

Annotated Bibliography & Relevant Filmography for Richard Oswald's *Anders als die Andern* (1919)
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Annotated Bibliography in Chronological Order

Belach, Helga and Wolfgang Jacobsen. "Anders als die Andern: Dokumente zu einer Kontroverse." In *Richard Oswald: Regisseur und Produzent*, 25-36. Edited by Helga Belach and Wolfgang Jacobsen. München: edition text + kritik, 1990.

This collection of documents from the 1920s contains materials relevant for the study of the film. Of particular interest are a number of articles Richard Oswald wrote about his approach to filmmaking, which helps us understand his investment in popular genres. For Oswald, appealing to masses was more important than chasing aesthetic sophistication and intellectual erudition. This does not mean that his films were underdeveloped or unintellectual, rather that his conception of filmmaking was a realistic one: if he hoped to make more than one movie, he needed to appeal to audiences in order to make money with which he could make other movies.

Kaes, Anton, Nicholas Baer and Michael Cowan. "Moral Panic and Reform." In *The Promise of Cinema, German Film Theory, 1907-1933*, 215-253. Edited by Anton Kaes, Nicholas Baer, and Michael Cowan. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016.

This anthology of Weimar film presents contemporary reviews and commentary according to thematic groupings. The presented review of *Anders als die Andern* is from Walther Friedmann (also cited by Malakaj, Steakley, Weinstein, and Gelbin), a Jewish attorney who worked on film censorship cases. In response to press coverage of protests against the film, Friedmann speaks out against antisemitic news reports that situate the protagonist's homosexuality as a Jewish trait. Friedmann suggests instead that homosexuality is a "degeneration" occurring among all races and denominations. For more on the entanglement of homosexuality and antisemitism surrounding the film, see Cathy Gelbin, "From Sexual Enlightenment to Racial Antisemitism: Gender, Sex, and Jewishness in Weimar Cinema's Monsters" and Valerie Weinstein, "Homosexual Emancipation, Queer Masculinity, and Jewish Difference in *Anders als die Andern* (1919)."

Bollé, Michael and Berlin Museum. *Eldorado: Homosexuelle Frauen und Männer in Berlin 1850-1950: Geschichte, Alltag und Kultur*. Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1984.

Between May 26-July 8, 1984, one of the largest exhibitions on queer German life and culture 1850-1950 took place in Berlin. This book is the exhibition catalog, which features images and essays documenting the varied and diffuse features of queer German history roughly spanning a century between the failed revolution and the immediate post-WWII era. The exhibition and the catalog form an important point in queer German studies in terms of serving as catalyst for subsequent studies in the realm of history and culture studies.

Wolff, Charlotte. "The Institute for Sexual Science." In *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology*, 172-208. London: Quartet, 1986.

Wolff's chapter, as the title implies, is about Magnus Hirschfeld and his Institute for Sexual Science, particularly during the years 1918-1921. During this time period, Hirschfeld's previous prestige within Germany's scientific community was waning, largely as a result of rising conservative and National Socialist influence. In regard to *Anders als die Andern*, Wolff details its history and reception in terms of how it impacted Hirschfeld and his Scientific-Humanitarian Committee. Wolff discusses positive and negative reviews of the film (cited from Hirschfeld's own recaps in his *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*), the committee's efforts to counter calls for the film's ban, the scientific "experts" who were instrumental in getting the film banned, and the personal attacks on Hirschfeld in Hamburg and Munich, which the police did not help with.

Russo, Vito. *The Celluloid Closet. Homosexuality in the Movies*. Revised edition. New York: Harper & Row, 1987.

Russo's book is a foundational text in global queer cinema studies. It offers analytic categories from queer coded to overt representation to attend to a particular impasse filmmakers faced when it comes to queer representation in cinema history: queerness as a taboo topic in a diverse media landscape sometimes featuring explicit prohibitions to feature it on screen. This context created specific conditions for queer filmmaking that, in Russo's assessment, often put queer cinema at odds with the lived experience of queerness. For instance, his discussion of *Anders als die Andern* posits that the film's queer suicide became the first of what would become an obligatory gesture of queer death that makes it palatable for straight audiences.

