a fundamental marker of urban leisure. Respectable, hard-working Berliners were afoot by day. At two or three o'clock in the morning, only the social outsiders – the homosexual, the prostitute, the gambler, the criminal (some of whom fit under more than one category) – made Berlin a *Moloch* and wrote a titillating urban text by walking through Berlin's streets. Willibald Krain's night scene of the 'Kranzler-Corner' on Berlin's *Kurfürstendamm* is a visual expression of such an urban text (Figure 2). De Certeau writes that 'Walking in the City' produces a memory of the city, with which 'the possibility of space and of a localization (a "not everything") of the subject is inaugurated' (1984, p. 109). In *The pious dance*, homosexual bars – sexy spaces – shape the narrative and character development on these night-time walks.

Berlin as (homo)sexuality

Like much of the German homosexual literature of the period, a central scene of *The pious dance* is a pub crawl. Andreas and his friends enter the first bar and are greeted 'with ladylike charm' by the landlord, who is 'white, fat, and heavily perfumed'

(Mann, 1926/1987, p. 72). It is hard to tell if the feminine nature of the homosexual men in the bar is innate or merely performative:

The young gentlemen would burst into shrill notes of rejoicing whenever such old acquaintances such as Andreas, Paul and Franziska dropped by the club; their hands made small darting movements as if they were tossing their dear guests flowers or little balls of silk [...]. (Mann, 1926/1987, p. 72)

Moreck comments that 'the more elegant the bar is, the more effeminate are its patrons. In the more distinguished West [Berlin], one achieves the appearance of the opposite sex by means of a powder puff and lipstick' (1931, p. 148).

Neither Mann's nor Moreck's portrayal of effeminate homosexuals is flattering. Instead, both view the effeminate homosexual with suspicion. They insinuate that the homosexuals' effeminacy is merely kitsch, affect, applied like cosmetics.²⁰ This dismissive commentary foreshadows the reconfiguration of the 'boundary of "unwantedness"' (Bell & Binnie, 2004, p. 1810) in sexy spaces: when these are opened up 'to (non-gay-identified) consumers, the spaces push out what we might call the "queer unwanted"' (Bell & Binnie, 2004, p. 1810).

In the *Paradiesgärtlein* [Little Garden of Eden],²¹ more gender-bending is afoot. Andreas sees his favourite female impersonator, 'Rose Petal', who '[...] carried his curly auburn head just as charmingly as a diva in an operetta' (Mann, 1926/1987, p. 74). In this bar, the homosexual is not only a societal outsider in terms of sexual orientation but is also in brazen violation of the law. Hustlers dance as Boris, a lonely 'lost case':

[...] would turn halfway to the wall and hurriedly take a pinch of that fine white stuff that looks as appetizing as snuff and is as cool in the nose as peppermint – and in the end has the same effect. (Mann, 1926/1987, p. 74)²²

For contemporary social critics, *Kokainismus* [cocaineism] was a symptom of Weimar decadence; a symbol of a pleasure-seeking consumer culture that threatened the 'healthy' core of German society. The character of Boris in *The pious dance* shows that homosexuality and cocaineism sometimes went hand in hand. Moreck also links homosexuality, cocaineism, sex and profit in his depiction of the *Adonis-Diele* [Adonis-Vestibule]:

Here, where not only the darker but also the more obscure part of the *Friedrichstraße* ends, the bad alliances outnumber the good. From the white poison to love of every kind – everything is sold here that can be transformed into money. (1931, p. 139)

The third bar, *Sankt-Margaretenkeller* [Saint Margaret's Cellar], is an underground bar, both literally and figuratively. The myth of the underground bar and the *celebration* or fear of the descent into debauchery prevailed in literary narratives (e.g. Mann's *The pious dance*), travel guides (e.g. Moreck's *Guide*) and sociological reports [e.g. Hans Ostwald's *Sittengeschichte der inflation: Ein kulturdokument aus den jahren des marksturzes* [A moral history of the inflation: A cultural document from the years of the market crash] (1931)].

'The urban labyrinth' also fed the visual imagination, as evidenced by the illustration *Berliner Nachtleben* (Figure 3), which was reprinted in Moreck's *Guide*. While this space is not necessarily denoted as a homosexual bar, all 'urban types' are present: businessmen and *bohème*, the 'respectable' gentleman and the 'decadent' dandy (the



Figure 3. Berliner Nachtleben [Berlin night life]. (published 1931). In C. Moreck, *Führer durch das 'lasterhafte' Berlin* [Guide through 'naughty' Berlin] (p. 113). Leipzig: Verlag Moderner Stadtführer (Haessel). Reprint permission Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Abteilung Historische Drucke.

man in the tux left of the drum). As jazz musicians play, the atmosphere likens a 'narcotic intoxication of the mass (of individuals and commodities)' that would prove dangerous for the project of the *flâneur* (Frisby, 1994, p. 86).

