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[title]Violent Women: Photographic Evidence, Gender and Sexology in Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany

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Violence is widely perceived as a gendered concept. There is a long history of seeing men as the aggressive and violent sex, and women as nurturing mother figures (and victims of male aggression).¹ From Simone de Beauvoir onwards, feminist, and more recently queer scholars have invested considerable analytical effort in challenging our understanding of seemingly naturalised gender roles.² Yet our grasp of violent women, defined for the sake of this article as women who engage in violence directed at other human beings and punishable by law, and their motives remain widely under-researched. As recently as 2008, the acclaimed forensic psychologist and specialist on female violence Anna Motz could reasonably claim that the phenomenon of 'female violence is

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largely unexplored', despite attempts at different times and in diverse academic contexts to explore the subject matter.³ Claire Rinzetti has observed how feminist scholars have been hesitant to embrace the issue, in part for fear of an anti-feminist backlash based on a claim that 'women are as violent as men but are not held accountable for their violence' or, more pointedly and politically, that feminism itself caused the very shift in gender roles that underpins the supposed rise in female violence.⁴ Yet there also exists a feminist unease in dealing with female violence in general, as Kerry Carrington reminds us, and she identifies the need 'to more convincingly explain the historical shifts in gendered patterns of violence' as a central concern for future feminist research.⁵

This leads us directly to the subject matter of this article. Focusing on the depiction of photographic evidence, it explores the construction of the female violent offender as a compelling new criminological type in Weimar Germany. The vehicle for this shift was the work of Erich Wulffen (1862–1936), the key criminological expert of his time in matters involving female offenders. A comparative analysis of his books *Der Sexualverbrecher* (The sex offender, 1910) and *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin* (The woman as sex offender, 1923), reveals a shift in portrayals of women predominantly as victims (and only in a few cases as exceptional criminals) during the Wilhelmine period to perpetrators of violence in the Weimar era. Wulffen's use of photographs in the illustration of female criminality makes this shift particularly discernible. Furthermore, it also illustrates how Wulffen fused new technological advances with anti-emancipatory discourse.

In many ways it seems surprising that, in the otherwise egalitarian climate of the Weimar Republic, this stern yet liberal sexologist focused on visually representing female criminality. Wulffen made his mark before the First World War as a legal reformer and state prosecutor in Saxony and, as I have shown elsewhere, he came to be recognised as Germany's first legal expert.⁶ During the

Weimar era he rose to the role of Director of the Saxon State Court (1919), became a deputy of the German Democratic Party in the Saxon parliament (1920) and in the same year was appointed Head of Department in the Saxon Ministry of Justice, a position he held until his retirement in 1928.⁷ When it came to the question of the emancipation of women, he was critical of Weimar developments; the photographs in *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin* served as a warning to educated and professional readerships alike about the perceived danger to the fabric of German society posed by the rise of female criminality.

In retrospect, this 'pictorial' alarm voiced by one of Germany's key legal reformers seems overstated. Accordingly, Wulffen's writings on female criminality have been criticised in secondary literature.⁸ This article explains how his understanding of the rise of female criminality remained bound by Wilhelmine notions of femininity, supported by patriarchal cultural scripts prevalent even in liberal circles and which showed a lack of imagination in embracing changing gender roles. The shift in gendered patterns of violence radicalised his views in the Weimar period in which photographs became crucial for conveying the 'truth' about the rise of female criminality in Weimar Germany to expert audiences. Beyond untangling complex narratives of female criminality and criminalisation, this article speculates on how the photographs reproduced in Wulffen's two handbooks might be reinterpreted to yield insights into the construction of the female criminal mind and contribute to a broader history of female violence.

[Heading A] Scientific photographs of crime

Photography transformed the modern scientific study of human sexuality in the early twentieth century. It did so at a time when the study of sexuality was an expanding interdisciplinary field that

included the investigation of criminal and abnormal behaviour. Sexology adopted photography around the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, which was relatively late in comparison to other fields of knowledge.⁹ Ever since the mid-nineteenth century, the indexicality of photography – its creation of a visual likeness that possessed a degree of accuracy and ‘truth’ – had provided a useful tool for disciplines from biology and anthropology to medicine at that period.¹⁰ It was eventually taken up by sexologists for the same reasons. The Berlin physician and founder of the Institut für Sexualwissenschaft (Institute of Sex Research) Magnus Hirschfeld was one of the first to do so, publishing images of homosexual subjects in his journal, the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (Yearbook for intermediate sexual types), and his book *Das 3. Geschlecht* (The third sex, 1903) among other places.¹¹

The delay in the use of photography in the interdisciplinary field of sexology derived from the delicate content of some of the images which could potentially be classified as offensive to the general public by the censor, their subject matter seen as indecent or liable to corrupt the young.¹² In the case of sexological criminology, photographs taken included images of murdered women and children, often scarcely clad corpses with slash wounds which raised questions of copy-cat offences and the potential to sensationalise and romanticise crime more generally. At the same time photography presented a new way to portray criminals, more accurately represent crime scenes and illustrate the often gruesome, physical wounds inflicted on the bodies of murder victims as well as other evidence such as murder weapons.

The inclusion of photography as a new investigative police method had first been explored by Swiss criminologist Archibald Reiss (1875–1929). In 1909, at the University of Lausanne, Reiss founded the first academic forensics programme specialising in photographic evidence. Reiss’s *La*

photographie judiciaire (1903) and his renowned *Manuel de police scientifique* (1911) both featured a wide range of photographs, from criminal portraits and close-ups of tattoos to anthropological displays of certain social milieus. For the most part, however, photographs depicted the crime site and its instrumentalities – that is, evidence in a wider sense such as footprints, blood spatters and so forth – as well as bodies of murder victims, to highlight either specific injuries or the position of a corpse.

Wulffen situated himself at the forefront of this technological advance and embraced its new investigative possibilities.¹³ His two handbooks, *Der Sexualverbrecher* (1910) and *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin* (1923), reproduced seventy-five and thirty-five photographic images respectively, encompassing a range of motifs. In 1903 Reiss insisted that the editing or manipulation of photographs be strictly excluded from police investigation; Wulffen was of the same opinion, and to this end he added a subtitle to both volumes indicating that they contained ‘*original* criminological photographs’ [emphasis added]. Considering the fact that *Der Sexualverbrecher* was published a year before Reiss’s 1911 police handbook *Manuel de police scientifique*, the integration of photography into these volumes represented a significant and timely achievement in the field.

Working from within the legal system, Wulffen had garnered a range of supporters for the inclusion of photographic images from the police as well as from the collections of academics. He verified the images for his readers by referencing their source and explaining their meaning, both in captions underneath each picture and in the main text. In the acknowledgments for the 1910 volume Wulffen first thanked the Saxon police president for supporting the inclusion of ‘academic illustrations’.¹⁴ He likewise thanked the police leaderships in Hamburg, Munich, Vienna, Berlin and Chemnitz, as well as fellow sexologists and criminologists for allowing him to reprint photographs in his volume. Many of them were specialists in the study of sexual and gender deviation (especially

homosexuality), including Paul Näcke, Magnus Hirschfeld and his Berlin colleagues Georg Merzbach and Max Marcuse, as well as the forensic chemical scientist Dr Loock. In the 1923 volume Wulffen thanked especially the police leadership in Dresden, Leipzig and Berlin, as well as Hirschfeld again, and made an emphatic plea for the greater use of photography, characterised as an important aspect of police work due to its ability to 'provide a desirable vividness that no written word can reach, let alone replace'.¹⁵

Six out of a total of eleven editions of *Der Sexualverbrecher* were published in the Wilhelmine era, while *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin* was published in 1923, with two further editions in 1925 and 1931. As is indicated in the subtitles, the intended audience of the two volumes were jurists, civil servants and physicians: in other words, professionals working in or within the immediate context of the prison systems. This is underlined by the fact that the handbooks were published in a specialist reference series, the *Enzyklopädie der modernen Kriminalistik: Sammlung von Einzelwerken berufener Fachmänner* (Encyclopedia of modern criminology: Collection of monographs by experts), by German publisher Paul Langenscheidt. We can speculate that the German police leadership viewed the publication of criminological photography in book form as a pedagogical tool for providing training to professionals within the legal system.