Dyer, Richard. "Weimar. Less and More Like the Others." In *Now You See It: Studies on Lesbian and Gay Film*. London: Routledge, 1990.

Dyer's chapter on queer Weimar film is about both *Anders als die Andern* and *Mädchen in Uniform* (1931), but he notes at the outset that these two overtly queer films are not complete outliers within the Weimar (and even early Nazi) context, since many other contemporary films depicted queerness and homoeroticism to some extent. Dyer emphasizes that although the present-day version of *Anders* is a fragment, and it often warrants a minor mention as a "curiosity" of German film history, the film was not in any way minor; it was in fact a major star-studded production with commercial success and a great deal of press coverage. Dyer provides context for Richard Oswald and his speciality of *Aufklärungsfilme*, which aimed to "enlighten" the public on various social issues, often to do with sexuality. Dyer also dwells on the distinctive figure of Conrad Veidt (the star of *Anders*), arguing that his "vampire qualities" and associations--from his other film roles--with uncanny duality would have impacted how viewers understood his character in *Anders*. Next, Dyer situates the film within Magnus Hirschfeld's writings on sexual in-betweenness, as well as competing ideas on homosexuality as a sort of ultimate form of masculinity (see also Shane Brown). Dyer argues that the characters of the film do not quite align with either camp.

Steakley, James. "Cinema and Censorship in the Weimar Republic: The Case of *Anders als die Andern*." *Film History* 11, no. 2 (1999): 181-203. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3815322>.

Steakley's article retraces the legislative and judicial steps that led to the near-disappearance of *Anders als die Andern*. Steakley begins by discussing Magnus Hirschfeld and the scene of his lecture in the film,

which he notes is unusual for a silent film, and disruptive to the film's narrative flow. Steakley argues that Hirschfeld's methods of trying to appeal to elite bodies of power were old-fashioned, and that Hirschfeld was not prepared for mass protests or antisemitic fascism. In the next section, Steakley outlines the path to the film's ban, which began as local bans before leading to a single federal policy for film censorship. Steakley goes into the history of film censorship in Germany, the postwar removal of censorship and then its return in connection to *Anders als die Andern*, discussing in detail the actors who worked to ban the film and the means they took to do so. Steakley also covers the life of the film after the ban, both within Hirschfeld's lifetime and in its resurgence in Vienna in 1971 (via the Soviet fragment).

Kuzniar, Alice. "Gender Inverts and Cross-Dressers. Reading for a Queer German Cinema." In *The Queer German Cinema*, 21-56. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2000.

Kuzniar's chapter on unsettled gender polarities in Weimar film begins by way of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and Magnus Hirschfeld, who each advocated for the natural innateness of homosexuality and sexual in-betweenness. Kuzniar presents her discussion of *Anders* alongside three other films (*Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*, *Ich möchte kein Mann sein*, and *Der Geiger in Florenz*). She does not dwell for long on *Anders*, but sketches out some of its inroads within later popular gay culture, and points to the ways that it is unique for its unambiguous and unabashed presentation of a gay couple. Her main intervention with regard to the film comes from situating it within a constellation of other Weimar films that destabilize normative representations of gender, which is different from the constellation of openly gay films in which it is normally discussed.

Steakley, James. "Anders als die Andern." *Ein Film und seine Geschichte*. Hamburg: Männerschwarm Verlag, 2007.

Steakley's book presents a meticulous examination of the film and its history, with particular attention paid to the film's survival in fragments, its censorship, and its reception. Steakley also offers a synopsis of the original version of the film (reproduced from Magnus Hirschfeld's *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, numbers 19 and 20), a synopsis of the 1927 shortened version of the film, *Schuldlos Geächtet! Tragödie eines Homosexuellen* (also reproduced from previously published material), and an overview of the film's missing scenes, music, production, camera work, sets, and actors. The sections on censorship and the film's afterlife overlap with Steakley's 1999 article on the film, but go into more detail.

