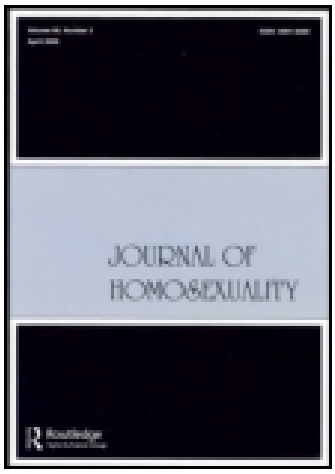

Journal of Homosexuality
Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/wjhm20

Sodomites, Platonic Lovers, Contrary Lovers:

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Published online: 18 Oct 2010.

Sodomites, Platonic Lovers, Contrary Lovers: The Backgrounds of the Modern Homosexual

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The pursuit of sodomy in early modern Europe brought to the fore some very important changes in the conceptualization and practice of homosexuality. The eighteenth century was a key age for the revision of ideas on sodomy and for the self-awareness of sodomites, especially in northwestern Europe. During the Enlightenment (and especially in France) a radical transition took place in thinking and practices regarding "Socratic love," as Voltaire called it. But in addition to the better-known philosophers of the Enlightenment, such as Montesquieu, Voltaire, Beccaria, Rousseau, and later on in England, Bentham, two other important currents in political philosophy also concerned themselves with Socratic love: first, the radical scoundrels of the Enlightenment, Sade and Lamettrie; and second, the German Counter-Enlightenment, a more or less Romantic and antirationalistic tradition from Hamann to Goethe and Platen.

The philosophes not only put forward ideas, they also proposed practical policies: for government, for social life, for criminal law, for sexuality. Their discussion of onanism is only one example.

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A shorter version of this article was read at the "Sex and the State" conference in Toronto, 4 July 1985. The author wishes to thank especially Jim Steakley and Michael Dallas for their comments.

One Dutch author, A. Perrenot, wrote a small treatise in the best Enlightenment tradition on the crime against nature and proposed basic measures to combat the vice, which was no longer "unmentionable" but, as he put it, "infamous." At the same time, a distinctly new organization of sodomy, a half-hidden subculture of sodomites, had been developing since the end of the seventeenth century, and with it sodomitical self-awareness.

In this article I seek both to unravel the changes taking place in the eighteenth century with regard to Socratic love and to assess the importance and scope of this shift. I will discuss to what extent the development from Thomistic "sodomy" to the medically defined "homosexuality" and "the homosexual" was inevitable, and what alternatives existed. Moreover, I will point out that homosexuality and sodomy are not completely homogenous or unitary social phenomena; there has always been a certain range of variance in practices and philosophies surrounding them.

MORAL THEOLOGY: SODOMY

The concept of sodomy, its implementation, and its judicial invocation can be traced back to the Middle Ages. All of them are still in force in some parts of the Western world, though in modified form.[1] According to medieval moral theology, sodomy as a sexual act was the exact reversal of the lawful way of having sex. Men sought from behind what they ought to find in front: they were to propagate. In its strictest sense, sodomy referred to anal penetration, including the transmission of semen; in its broadest sense, it could apply to every emission of semen not intended for procreation. The range of meanings of sodomy, this most horrible sin, made and continues to make it difficult to grasp the actual practices which were considered sodomitical. (See other articles in this collection.)

Secular law as derived from biblical texts was in most countries clear in its policies concerning cases of sodomy. The guilty were to be punished by death—usually by burning, hanging, or strangling. The actual enforcement of these laws in early modern Europe seems to have been rather limited, however, (as the articles in this issue show). Venice and probably other Italian cities in the Renaissance, the Spanish cities after the colonization of America, Paris, London,

and the urbanized parts of the Netherlands in the eighteenth century are the most important examples of places with a rather extensive history of persecuting sodomy. But even though many sodomites were put to death, the records brought to light up to now do not make it possible to speak of mass persecutions or mass murders—the "gay genocide" invoked by some historians.[2] No more than several hundred executions for sodomy have been uncovered, and there is little reason to believe that many more will turn up in the archives.

As awful of an episode in European history as it may have been, the persecution of sodomites does not approach the proportions of the slaughter of Jews, gypsies, witches, or heretics. Even the number of men murdered on account of their homosexuality by the Nazis in Germany may ultimately prove to be greater than all the sodomites put to death in Europe from the thirteenth through the nineteenth century.[3] On the other hand, a new topic for research on sodomy could be the European persecution and murder of American, African, Asian, and Australian "savages" because of their unnatural vices.[4] But that is a rather different topic due to the divergent political and cultural backgrounds involved; it concerns an intercultural as opposed to an intracultural clash.

Although an official policy of church and state concerning sodomy did exist, the interpretations and applications of it differed immensely, as did the social realities in which they had to take shape. Beyond the diverse social philosophies and policies regarding sodomy, different conceptualizations and social realities of homoeroticism also existed.

THE CLASSICAL HERITAGE: SOCRATIC LOVE

Throughout the early modern period, the most important philosophical tradition involving homoeroticism was the study of the history of classical antiquity, especially Neoplatonism (as Dall'Orto observes in this issue with regard to the Italian Renaissance). At a time when Latin was the spoken language at universities, intellectuals—libertines as well as puritans—were well aware of the classical

philosophy and literature on eros, from Plato to Martial, Petronius, Galen, and Suetonius. The European intellectuals indeed used classical authors for their philosophies, for their self-awareness, and for medical theories.[5] Dall'Orto points this out for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Italy, but in other countries and at other times, intellectuals also used the classical heritage to propose a certain variant of homoeroticism. Just like Ficino, most of these philosophers and classical historians condemned sexual intercourse between men and translated eros in terms of spiritual love or ascetism. Eros became synonymous with "platonic love," especially in heterosocial relations.[6]

