

of Magnus Hirschfeld's *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (Male and Female Homosexuality), which were later published in *ONE Institute Quarterly*. After the founding of the *Mattachine Society* he joined its Washington chapter, but took no prominent role in its functions, fearing a repetition of the catastrophe that had befallen his first venture. Like Karl Heinrich Ulrichs in Germany, Henry Gerber was a lone pioneer—one of those who came before their time, but had the vision which others would later realize and bring to fulfillment.

Warren Johansson

GÉRICAULT, THÉODORE (1791–1824)

French romantic painter. Like most artists of his day, Géricault was trained in the Neo-Classic style with its didactic foundation in studies from the male nude. Unlike other artists who moved into a romantic style, Géricault never evinced a complementary interest in the sensuality of the female form. Indeed, some of his drawings and paintings show an almost torrential response to the virility and force of the male body, which in his military scenes extends to highly charged scenes of comradeship. In other works his response to the human body is more conflicted. His most important work, the vast canvas of *The Raft of the Medusa* (Louvre; 1819), shows a group of shipwrecked people in their last extremities before being rescued. Géricault had an affinity for grisly and harrowing subject matter, and toward the end his life, when he was suffering from the effects of a nervous breakdown, he painted a series of portraits of the insane, in which an element of self-identification is unmistakable.

Speculation about his personal homosexuality has been fueled by the apparent absence of a romantic interest in the artist's life. Recently, however, it has been discovered that Géricault conducted a clandestine affair with a maternal aunt by marriage, Alexandrine-Modeste Caruel,

who became the mother of his illegitimate son. For those given to simple either-or thinking, this would seem to settle the question. But as Edward Lucie-Smith has pointed out, the matter is more complex. The question of what is homosexual art is still in flux, but it seems clear that it cannot be resolved by a straightforward litmus test stemming from the known facts of the artist's life. The work tells its own story, and in the case of Géricault there are strong elements of homosexual sensibility, regardless of what he may have done in bed. Admittedly, it is different from the sensibility of twentieth-century gay artists, but has more in common with such Renaissance masters as Michelangelo and Cellini. As our studies of art as expression of the complexities of gender identity become more subtle, greater understanding of the riddle of Géricault's powerful oeuvre is likely to emerge.

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GERMANIC LAW

See *Law, Germanic*.

GERMANY

Since, historically speaking, there is no unambiguously defined territory named "Germany," the following article concentrates on the geographical area included in the present Federal Republic of Germany (Bundesrepublik Deutschland) and the German Democratic Republic (Deutsche Demokratische Republik).

The Middle Ages. In medieval German literature male homosexuality is seldom mentioned, lesbianism never. In the *Passion of Saint Pelagius* composed in Latin by Roswitha (Hrotswith) of Gandersheim, there is the story of the son of the king of Galicia in Spain who, captured by the Moslem invaders, was approached by Abderrahman with offers of the highest

honors if he would submit to his pederastic advances but violently refused—at the cost of his life. The Latin poem on Lantfrid and Cobbo relates the love of two men, one homosexual, the other bisexual. A High German version of *Solomon and Morolf* composed about 1190 makes an allusion to sodomy, while the *Eneit* of Heinrich von Veldeke has the mother of Lavinia, the daughter of King Latinus of Italy accuse Aeneas of being a notorious sodomite to dissuade her from marrying him. *Moriz von Craun*, a verse narrative of ca. 1200, makes the emperor Nero the archetype of the mad sodomite, who even wishes to give birth to a child. In his rhymed *Frauenbuch* (1257), Ulrich von Lichtenstein presents a debate between a knight and a lady, in which the latter accuses men of preferring hunting, drinking, and boy love to the service of women. About the same time the Austrian poet Der Stricker used references to Sodom and Gomorrah in his negative condemnation.