Otto, Elizabeth. "Schaulust: Sexuality and Trauma in Conrad Veidt's Masculine Masquerades." In *The Many Faces of Weimar Cinema: Rediscovering Germany's Filmic Legacy*, 134-152. Edited by Christian Rogowski. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010.

Otto's chapter considers Conrad Veidt's unique desirability, and how it would have seeped into the characters he played in films, including *Anders als die Andern*. Otto notes that Veidt became a hero of Weimar's gay culture after starring in the film, and that his gender-bending persona simultaneously made him a non-threatening sex object for straight women. As Otto argues, Veidt represented many things for many people, and this is what made him so beloved as a star. In particular, his roles exposed the postwar crisis of masculinity. Otto's section on *Anders* shows how Veidt's role in the film was a

template for characters he would play often: a guilty man atoning for his crimes, and an “ardent lover” (141). The latter made him particularly appealing to women, even if his lovers on screen were other men.

Nowak, Kai. “Angriff auf die Männlichkeit: ‘Anders als die Andern’ und Homosexualität im Film.” In *Projektionen der Moral. Filmskandal in der Weimarer Republik*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2015.

Nowak’s article situates *Anders als die Andern* within the socio-cultural context of homosexuality in Germany. Nowak begins with a discussion of the legal and social history of homosexuality in Germany, with particular interest in the concept of homosexuality as a changing social category. As Nowak outlines, *Anders als die Andern* premiered at a time when there was both great literary and theatrical interest in homosexuality, as well as significant political and religious homophobia. Nowak provides additional context for the plot of the film by way of its basis in Magnus Hirschfeld’s related writings and projects. Nowak describes how the film became a “scandal,” outlining the political and legal actions taken against *Anders als die Andern*, the anti-gay and antisemitic discourse surrounding the film and Hirschfeld personally, and the countermeasures by the film’s team.

Brown Shane. “Seen But Not Heard: Representations of Gay Men in European Cinema, 1916-28.” In *Queer Sexualities in Early Film: Cinema and Male-Male Intimacy*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2016.

Brown situates Magnus Hirschfeld alongside other gay rights activists in Germany: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, a predecessor to Hirschfeld, and Adolf Brand, who disagreed with and frequently criticized Hirschfeld. This chapter covers five films, each with its own section, starting with *Anders als die Andern*. Brown provides a brief overview of the film’s plot and complicated afterlife, including its entanglement with Germany’s changing censorship laws, which ultimately led to the film’s ban. Brown notes that the ban was based on the idea that the film presented homosexual life as appealing, when in fact it does the opposite, showing the social and legal struggles that stifled queer happiness. Brown interprets the main characters of the film, with particular reference to Hirschfeld and Brand’s (differing) ideas on gender and sexuality, and to Richard Dyer’s characterization of the onscreen couples (Paul Körner and Kurt Sivers vs Körner and Franz Bollek) as “good” and “bad” types of sexuality, the former seemingly devoid of any visible sexuality. Brown challenges Dyer’s argument, showing that the “good” sexuality of Körner and Sivers is rewarded in the story of the film much more so than the “bad.”

Herzer, Manfred. *Magnus Hirschfeld und seine Zeit*. Berlin, De Gruyter, 2017.

Herzer’s book is an authoritative biography of Magnus Hirschfeld, who was one of the most important figures of the early German homosexual rights movement. Turning to Hirschfeld’s biography, Herzer recounts the history of advocacy and scientific work Hirschfeld and his collaborators advanced as a means to establish the interplay of human rights discourse and scientific reason as major driving force for the constitution of early queer discourse.

Linge, Ina. “Sexology, Popular Science and Queer History in *Anders als die Andern* (Different from the Others).” *Gender and History*, 30, no. 3 (October 2018): 595–610.