Although the friends were greeted warmly in the 'Saint-Margaret's-Cellar', the atmosphere here was heavier, '[...] the air so thick that it was very hard to breathe' (Mann, 1926/1987, p. 75). This statement is repeated later in the passage, as if to indicate that the goings-on in the bar were simply too much to take in. *Paulchen* [Little Paul], the effeminate homosexual of the triumvirate, throws himself gladly into the tumult and dances with a Black man with a 'big woolly head' and 'barbaric sentimentality' (Mann, 1926/1987, p. 75).

The description of the nameless figure of the Black homosexual is in keeping with the exotic fear/fantasy of the Black male which prevailed in Weimar Germany,

discussed by Klaus Theweleit in the first part of his study, *Male fantasies*.²³ By the end of the passage, the nameless, 'eager Black' had disappeared somewhere with 'Little Paul' (Mann, 1926/1987, p. 77). The mystery surrounding their absence is an open secret: the two have left for a sexual encounter.

This literary moment recalls Michael Brown's postulate of the 'materiality of the closet in urban space' (2000, p. 54). While Brown is primarily interested in how the closet is a means by which gay desire can be commodified for profit (e.g. 'hidden' private clubs for gays in Christchurch, New Zealand) (2000, p. 56), his discussion of the 'invisibility and anonymity' produced in the homosexual bar qua urban closet is germane to my discussion of homosexual sexy space in Weimar Berlin:

Sex successfully takes place in the closet because it is so secret. These men depend on the invisibility and anonymity produced in that space in order to have sex with other men. (2000, p. 77)

Although homosexual men could be imprisoned for living out their sexual desire, 'hidden' homosexual sexy spaces in Weimar Berlin, in which sexuality and leisure were negotiated and performed, provided homosexual men invisibility and anonymity and promoted sexual agency. The 'underground' tourist guide was a potential outing of such homosexual sexy space.

Despite the titillating title of his *Guide*, Moreck's general depiction of the bars is rather tame:

One expects an orgy in these somewhat clandestine locations in vain. Everything takes place in a moderate tone, in an appropriately well-tempered atmosphere which is simultaneously bourgeois and sleazy. The dim lamplight in the rooms does not shed light on any big sins. It all comes across as harmless pleasure. (1931, p. 133)

Having promised sensation and sexualised places for the reader and the (armchair) tourist to consume, Moreck ultimately 'diffuses' the sexually charged message of his *Guide*'s title. Why does he do this? With only a few exceptions, Moreck consistently praises the restraint and the good taste of the homosexuals and their spaces. Perhaps he is indeed interested in shifting the gaze of the heterosexual *flâneur*/voyeur in an attempt to guarantee the agency and the authenticity of the sexy spaces of homosexual men.

In contrast, both the narrative of Mann's 'adventure story of a young [homosexual] man' and protagonist Andreas's 'pedestrian speech act' do not lead to self-actualisation in Berlin's sexy spaces. Berlin and its excesses ultimately prove to be too much for Andreas: 'This city is exhausting' (Mann, 1926/1987, p. 92). After losing his love, Niels – whom he never really had – Andreas returns to Munich, his father's patriarchal space, and to his companion, Ursula. Even as he prepares to leave Berlin, his path, his sexuality and his identity remain unclear: 'Where this will all lead, this massive dance; the ones who know this least of all are we' (Mann, 1926/1987, p. 185).

Conclusion

This analysis has shown that as a space of leisure, *flânerie* and homosexuality, Weimar Berlin profoundly shaped urban homosexual aesthetics and identity. Despite its many contradictions, especially with regard to the (in)tolerance of homosexuality (e.g. §175 of the German penal code), Weimar Berlin was an interactive *space* that bridged and

overcame social opposites. It boasted a tradition of homosexual sexy spaces which comprised much more than bars and nightclubs. Homosexual businesses, book stores and media were a defining factor of the social fabric of Weimar Berlin.

Leisure had already been gendered as 'male' in German Classicism, and I have engaged with the debate of the privileged male gaze and position of the *flâneur*. Yet Weimar Berlin – through the fluidity of its space/place duality – was also a space of the *flâneuse*. Her subject position and gaze require additional investigation: the *flâneuses* in *The pious dance* and the *Guide* do not exhibit a 'feminized conceptualization' of *flânerie* and tourism as discussed by Wearing and Wearing (1996, p. 229). Rather, they assume the subject gaze and gain pleasure by observing homosexual men and their sexy spaces.