A wide range of experts referenced Wulffen's handbooks in academic works and expert journals, as well as in mainstream newspapers. Among them was Hirschfeld who in his *Sittengeschichte des Weltkriegs* (The sexual history of the world war, 1930) praised 'the excellent criminal psychologist' Wulffen for his insights into female criminality and the workings of sadism and masochism.¹⁶ The Viennese psychoanalyst Wilhelm Stekel also pointed to Wulffen's handbooks as an exhaustive collection of materials of the cruelty of civilised man (and woman).¹⁷ Wulffen's first biographer Hugo Dingeldey highlighted the many accolades *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecher* received

and approvingly quoted an unnamed review calling it 'a fundamental work of modern criminal psychology not available in any other country'.¹⁸ This is not to say that there were no critical responses to the volume, as I will outline below. These critiques notwithstanding, even the third edition of *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin* was still praised in 1932 as 'the only comprehensive work in German about female criminality'.¹⁹ In legal journals in particular, the work was celebrated as 'welcome', 'meeting an authentic need' and 'of particular need for expert groups'.²⁰ Wulffen's use of photography was only rarely mentioned in the reception of the handbooks, and of the two volumes, only *Der Sexualverbrecher* drew comment in this respect. Writing for the liberal newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the physician and psychologist Willy Hellpach, state President of Baden, lauded Wulffen's study, but commented critically on the stark nature of the photographs.²¹ Insofar as such images could be said to constitute a genre, the German public was already somewhat familiar with it; photographic portraits were regularly published in German newspapers to augment descriptions of most wanted criminals.²² The inclusion of photographs of homicide victims and crime scenes in a published book, however, was entirely new. Such images were otherwise not accessible to the public and their publication raised a range of ethical questions. While staged photographic reconstructions protected the identity of surviving victims of crime, no such concession was made for homicide victims, whose actual bodies were laid bare in 'original' photographs of the actual crime scene. This use of photography raised – as Katie Sutton has pointed out in her work on trans identity – a range of 'at times competing sexological, political, and ethical priorities'.²³

[Heading A] Gender and crime in Wilhelmine Germany

In contrast to other European countries, especially France, Wilhelmine society rendered female violence and criminality widely invisible.²⁴ In Germany a disturbing dichotomy developed between the hegemonic model of the bourgeois nuclear family and the figure of the sex offender as one of its

perceived threats. Such a discursive interdependence left little space to explore the uses and abuses of female power. This is curious, because during this period, the newly emerging human sciences, especially criminology, were for the first time pursuing an in-depth scientific debate about interpersonal violence, including domestic and sexual violence, in which Wulffen and Hirschfeld made important interventions.²⁵ The dominant perspective within this new discourse saw the male sex offender as the antithesis of the bourgeois head of the family, and he was frequently portrayed as having reverted to a primordial sadism that undermined the order of society. The role of women in either constellation remained similarly subordinate. In the words of Kirsten Leng, female sexuality was redefined as 'chaste, passive, modest, exclusively maternal, and essentially passionless'.²⁶ This imagery of passivity was retained in criminological discourse, which portrayed women and children as the victims of degenerate men. The question arises, then, of the role played by photography in this dynamic; how did it transform and inform criminological discourse, and in which ways was its use gendered?

Wulffen's *Der Sexualverbrecher* is the first volume of its kind to paint a criminological picture of the sex offender in the German-speaking world. It was a highly successful spin-off from his ground-breaking general typology, *Psychologie des Verbrechers* (Psychology of the criminal, 1908). Like many of Wulffen's works, *Der Sexualverbrecher* was a case study compilation. Wulffen borrowed this genre from forensic psychiatry and developed it successfully in his own work with the aim of creating a new and more realistic depiction of the psychology and typology of criminals.²⁷ As a representative of the International Criminological Association, he firmly believed that every human being had the potential to be a criminal. He also believed that some human beings were, for biological reasons, at a greater risk of offending. He therefore favoured both a biological and psychological approach to the explanation of criminality. Accordingly, the first chapters of *Der*

Sexualverbrecher concern sexual biology, psychology and pathology; they include relevant criminal statistics and summarise pertinent research and available data. Wulffen's new typology of sadistic, fetishist, homosexual and socially motivated sex crimes was based on psychoanalytic insights, but his method was interdisciplinary and he drew on several fields of knowledge. When no other sources were available, and it seemed useful to do so, he did not shy away from integrating examples from cultural history into his analysis. This methodological openness was Wulffen's writerly trade-mark and contributed to the appeal of his works to a wide and mixed readership.

The seventy-five images that make up *Der Sexualverbrecher* include portraits of criminals, the crime scene with the bodies of homicide victims, as indicated earlier, as well as photographs of any topical circumstantial evidence for a given case, such as murder weapons or hand-written letters, or close-ups of criminologically relevant body parts. The vast majority were devoted to the two primary resources in a modern murder investigation: the crime scene and the body of the deceased (ideally found at the scene).²⁸

Walter Benjamin famously argued in 1931 that the reproducibility of the photograph demands that it be accompanied by an inscription, since without it the meaning of the photograph becomes fleeting and can be variously re-contextualised.²⁹ In *Der Sexualverbrecher* each photograph was connected to a specified case study, which in turn referenced the photograph. Readers who looked at the photos first were pointed towards the relevant case study by a caption that provided sufficient detail to connect image and text. The photographs were thereby subsumed into the logic of the case study compilation and were provided with in-depth context.

Female criminality in *Der Sexualverbrecher* was a relatively peripheral phenomenon. Only seven of the seventy-five photographs relate to crimes committed by women; with one exception,

these are portraits of offenders. These half-length or full-length portraits were usually taken by the relevant police records department, with subjects clad in civilian clothes, framed against a white background and looking directly into the camera, in accordance with the standardised Bertillon System of Criminal Identification.³⁰ Each of the six female portrait subjects represented an exception of sorts, substantiating Lisa Downing's observation about the positionality of female murderers as 'resisting any kind of neat taxonomy'.³¹ The images appeared in accordance with Wulffen's new taxonomy of sex crimes motivated variously by sadism, masochism/fetishism, and homosexuality. One of these is a portrait of a worker's wife who killed her seven-year-old daughter and staged her death as a sex crime (Fig. 1).³²

[Insert Figure 1 near here]

According to Wulffen this crime was not motivated by sexual sadism, but by the woman's longing to leave her brutish husband; rather than abandoning or taking her daughter away, the mother killed her.³³ Another portrait is of Countess Auguste Strachwitz, who maintained Berlin's biggest brothel specialising in sadomasochism before her untimely death, murdered by her partner in a jealous rage before the publication of the volume.³⁴ Although Wulffen classified the well-known dominatrix as a sadist, she is listed in the masochism section. The remaining four portraits of Miss Annie Elliot-Jans, Anna Hujdos, Mrs Josephine Buda and Jephte Akaire, reproduced from the collection of Magnus Hirschfeld, depict examples of hirsutism, that is, excessive facial hair in women.³⁵ These portraits formed part of a bigger section on hermaphroditism which was of

relevance to the court system, since ambiguity in sex and gender presented a conundrum for a German legal system built on a strictly binary gender division.³⁶

Only one photograph in the 1910 volume concerns the notion of women as sex offenders, to which Wulffen devoted a mere eight pages.³⁷ This was not a portrait, but a photograph of a piece of evidence: a postcard written by Grete Beier. In 1908 Beier was the last woman executed in Saxony, found guilty of murdering her fiancé, and her case was widely debated in the legal circles of Imperial Germany. Several experts – Wulffen among them – pointed to the detrimental influence of Beier's lover on the young woman.³⁸ Hers was the only case cited directly in Wulffen's elaborations on female criminality, which revealed an unwavering belief that there was a close interconnection between female sexual activity and criminality.³⁹ It can thus be assumed that Beier's case played a central role in Wulffen's emerging genealogy of 'a new type of offender'.⁴⁰ Wulffen argued that, while women in general are modest and passive (and much less likely to offend), if 'the female sexual drive is awakened too early or vigorously or in a vile or brutal manner, it becomes the source of criminality in a similar yet stronger way than with men'.⁴¹ This circular argument gave a decidedly gendered twist to the concept of social degeneration, which privileged biology and genetics over external influences such as upbringing and social disadvantage.⁴² The combination of an assumed principal biological weakness of the female sex which resulted in her diminished power of resistance towards criminal influences meant that according to Wulffen women were more likely to fall prey to their biological (that is, criminal) destiny, whether through precocity or experiences of sexual violence. For Wulffen, chastity and modesty were the keys to preventing crimes by women.