Linge’s article focuses on the relationship between sexology and film, using *Anders als die Andern* as a case study in how the turn to film can complicate scientific communication. Linge traces the appeal of

film as an avenue of public communication for Magnus Hirschfeld. Film was to bridge the gap between the scientific community and the greater public. Having a broad audience would not only help to publicize his scientific research, but would also normalize the everyday existence of queer life, which in turn would help to fight the cultural stigma and political criminalization facing gay people in Weimar Germany. But, as Linge discusses, some critics of the film argued that homosexuality had no broad appeal and would not interest the general public, making it an inappropriate topic for an *Aufklärungsfilm*. Linge also notes that moments of the film were unintentionally titillating, which partly obscured its goal of evoking pity and understanding.

Friedman, Sara. "Projecting Fears and Hopes: Gay Rights on the German Screen after World War 1." *Journal of the History of Ideas Blog*. May 28, 2019. <https://www.jhiblog.org/2019/05/28/projecting-fears-and-hopes-the-1919-anders-als-die-andern-controversy/>

Friedman's article introduces readers to the film's context of Paragraph 175 and the postwar censorship landscape, and dwells on the genre of the *Aufklärungsfilm* in connection to Richard Oswald. She makes the point that reception of *Anders als die Andern* had very little to do with its plot or aesthetics, but instead with conservative fears about the double influences of homosexuality and Jewishness on the German social order.

Gelbin, Cathy S. "From Sexual Enlightenment to Racial Antisemitism: Gender, Sex, and Jewishness in Weimar Cinema's Monsters." In *Monsters and Monstrosity in Jewish History*, 118-133. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019.

Gelbin's article is about the antisemitic imagination in Weimar cinema, expressed via the monstrous and uncanny. As Gelbin demonstrates, the antisemitic images in these films are not strictly racial, but carry over into categories of gender and sexuality. Monsters typically exhibit a combination of racialized, sexualized, and gendered attributes. Gelbin outlines how the field of sexology was dominated by Jewish figures, as was the film industry. This contributed to the existing (antisemitic) perception of Judaism (and Jewish-made films) as sexually liberal and queer. At this point in the article, Gelbin dwells on *Anders als die Andern* as a watershed film that coalesced the ongoing discourses on Judaism and sexuality in film. After the conservative response to *Anders* led to a reinstatement of censorship laws, on-screen depictions of Jewishness and queerness became sublimated via the figure of the monster. The post-*Anders* monsters were more subtly coded as Jewish, queer, and effeminate, posing inhuman threats to the *Volksgemeinschaft*.

Weinstein, Valerie. "Homosexual Emancipation, Queer Masculinity, And Jewish Difference In *Anders Als Die Andern* (1919)." In *Rethinking Jewishness in Weimar Cinema*, 152-177. Edited by Barbara Hales and Valerie Weinstein. New York: Berghahn Books, 2021.

Weinstein's chapter looks at *Anders als die Andern* as a film that was attacked for being both "too gay and too Jewish." She examines the visible intersection of Jewishness and queerness in the film in the context of popular antisemitic and homophobic discourses of the time, which presented queerness as an infectious Jewish trait, and one that was distinctly un-German. Weinstein notes that Jewish scientists were overrepresented in fields of sexology, because of barriers in more prestigious medical specializations, which further deepened the association between Jewish men and queer sexuality (Cathy

Gelbin discusses this point as well). In her section on the film, Weinstein argues that the pursuit of gay rights in *Anders* is simultaneously a pursuit of Jewish emancipation. For Weinstein, Magnus Hirschfeld's presentation of gay rights as an issue of "enlightenment" is rooted in traditions of Enlightenment and Jewish Enlightenment philosophy, a reference that would have been clear to its viewers.

Malakaj, Ervin. *Anders als die Andern*. McGill-Queens UP, 2023.