Both *The pious dance* and *Guide through 'naughty' Berlin* illustrate the revived interest in *flânerie* in the Weimar years and stress the importance of walking as a means of engaging with Weimar Berlin – either as space or as place. When one analyses *flânerie* through the lens of de Certeau's 'Walking in the city', the *flâneur*'s 'idle footsteps' are testimony to his status outside of production (traditionally connoted as 'masculine'). He straddles the boundary between consumption (traditionally connoted as 'feminine') and the realm of the dandy. Interaction between homosexual men in their urban space mediated and shaped personal (homosexual) narratives, thus contributing to male homosexual identity in Berlin.

While homosexual aesthetes once sought legitimacy by associating *homosexuality* with nature, the City and its homosexual sexy spaces served as affirming settings of sexual agency and identity. Based on the importance of urban space in male homosexual narratives in the Weimar period, one can therefore speak of a spatial turn in Weimar literature: *The pious dance* and *Guide through 'naughty' Berlin* attest to this. The spatial turn in texts by lesbians, including periodicals such as *Die Freundin* [The girlfriend] and portrayals of lesbian spaces in Moreck's *Guide*, is a topic that requires further study.

True to the title of de Certeau's chapter, 'Walking in the city' afforded the homosexual man access to Weimar Berlin's homosexual sexy spaces. Moreck's tourist might have come to Berlin to observe and take in the city's 'naughty' places, but Berlin defied mere consumption. To be sure, the 'we' in *We will show you Berlin* did not refer to Moreck and the tourist industry – but rather to the Berliners and their sexy spaces.

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Notes

1. See Berlin Museum (1984) and Herrn (2005).
2. 'Curt Moreck' was a pseudonym of Konrad Haemmerling (Koshar, 2000, p. 84).
3. Examples include Abblitt (2008), Abraham (2009), Heap (2009), Oswin (2008) and Vogel (2009).
4. The workshop *Sexy Spaces: Leisure and Geography Intersectionalities*, organised by University of Brighton and British Sociological Association (Leisure and Recreation Study Group) and held on 22 May 2009, has informed my use and understanding of the term 'sexy space' and its complement, 'sexualised place'.
5. For instance, Doreen Massey laments the 'persistent opposition of place-as-real to space-as-abstract' (2005, p. 187). Larry Knopp suggests that feminist and queer geographers

- work together to move beyond an essentialisation of gender in spatial ontology: 'Even avowedly feminist geographies, to the extent that they remain committed to the label "feminist", tend to examine the world through a lens that foregrounds women's experiences and issues of gender' (2007, p. 48).
6. See Dobler (2003).
 7. A loss of 'authenticity' via the appropriation of space is a focus of Dereka Rushbrook's article on the 'cosmopolitan tourist'. Her focus, however, is on sexuality and race in Harlem in the 1920s, where the authenticity of African-American space was compromised 'by white, primarily male, homosexuals, who sought to escape stigma and exclusion [...]. While whites could enjoy the tolerance of homosexuality that existed in [Harlem's] liminal spaces, blacks were systematically excluded from white homosexual establishments' (2002, p. 186).
 8. For more literature from this period, see Stempel and Ripkins (1998); see also Prickett (2005).
 9. Hirschfeld worked with Richard Oswald as a 'scientific advisor' for the film *Anders als die Anderen* [Different from the others] (1919) and even appeared in it. The film's attention to respectable *visual* portrayals of homosexuals and their spaces no doubt stems from Hirschfeld's influence.
 10. The modernist homosexual aesthetic, as I term it, is that positivistic aesthetic impulse evidenced in visual and literary representations of homosexual men by homosexual men from the turn of the last century to the early 1930s. This aesthetic disseminated an image of the ideal homosexual as masculine and aesthetically pleasing via enunciations of masculine strength and virility. Such images would then legitimise not only male-male love but also any expression thereof.
 11. All English translations of Moreck (1931) have been rendered by the author.
 12. In formulating their concept of gendered space/place, Wearing and Wearing turn to Elizabeth Grosz (1995), who 'argues that "chora", Plato's space between being and becoming or the "space in which place is made possible", contains many of the characteristics which masculinist knowledge has expelled. Rather than being the object of the stroller's gaze, the concept of "chora" suggests a space to be occupied and given meaning by the people who made use of the space' (1996, p. 233).
 13. I have given much attention to the dichotomies of day/night and work/leisure as these are central points in Mann's and Moreck's texts. A comprehensive study of 'daytime leisure' in Weimar Berlin's homosexual spaces would provide a more complete picture of how space and time determined the possibilities for the homosexual subject's self-fashioning.
 14. Stephen Abblitt discusses the flight to the City as 'the plotting of a path – narrative and spatial – out of the repressive space of the closet, and then to somewhere beyond' in the early works of the openly gay Australian writer David Malouf (1934) (2008, p. 293). These works exhibit 'that famous cliché – coming out as a journey from country to city, rural to urban, periphery to centre, searching for a place where queer identity can exist' (2008, p. 298). Abblitt also discusses this journey in the context of *flânerie* (2008, p. 298).
 15. Lynda Johnston questions such a historical gendering of tourism and points to the fact that 'hierarchical oppositions such as Self/Other, tourist/host, same/different, work play', which are 'never neutral', 'have constructed – for the most part – a masculine view of tourism' (2001, p. 183).
 16. A discussion of 'homosexual *flânerie*' qua cruising in Weimar Berlin would certainly be fitting here, were cruising a theme in Mann's or Moreck's texts. In the framework of 'ambiguous and contested spaces and places', Mark Turner explains that '[t]he city's passers-by, its loafers, its shoppers, its workers, its prostitutes, its cruisers – they all had their own way of moving and walking, of loitering with intent. [...] This is also why the cruiser can be so easily mistaken for a *flâneur*. All had their own kinds of experiences – ephemeral, fleeting, lost' (2003, p. 35). Cruising is indeed a motif in Wilhelmine and Weimar texts and is worthy of investigation. See Stempel and Ripkins (1998).
 17. That is, a view of 'Manhattan from the 110th floor of the World Trade Center' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 91).
 18. 'At the most elementary level, [the pedestrian speech act] has a triple "enunciative" function: it is a process of appropriation of the topographical system on the part of the pedestrian (just as the speaker appropriates and takes on the language); it is a spatial acting-out of the place (just as the speech act is an acoustic acting-out of language); and