This belief was reflected in the photographic illustrations of female criminality in *Der Sexualverbrecher*, which omitted more severe deeds (such as infanticide by women) and which focused on portraits. This standardised representation also conveyed a tenor of respectability and,

as Allan Sekula has argued, 'welded the honorific and the repressive functions [of photography] together'.⁴³ Made visible in these photographs was the female criminal herself, not the effects of her crime. There was little in them that could have enticed a reader (especially a female one) to imitate a crime, while (male) readers could feel comforted that female criminality was non-threatening. Other factors might have contributed to this relatively mild representation of female criminality and its effects: the small sample size, the (on balance) lower severity of the crimes, and other considerations relevant to specific cases. Publishing a portrait or incriminating materials might have increased Grete Beier's notoriety among the German populace and even furthered the romanticisation of her crime: more than 200 members of the public applied to witness her execution in 1908, and her grave became a devotional site. Wulffen, who was among the invited witnesses, did not wish to feed this thriving interest.⁴⁴ Yet he expressed no such caution in the case of male sex offenders and their victims.

[Heading A]Female criminality in Weimar

The First World War left a defeated Germany in a state of dramatic social disarray, creating fertile conditions for legal and more fundamental societal change. The end of the war and the 1918–19 revolution brought universal suffrage and a precarious democracy.⁴⁵ The new welfare state promised its citizens political participation and representation as well as a social security net for the disadvantaged. At the same time, the brutalisation of society – at least partly a consequence of the war, as noted by contemporaries – left the new democracy facing a double challenge: not only crime itself, but also its 'dominance and prevalence as a cultural symbol'.⁴⁶ The realities of war and life in a postwar society overshadowed and shifted the discussions concerning the status of women, gender

roles and female sexuality. Kathleen Canning has argued that this 'sexual crisis' in reality symbolised the crisis of the new Germany overall.⁴⁷

When compared to Wulffen's previous volume on sex offenders, *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin* demonstrates some perceptible shifts. It was the first monograph to focus exclusively on female criminality and thereby presented a new line of thinking in German criminology. It contains fewer photographs than *Der Sexualverbrecher* and overall they are less graphic compared to those in the pre-war volume. The arrangement of the photographs in *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin* – thirty-five in total – follows the overarching narrative of the volume: criminal portraits are grouped into two sections at the beginning and end, while the other photographs interspersed throughout the rest of the volume are for the most part illustrations associated with violent crimes, such as murder with robbery, murder by poisoning and murders of spouses and family members. Eleven photographs depict murder victims of varied ages, including infants and children; six of these are located at the crime scene. Others expose fatal injuries, the most challenging may be that of a newborn baby on a riverbed strangled with so much force that its head was nearly severed ('image 34'). Two images contain the dismembered body parts of a male victim ('images 22–23'). There are pictures of murder weapons, incriminating materials such as letters and other graphological artefacts, reproductions of finger prints and injuries incurred by offenders during their crime. Crime scenes without corpses are also depicted. Over 90 per cent of the thirty-five photographs Wulffen used in this volume were official images sourced from police headquarters in Dresden, Leipzig and Berlin. Other crimes such as fraud, arson and an array of sexual aberrations (from sadism to procuring and prostitution) were not depicted photographically.

As in *Der Sexualverbrecher*, the photographs emphasised the depiction of violent crime, but even more than before, the narrative explication of the photographs taught Wulffen's professional

readers interpretative skills and guided them in deciphering the complexities of police photography. Captions provided a description of the content and noteworthy observations that modelled for the reader the workings of the police gaze. For example, the caption on 'image 4' reads 'Murder with robbery of widow Neumann in Dresden. Scratch wounds on both hands of the perpetrator and the blood-soaked sleeves of her white blouse. Compare also images 2, 3 and 5 (police record department Dresden, Fig. 2)'.⁴⁸

[Insert Figure 2 near here]

The caption performed the simultaneous functions of identifying the victim and elaborating on the content of the image. The information that the perpetrator was originally wearing a white blouse enabled the reader to realise that the dark hue of the blouse meant it must be blood-stained, which might otherwise have been ambiguous in this black-and-white photograph.⁴⁹

The captions of all photographs in *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin* deepened the reader's understanding of police investigative method. They supplied the names of the criminal and her victim making cross-referencing between text and image easy for the reader. Wulffen identified the specifics of each case and the photographs helped him shed new light on female offender profiles. Out of all the cases presented in this extensive catalogue, photographs were used in just twelve, all involving violence and/or murder, to add an extra layer of meaning. Nine cases were accompanied by just one or two photographs. The remaining three stand out for their extensive illustrations: four photographs in the case of Marie Elisabeth Lemmenz ('images 2-5'), six for Margarete Marie Müller ('images 6-11'), and ten for Grete Beier ('images 13-21').

Marie Elisabeth Lemmenz had killed her aunt with a small anvil while attempting to rob her. The case description highlighted the deceptiveness of the accused: she had attacked her sitting aunt from behind and later tried to pose as a witness, describing a man as the perpetrator. The text drew attention to the fact that Lemmenz had mustered the physical strength needed for the murder, considering the victim was a healthy woman in her forties.⁵⁰ This was underscored by the images which showed the crime scene, the murder weapon, the victim's dead body on the stairs, the perpetrator's blood-soaked blouse and scratch wounds, mentioned above.⁵¹

The Lemmenz case was directly followed by that of Margarete Müller, who had committed two hold-up murders within a period of two months during the First World War. Müller had strangled her elderly victims while attempting to rob them and fabricated an alibi for each of the murders. Wulffen highlighted the sexual connotations of both alibis: in one instance Müller willingly implicated herself in another crime, claiming to have been performing an illegal abortion on someone at the time of the murder (a deed for which she already had a previous conviction); in the other instance, she claimed to have received the money from a lover with whom she had previously had a child, later deceased.⁵² 'Images 6-11' depict the scene of the crime with the victim's corpse, of which a close-up shot that illustrates the strangulation marks on the victim was included, along with photographs of fingerprints collected by police, which at the time was a relatively new police method.⁵³

The third extensively illustrated case was that of Grete Beier, who had poisoned her fiancé and then shot him in an attempt to feign his suicide; this case had been discussed in Wulffen's 1910 volume.⁵⁴ But the images included in the later book were unusually mild, consisting of portraits and photographic reproductions of letters as incriminating evidence. This was partly due to the nature of

the crime: murder by poison. Like Müller, Beier was sentenced to death, but Müller's sentence was eventually commuted to life imprisonment.

The unsensational character of these photographs contrasts with the two used to illustrate the handbook's final murder case concerning Elisabeth Hemberger, whose adult victim was the subject of the photographs.⁵⁵ One depicted the dismembered torso of Hemberger's sixty-one-year-old husband and the other one showcased various separately buried body parts which had been exhumed by police.⁵⁶

If readers of *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin* had been shocked by the photographic materials presented in the foregoing cases, their potential distress had been somewhat contained by Wulffen's explanations of the specific circumstances of death. In conjunction with visual reproductions of police evidence, such explanations taught the reader to engage with the rule of 'mechanical' objectivity associated with the police investigative method, and hence to better understand the specifics of each case. Contrary to this, the images of the decomposing torso of head teacher Dr Hemberger and his severed head and limbs in their near theatrical display struck a different chord: they were intended to shock.

As the only images of a male murder victim in the volume, Wulffen clearly harnessed their effect to highlight the violent nature of the crime, and his own dissatisfaction with the verdict in this case. He elaborated that the jury had reached their conclusion in under three hours, acquitting Hemberger of both murder and manslaughter, while her co-accused nephew Walter Protze was convicted to five years in prison.⁵⁷ Wulffen explained that Hemberger's husband had had various affairs with his pupils and that she had posthumously accused him of domestic violence. Yet Wulffen also pointed out that her considerable efforts to conceal the crime undermined her credibility. She

had wrongly identified an unrelated suicide victim as her husband and placed evidence in their pockets to make a convincing case. She was also present when her husband's body was dismembered (her co-accused indicated that Hemberger herself had cut up the body). Wulffen cautioned his readers:

One can be of different opinion concerning the legal guilt of Mrs Hemberger after the results of the evidentiary hearing. If, however, a person is able to carry on after their deed as cunningly and deceitfully as she has, we can think her capable of more. This woman can be precisely characterised by the fact of how – despite her complicity in Protze's deed – she rids herself of her accomplice in order to go unpunished.⁵⁸

Psychiatric experts and the jury agreed that Hemberger's complaints against her husband had probably moved Protze to commit the murder, but the question of who had dismembered the body remained unresolved. The grisly images in *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin* fostered a sense that Hemberger was potentially able to carry out the dismemberment, even though the jury had presumably believed her to be physically incapable of cutting up a corpse. In addition, the stark difference between this verdict pronounced in the pre-war period, and those handed down after the First World War would have caught readers' attention. While Beier had been executed for murder in 1907, in 1919 Hemberger was sentenced to only two-and-a-half years in prison – for falsification of documents and lying under oath – and her accomplice Protze to just five years. Wulffen clearly wished to emphasise the dramatic change in the gravity of sentencing, which also impacted on the

reporting of criminal offences, given that homicide rates in Germany were counted by the number of convictions and not victims.