During the early modern period, sodomy was not well-defined, nor was the concept of male eros derived from classical history. The first was a term of contempt, the other one of reverence. Between those two conceptualizations there existed a gray zone which seems to have been used by sodomites, an undefined free area that could cover (to give only some sexual examples) mutual masturbation and intercrural intercourse. Studies of Italy and Portugal reveal that sodomites abstained from anal penetration to avoid the danger of criminal prosecution.[7] Despite abundant historical material concerning sodomy in the Netherlands, these particular sexual tactics cannot be documented in that country, not even for a later period, perhaps because the persecution of Dutch sodomites came suddenly after a long period of almost no indictments for sodomy.[8]

In eighteenth-century Germany (as well as the Netherlands), there was a remarkable revival of philosophical and historical interest in male eros. Prior to this revival, a handful of English, French, and other authors began anew to speak about the vice which was ascribed to Socrates, but they denied that he had been a pederast.[9] Stimulated by the art historian J. J. Winckelmann, a new interpretation of Socrates' life began with that typically German mixture of Counter-Enlightenment and Romanticism of the late eighteenth century: Hamann, Jacobs, Herder, Meiners, Rajmdohr, Ehrenberg.[10] This current had a Dutch counterpart in Hemsterhuis, de Pauw, van Limburg, Brouwer, and Kneppelhout. This revival of Platonism further paved the way for the earliest works, both Swiss, which can retrospectively be called homosexual and emancipatory: Zschokke's *Eros oder über die Liebe* (1821, Eros, or on Love) and

Hossli's *Eros. Die Männerliebe der Griechen* (vol. 1, Glarus, 1836; vol. 2, St. Gallen, 1838; Eros. The Male Love of the Greeks).

J. G. Hamann, J. G. Herder, and F. H. Jacobs, the leading philosophers in the eighteenth-century German Counter-Enlightenment, all wrote on male love. They were contemporaries and acquaintances of each other and also of Kant, but were fiercely opposed to Kant's rationalism. Hamann focused his criticism on the duality of rationality and sensuality implied in Kant's work and proposed to bridge this gap by focusing on language, in which reason gains a sensual quality. With his first publication, *Sokratische Denkwürdigkeiten* (1750, Socratic Memorabilia, subtitled "For the tedium of the public, compiled by a lover of tedium"), he was a predecessor of the Counter-Enlightenment as well as of German Romanticism (Goethe, Schiller). His book contained a defense of male eros, indeed the most radical in this tradition.[11] He wrote, "through the art in which Socrates was educated (i.e., sculpture), his eyes were so accustomed to and trained in beauty and its touches that his lust for well-formed youths must not surprise us." Hamann argued that it would be foolish "to exonerate Socrates of a vice, rather our Christianity would do better to overlook it in him." Nevertheless, he continued, Socrates hated that vice, although he was well aware that he himself had a sinful heart (vice, in German *Laster*, was not gone into further). But most interestingly, according to Hamann: "One cannot experience a vital friendship without sensuality, and perhaps a metaphysical love sins more grossly (*grober*) against the fluids of the nerves (*Nervensaften*) than does a bestial love against flesh and blood. Thus, Socrates must have suffered and struggled over his desire for harmony between inner and outer beauty."[12] Hamann's defense of a sensual friendship is extremely noteworthy. Contrary to the tendency of later philosophers, Hamann clearly opposed an ascetic interpretation of the Platonic eros. Love and friendship must be sensual, and therefore homoerotic. However, Hamann was not clear about how far that sensuality could go.

Both his friends Herder and Jacobs published on the male eros of the Greeks, but their contributions pale in comparison with Hamann's. Writing thirty years later, Herder called it a disorder, arisen from the "crazy" Greek love for beauty. He remarked fur-

ther that his eros would have been more deleterious to Greek society if it had been practiced "secretly"—this opinion perhaps a critique of the customs of his time.[13] Jacobs' contribution dates from still later and was published in 1829, a decade after his death. This was even more negative about the male eros of the Greeks. He denied that it had to do with the arethe, male virtue, and explained it not in terms of a desire of beauty, but in terms of the vehemence of Mediterranean passions—which could be positive as well as negative—and the organization of public life in Greece.[14]

When we consider these three philosophers of the German Counter-Enlightenment, we see a slow retreat from a defense of male eros and of sensuality in male friendships. Such apologies seem to have become more problematic with time. An explanation for this change can probably be found in the rise of Enlightened rationalism that found philosophical expression in Kantian philosophy and political expression in the French Revolution of 1789 (see next section).

After Hamann, the next important contribution on Greek love was set forth by the Dutch philosopher Frans Hemsterhuis (who also influenced eighteenth-century Romanticism) in his *Lettre sur les desires* (1770, Letter on Desires). In it he made clear why the classicists had such difficulties in defining male eros. "Love and Friendship had among them (the Greeks) about the same meaning as with us, but their tact or their extreme sensibility gave all their virtues and their vices a splendor that dazzles us." As for their vices, Hemsterhuis cited the standard series of forensic medicine: "pederasty," bestiality, and the unbridled lust for statues. According to him, vices as well as virtues originated from the same source, the "site of concupiscence." Therefore, it became very difficult to trace a dividing line between, for example, a loving friendship and pederasty. To put it simply, would mutual masturbation have been for Hemsterhuis a vice or a virtue?[15]

Other authors simply denied that the Greeks sexually pursued youth. Cristoph Meiners maintained in his essay "Betrachtungen über die Männerliebe der Griechen" (1775, Considerations on the male love of the Greeks) that their adoration—"schwärmerische Liebe"—for the beauties of the male sex was a spiritual love which only gradually degenerated, especially among the Romans, into "a

love that violated the holy laws of Nature.''[16] The Dutch classical historian Cornelis De Pauw tried to explain "this grotesqueness of Nature, which was so lavish with its favors to one sex which did not need them, and so stingy toward the other which could not do without them." De Pauw noted that the explanation could not be the nudity of the youths in the gymnasia, for the myths of pederastic seductions were far older than the customs of sports and gymnasia. On this point he seemed to argue against other authors such as Voltaire who explained Greek eros through these customs of nudity. According to De Pauw, pederastic love was so widespread because of the ugliness of the Greek women and their fashions.[17]