- it implies relations among differentiated positions, that is, among pragmatic “contracts in the form of movements” (just as verbal enunciation is an “allocution”, “posits another opposite” the speaker and puts contracts between interlocutors in action)’ (de Certeau, 1984, pp. 97–98).
19. Again, Lynda Johnston’s cautioning against interpreting tourism and sexuality by means of binaries touches on the problematic binary of ‘performativity vs. spectacle’ and even ‘space vs. place’: ‘The cultural context of “queerness” surrounds and arguably inhabits the paraders, but to some extent also extends to the bodies of the watching tourists’ (2001, p. 189). While Johnston is primarily interested in the body, I believe that she makes an argument for space’s resistance to objectification, or space’s transformation into place, based solely on the gaze.
 20. Compare these characters to the figure of the ‘fairy’ in New York in the 1920s, who felt that his effeminacy would signify his willingness or desire to be penetrated by ‘normal men’: ‘Gay men themselves believed that such effeminacy was more natural to some men than others. “If not naturally, we tried to walk very effeminately, look effeminate, use rouge and make-up, etc., to impersonate a female”, commented one man, to whom such effeminacy did not come so “naturally” as it did to others, in the early 1920s’ (Chauncey, 1995, p. 62).
 21. It cannot be denied that the references in *The pious dance* – from the father/son ‘genius’ conflict to the pub crawl – are autobiographical. Writing to Erich Ebermayer from Munich, ‘15.1.26’, Mann notes: ‘I will probably stay here until the 23rd, take off for my “Tournée”, and then I will be in Berlin in mid-February. You have to come, too; we have to visit the “Paradiesgärtlein” and the “Sankt-Margareten-Keller”’ (1926, p. 29).
 22. Hans Ostwald portrays cocaineism as an effeminate addiction fuelled by rich male foreigners: ‘The pale one stretched out her fine, slender arm with the polished nails and said hungrily and domineeringly: ‘Co ...’ (Ostwald, 1931, p. 121). Carl Ludwig Schleich’s representation equates cocaineism with a longing for the fast-paced life in Weimar Berlin. While warning his readers of cocaine addiction, Schleich – like Mann – is empathetic with these addicts and suggests a ‘leisurely death’: ‘Can one really hold it against those afflicted with toil and burdens, the failed and the broken, the hopeless pariahs of this earth, if they fall victim to this nirvana? Let them seek here and perhaps find a kind of beautiful death, a euthanasia, let them commit suicide on the path of pleasure’ (1921/1994, p. 723).
 23. The extent to which the German fear/fantasy of French colonial African soldiers in the Saarland, whom many saw to be exotic and oversexed, factored into space, subjectivity and sexuality in Weimar Berlin is an interesting topic that extends the scope of this study. See Theweleit (1977).

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