

ous centuries. The prestige which Napoleon imparted to the new code by placing his name and seal on it was responsible for its widespread adoption, not only by the Catholic nations of Europe but by nearly the whole of Latin America as well. In this area of the law the First Empire completed and consolidated the work of the French Revolution, while in England the law reform of 1828 under Robert Peel not only left the law against **buggery** on the books but actually made it more punitive by narrowing the evidence required for conviction. So while there was no more psychological understanding of homosexuality in nineteenth-century France than in the eighteenth, the legal oppression of the homosexual as a capital offender whose crime was scarcely less heinous than murder ended forever, and the homophile movement in France was spared the need to fight decade-long battles for the irreducible minimum of toleration. The reign of Napoleon I is thus a landmark in the emancipation of the homosexual from medieval intolerance and outlawry.

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NARCISSUS

Greek mythological figure. A beautiful youth, he rejected the advances of the nymph Echo and was punished by Aphrodite with boundless self-love. One day, while drinking at a spring, he was smitten with his own image. With the object of his love unreachable, he fell more and more into lassitude and despair until he was changed into the flower that bears his name. His fate recalls that of other Greek youths who were changed into plants, such as Calamus and Ampelos, the companion of Dionysus.

His fame was revived in the Renaissance when Narcissus was often shown in paintings, where the depiction of the

image seen in reflection offers a pretext for bravura effects of illusionism. Havelock Ellis cited the name in his discussion of self-contemplation as a psychodynamic fixation in 1898, and the term *Narzissismus* was coined in German by Paul Näcke in his book *Die sexuellen Perversitäten* of the following year. The term was picked up by Freud in 1910. In his view it applied to homosexuals, "who take themselves as a sexual object; they begin with narcissism and seek out young men who resemble them whom they can love as their mother loved them." In the following year, in his discussion of the Schreber case, Freud suggested that narcissism was a stage in human psychic development: "the subject begins by taking himself, his own body as love object." In his revised perspective it was the original universal condition, out of which object love later developed, without necessarily effacing the narcissism altogether. Inevitably psychoanalysts linked narcissism to homosexual behavior and masturbation as immature forms of gratification. Later Jacques Lacan was to make the "mirror stage" a cornerstone of his own creative reinterpretation of Freud's thought.

In popular-culture criticism of the 1970s narcissism became an epithet that served to excoriate the self-absorption of the "me generation." Such journalistic usages illustrate the trickle-down of psychoanalysis into the general culture. In this polemical sense it is just a high-sounding term for selfishness.

Wayne R. Dynes

NATIONALISM

Born of the French Revolution, mass nationalism spread across Europe during the nineteenth century, and, in reaction to colonialism, beginning with Japan in 1867, to the rest of the world. It triumphed after World War II even in areas in Africa that had never been distinct or unified before they became colonies a century earlier.

The link between nationalism and sexuality is subtle but real. On the one hand, nationalist movements have tended to foster male bonding that is **homosocial**. On the other, they have favored inherently heterosexist pronatalist policies in the belief that population is power. One should be careful to avoid a simplistic equation to the effect that nationalism corresponds flatly to right-wing ideology and this in turn to antihomosexuality. There have been many nationalists whose emphasis on male bonding has carried them on to sympathy, at some level, with homosexuality itself.

Forerunners. Modern nationalism profoundly differs from the aristocratic and haut-bourgeois nationalism, related to dynastic loyalty, that began in the late Middle Ages with Henry V of England and Joan of Arc, leaders in the Hundred Years War, and with Jan Hus' revolt that stirred Czechs against Germans as well as against popes. Lutheranism kindled nationalist pride among Germans. Like his Hussite inspirers, Luther, and soon Calvin too, whose followers used the vernacular, appealed to the bourgeoisie as well as to princes and nobles, criticizing the moral laxity of Catholics, of the **penitentials**, and of the **canon law**. Although at first universalist like Catholicism, **Protestantism** reinforced nationalism throughout Teutonic lands by translating the Bible into the vernaculars and thus helping to standardize languages and literatures. All these earlier forms of nationalism, even those formed or reinforced by Catholic reaction in lands such as **France**, **Poland**, and **Ireland**, were tempered by aristocratic reservations and regional variations.

Mass Nationalism. Not until the French Revolution swept away royalty and nobility and attacked the altar did the bourgeoisie triumph. Like Italian, Flemish, and Dutch burghers of earlier centuries, their French counterparts felt themselves to be more industrious, moral, and deserving than the decadent, spendthrift

aristocracy and superstitious, indolent clergy. Revolutionary lawmakers in 1791 and **Napoleon's** code of 1810, which was adopted in Holland, Belgium, Germany (except for Prussia and Austria), Italy, and Spain, decriminalized sodomy between consenting adults in private along with other survivals of medieval superstition and fanaticism.