Within the photographic narrative of *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin*, the Hemberger case presented a shift from the main focus on police methods to offering a more opinionated comment on female criminality. While the captions retained a neutral descriptive tone, Wulffen's reference to the immediate historical context became more pronounced. He elaborated on the rise of severe physical child abuse during the First World War, on the murderous influence of childbirth on some women (long before the concept of postnatal depression existed) and on the factors leading to high numbers of infanticides among servants; these included low intelligence, the 'house bound' nature of employment that prevented servants from accessing illegal abortions, and the often complex nature of paternity.⁵⁹

On a pictorial level, *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin* revealed a different side to the images of violence reproduced for his 1910 volume on sex offenders. The most obvious shift relates to victims of homicide, elderly single or widowed women, husbands, newly born victims of infanticide as well as sadistic abuse of older children. In contrast to the 1910 volume, where the portrayal of naked female victims and children abounded, in 1923 only child victims were presented nude. With respect to the number of images in each volume, the depiction of crime scenes was proportionally similar (just under 30 per cent), but there were pronounced shifts towards increased portrayal of offenders (13.3 per cent in 1910 compared with 17.1 per cent in 1923) and reproduction of evidentiary documents, such as the letters by Grete Beier to her fiancé (4 per cent compared with 28.6 per cent). While the photographs in the 1910 volume placed special emphasis on murderers who were unknown to their victims, the focus on female criminality portrayed a more intimate knowledge between perpetrators and victims, either through familial bonds or social networks.

Before contemplating the possible meaning of this shift, it is important to consider Wulffen's *Weltanschauung* and the methodological limitations of his study within their historical context.

[Heading A] Doing gender? Female violence and its discontents

Wulffen's main aim in *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin* was to scientifically prove to his professional readers that a select group within the female population was capable of violent crime. Acceptance of this notion, he argued, did not come easily to Germans; they needed to overcome their overly idealised notions of femininity which prevented them from acknowledging aggressive traits in women.⁶⁰ Wulffen, who was deeply engaged with the cultural world – he had been an actor during his student days and throughout his career he also wrote and published fiction and cultural history – saw this confirmed in the classical German literary canon where the depiction of male criminals figured prominently in works such as Friedrich von Schiller's *Die Räuber* (The robbers, 1781) or Gerhart Hauptmann's novella *Bahnwärter Thiel* (Lineman Thiel, 1888).⁶¹ When it came to the depiction of what he perceived as the negative nature of women, their 'instinctive' cruelty (as in the cases of infanticide), religious bigotry and fanaticism, limited sense of law and public order and general attitude of dishonesty and pretence, German literature lacked imagination, with a few exceptions such as Heinrich von Kleist's Amazon drama *Penthesilea* (1808). Wulffen repeatedly highlighted these traits in the case materials throughout *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin*.

Wulffen considered female criminality to be innately connected to issues of sexuality and placed it firmly within a biological framework. By contrast, he considered criminality in men to be triggered by social conditions and through genetic disposition. However, the fact that the number of crimes committed by women was seven times lower than that of men led him to believe that

women usually did conform to social norms – they had a lower sex drive, after all. As such, there had to be a different, genetic or hormonal reason for women to disobey social norms.⁶² While the male sex drive presented a continuing temptation for men to stray from the ‘right path’, according to Wulffen women only strayed when they experienced a heightened sex drive, or in the less serious cases, when they underwent significant hormonal changes (from menstruation to menopause).⁶³

Accordingly, Wulffen viewed the question of emancipation in a differentiated light. He saw men and women as diametrical opposites in nature and intellect. In direct reference to aforementioned psychoanalyst Stekel, Wulffen argued that although women should be granted equal rights, they should not imitate men, contrasting the spectre of the ‘mannish woman’ (*Mann-Weib*) with the ideal of the ‘earth mother’ (*Voll-Weib*), ignoring the complexity of styles, bodies and identities that characterised these phenomena.⁶⁴ Referring to the legal profession, for example, he underlined the contribution female jurors would make given their more holistic approach to life and more profound understanding of the motivations of criminals, despite lacking a higher sense of justice and objectivity.⁶⁵ This perceived lack of reason also encompassed the realm of politics: Wulffen argued that women’s contributions would be valuable to local government, but saw suffrage as a ‘superfluous gift’, because women were unable to grasp the objective nature of higher politics.⁶⁶

Unsurprisingly, secondary literature has found it easy to dismiss Wulffen’s take on female emancipation, as well as his overt reliance on biological reasoning.⁶⁷ Historians have widely acknowledged such reasoning as a foundation stone of National Socialist racial and eugenic thought. As a consequence, there is a paucity of scholarship explaining why Wulffen would come to such a mixed understanding of female criminality and maintain his views shaped in the Wilhelmine era. After all, Wulffen was a criminal psychologist: this made him an unlikely candidate for an overtly

biologising framework, considering that criminal psychology became one of the few voices of dissent during the biological turn in criminology.⁶⁸ The argument could be made that Saxony was a hub for some of the most important medical researchers with an interest in congenital diseases at the time. These include Gustav Boeters, the initiator of the Lex Zwickau Bill that advocated state-implemented compulsory sterilisation for parts of the population deemed 'spiritually inferior' and that included the disabled and mentally ill but also sex offenders and women with more than two illegitimate children.⁶⁹ He was supported by his Leipzig colleague Hermann Rohleder and many other eminent Saxon physicians. Yet, Wulffen's measures to minimise female crime always took a moral and not biological direction. Indeed Boeters' attempts to advance compulsory sterilisation politically were rebuffed as excessive by the very Saxon Ministry of Justice in which Wulffen served as Head of Department at the time.

Two discursive conditions were especially pertinent to Wulffen's stance. First, as we have seen, Wulffen had already developed the underlying model about female criminality prior to the First World War. Confronted with a changing Weimar society that expressed a growing fascination with sex and crime, any positive visions of female power and agency he had were limited, given that his intellectual world was shaped in the liberal humanistic discourse of the Wilhelmine era.⁷⁰ Within Wulffen's cultural framework the perceived rise of violence perpetrated by women was likely seen as a sign of Germany's regression to a lower level of civilisation. Cultural knowledge in Wilhelmine Germany was steeped in the knowledge of antiquity, as J. J. Bachofen's 1861 study on matriarchy plainly shows. Bachofen famously argued that the rise of Western civilisation unfolded in three ascending phases: the polygamous and warfaring times of the hetaerae and Amazons; an intermediate period of matriarchy; and finally the rise of patriarchy, the pinnacle of civilisation.⁷¹ This view became widespread and was repeated, for example, in Oswald Spengler's *Der Untergang*

des Abendlandes (1920) who pessimistically projected the decline of the West in his early world history.⁷² Even radical female sexologists such as Johanna Elberskirchen and Mathilde Vaerting, who found inspiration in the idea of matriarchal rule in the Weimar context, could not bring themselves to speak positively about a supposedly brutal and virile Amazonian culture with its reverence for warfare and aggression.⁷³ Ironically, the only contemporaries who shared Wulffen's focus on female violence in an outspoken manner belonged to the emerging masochist subculture, whose members eroticised real or imagined encounters with a dominating female. Carl Felix von Schlichtegroll and Eduard Fuchs, for example, wrote several cultural histories on the topic.⁷⁴ The sense of titillation that characterised these works was far removed from Wulffen's own interest and he saw such exploration of the subject matter as part of the overly sexualised mindset of his time.