Very complicated and verbose arguments were set forth by Friedrich Wilhelm Basic von Ramdohr in his *Venus Urania. Ueber die Natur der Liebe, über ihre Veredlung und Verschönerung* (1798, on the nature of love, on its ennoblement and enhancement). According to his theory of sexual attraction—heavily informed by Greek examples—love between males could be natural. But nature was not the basis of social life, and he opposed male eros because it was "contrary to reason and morals." At the same time, he defended the sensuality of friendship. The Romantic tradition was against dichotomization of body and mind, and so a certain ambiguity could exist concerning the sensuality of male eros, with "pederasty" (most probably understood as anal penetration) the only social phenomenon no one would endorse.[18]

After 1800, the debate on the Greek tradition of male love took several directions. First of all, there was the pure, narrative history of Greek love, as in the works of M. H. E. Meier and P. van Limburg Brouwer, both of whom acknowledged the widespread existence of male sexual passions in Greek history and tried to arrive at an understanding of the existence of these vices in an otherwise revered people.[19] Secondly, such pedagogues as von Humboldt in Prussia, and in the Netherlands the members of the Groningen-school, used the platonic philosophy of eros, mostly implicitly, for the development of an educational system, the German and Dutch "gymnasia" with their ideals of humanism and *Bildung* (self-cultivation).[20] Moreover, for homosexual artists such as the poets Platen and Byron, the sculptor Thorvaldsen, and as late as Gloeden, the tradition of Greek love meant a certain homoerotic self-awareness.

And lastly, the Socratic tradition was put to use in apologies for male love.

In the first of these apologies, *Eros oder über die Liebe* (1821), Heinrich Zschokke considered whether male love could be called "natural," and in a Symposium-like dialogue he came to the conclusion that this was not possible because acknowledging the naturalness of male love would be tantamount to legitimating homosexual passions. This discussion of eros was motivated by the execution in 1817 of Franz Desgouttes, who had murdered his beloved male secretary out of jealousy. Heinrich Hössli figured in this dialogue as "Holmar," the judge who disagreed with the other judges in the court on the sentence.[21] His ideas on Desgouttes were articulated by Zschokke in a very Romantic tone: "Alas, when as an infant he still slumbered in his cradle, he was already destined for the most infamous fate, because his true nature was a crime against the present-day world. His existence was his crime. . . . The law, instituted through the delusions of the world against natures which it did not know, is unjust."[22] In the end, Zschokke would only admit the naturalness of male love if Hössli could prove that this passion did not always become submerged in the sensual.[23]

Two ideas of love, mostly separate from each other, seem to have existed in the German-speaking world, the spiritual and the corporeal. In the early Romantic tradition (Hamann, Hemsterhuis), the rational and the sensual were not as separate as they later became. Nevertheless, no author endorsed sodomy as a sin of the flesh. At the end of the Romantic tradition, Zschokke as well as Hössli linked both theories again, but in their discussion the attention shifted from the dualism of sensuality and spirituality to the naturalness of male eros as a legitimation of a psychological identity. And while Zschokke opposed the idea of the naturalness of male eros because of the dangers of sensuality, Hössli defended it, not only as Holmar in Zschokke's *Eros oder über die Liebe*, but also in a publication of his own, *Eros. Die Männerliebe der Griechen*. Here, he mostly defended the naturalness of male love. What he did not specify was the extent to which this other love implied sensuality or sexuality. His apology for male love was formulated in classical terms and not, as would be the case with all later authors, in the vocabulary of the natural sciences.

ENLIGHTMENT: SOCRATIC LOVE

Peter Gay has stated: "In its treatment of the passions . . . the Enlightenment was not an age of reason but a revolt against rationalism."[24] His assertion seems to be affirmed by the negative way most philosophes spoke of the "crime of nature" (Montesquieu) or "Socratic love" (Voltaire). They opposed the Christian views on sodomy and the criminal consequences, but the best policy toward it was, according to these philosophes, prevention. Stockinger has already delineated the ambivalent position of the Enlightenment philosophes vis á vis homosexuality, but he sought to defend them despite their inelegant judgments by pointing to their difficult situation in light of the severe condemnation of sodomy by church and state alike.[25] Still, this explanation seems insufficient. It was not so much the Christian church or its confederates who tried to indict the philosophes by allegations of sodomy. It was the philosophes who used such accusations to incriminate their opponents: Voltaire in his *Anti-Giton* (1714), Diderot in *The Nun* (1760), Rousseau in his *Confessions* (1784).

The most important exception to the philosophes' ambivalent politics of the body was D. A. F. Marquis de Sade, who based his political philosophy precisely on sodomy. In the Enlightenment "the great chain of being," divine law, was being sundered, and reason and nature were becoming the cornerstones of social philosophy and social life. Sade radicalized this philosophy of rational and natural law by questioning whether prostitution, murder, theft, or sodomy were truly contrary to nature or reason. He argued that waste was within the normal course of things, so that wastage of semen was in accordance with nature. There was no purpose inherent in nature or social life, he argued, so there was no need to link sexuality to propagation. Sade used sodomy as a particularly good example of that which seemed to be unnatural, unreasonable, and purposeless, but which could in no way be proven to be against nature or reason.