After the Restoration in 1815 homosexuality, though not recriminalized in France and certain German states, suffered greater disapproval as it was associated with Spain, Naples, and the papal states. Homosexuals were ostracized after the model of triumphant England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, none of which decriminalized the offense before the twentieth century. In fact the repressive English sentenced sodomites more than ever before to prison, the pillory, and even hanging during the Napoleonic Wars and afterwards, in part to display their moral superiority over the French. In the post-Napoleonic reaction romantic outcasts like Lord **Byron** and Count **Platen** suffered, while Catholic and Protestant moralists, not to mention Orthodox in less advanced lands, joined and encouraged the petty bourgeoisie in condemning sexual freedom. To unify their people, nationalists suppressed dissidents. After the suppression of the revolutions of 1848, when many nationalists became anti-liberal, homosexuals and Jews were increasingly suspect and persecuted by an enlarged and strengthened bureaucracy and police, even in those countries where the Code Napoléon had emancipated them.

The Age of Imperialism. Prussia's annexation of western areas of Germany in 1866 and the formation of the German Empire in 1871 brought about the imposition of Prussian laws against male homosexuality (lesbianism was not criminalized) in the Rhineland, Bavaria, and Alsace-Lorraine, and inspired the homosexual emancipation **movement** pioneered by K. H. **Ulrichs**. Repressive measures in England after the adoption of the **Criminal**

Law Amendment Act, with the Labouchere amendment, in 1885, as well as police raids and other harassment in France paralleled by growing anti-Semitism, led to the trials of Alfred Dreyfus in 1894 and of Oscar Wilde in 1895. In Imperial Germany, the Harden-Eulenburg affair (1907–09) resulted from the jingoist editor Maximilian Harden's discovery that the First Secretary of the French Legation in Berlin, Raymond Lecomte, had infiltrated the circle of homosexuals around Wilhelm II and was using the confidential information that he collected there to France's advantage, as Andrew Dickson White, founding President of Cornell University, had done for his country in 1898, when as Ambassador to Berlin he skillfully kept Germany neutral during the Spanish-American war. Homosexuals have often been outstanding spies and intelligence officers, as were in the present century W. Somerset Maugham, Alfred Redl, and Anthony Blunt. (See also Espionage.)

Disregarding official promulgations, a number of imperialist nationalists and missionaries deviated from sexual norms. Marshal Lyautey (1854–1934), who conquered Morocco for France, reputedly said that he could not work with men with whom he had not previously had sex. The British hero General Charles George "Chinese" Gordon, who perished at Khartoum in 1885, was homosexual. Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902), creator of an economic empire in southern Africa, had his closest emotional relationships with handsome young men. The British government, which circulated his homosexual diaries, caught and executed the Irish nationalist Roger Casement in 1916. Most famous of all, T. E. Lawrence inspired the Arabs with whom he rode and to whom he made love to revolt in the desert against the Turks and promised their sheiks kingdoms after the fall of the Ottomans. These men shared a predilection for male companionship under challenging conditions and an intuition that in what Alfred Sauvy later named the Third World they could pursue their

interests away from direct surveillance by the moral guardians of their home countries.

In Europe the iconography of extreme nationalism, which often featured muscular men in heroic poses derived from the classic art of Greece, promoted eroticization of the male body. In the 1930s such German artists as Fidus (Hugo Höppener) and Arno Breker manipulated the overtones of this macho (but ambivalent) imagery—with full official approval. Also, especially in Teutonic nations the cult of fitness produced the boy scouts and the Wandervogel movement, both nationalistic, the latter often practicing nudity. The Olympic games, revived in 1896, emphasized nationalistic competition. The stadium Mussolini prepared for their celebration in Venice in 1940 was adorned with muscular male nudes so beloved by fascists.

World Wars and Totalitarianism.

The repression of homosexuality under Hitler and Stalin went hand in hand with nationalism and anti-Semitism, both conspicuous among Nazis from their very outset, and reviving—the latter covertly but also effectively—in the Soviet Union from the late 1930s onward and especially during the "Great Patriotic War" (1941–45). Also, both dictators, like the fascist Mussolini, favored pronatalist policies subsidizing and honoring mothers of large families without regard for their genetic quality; they wanted not intellectuals but cannon fodder for the wars they were planning. By nature as well as by definition totalitarian governments demand more conformity and enforce greater repression than any other type.

Social Democracy at first resisted bourgeois nationalism but, caught up in the enthusiasm for the war of 1914–18, it was (unlike anarchism) not immune to homophobia and other petty bourgeois sexual prejudices.

It is difficult to apportion the blame for anti-Semitism and homophobia between Christianity and nationalism. The

teachings of the medieval church in regard to Jews as deicides, not repudiated until the Second Vatican Council in 1963, and to sodomites as guilty of a mortal sin that might provoke the wrath of God against the whole society that tolerates it, still influenced many in the first half of the twentieth century. Extreme nationalist definitions of "racial identity" that labeled the Jew as a foreign body which had to be removed from the political and economic life of the country, undoubtedly fed the irrational hatreds that culminated in the Holocaust and other persecutions of the 1930s and 1940s, while the ideas that homosexuals undermined the country by failing to reproduce and even betraying the nation because they were degenerates and targets of blackmail are still voiced by many homophobes. Many Communists and Third World nationalists, especially in Africa, even today claim that homosexuality is a foreign import or a bourgeois vice.