Second, the limited interest in female criminality during the Weimar years meant that there was no rich discourse within which Wulffen could situate his work, much less have his views debated, challenged and rebuffed. Although he had shown that women made up a relatively constant figure of ten per cent of perpetrators in homicide cases, few contemporary thinkers or commentators were interested in the phenomenon. An emerging narrative about female criminality had begun to take shape before the First World War, such as Lino Ferriani's *Entartete Mütter* (Degenerate mothers, 1897) or in the social reform attempts of Lydia von Wolfring in Vienna whose early work on child protection was based on Ferriani but ceased soon afterwards.⁷⁵

Among his immediate sexological peers the gendered explanatory biological framework Wulffen employed was met with some reluctance, as a range of examples show. Like other sexologists they had to navigate the 'closely connected theories of sexuality with late nineteenth-century understandings of evolution, racial hierarchies, crime, and social degeneration', but did so to different avail.⁷⁶ Alexander Jassny argued most passionately against what he perceived to be

Wulffen's double standards, saying it was unfair to expect women to have a greater restraint in matters of sex than men; he passionately and politically argued that on the contrary, emancipation represented the solution to the *Frauenfrage* ('the woman question').⁷⁷ Psychiatrist Otto Juliusburger, a close affiliate of Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Science, commented in an otherwise positive review of *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin* in the Socialist newspaper *Vorwärts*: 'I cannot agree with Wulffen when he argues that female criminality is less a product of social conditions than its male counterpart'.⁷⁸ Yet, his critics did not proceed to engage with the topic of female violence themselves. Wulffen was well-aware of this discursive void, asserting in the introduction to *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin* that 'German criminologists have not been able to develop an original psychological assessment of female criminals'.⁷⁹

We can only assume that the general spirit of optimism spurred by female suffrage did not encourage a critique of female criminality in the Weimar Republic. As mentioned earlier, after the First World War, Wulffen became the Director of the Saxony State Court and in 1923 he was appointed Head of Department in the Saxony Ministry of Justice. He therefore enjoyed privileged access to an array of court cases in Saxony and to a certain extent Berlin and beyond, from which he could compile the material for his published works. Wulffen sought to raise awareness of female violence by appealing to specific expert groups. Members of these groups were less and less bound together by notions of class status – as would normally have been the case in Wilhelmine Germany – and increasingly by their professional identities and their modern belief in science and biology.⁸⁰ This helps to explain his long-lasting positive reception in legal circles.

Like psychiatrists and other sexologists who presented their ideas by way of case descriptions, Wulffen's method relied on compiling materials from real-life court and police proceedings, working from within the legal system. It is possible that Wulffen's work was inspired by

anti-emancipatory sentiment or that his selection of case material had an underlying agenda. As noted earlier, Wulffen was concerned about the relaxation of sentencing after the war and about the presumed naiveté of German jurors regarding women; these concerns influenced his choice of photographs for *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecher*. Another red flag is his use of crime rate data: Wulffen knew that crime rates, especially for homicide, had declined overall in Germany in the decade after 1902. However, considering that *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecher* was published in 1923, he might not have been aware that this overall trend continued in the Weimar period, as a number of historians have shown.⁸¹ It seems most likely that a confluence of factors shaped his position. Specific offenders such as Grete Beier first formed his understanding of female violence in Wilhelmine Germany. The cases he encountered, selected and published in the two volumes discussed here did not fundamentally challenge his explanatory framework of female violence; rather, they affirmed his beliefs and led him to develop the idea of the female sex offender as a new type of criminal in the Weimar era.

[Heading A] Photographic evidence of female violence

Much of the discussion in this article has been devoted to the discourse of violence and criminality, through a careful reading of the relationship between narratives and photographs in Wulffen's 1910 and 1923 works. The volumes bear discursive similarities, but numerous qualitative and quantitative differences. For the cultural historian, the images in their entirety provide unique insights into the nature of sex offences. In both monographs portraits of female criminals served the function of giving female criminals a face, in order to persuade expert readers of their very existence and demonstrate how 'normal' they looked. At the same time the photographs of crime scenes and

homicide victims reveal decisive differences in terms of content, as distinct from photographic technique. In the male-dominated first volume, the rape and murder of women and children who were not known to the perpetrator was depicted in extensive and shocking detail to the readers. By contrast, homicide victims of female perpetrators seemed to be more confined to familial or social networks between perpetrator and victim, and seemed to focus predominantly on the physical strength some female perpetrators were able to apply, and with the comparative ease with which some violent crimes could be committed. Determining whether this represents a real gendered trend or is merely a manifestation of Wulffen's selection of cases will require greater empirical investigation of crime and violence in the Weimar era.

If we cautiously compare current discourses around gendered criminality with their depiction in Wulffen's handbooks, there are noteworthy parallels and differences. The photographs and cases in the 1910 volume support the notion of extreme male violence as targeted at strangers and vulnerable victims such as children and prostitutes, while the description of extreme female violence in the 1923 volume highlights aggression towards those related or at least familiar with the perpetrator.⁸² Wellton argues in more general terms and for a wider population that the difference between male and female perverse action (perversion here used in the psychoanalytic understanding of the term), lies in the aim, with men directing their aggression at an external part-object and women against extensions of themselves.⁸³ Recent works on female violence, particularly among psychologists and clinicians, have developed a nuanced understanding of interpersonal violence which takes into account and makes out a continuum of female violence, from violence against the self through that of others, both children and adults. Rinzetti's 1993 call for a contextualised analysis of female violence that considers 'its meaning to women, their motives for using violence, and the outcomes of such violence' has so far gone unheard, although it has recently

been repeated by Kerry Carrington.⁸⁴ Despite Wulffen's pessimistic view of the female sex, he was undoubtedly one of the first legal professionals to consider, from today's perspective rather indiscriminately, the impact of domestic violence, sexual abused and promiscuity on crime (at a time when the first was not a criminal offence).⁸⁵

In order to write a history of female violence there is more empirical work to do if we are to explain the historical shifts in gendered patterns of violence that Carrington envisages. A range of other factors also require consideration including that women's crime is often 'both a criminal violation and a violation of gender expectations';⁸⁶ and the idea that the social control of crime and sexuality is a form of violence against the violent origins of the rational subject'.⁸⁷ In the meantime the analysis of photography in Wulffen's work offers us a glimpse into the specific discursive formation of knowledge – both its insights and its limitations - concerning female offending in the first decades of the twentieth century.

[Heading A]Acknowledgments:

My thanks to the two anonymous reviewers and Stuart Airlie at *Gender & History* for their helpful and productive comments; to Kate Davison for her help with the compilation of the bibliography for this article and together with Cynthia Troup for language editing and proofreading. All translations from the German original are my own.

[Heading A]Author's Comment

I would like to thank the editors of *Gender & History* for the careful consideration of the inclusion of photographs into this article and – despite our friendly disagreement – for the possibility to comment on this discussion via this note. As the author of this article, I believe that the article would have profited from the inclusion of two graphic images relating to the Müller and Hemberger cases

respectively, one depicting a close-up of a murder victim with strangulation marks and one the dismembered body of a male murder victim, to highlight the persuasive and shocking effect these images had on contemporary readers. The editors felt, however, that these images did not improve my argument sufficiently to justify potentially upsetting readers and that these would represent an unnecessary reputational risk to the journal, both valid points.

The article sets out to problematise the ways society, and academia in particular, has found it hard to think about female criminality and violence. Wulffen's works are problematic in part because there was no rich contemporary discourse to explain female violence and his at times sensationalist use of photography seems harder to critique without the reader being able to judge for themselves the impact of such photography. I appreciate that in the context of the #metoo movement and growing awareness about domestic violence and violence against women a greater awareness of the ethics of depiction of victims has been created in today's society. It holds, however, the danger of unintentionally perpetuating gendered roles and stereotypes of violence, both in terms of its perpetrators and its victims. In other words, there lies a certain irony in the fact that, on the one hand, Wulffen's works are problematic in part because they lacked a sophisticated historical discourse through which to explain female violence, while on the other hand, we – as feminists, academics, human beings – remain more comfortable not fully addressing the full ramifications of female violence and its effects on others, in the past as well as the present.

[Heading A]Notes

Figure 1: Portrait of unnamed female criminal who committed filicide. Erich Wulffen *Der Sexualverbrecher*, 1910. Illustration 28, p. 473

Figure 2: Evidence: scratched hands and blood-soaked blouse of female perpetrator. Erich Wulffen *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin*, 1923, p. 122.