Legal History. Down to the founding of the German Empire in 1871 there existed numerous smaller states whose penal codes had very different provisions regarding homosexuality. While in the Middle Ages there was no punishment at all for homosexual acts, in 1532 the death penalty for "Sodomiterey" (sodomy) was introduced throughout the Holy Roman Empire, as Charles V promulgated a uniform *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* with a corresponding paragraph as part of the criminal law of his realm. The death penalty remained in force in individual German states, but was applied in a quite different manner that varied with time and place and on the whole rather inconsistently. Prussia was the first German state that in 1794 abolished the death penalty for sodomy and replaced it with imprisonment and flogging. After 1810 many states (including Bavaria, Württemberg, and Hannover) followed the model of the Code Napoléon in France and introduced complete impunity for homosexual acts, a policy reversed in 1871 in favor of

the anti-homosexual **Paragraph 175** of the uniform Imperial Penal Code.

From the Reformation to Romanticism. With commentaries on the relevant passages in the Bible as their starting point, Martin Luther (*Warning to His Beloved Germans*, 1531) began a tradition of reproaching the Catholic church by claiming that the clergy and especially the monks were homosexual. This polemic became a staple of Protestant-Catholic debate. As late as the Nazi period, the regime conducted a campaign against the Catholic church in which numerous priests were accused of homosexuality in show trials (1937-38).

The translation and reception of ancient texts since the eighteenth century offered frequent occasion for the treatment of homosexuality (a partial translation of Petronius' *Satyricon* by Wilhelm Heinse in 1773, *Vindications of Horace* by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing in 1754, *On the Male Love of the Greeks* by Christoph Meiners in 1775 and others), as did likewise translations of Enlightenment texts from France and Italy (Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 1741-44, Cesare Beccaria, *Dei delitti e delle pene*, 1766).

In German poetry, however, the homosexual theme was rare before the nineteenth century. **Friendship** between men is, to be sure, a frequent subject of poetry (especially in Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim, Wilhelm Heinse, even in Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen and others), but the amicable feelings depicted in them are clearly demarcated from the longing of pederasts and sodomites, and the boundary between friendship and sexuality is seldom if ever crossed (though possibly in F. W. B. von Ramdohr, *Venus Urania*, 1798, Part 2, pp. 103ff.)

Homosexual Lifestyles and Their Conceptualization. All such texts, however, tell us scarcely anything of the everyday life of those who were actively involved in homosexuality. The first docu-

ment that shed light on this matter is Johann Friedel's *Letters on the Gallantries of Berlin* (1782), where what amounts to a homosexual subculture in a German city is described. It is quite possible that the conditions in Berlin that are described as "having become fashionable only since Voltaire's time" existed in a more or less pronounced form in other German capitals such as Dresden, Munich, or Hannover.

In the nineteenth century homosexual lifestyles developed parallel to the growth of the population and the expansion of the big cities in such a manner that one increasingly finds documents of homosexual self-depiction and reflection such as had not previously occurred, for example the diaries of the poet August von Platen and autobiographical accounts embedded in the works of physicians and forensic psychiatrists such as Johann Ludwig Casper, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, and Albert Moll. Apologetic theories of the naturalness of homosexuality (K. H. Ulrichs, K. M. Kertbeny, and perhaps the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer) were formulated, competing with a different conceptualization that was developed by the aforementioned medical authors, describing homosexuality as a congenital disease.

The Rise of the German Homosexual Rights Movement. The criminalization of male homosexuality in the German empire came about through the inclusion of a special article in the Imperial Penal Code of 1871: Paragraph 175. The article was the occasion and precondition for the emergence of a modern gay movement, the founding of the **Scientific-Humanitarian Committee** (Wissenschaftlich-humanitäre Komitee) by Magnus Hirschfeld in 1897, which soon became active not just in Berlin, but also in other cities such as Leipzig, Munich, Hamburg, and Frankfurt am Main, as well as abroad in the Netherlands and in Austria, which had their own organizations. The flowering of a gay movement in the

first third of the twentieth century was the outstanding feature that set the homosexuals in Germany apart from those in other countries.