Sade's *Philosophy in the Boudoir* (1795) was a clear apology for the decriminalization of pederasty and sodomy—far more radical than any apology in the nineteenth century would be.[26] Sade emphasized that there were no rational arguments against any form of

sexual behavior, be it prostitution, lust murder, or sodomy, and he strongly opposed the suggestion that theft, prostitution, sodomy, or lust murder were against nature. He undermined the idea of "natural law" as put forward by the church as well as by enlightened philosophes (Beccaria). His critique was radically negative and was not balanced by a positive attitude toward the state, the law, homosexuality, or anything else. But in his literary works, he wrote extensively about sodomy as a supreme way of pleasure, for example in *The 120 Days of Sodom*. In this respect he was even more radical than any apologist either of platonic eros or of homosexual love in the tradition of Ulrichs and Hirschfeld, all of whom did not dare to defend the act of sodomy.

Sade was not only a libertine writer, he was also a libertine in his everyday life, indicted for sexual excesses with and torture of prostitutes, and moreover for sodomy. In 1772, Sade was sentenced to death for sodomizing his manservant and for poisoning prostitutes (with cantharides intended as an aphrodisiac). He and his servant were burned in effigy on 12 September of that year in Aix-en-Provence, while the Marquis himself was in Italy with his sister-in-law, whom he kept as a wife.[27] In 1778, when Sade was apprehended, the death sentence was commuted but his long imprisonment in Vincennes and in the Bastille began. Sade's mother-in-law had asked for and obtained a royal restraining order intended to prevent him from committing further sexual debauchery. Some months after the French Revolution, he was set free (1790), but under the Jacobin and Napoleonic regimes he was reimprisoned (1793-94 and 1801-14). He died in the Charenton lunatic asylum in 1814. Nothing is known about his homosexual proclivities except for the sodomy with his manservent and his writings. But his most scrupulous biographer, Gilbert Lely, has asserted that he was a homosexual with no remorse.[28]

Only in this century has Sade's contribution to sexual politics and philosophies come to be acknowledged by such French philosophers as George Bataille, Pierre Klossowski, Michel Foucault, and Roland Barthes.[29] But Sade has not to this day been claimed by the gay movement as one of its forerunners, and that is a loss. That he still cannot be acclaimed as a gay emancipator makes clear how extreme a philosophical position Sade took during his time.

HOMOSEXUAL POLICIES OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

I will use a relatively unknown, anonymously published text by the Dutch Enlightenment philosopher A. Perrenot, *Bedenkingen over het straffen van zekere schandelijke misdaad* (Considerations on the Punishment of a Certain Infamous Crime, Amsterdam, 1777), in order to illustrate enlightened sexual politics. To my knowledge, this pamphlet is the most elaborate of any text on the infamous love from an enlightened point of view. It also reiterates many points advanced by various philosophes.

Perrenot was vehement in his disapproval of the "unnatural crime," which he indeed considered contrary to nature. Like Montesquieu and Beccaria, he opposed the severe and public punishment of sodomy, which only attracted unwholesome curiosity.[30] According to Perrenot, these vices arose from habit and corrupt imagination. The causes were social: a shortage of women (through the institution of polygamy, as in some foreign cultures); the prohibition of contacts with women (as in monasteries and boarding schools); and the corruption of morals.[31] Then he came to the heart of his argument. The unnatural crime should not be severely punished, but should be prevented. The best method of prevention was a "closely watched civil household."[32] Prevention was necessary because this crime endangered society. Severe punishments—solitary and lifelong confinements—were needed only for those who seduced others. As preventive measures, he suggested a relaxed sociability between men and women, the facilitation of marriage, and a pious education.[33] Thus, heterosexuality was propagated against homoeroticism. By means of such practical measures, the vice could be checked and the natural order restored. Like Voltaire and Michaelis before him, Perrenot attributed greater danger to Mediterranean and southerly climates than to the northern zones, such as the Netherlands and England. This greatly influenced how society attempted to prevent or else punish sodomy.[34] He also offered a lengthy discussion of the death penalty, which he opposed, believing that Mosaic law applied only to Jews.[35]

Perrenot received an immediate reply from another anonymous author in the tract *Nadere bedenkingen over het straffen van zekere*

schandelijke misdaad (Further Considerations on the Punishment of a Certain Infamous Crime, Amsterdam, 1777). This writer did not want to disagree with Perrenot on the severity of the penalties, but he did wish to stress the enormity of this sin against nature's wise division of humanity into two sexes made for each other.[36] The men who normally committed this vice were effeminate and useless to themselves and to society because they did not propagate.[37] Their vice was much worse than theft because, unlike the desires of a thief, their desires could never be stilled and could only be satisfied through the seduction of ever more and different men.[38] This anonymous author was also in favor of prevention through measures to be taken in boarding schools and religious congregations.[39] But whereas Perrenot had defended private punishment for the sodomites, this author favored humiliating public penalties aimed at deterring others, especially youths, from these vices. According to him, private sentences and punishments belonged to tyrannic regimes.[40]

These two obscure writers, who both worked in the enlightened tradition and approvingly cited the philosophes, outlined a politics of the body to deal with the infamous crime. First of all, the state was to prevent these vices by promoting a closely watched civil household; and secondly, when these crimes were committed, they were to be punished severely, especially in cases of seduction. The strict policies put forward by these Dutch thinkers were an elaboration on the ideas developed by the French philosophes. Their strategies did not constitute a break with enlightened traditions, as some authors would like to argue, but were instead a consequence of those traditions.

The eighteenth-century debate on onanism is a case in point. The horror stories about masturbation were, in my opinion, not a digression from or a marginal feature of enlightened thinking, but were central to it. Rousseau's interest in Tissot's writings, the article on onanism in the *Encyclopedie*, the belief in the inherent goodness of human nature, and the emphasis on social education all indicated a horror of masturbation as the lonely sin of children beyond the benevolent control of their educators.[41] The negative attitude of the enlightened philosophes toward certain forms of sexuality (sodomy, onanism) was central to their politics of the body, and it was the

obverse of their regard for natural propagation and marriage. They were opposed not to sex, but only to certain forms of sexuality. Rousseau flatly stated at the beginning of the *Social Contract*: "The oldest form of society—and the only natural one—is the family."[42] For the leading thinkers of the French Enlightenment, sodomy remained unnatural. It was against their family politics and their limited rationalism, as well as against the church and its institutions, that Sade rebelled—albeit without much success—thus beginning a political struggle for the rights of pederasts.

THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

Thus, at the turn of the nineteenth century three important philosophies of homoeroticism existed: the moral theology of sodomy, the cultural history of male eros, and an enlightened vision of Socratic love. As we have seen, the platonic tradition in time became more prudent and emphasized sensuality less—probably due to the rise of enlightened philosophies of sexuality and their political application after the French Revolution. This same revolution put an end to the criminal laws condemning sodomy in large parts of the Western world, and moral theological views on sodomy lost their general validity. The Enlightened tradition achieved a strong position and influenced religious notions and practices.

Other traditions also existed or came into being in the eighteenth century concerning homoeroticism. First of all, there was since 1700 the sodomite subculture in the larger cities of Western Europe, which developed a certain style and self-awareness.[43] Especially in France, sodomites even produced some ambiguous tracts, such as *L'Ombre de Deschauffours* (The Shadow of Deschauffours, not published until 1978)[44] and, after the revolution, *Les Enfants de Sodome a l'Assemblee Nationale* (The Children of Sodom to the National Assembly, Paris, 1790) and *Les petits Bougres au Manege* (The Little Buggers in the Manege, Paris, 1791).[45] The latter two treatises discussed in a mocking fashion the rights of pederasts, sodomites, or buggers. The second stated that the lovers of the ass would return to the cunt if whores were to be regularly medically examined and their orifices reduced to the same width as boys' asses.

A second, international trend in discussing the nameless vice, dating back to the sixteenth century, was the book of travels, in which mention was sometimes made of strange, homoerotic customs of "primitive" peoples, mostly involving cross-dressing and male initiation. Although the philosophes used the travel story to criticize European morals, they did not extend their remarks of European or "savage" homoeroticism.[46] The only way in which information about "native" habits was put to use was as a justification for condemning and massacring other peoples, but the full scope of these writings and killings remains unknown and is clearly an important subject for further inquiry in gay studies. To my knowledge, the ethnographic tradition did not bring forth an apology for the nameless crime until the end of the nineteenth century (Sir Richard Burton's "Terminal Essay").[47]

A third, English innovation was the development of the Gothic novel, which Eve K. Sedgwick described as follows:

> The Gothic novel crystallized for English audiences the terms of a dialectic between male homosexuality and homophobia, in which homophobia appeared thematically in paranoid plots. Not until the late-Victorian Gothic did a . . . body of homosexual thematics emerge clearly, however. In earlier Gothic fiction (especially Beckford's *Vathek*, Walpole and Lewis) the associations with male homosexuality were grounded most visibly in the lives of a few authors, and only rather sketchily in their works.[48]

Like travel literature and the massacre of non-European peoples, the Gothic novel constitutes an important topic for further gay studies research. The same was true of the tradition of the dandy, which started around 1800 with Beau Brummell and ended with Oscar Wilde and Max Beerbohm.[49]

In her study, Sedgwick has delineated still other institutions of male homosocial desire, which hug the line between the homoerotic and the homophobic. In Western societies of the eighteenth century, the separate homosocial worlds of men and women must have yielded different forms of sensual desire among men: on board

ships, in armies, in boarding schools, in monasteries, in workshops. Burg has made some suggestions on the life of pirates, and Jan Oosterhoff has found a considerable amount of material regarding the sailing vessels of the Dutch East Indies Company.[50] Many prosecutions for sodomy involved homosocial institutions, for example officials of the Catholic church, orphanages, and the army. Nevertheless, the abundant and precise materials we have on present-day homosocial institutions are totally lacking for the early modern period.

In the eighteenth-century campaign against onanism, mutual masturbation was almost never mentioned, although the situation in boarding schools was very conducive to it. Writers on onanism such as those of the Philantropine School (Basedow, Campe) would have had good reason to campaign against the sin when it involved two, just as they did when it was committed in solitude.[51] Chandos reported that only after 1850 were moral sanctions strengthened and corporal intimacies between boys acted against in English boarding schools. Beds for two were replaced by single beds.[52] At the same time, in most countries of Europe intimate contacts were made impossible in prisons through the introduction of the cellular system. Two decades earlier, physical proximity between males and females and between youths and adults began being restricted in such institutions.[53]

Why were the responsible authorities all over Europe (or so it seems) so lax in their struggle against intimate relations among men in homosocial situations, especially in total institutions? Although they considered this vice one of the worst they could think of, and although the philosophes of the Enlightenment had indicted homosexual desires in homosocial institutions of the Roman Catholic church, the authorities did little against it. Yet it is clear from mid-nineteenth-century sources that homosexual intimacies were common in homosocial environments. In any case, the interest in such relations that did arise at that point coincided with the beginning of medical debates on perverse sexuality (Michea 1849, Casper 1852, Ulrichs 1864-1870). But even so, why did it take practically a century after the emergence of interest in Socratic love during the En-

lightenment for a general discussion of homosexuality to get under way?

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Only toward the end of the nineteenth century did a systematic interest in the sexual perversions develop within the medical profession. The publications of the 1880s marked this new intervention, which concentrated on "sexual inversion"—Moreau, 1880; Tarnowsky, 1885; Krafft-Ebing, 1886; Ball, 1888; Binet 1888.[54] This medical interest in *psychopathia sexualis* made use of some important principles of the Enlightenment, especially its emphasis on rational attitudes and on the natural sciences (as the biological determinism of Lamettrie had already indicated). But in order to explain why it took a century to elaborate those ideas into sexology, other factors must be examined.