¹ The most recent widely discussed contribution is <bib><au>Steven Pinker</au>, <bt>*The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence has Declined*</bt> (<loc>New York</loc>: <pbl>Viking</pbl>, <yr>2011</yr></bib>); for a critical discussion of Pinker's understanding of gender see: <bib><au>Jacqui True</au>, 'Winning the Battle but Losing the War on Violence: A Feminist Perspective on the Declining Global Violence Thesis', <pt>*International Feminist Journal of Politics*</pt> <vol>17</vol> (<yr>2015</yr>), pp. <pg>554–72</pg></bib>.

² <bib><au>Simone de Beauvoir</au>, <bt>*Le Deuxième Sexe*</bt> (<loc>Paris</loc>: <pbl>Gallimard</pbl>, <yr>1949</yr></bib>). Other key examples include (in chronological order): <bib><au>Ann Oakley</au>, <bt>*Sex, Gender and Society*</bt> (<loc>London</loc>: <pbl>Temple Smith</pbl>, <yr>1972</yr></bib>); <bib><au>Judith Butler</au>, <bt>*Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*</bt> (<loc>New York</loc>: <pbl>Routledge</pbl>, <yr>1990</yr></bib>), <bib><au>R. W. Connell</au>, <bt>*Masculinities*</bt> (<loc>Oxford</loc>: <pbl>Polity Press</pbl>, <yr>1995</yr></bib>).

³ <bib><au>Anna Motz</au>, <bt>*The Psychology of Female Violence. Crimes Against the Body*</bt>, 2nd edⁿ, (2001: <loc>London</loc>: <pbl>Routledge</pbl>, <yr>2008</yr></bib>). Earlier pioneering works on the topic in the Anglophone world include (in chronological order): <bib><au>E. V. Welldon</au>, 'Psychology and Psychopathology in Women – A Psychoanalytic Perspective', <pt>*British Journal of Psychiatry*</pt> <vol>158</vol> (<yr>1991</yr>), pp. <pg>85–92</pg></bib>; <bib><au>E. V. Welldon</au>, <bt>*Mother, Madonna and Whore: The Idealization and*

Denigration of Motherhood (New York: Guilford Press, 1992).

⁴ *Claire Rinzetti*, 'The Challenge to Feminism Posed by Women's Use of Violence in Intimate Relationships', in *Sharon Lamb* (ed.), *New Versions of Victims: Feminists Struggle with the Concept* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), pp. 42–56, here, p. 42; *Kerry Carrington*, 'Girls and Violence: The Case for a Feminist Theory of Female Violence', *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy* (2013), pp. 63–79, here pp. 72–3.

⁵ *Carrington*, 'Girls and Violence', p. 71.

⁶ *Birgit Lang*, 'The Case of the Con Man: Criminal Writers, Legal Experts and the Question of Culture', in *Alan Corkhill and Alison Lewis* (eds), *Intercultural Encounters in German Studies* (St Ingbert: Röhrig, 2014), pp. 359–75, here p. 362–3.

⁷ *Birgit Lang, Joy Damousi and Alison Lewis*, *A History of the Case Study: Sexology, Psychoanalysis, Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), p. 119.

⁸ See for example *Karsten Uhl*, *Das "verbrecherische Weib": Geschlecht, Verbrechen und Strafen im kriminologischen Diskurs 1800–1945* (Munich: LIT, 2003); and *Ylva Greve*, *Verbrechen und Krankheit: die Entdeckung der 'Criminalpsychologie' im 19. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004).

⁹ See for example <bib><au>Anne Maxwell</au>, <bt>*Picture Imperfect: Photography and Eugenics, 1879–1940*</bt> (<loc>Brighton</loc>: <pbl>Sussex Academic Press</pbl>, <yr>2008</yr></bib>); <bib><au>Jennifer Tucker</au>, <bt>*Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science*</bt> (<loc>Baltimore</loc>: <pbl>Johns Hopkins UP</pbl>, <yr>2005</yr></bib>).

¹⁰ See for example <bib><ed>Ann Thomas </ed>(ed.), <bt>*Beauty of Another Order: Photography in Science*</bt> (<loc>New Haven</loc>: <pbl>Yale University Press</pbl>, <yr>1995</yr></bib>).

¹¹ Hirschfeld's photographs have received attention from a range of scholars: <bib><au>Kathrin Peters</au>, 'at>Anatomy is Sublime: The Photographic Activity of Wilhelm von Gloeden and Magnus Hirschfeld</at>', in <ed>Michael Thomas Taylor, Annette F. Timm and Rainer Herrn</ed> (eds), <bt>*Not Straight from Germany: Sexual Publics and Sexual Citizenship since Magnus Hirschfeld*</bt> (<loc>Ann Arbor</loc>: <pbl>University of Michigan Press</pbl>, <yr>2017</yr>), pp. <pg>170–90</pg></bib>; <bib><au>David James Prickett</au>, 'at>Magnus Hirschfeld and the Photographic (Re)Invention of the "Third Sex"</at>', in <ed>Gail Finney</ed> (ed.), <bt>*Visual Culture in Twentieth-Century Germany: Text as Spectacle*</bt> (<loc>Bloomington</loc>: <pbl>Indiana University Press</pbl>, <yr>2006</yr>), pp. <pg>103–19</pg></bib>; <bib><au>Katie Sutton</au>, 'at>Sexology's Photographic Turn: Visualizing Trans Identity in Interwar Germany</at>', <pt>*Journal of the History of Sexuality*</pt> <vol>27</vol> (<yr>2018</yr>), pp. <pg>442–79</pg></bib>; <bib><au>Katharina Sykora</au>, 'at>Umkleidekabinen des Geschlechts: Sexualmedizinische Fotografie im frühen 20. Jahrhundert</at>', <pt>*Fotogeschichte: Beiträge zur*

Geschichte und Ästhetik der Fotografie (2004), pp. 15–30.

¹² Some sexologists developed a new respectable aesthetic particularly of nude photography. See note 10 and *Birgit Lang*, ‘Die Erotik in der Photographie: Zum Habitus von Sexualwissenschaftlern’ (2010), pp. 5–24.

¹³ *Erich Wulffen*, *Der Sexualverbrecher: Ein Handbuch für Juristen, Verwaltungsbeamte und Ärzte* (Berlin: Paul Langenscheidt, 1910); *Erich Wulffen*, *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin: Ein Handbuch für Juristen, Verwaltungsbeamte und Ärzte* (Berlin: Paul Langenscheidt, 1923).

¹⁴ *Wulffen*, *Das Weib*, p. xvi.

¹⁵ *Wulffen*, *Das Weib*, p. 2.

¹⁶ *Magnus Hirschfeld*, *Sittengeschichte des Weltkrieges. Band II* (Leipzig, Vienna: Verlag für Sexualwissenschaft Schneider & Co., 1930), p. 248.

¹⁷ *Wilhelm Stekel*, *Sadismus und Masochismus für Ärzte und Kriminalologen dargestellt* (Berlin, Vienna: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1925), p. 715. Here Stekel writes: ‘Eine erschöpfende Darstellung der Grausamkeit des Kulturmenschen findet sich in Wulfens Werken “Der Sexualverbrecher” und “Das Weib als Sexualverbrecher” (Verlag Paul Langenscheidt Berlin), die eine erschöpfende [sic] Materialsammlung darstellen’.

¹⁸ <bib><au>Hugo Dingeldey</au>, ‘<at>Erich Wulffen: Lebensgeschichte des Jubilars</at>’, in <ed>Alexander Baumgarten</ed> (ed.), <bt>Erich Wulffen: Festschrift zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag</bt> (<loc>Berlin</loc>: <pbl>Hanseatischer Rechts- und Wirtschaftsverlag</pbl>, <yr>1932</yr>), pp. <pg>12–40</pg></bib>, here p. 29. The German original reads: ‘ein Fundamentalwerk moderner Kriminalpsychologie, wie es kein anderes Land aufzuweisen hat’.

¹⁹ The German original reads: ‘das einzige umfassende Werk der deutschen Literatur über die feminine Kriminalität’. *Mitteilungen des Preussischen Richtervereins* Berlin 30 March 1932, File 1477, Papers Erich Wulffen, Saxon State and University Library, Dresden.

²⁰ Sources in order of mention (all from File 1477, Papers Erich Wulffen, Saxon State and University Library, Dresden): ‘begrüßenswert’, *Mitteilungen des Preussischen Richtervereins* Berlin 30 March 1932 as well as *Deutsches Polizeiarhiv*, Lübeck 25 February 1932; ‘erfüllt ein lebhaftes Bedürfnis’, *Die Polizei* 12 1932; ‘von besonderer Wichtigkeit für Fachkreise’ *Österreichische Richterzeitung* XXV/4 (April 1932).