The movement was accompanied by major scholarly efforts, augmenting the groundswell of studies in the field of sexuality that had appeared from the mid-1880s onward. The campaign for the abolition of Paragraph 175 provoked an enormous literature of books, pamphlets, and articles pro and con, so extensive that by 1914 the criminologist Hans Gross could write that everything that anyone could ever have to say on the subject had by then appeared in print. There was also a profusion of gay and lesbian poetry, short stories, and novels. Such mainstream authors as Hans Henny Jahn, Klaus Mann, Thomas Mann, Anna Elisabeth Wehrauch, and Christa Winsloe also discussed the theme. This cultural efflorescence lent substance to the claim of Weimar Germany to be a land of cultural innovation, though to be sure the Republic had its dark side as well.

From the Thirties to the Present. This gay movement developed in a relatively straightforward course—with interruptions caused by the Eulenburg affair and World War I. The era also saw the beginnings of a lesbian movement, and a full panoply of homosexual subculture unfolded down to the year 1933. If until then Germany was probably unique and unparalleled in the world in terms of governmental liberalism and of opportunities for homosexual life, then the same was true in reverse for the Nazi era from 1933 to 1945: at least 10,000 homosexual men, stigmatized with the **pink triangle**, were confined in German concentration camps under the **Holocaust** during those twelve years, and many of them were killed. Apart from this fact, for the vast majority of gay men the period of Hitlerism was a time of intensified peril, of persecution and punishment, since alongside the threat of internment in a concentration camp, Paragraph 175 was made even more punitive and applied with mounting frequency.

After the victory over the Nazis the situation of the homosexuals in the two newly emerging states was different. In West Germany after about 1948 conditions returned to what they had been before 1933. Although the Nazi version of Paragraph 175 remained on the books, homosexual organizations, bars, and gay magazines were tolerated in many West German cities and in West Berlin. In East Germany, to be sure, only the milder pre-1933 version of paragraph 175 was in force, but homosexual life was subject to restrictions on the part of the state and the police, so that gay men and lesbians had scarcely any opportunity to organize and express their views freely. After the liberalization of the penal laws against homosexuality in both German states (East Germany 1968, West Germany 1969), a gay movement of a new type arose in the Federal Republic under the influence of Anglo-American models. In East Germany the beginnings of an independent gay and lesbian organization tolerated by the state appeared only in the mid-1980s.

See also Austria.

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Manfred Herzer

GESTURE AND BODY LANGUAGE

Gestures can have a specific import, as (in our culture) the forefinger laid vertically against the lips, which means "silence." Contrasting with such semiotic gestures are ones expressing more general states, as drumming of the fingers on a

surface displaying nervousness. Gestures of the first type are culturally determined signs and vary enormously in meaning across the world, while the latter are more the product of somatic processes and tend to be relatively uniform, though vaguer in signification. The degree of acceptance of gesticulation varies from one culture to another, so that the peoples of northwestern Europe and North America are much more sparing in its use than, say, those of Sicily or Argentina. In our culture this restraint goes together with a general reduction of affect, and a consequent magnification of its significance when enacted, so that a touch or a kiss that would be a minor matter in another society may be taken as a sexual invitation and found offensive.

In ancient Greece, to judge from depictions in vase paintings, a man's courtship of a boy was conveyed by an eloquent gesture with one hand touching the youth's genitals while the other chucked his chin in entreaty. In modern western culture, the best-known courtship gesture among gay men is less directly physical: the *eye lock* employed in *crusing*, or ambulatory sexual solicitation. This act constitutes a deliberate violation of the taboo on staring, and if the partner is uninterested or uncomprehending he will immediately break contact. A different eye gesture is *reading*, now less common than in the first half of the century, in which the gay person indicates by a knowing look that he is aware that the other individual is also homosexual. Seemingly recent is *attitude*, a bodily posture found in makeout bars conveying hauteur and disdain. The *queen* of former decades was inclined to adopt gestures associated with the gentility of upper-class drawing rooms and café society, as in the distension of the little finger when taking tea. Winks and eyebrow-raising may be common in some circles, though these are not specifically gay. In the world of entertainment, drag performers developed an elaborate repertoire of exaggerated *gender-crossing* gestures, which were