Right-Wing Nationalism in the Democracies. In the early 1950s, United States Senator Joseph McCarthy directed his smears not only at Communists and fellow travelers but also at "sex perverts in government." The conviction that homosexuals were security risks led to a wave of dismissals from government service in the United States and to pressure on America's allies to undertake similar purges in their own ranks. In England, a number of spies who had been involved in homosexual activity as undergraduates at Cambridge and Oxford were exposed as Soviet agents.

Even today the British and American right combines nationalistic appeals with homophobic prejudice to win the electorate over to policies that are against its own economic interests. The campaign of Margaret Thatcher against the "looney left," which had openly sympathized with the cause of gay liberation, and Ronald Reagan's pro-family and traditional morality patriotism, supported by television evangelists and moralizing Catholics, both gained resounding victories at the polls in

the 1980s. In 1988 Senator Orrin Hatch, a Republican, denounced the other major American party, the Democratic, as the "party of the homosexuals."

The left has not dealt effectively with the irrational forces in the mass psyche the right is uncannily adroit at sensing and exploiting. National Socialism in Germany, like fascism elsewhere, made no secret of the value that it attached to the irrational in all its forms as contrasted with the "sterile intellectualism" of the liberals and the left, and especially of Social Democracy. Conservative and clerical parties unfailingly stress the virtues of morality, the family, religion, and all the other institutions that are symbolically opposed to the "uninhibited, immoral" gay lifestyle. With the coming of the AIDS crisis in the 1980s, many became apprehensive that homophobia might be destined to play much the same role in the political maneuvering of the right as did anti-Semitism between 1880 and 1945. Because conservatives of all sorts still reject and condemn homosexuality, they can unite around this issue, even where economic and other factors would keep them apart. If anti-Semitism is no longer respectable because of the mass murder to which it led, homophobia has kept the blessing of fundamentalist and most mainstream churches—a formidable right-wing bloc. Whether from Christian backgrounds or not, many Third World nationalists, of democratic as well as of authoritarian bent, the late Ayatollah Khomeini being the most notorious, have imported Western homophobia.

Homosexual "Nationalism."

Scholars of nationalism have pointed out that many modern nations have come into being as "imagined communities," where charismatic leaders have arisen with a vision of drawing divided human groups together, endowing them with national symbols, promoting a common (sometimes ersatz) language, and then demanding independence—as occurred in eastern Europe in the early decades of the present

century (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia) and more recently in the Third World (Indonesia, Kenya, Nigeria). Inspired by such examples, some gay liberation leaders have suggested that homosexuals may be undergoing such a process of crystallization into a new nationality. Yet the mere mention of such a project shows how chimerical it is. Homosexuals do not possess a territory of their own on which to erect a state; were they to seek to create such a haven, as in the abortive Alpine County project in California in the 1970s, it would immediately become a target for homophobes of all stripes. Moreover, the vast majority of homosexuals, as patriotic citizens of their own countries, have no wish to transfer their political loyalties. Spread thinly across the territory of the democracies, they have difficulty electing an avowed gay representative to a state legislature, Elaine Noble in Massachusetts being the first of a handful of exceptions, or to a city council except in a few districts where they form a significant plurality. Still, the quicksilver appeal of the political fantasies of gay nationalism attests the continuing refulgence of the nationalist model.

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NATIVE AMERICANS

See Indians, North American.

NATURE AND THE UNNATURAL

As Raymond Williams has observed in *Keywords* (New York, 1976), the term "nature" is one of the most complex in the language; it is also one of the most dangerous. An adequate study of the problem must also focus on the emotionally charged antonym: the "unnatural," which

needs to be distinguished from the supernatural and the praeternatural, from second (and for the Greeks, third, fourth, and fifth) nature, and from the peculiarly Thomistic concept of the "connatural" (which, as the personal and habitual, stands in a kind of intermediate zone between the natural and the unnatural).

Historical Semantics of the Concept. The ancient Greek word for nature, *physis*, was unique to that language and to Hellenic thought; no equivalent can be found in the Semitic and Oriental languages, or in other intellectual traditions. The term *physis* derives from a verb meaning "to grow," and hence retains strong connotations of organic completeness and development toward a goal. The primary notion of *physis* is a magical, autonomous life force manifesting itself not only in the creation and preservation of the universe, but even in the properties and character traits of species and individuals. Thus in medical usage it even leads into the sphere of the pharmacopoeia and of constitutional biology.

Its use among the Greeks can be further understood in the light of three contrasting pairs of terms: *physis/nomos* (law or custom); *physis/techne* (art); *kata physin/para physin* (against nature). The last of these antinomies, which is of particular significance for our enquiry, received a decisively influential formulation from the aged Plato (ca. 427–347 B.C.) in his *Laws*. In this book the philosopher condemns same-sex relations because, unlike those in which animals naturally engage, they cannot lead to procreation. In the so-called intertestamental period this Hellenic idea found its way into the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and into the apologetic writings of Philo Judaeus, who equated the Mosaic Law with the "law of nature," and thence into the New Testament with the fateful formulation of Romans 1:26–27, which speaks of changing "the natural use to that which is unnatural." This language—which in the Pauline text cited sets the stage for a con-