²¹ W. Hellpach, ‘Sexualverbrechen’, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 19 March 1910. Papers of Erich Wulffen, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Mscr.Dresd.App. 1832, no. 1477.

²² <bib><au>Cesare Lombroso</au>, <bt>Crime: Its Causes and Remedies</bt> (<loc>Boston</loc>: <pbl>Little, Brown and Co</pbl>., <yr>1908</yr></bib>), p. 253.

²³ Sutton, ‘Sexology’s Photographic Turn’, p. 449.

²⁴ See for example <bib><au>Lisa Downing</au>, <bt>*The Subject of Murder: Gender, Exceptionality, and the Modern Killer*</bt> (<loc>Chicago</loc>: <pbl>Chicago University Press</pbl>, <yr>2013</yr></bib>).

²⁵ <bib><au>Jason Crouthamel</au>, ‘<at>Male Sexuality and Psychological Trauma: Soldiers and Sexual Disorder in World War I and Weimar Germany</at>’, <pt>*Journal of the History of Sexuality*</pt> <vol>17</vol> (<yr>2008</yr>), pp. <pg>60–84</pg></bib>, here p. 76.

²⁶ <bib><au>Kirsten Leng</au>, <bt>*Sexual Politics and Feminist Science: Women Sexologists in Germany, 1900–1933*</bt> (<loc>Ithaca</loc>: <pbl>Signale</pbl>, <yr>2018</yr></bib>), p. 69.

²⁷ On his versatile use of the case study genre, see: <ref7>Lang et al., *A History of the Case Study*</ref7>, pp. 119–55.

²⁸ <bib><au>Val McDermid and Kirty Topiwala</au>, <bt>*Forensics: The Anatomy of Crime*</bt> (<loc>London</loc>: <pbl>Wellcome Collection</pbl>, <yr>2014</yr></bib>).

²⁹ <bib><au>Walter Benjamin</au>, ‘<at>Kleine Geschichte der Photographie</at>’, in Benjamin, <bt>*Gesammelte Schriften*</bt> (<loc>Frankfurt am Main</loc>: <pbl>Suhrkamp</pbl>, <yr>1991</yr></bib>), vol. 2/1, *Aufsätze, Essays, Vorträge*. In the case of the photographic images in *Der Sexualverbrecher* such recontextualization took place despite efforts of criminologists to contain the violence of these images. The problematic uptake of the motif of extreme sexual violence by Georg Grosz (1893–1959), Otto Dix (1891–1969) and Rudolf Schlichter (1890–1955) based on these photographs has been discussed in detail by <bib><au>Maria Tatar</au>, <bt>*Lustmord: Sexual Murder in*

Weimar Germany (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); and Olaf Peters, ‘“Painting, A Medium of Cool Execution”: Otto Dix and Lustmord’, in Olaf Peters (ed.), *Otto Dix* (Munich, Berlin, London, New York: Prestel, 2010), pp. 92–107. Peters reprints some of the original images to draw poignant comparisons between the photographs and Dix’s painting.

³⁰ Archibald Reiss, *Einiges über die signaletische Photographie (System Bertillon) und ihre Anwendung in der Anthropologie und Medizin* (Munich: Seitz & Schauer, 1902).

³¹ [Downing](#), *The Subject of Murder*, p. 71.

³² [Wulffen](#), *Der Sexualverbrecher*, Illustration 28, p. 473.

³³ [Wulffen](#), *Der Sexualverbrecher*, p. 475.

³⁴ [Wulffen](#), *Der Sexualverbrecher*, Illustration 41, p. 513.

³⁵ Jephthe Akaire is portrayed in [Wulffen](#), *Der Sexualverbrecher*, images 60–3, p. 567.

³⁶ [Wulffen](#), *Der Sexualverbrecher*, pp. 571–3.

³⁷ [Wulffen](#), *Der Sexualverbrecher*, pp. 361–8.

³⁸ [Wulffen](#), *Der Sexualverbrecher*, image 5, p. 366. See also

Birgit Lang, ‘Influencing Public Knowledge: Erich Wulffen and the Criminal Case of Grete Beier’, in Birgit Lang, Joy Damousi and Katie Sutton (eds), *Case Studies and the Dissemination of Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 69–96.

³⁹ <ref13a>Wulffen, *Der Sexualverbrecher*</ref13a>, p. 362.

⁴⁰ <ref13a>Wulffen, *Der Sexualverbrecher*</ref13a>, p. 362.

⁴¹ <ref13a>Wulffen, *Der Sexualverbrecher*</ref13a>, p. 363.

⁴² For the discussion of degeneration see for example: <bib><au>Tim Armstrong</au>, <bt>Modernism: A Cultural History</bt> (<loc>Cambridge</loc>: <pbl>Polity Press</pbl>, <yr>2005</yr></bib>); <bib><au>Richard Olson</au>, <bt>Science and Scientism in Nineteenth-Century Europe</bt> (<loc>Urbana</loc>: <pbl>University of Illinois</pbl>, <yr>2008</yr></bib>); <bib><au>Marius Turda</au>, <bt>Modernism and Eugenics</bt> (<loc>Basingstoke</loc>: <pbl>Palgrave MacMillan</pbl>, <yr>2010</yr></bib>); <bib><au>Richard Wetzell</au>, <bt>Inventing the Criminal: A History of German Criminology, 1800–1945</bt> (<loc>Chapel Hill</loc>: <pbl>University of North Carolina Press</pbl>, <yr>2000</yr></bib>).

⁴³ <bib><au>Allan Sekula</au>, ‘<at>The Body and the Archive</at>’, <pt>October</pt> <vol>39</vol> (<yr>1986</yr>), pp. <pg>3–64</pg></bib>, here p. 10.

⁴⁴ <ref38>Lang, ‘Influencing Public Knowledge</ref38>’, p. 54.

⁴⁵ For the complex history of body politics in Weimar Germany see: <bib><au>Atina Grossmann</au>, <bt>Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform</bt> (<loc>New York</loc>: <pbl>Oxford University Press</pbl>, <yr>1995</yr></bib>); <bib><au>Cornelie Usborne</au>, <bt>The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany: Women’s Reproductive Rights and Duties</bt> (<loc>Basingstoke</loc>: <pbl>Macmillan Press</pbl>, <yr>1992</yr></bib>).

⁴⁶ <bib><au>Udi E. Greenberg</au>, ‘<at>Criminalization: Carl Schmitt and Walter Benjamin’s Concept of Criminal Politics</at>’, <pt>*Journal of European Studies*</pt> <vol>39</vol> (<yr>2009</yr>), pp. <pg>305–19</pg></bib>, here p. 315.

⁴⁷ <bib><au>Kathleen Canning</au>, ‘<at>Women and the Politics of Gender</at>’, in <ed>Anthony McElligott</ed> (ed.), <bt>*Weimar Germany*</ed> (<loc>Oxford</loc>: <pbl>Oxford University Press</pbl>, <yr>2009</yr>), pp. <pg>146–74</pg></bib>.

⁴⁸ <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, pp. 122–3.

⁴⁹ Another example can be found in ‘image 6’ – a photograph depicting the crime scene of a murder-theft with the victim lying on the floor – an interpretive device was added: an arrow pointing to the breached money chest was superimposed over the original image. The reader’s gaze might otherwise have been distracted by the corpse; the arrow thus guides the eye to the less visually dramatic details in the photograph that were relevant to the dossier of evidence. <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, pp. 128–9.

⁵⁰ <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, pp. 133–4.

⁵¹ <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, pp. 80–1, 112–13.

⁵² <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, p. 135.

⁵³ <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, pp. 128–9, 144–5.

⁵⁴ <ref13a>Wulffen, *Der Sexualverbrecher*</ref13a>, p. 364.

⁵⁵ <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, pp. 224–9.

⁵⁶ <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, pp. 208–09, 224–5.

⁵⁷ <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, p. 229.

⁵⁸ <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, p. 229.

⁵⁹ <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, pp. 266–7, 301–02; 304–05.

⁶⁰ <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, p. 24.