One possible explanation for the mid-nineteenth century shift in ideas on sexual life was the transition in urban social policies, which had two important aspects with regard to the politics of the body. First of all, the state no longer existed for the welfare of its citizens, as Rousseau's *Social Contract* had more or less assumed. Instead, the welfare of the state depended on the behavior of its citizens. The balance of power shifted from the citizen to the state, notwithstanding developments in democratization in the same century. Thus, after criminal prosecution of homosexual acts in private had been abolished in Enlightened states (France, Bavaria, and the countries dependent on France under Napoleon) at the beginning of the nineteenth century—on grounds of the principle of noninterference in private affairs—a process of recriminalization of such homosexual acts slowly developed in the same century, this time on the grounds that they were detrimental to the welfare of the state. As Feuerbach, the reformer of Bavarian criminal law, himself suggested, such acts endangered the state because they hindered propagation and caused the "enervation" of the individuals in question. Although he himself was the initiator of the decriminalization of the sin against nature in Bavaria, he nevertheless emphasized the dangers homosexual desires posed for the state and the need to combat them.[55]

The Dutch specialist on public health, Anthonij Moll, wrote in an article entitled "What Is Political Medicine": "The State [is] the whole of individuals, the body in which each individual participates, although the participation of each individual is not of equal import for the general vitality of the state ('algemeene Staatsleven'); but his participation is necessary and indispensable to its complete and intact organization and its perfectly smooth functioning. . . ."[56] What individuals did, even in private, influenced the well-being of the state.

The second aspect of the new politics of the body was its medical implementation. The flourishing of medical specializations under the designation of "public health" indicated a revived interest of doctors in social policies. City politics had always involved health regulations, but what was new to the science of public health was its stress on prevention, and consequently on social measures. Halfway through the nineteenth century, the medical profession in continental Europe ascended, after a long struggle, to a new and higher position, one which was recognized by the general public and by state officials. The doctors attained their new position not because of successes in curing disease, but by virtue of their promises of a social policy of public health, and because they had become by then the foremost specialists on the human body and were acknowledged as such by lawyers, clergymen, and politicians.

After the revolution of 1848, the "social question" and socialism became central in political discourse. Through the social question the liberal distinction between private and public faded. The private life of the citizen—and thus also sexual life—became a matter of public interest. The rise of the social question with its medical counterpart in public health, appears to have been pivotal for the nascent "psychopathia sexualis."[57]

An important precondition for the growing influence of public health doctors evolved from the grand reconstructions of the European cities that began in the middle of the nineteenth century with the demolition of the city fortifications. In medical science itself, the rise of public health policy was stimulated by the development of theories concerning social life and the human body; for example, Morel's theory of degeneracy, which served as a model for the nascent sciences of criminal anthropology (C. Lombroso) and sexual

psychopathology (R. von Krafft-Ebing).[58] The first manifestation of public health in sexual politics was the medical regulation of prostitution, which began to develop under the Napoleonic regime and underwent systematic implementation after the publication of Parent-Duchatelet's book on the topic.[59]

The combined influence of two other trends further stimulated the medical interest in sexual perversions: first, the rapid growth and professionalization of the urban police force, resulting in the apprehension of a much larger number of sexual criminals, and second, the involvement of forensic psychiatrists in the criminal justice system. Previously, doctors had functioned as medical experts and limited their juridical involvement to diagnosing anal penetration. But from the 1850s onwards, they concerned themselves as well with the mental constitution of criminals (sexual and otherwise) and began their battle with the criminal law experts on the responsibility of the accused.[60]

It was in this ferment that sexual psychopathology originated, arising out of biologist and rationalist traditions stemming from the Enlightenment (and dependent on the existence of subcultures of "wrong lovers"), but brought into existence by changes in urban and medical policies. The concept of what enlightened authors in the eighteenth century—fearing contamination by the infamous vice—shrewdly developed as a correct civil household was incorporated into the practice of politics of the body halfway through the nineteenth century. Thus, the practical philosophy of the French Enlightenment was finally put into social practice a century later within the framework of a new urban politics.

Psychopathia sexualis was also in keeping with the growing individualization, psychologization, and sexualization of Western culture. It stemmed directly from psychiatry and developed at the same time as Lombroso's criminal anthropology, the science that discovered the criminal behind the crime. It was the social opposite of the *fin de siecle* aesthetics, with its "art for art's sake," its individualism, its dandyism—and at the same time its passion for the seamy side of the urban life (Baudelaire, Lautreamont, Wilde). The medicalization of homosexuality was a result of both the urbanization of the group cultures of wrong lovers that was a long-term process dating back to the early eighteenth century, as well as of the social

policies of municipal and medical authorities that originated in the 1850s.

The gradual shift from the enlightened philosophy of Socratic love to the psychopathia sexualis was not imperative and inevitable. There were other alternatives. German Romanticism of male bonding, for example, lived on into the twentieth century, but all those variations of homoeroticism remained on the outer fringes of social politics. Moreover, moral-theological definitions of unnatural vice and buggery survived in penal laws, but other factors accounted for this.

With the Enlightenment, a new social philosophy of Socratic love came into being that stressed criminal law reform and preventive measures. These policies became social practice in the nineteenth century in connection with the restructuring of the continental urban centers, and were implemented by means of architecture (housing, prisons, "boulevards"), which in turn influenced public and private behavior. Municipal life became more complicated, and its subjects had to accommodate themselves to it lest they be accommodated by it. As a result of municipal policies, the obligations of civic life became universal and the idea of the "correct civil household" a norm. Individuals who failed to make the needed psychic and social adjustments to accommodate themselves to the new standards became subjects of the human sciences. The contrary lovers who did not live up to the *social* norms entered the correctional system through criminal justice; inverts who did not succeed in mastering the *psychic* requisites of social behavior entered it through the private practices of psychiatrists. Psychopathia sexualis could thus take shape from two sources, the lower-class and the middle-class.