Malakaj's authoritative book details the relevant history and reception of *Anders als die Andern*, and presents as well a unique argument about the film's relation to its genre of melodrama. Malakaj introduces readers to: 1) Richard Oswald and his specialization in melodramas; 2) Magnus Hirschfeld; 3) the film's varied reception across Germany and Austria; 4) the changing landscape of German censorship laws after the First World War, and how this intersected with *Anders*. In addition to providing this historical context, Malakaj focuses on the cinematic genre of melodrama: how both Oswald and Hirschfeld relied on the heightened emotionality of the genre to appeal to the general public and "enlighten" viewers who were otherwise ignorant about the struggles facing queer people under Paragraph 175 of Germany's criminal code. Whereas Hirschfeld and his peers had failed to change the German laws against homosexuality by official avenues, popular film presented another option for effecting change. Meanwhile, for Oswald, a scandalous film was also likely to be lucrative (which is not to say that he did not also support its message). In the final chapter, Malakaj turns to Heather Love's *Feeling Backward* to discuss how the film represents queer suffering more than a progressivist narrative of optimism.

Filmography in Chronological Order

Urban, Gad, director. *Jugend und Tollheit* (Deutsche Bioscop, 1912).

Stiller, Mauritz, director. [Vingarne](#) (Svenska Biografteatern, 1916).

Oswald, Richard, director. *Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray* (Richard-Oswald-Produktion, 1917).

Oswald, Richard, director. *Die Prostitution* (Richard-Oswald-Produktion, 1919).

Rode, Julius, and Paul Legband, directors. *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenjahren* (Luna Film, 1919).

Lubitsch, Ernst, director. [Ich möchte kein Mann sein](#) (UFA, 1919).

Murnau, F. W., director. *Der Knabe in Blau* (Ernst Hofmann-Film-Ges., 1919).

Gade, Svend, and Hans Schall, directors. [Hamlet](#) (Art-Film GmbH., 1920).

Wiene, Robert. [Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari](#) (Decla-Film, 1920).

Klitsch, Edgar, director. *Exzellenz Unterrock* (Gong-Film GmbH, 1920).

Cserépy, Arzén von. [Fridericus-Rex-Zyklus](#) (UFA, 1922).

Lang, Fritz, director. [Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler](#) (UFA, 1922).

Murnau, F. W., director. [Nosferatu](#) (Prana Film, 1922).

Plessy, Armand de, director. *Die Frau am Scheideweg* (UFA, 1923).

Czinner, Paul, director. *Nju - Eine Unverstandene Frau* (Rimax-Film, 1924).

Dreyer, Carl Theodor, director. [Michael](#) (Decla-Bioscop A. G., 1924).

Czinner, Paul, director. [Der Geiger von Florenz](#) (UFA, 1925-26).

Czinner, Paul, director. *Doña Juana* (UFA, 1927).

Eichberg, Richard, director. *Der Fürst von Pappenheim* (Richard Eichberg, 1927).

Dieterle, Wilhelm, director. *Geschlecht in Fesseln* (Leo Meyer, 1928).

Pabst, G.W., director. [Die Büchse der Pandora](#) (Nero-Film, A.G., 1929).

Sternberg, Josef von, director. [Der blaue Engel](#) (UFA, 1930).

Anton, Karl, director. *Der Fall des Generalstabs-Oberst Redl* (Süd-Film, 1931).

Sagan, Leontine, director. [Mädchen in Uniform](#) (Deutsche Film-Gemeinschaft, 1931).

Waschneck, Erich, director. *Acht Mädels im Boot* (Fanal-Film, 1932).

Janson, Victor, director. [Der Page vom Dalmasse Hotel](#) (Terra Film, 1933).

Lang, Fritz, director. [Das Testament des Dr. Mabuse](#) (Nero-Film, 1933).

Schünzel, Reinhold, director. [Viktor und Viktoria](#) (UFA, 1933).

Wisbar, Frank, director. [Anna und Elisabeth](#) (Terra Film, 1933).

Froelich, Carl, director. *Ich für Dich, Du für Mich* (Carl Froelich Filmproduktion, 1934).

Varnel, Marcel, director. *Girls Will Be Boys* (Wardour Films, 1934).

Ritter, Carl, director. [Capriccio](#) (UFA, 1938).

Hoffmann, Kurt, director. *Wochenend im Paradies* (Fama-Film, 1952).

Harlan, Veit, director. [Anders als du und ich \(Paragraph 175\)](#) (Arca-Filmproduktion, 1957).