⁶¹ Relevant titles include: <bib><au>Erich Wulffen</au>, <bt>Gerhart Hauptmann vor dem Forum der Kriminalpsychologie und Psychiatrie</bt> (<loc>Breslau</loc>:

<pbl>Langewort</pbl>, <yr>1908</yr></bib>); <bib><au>Erich Wulffen</au>,

‘<at>Gerhart Hauptmann’s “Rose Bernd” vom kriminalistischen Standpunkte</at>’,

<pt>Juristisch-psychiatrische Grenzfragen. Zwanglose Abhandlungen</pt> <vol>4</vol>

(<yr>1906</yr>), pp. <pg>13–23</pg></bib>; <bib><au>Jürgen Seul</au>, <bt>Erich

Wulffen. *Kriminalpsychologie und Psychopathologie in Schillers Räubern (1907): Mit einer Biographie, Erläuterungen, zeitgenössischen Rezensionen und einem Werkverzeichnis*</bt>

(<loc>Berlin</loc>: <pbl>BWV</pbl>, <yr>2007</yr></bib>).

⁶² <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, pp. 13, 16.

⁶³ <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, p. 52.

⁶⁴ <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, p. 55. Wulffen refers to: <bib><au>Wilhelm Stekel</au>, <bt>Die Geschlechtskälte der Frau: Eine Psychopathologie des weiblichen Liebeslebens</bt> (<loc>Berlin, Wien</loc>: <pbl>Urban & Schwarzenberg</pbl>, <yr>1921</yr></bib>).

⁶⁵ <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, p. 33.

⁶⁶ <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, p. 33.

⁶⁷ See for example <ref8a>Uhl, *Das ‘verbrecherische Weib’*</ref8a>’ and <ref8b>Greve, *Verbrechen und Krankheit*</ref8b>.

⁶⁸ <ref42d>Wetzell, *Inventing the Criminal*</ref42d>, pp. 168–74.

⁶⁹ <bib><au>Michael Schwartz</au>, <bt>Sozialistische Eugenik: eugenische Sozialtechnologien in Debatten und Politik der deutschen Sozialdemokratie 1890–1933</bt> (<loc>Bonn</loc>: <pbl>Dietz</pbl>, <yr>1995</yr></bib>), p. 274f.

⁷⁰ See <bib><au>Todd Herzog</au>, <bt>Crime Stories: Criminalistic Fantasy and the Culture of Crisis in Weimar Germany</bt> (<loc>New York</loc>: <pbl>Berghahn</pbl>, <yr>2009</yr></bib>).

⁷¹ <bib><au>J. J. Bachofen</au>, <bt>Das Mutterrecht: eine Untersuchung über die Gynaikokratie der alten Welt nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur</bt> (<loc>Stuttgart</loc>: <pbl>Verlag von Kraiss und Hoffmann</pbl>, <yr>1861</yr></bib>).

⁷² <bib><au>Oswald Spengler</au>, <bt>Der Untergang des Abendlandes: Erster Band Gestalt und Wirklichkeit</bt> (<loc>Munich</loc>: <pbl>Beck</pbl>, <yr>1920</yr></bib>), pp. 362–3.

⁷³ On Elbeskirchen and Vaerting in the Weimar period, see <ref26>Leng, *Sexual Politics and Feminist Science*</ref26>, p. 181.

⁷⁴ <bib><au>C. F. Schlichtegroll</au>, <bt>Die Bestie im Weibe: Beiträge zur Geschichte menschlicher Verirrung und Grausamkeit</bt> (<loc>Leipzig</loc>: <pbl>Leipziger Verlag</pbl>, <yr>1903</yr></bib>); <bib><au>Eduard Fuchs</au>, <bt>Die Weiberherrschaft in der Geschichte der Menschheit</bt> (<loc>Munich</loc>: <pbl>Langen</pbl>, <yr>1913</yr></bib>).

⁷⁵ On Wolffring, see <bib><au>Elisabeth Malleier</au>, <bt>‘Kinderschutz’ und ‘Kinderrettung’: Die Gründung von Vereinen zum Schutz misshandelter Kinder im 19. und

frühen 20. Jahrhundert (<loc>Innsbruck</loc>: <pbl>Studienverlag</pbl>, <yr>2004</yr></bib>), pp. 172–84.

⁷⁶ <bib><au>Veronika Fuerchtner, Douglas E. Haynes and Ryan M. Jones</au>, ‘<at>Introduction: Toward a Global History of Sexual Science: Movements, Networks, and Deployments</at>’, in <ed>Veronika Fuerchtner, Douglas E. Haynes and Ryan M. Jones</ed> (eds), <bt>*A Global History of Sexual Science, 1880–1960*</bt> (<loc>Oakland</loc>: <pbl>University of California Press</pbl>, <yr>2018</yr>), pp. <pg>1–28</pg></bib>, 20.

⁷⁷ <bib><au>Alexander Jassny</au>, ‘<at>Zur Psychologie der Verbrecherin</at>’, <pt>*Archiv für Kriminologie*</pt> <vol>42</vol> (<yr>1911</yr>), pp. <pg>90–107</pg></bib>.

⁷⁸ <bib><au>Otto Juliusburger,</au> ‘<at>Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin</at>’, <pt>*Vorwärts*</pt> (<yr>15 February 1923</yr></bib>). File 1477, Papers Erich Wulffen, Saxon State and University Library, Dresden. The original passage reads: ‘So kann ich auch Wulffen nicht folgen, wenn er sagt, daß die weibliche Kriminalität weniger als die männliche durch die sozialen Umstände hervorgerufen werde ...’.

⁷⁹ <ref13b>Wulffen, *Das Weib*</ref13b>, p. 24.

⁸⁰ See for example <bib><au>Paul Weindling</au>, ‘<at>Bourgeois Values, Doctors and the State: The Professionalization of Medicine in Germany 1848–1933</at>’, in <ed>David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans</ed> (eds), <bt>*The German Bourgeoisie*</ed> (<loc>London</loc>: <pbl>Routledge</pbl>, <yr>1991</yr>), pp. <pg>198–

223

</pg></bib>; and <bib><au>M. Rainer Lepsius</au>, ‘<at>Das Bürgertum als ständische Vergesellschaftung</at>’, in <ed>Lepsius </ed>ed., <bt>Demokratie in Deutschland: Soziologisch-historische Konstellationsanalysen – Ausgewählte Aufsätze</bt> (<loc>Göttingen</loc>: <pbl>Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht</pbl>, <yr>1993</yr>), pp. <pg>303–14</pg></bib>.

⁸¹ See for example <bib><au>Eric A. Johnston</au>, <bt>Urbanization and Crime, Germany: 1871–1914</bt> (<loc>Cambridge</loc>: <pbl>Cambridge University Press</pbl>, <yr>1995</yr></bib>); and <bib><au>Manuel Eisner</au>, ‘<at>Long-Term Historical Trends in Violent Crime</at>’, <pt>Crime and Justice</pt> <vol>30</vol> (<yr>2003</yr>), pp. <pg>83–142</pg></bib>.

⁸² <bib><au>Claire M. Renzetti</au>, ‘<at>Serial Murder/Serial Killers</at>’, in <ed>Claire M. Renzetti & Jeffrey L. Edleson</ed> (eds), <bt>Encyclopedia of Interpersonal Violence</ed> (<loc>Thousand Oaks</loc>: <pbl>Sage</pbl>, <yr>2008</yr>), pp. <pg>638–9</pg></bib>.

⁸³ <ref3c>Wellدون, *Mother, Madonna and Whore*</ref3c>, p. 72.

⁸⁴ <ref4b>Carrington, ‘Girls and Violence.</ref4b>

⁸⁵ See <ref25>Crouthamel, ‘Male Sexuality and Psychological Trauma</ref25>’.

⁸⁶ <bib><au>Jody Miller</au>, ‘<at>Doing Crime as Doing Gender? Masculinities, Femininities, and Crime</at>’, in <ed>Rosemary Gartner and Bill McCarthy</ed> (eds), <bt>The Oxford Handbook of Gender, Sex, and Crime</bt> (<loc>New York</loc>: <pbl>Oxford University Press</pbl>, <yr>2014</yr>), pp. <pg>19–39</pg></bib>, here p. 26.

⁸⁷ <bib><au>Scott Spector</au>, <bt>*Violent Sensations: Sex, Crime and Utopia in Vienna and Berlin, 1860–1914*</bt> (<loc>Chicago</loc>: <pbl>University of Chicago Press</pbl>, <yr>2016</yr></bib>), p. 201.

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