In the turmoil of urban politics, Socratic love became an outdated ideal. Male bonding was reduced to a fashion for the countryside, a sentimental journey beyond the new urban styles, and Sadenian philosophy persisted only as a romantic fashion.[61] Due to the overpowering influence of sexual psychopathology on nineteenth century social policies, other currents of homoerotic philosophy could survive only on the marginal fringes of modern society. It was on one of those fringes that the homosexual emancipation movement first began.

NOTES

1. Cf., D. S. Bailey, *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* (London: Longmans, Green, 1955); H. J. Kuster, *Over Homoseksualiteit in Middeleeuws West-Europa* (Utrecht: n.p., 1977); J. Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 163-209.

2. L. Crompton, "Gay Genocide from Leviticus to Hitler," in *The Gay Academic*, ed. L. Crew (Palm Springs, CA: ETC publications, 1978), 67-91.

3. R. Lautmann, ed., *Seminar: Gesellschaft und Homosexualität* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1977), chap. 8.

4. Cf., J. N. Katz, ed., *Gay American History* (New York: Thomas W. Cromwell, 1976): pt 4; and J. N. Katz, ed., *Gay/Lesbian Almanac* (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), pt. 1.

5. Cf., the interesting re-edition and commentary on "De mollibus" of Caelius Aurelianus: P. H. Schrijvers, *Eine medizinische Erklärung der männlichen Homosexualität aus der Antike* (Amsterdam: 1985).

6. Nineteenth-century Dutch dictionaries gave this meaning to "Platonic."

7. If applied to present times, this material would suggest that sexual promiscuity can survive the AIDS panic by simply turning to sexual techniques other than the dangerous ones.

8. T. van der Meer, *De wesentlijke sonde van sodomie en andere vuyligheden* (Amsterdam: Tabula, 1984).

9. Cf., F. Charpentier, *La Vie de Socrate*, 3d ed. (Amsterdam, 1699); C. A. Heumann, *Acta philosophorum* 1 (1715): 121-22; G. Cooper, *Life of Socrates*, French trans. (1751), 69. All these books are cited in J. G. Hamann, *Sokratische Denkwurdigkeiten* (Gutersloh: Erklart von F. Blanke, 1959), 114. The original edition of Hamann's work was Amsterdam (i.e., Konigsberg) 1759. See also J. M. Gesner, *Socrates Sanctus Paederasta* (lecture in 1752), Utrecht, 1769, who denied Socrates had been a pederast.

10. On Winckelmann, see the article by Denis Sweet in this issue. Both Goethe and Schiller wrote on homosexual love, Schiller in his plays *Die Maltheser* (unfinished), in *Schillers dramatischer Nachlass*, G. Kettner, ed., (Weimar: 1895), and *Don Carlos*; and Goethe with his famous poem "Der Erlkönig," and in *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1805).

11. Cited after the edition of Blanke, see note 9.

12. Ibid., 112-18. In this edition the paragraph was titled "Sokrates und die Knabenliebe" (Socrates and Boy Love).

13. J. G. von Herder, *Ideen zu einer Geschichte der Menschheit*, vols. 1-4, 1784-91. About the Greek eros, book 13, chap. 4: "Sitten- und Staatsweisheit der Griechen" (The Wisdom of the Greeks concerning morals and the state), vol. 3, 209-27.

14. F. H. Jacobs, *Schriften* 3 (Leipzig, 1829): 212-54.

15. _____ Hemsterhuis, Paris (i.e., The Hague) 1770, 31-32; on Hem-

sterhuis: L. Brummel, *Frans Hemsterhuis. Een philosophenleven* (Haarlem, 1925).

16. In *Vermischte Schriften* 1 (Leipzig) 61-119.

17. C. de Pauw, *Recherches philosophiques sur les Grecs* (1787) (Berlin, 1788): 120-23. On de Pauw, cf. *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne* 33 (Paris, 1823): 227-30.

18. Ramdohr made a distinction between strength (*Stärke*) and tenderness (*Zartheit*). Attraction could exist between equals and opposites. (Leipzig, 1798, 3 vols.; quotation from vol. 1, 115-20). Strength and tenderness were associated with male and female, but it was not a necessary link, so that boys and old men could be inclined to tenderness. His ideas have some resemblance to Weininger's sex theory (ibid., 151). Ramdohr illustrated his theory with fits of lust of older men for boys "that morals condemn because they endanger the sense of shame and the population"; these men would feel "enervated" (*entnervt*) by their "debaucheries" (ibid., 152). In the third volume of his work, Ramdohr continued with the line of thinking of the Socratic school on love. "The ennobled love of the Athenians displayed itself in relations among men in a way that does not fit with our climate, our organization, our morals, and our form of government" (*Staatsverfassung*; ibid., vol. 3, 134). But the sexual instinct of males for each other was in agreement with Ramdohr's theories (for example, the love of strong men for tender boys), and he therefore could not condemn it as "degeneration of sensuality" or "an error of nature," but only because it is "contrary to reason and morals." So for him debaucheries were not crimes against nature, but against reason (ibid., 137). He differed in opinion from Plato, finding Plato's theory of the noble love egoistic: "The lover uses the beloved as a means to ennoble himself" (ibid., 230). In light of Ramdohr's opposition to the spiritualization of male love and his acknowledgment of passions between men, he seemed to defend in the best Romantic tradition the virtue of male bonding, including its sensual aspects. Unfortunately, I have never seen F. Ehrenberg's *Euphranor. Ueber die Liebe*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1805-6.) The Socratic tradition also had meaning in personal life, cf., the biographical notes of manlovers in Moritz' *Magazin für Erfahrungsseelenkunde*, vol. 8 (1790), 6-10 and 101-6, and H. Bender, ed., *Das Insel-Buch der Freundschaft* (Frankfurt: 1980) with diverse diary entries and letters which testify to the sensuality of German friendships.

19. M. H. E. Meier, "Paederastie," in *Allgemeine Encyclopaedie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, 3, sec. 9 (Leipzig: Theil, 1837): 147-89; P. van Limburg Brouwer, *Histoire de la Civilisation Morale et Religieuse des Grecs*, vol. 2, 2 (Groningue, 1838): 244-75.

20. Cf., on Bildung: O. Brunner, W. Conze, and R. Koselleck, eds., *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: 1972); for the "Groningen-school," P. G. van Heusde, *De Socratische school of Wijsgeerte voor de Negentiende Eeuw*, 4 vols. (Utrecht: 1834-39).

21. F. Karsch, "Quellenmaterial zur Beurteilung angeblicher und wirklicher Uranier," in *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 5, pt. 1 (1903). Pages 449-

556, Heinrich Hössli (1784-1864), and pp. 557-614, Franz Desgouttes (1785-1817).

22. H. Zschokke, "Eros oder über die Liebe," in *Ausgewählte Novellen und Dichtungen* (Aarau: 1841), 207.

23. Ibid., 236.

24. P. Gay, *The Science of Freedom*, vol. 2 of *The Enlightenment* (New York: Knopf, 1969), 189.

25. J. Stockinger, "Homosexualities and the French Enlightenment," in *Homosexualities and French Literature*, ed. G. Stambolian and E. Marks (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), 161-85.

26. D. A. F. Marquis de Sade, *La Philosophie dans le boudoir* (Paris, 1795), especially 5th dialogue.

27. G. Lely, *Vie du marquis de Sade*, new edition (Paris: 1965), chap. 7.

28. Ibid., 350.

29. G. Bataille, *L'Erotisme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1957); P. Klossowski, *Sade, mon prochain* (Paris: 1947); Michel Foucault, passim, in *Les Mots et les choses* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966); R. Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971); M. Blanchot, *Lautreamont et Sade* (Paris: 1963).

30. Perrenot, *Bedenkingen over het straffen*, 9.

31. Ibid., 14.

32. "Eene nauwkeurige burgerlijke huishouding," "huishouding" also meant economy, ibid., 12-14.

33. Ibid., 17.

34. Ibid., 28-29.

35. Ibid., 25.

36. Anonymous, *Nadere bedenkingen*, 5.

37. Ibid., 6-8.

38. Ibid., 9.

39. Ibid., 27.

40. Ibid., 28-32.

41. Cf., T. Tarczylo, *Sexe et liberté au siècle des Lumières* (Paris: Presses de la Renaissance, 1983); P. Lejeune, "Lecture d'un aveu de Rousseau," *Annales ESC* 29 (1974): 1009-22.

42. J. J. Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, trans. G. Hopkins (London: 1960), 241.

43. Cf., A. Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (London: Gay Men's Press, 1982); and T. van der Meer, *De wesentlijke sonde von sodomie*, n. 8.

44. Edited by C. Courouve (Paris: n.p., 1978).

45. It listed as place and date of publication: *a Enculons* (Let's fuck), *l'an second du rêve de la liberté* (In the Second Year of the Dream of Liberty), i.e., 1791.

46. Cf. J. N. Katz, *Gay American History*, n. 6; M. Herzer, *Verzeichnis Homosexualität* (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1982).

47. Cf., S. W. Foster, "The Annotated Burton," in *The Gay Academic*, n. 2, 92-106, and further F. Karsch, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker*

(München: Seitz and Schauer, 1911), and E. Carpenter, *Intermediate Types Among Primitive Folks* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1911).

48. *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 92.

49. Ellen Moers, *The Dandy. Brummel to Beerbohm* (New York: University of Nebraska Press, 1960).

50. B. R. Burg, *Sodomy and the Perception of Evil. English Sea Rovers in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean* (New York: New York University Press, 1983); see also J. Oosterhoff in this issue.

51. Cf., J. M. W. van Ussel, *Geschiedenis van het seksuele probleem* (Meppel: Boom, 1968), 207-57.

52. J. Chandos, *Boys together. English Public Schools 1800-1864* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984).

53. M. A. Petersen, *Gevangenen onder dak* (Leiden: 1978).

54. G. Hekma, "De strijd om homoseksualiteit. De oprichting van een Janusbeeld," *Groniek* 77 (1982): 7-15.

55. P. J. A. von Feuerbach, *Lehrbuch des gemeinen in Deutschland gültigen Rechts* (Giessen, 1801), par. 467.

56. A. Moll, "Wat is staatsgeneeskunde?" *Tijdschrift voor Staatsgeneeskunde* 1 (1843): 4. The terms "staatsgeneeskunde" (medicine of the state) and "medische politie" (medical police) were popular in the 1840s and preceded "openbare hygiene" (public health), which became popular in the 1860s.

57. J. Donzelot, *La Police des Familles* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977), and J. Donzelot, *L'Invention du Social* (Paris: Gallimard, 1983).

58. B. A. Morel, *Traité des dégénerescences physiques, intellectuelles et morales de l'espèce humaine* (Paris: 1857); cf. J. E. Chamberlain and S. L. G. Gilman, eds., *Degeneration. The Dark Side of Progress* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985). The 1850s saw the emergence of all kinds of evolutionary theory, e.g., Marxist socialism, Darwin's biological theory, and Gobineau's theory of the races.

59. A. Parent-Duchatelet, *De la Prostitution dans la ville de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1836).

60. Cf., J. L. Casper, *Handbuch der gerichtlichen Medizin*, vol. 2 (Berlin: 1858), and A. Tardieu, *Etude medico-legale sur les attentats aux moeurs* (Paris: 1857).

61. M. Praz, *The Romantic Agony* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), chap. 4.