

life in Lyon, trapped in a business world which he hated with a passion. Disillusioned in childhood by the dishonesty and hypocrisy of the people around him, he gradually formulated an elaborate theory of how totally to transform society in a utopian world of the future known as Harmony, in which mankind would live in large communes called Phalansteries.

Fourier hid his sexual beliefs from his contemporaries, and it was more than a century after his death before his main erotic work, *Le nouveau monde amoureux*, was first published. He was "modern" in many of his sexual attitudes, believing in the overthrow of traditional morality and universal replacement of this morality with a restrained and elegant promiscuity for everyone over the age of sixteen. He did not believe that anyone under sixteen had any sexual feelings, nor did he understand the psychology of sadism, pedophilia, or rape, so that his sexual theories are not entirely suitable for modern experimentation. Moreover, he had a bizarre belief that planets were androgynous beings that could and did copulate. He was attracted heterosexually to lesbians, and although he called pederasty "a depraved taste," he was tolerant of male homosexuals and ephrophiles. He recognized male homosexuals and lesbians as biological categories long before Krafft-Ebing created the modern concept of immutable sexual "perversions."

Fourier called for a "sexual minimum," the right of everyone to constant sexual gratification by means of teaching young people of both sexes to commit the "saintly" act of sexually sacrificing themselves to older people, rather like Lars Ullerstam's modern call for providing the poor with free prostitutes at the taxpayers' expense.

Fourier, however, had no sympathy for "gutter" sex or for promiscuity in the face of the threat of venereal diseases. He wanted these diseases to be done away with before sexual liberation would be allowed. He wrote some fictional episodes

in the vein of William Beckford, one of which describes the seduction of a beautiful youth by an older man.

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FRANCE

In its present basic form ("the hexagon") France emerged from the territory of the early Gauls and Franks during the central Middle Ages (1000-1270). Waves of repression of homosexuality by church and state have never succeeded in uprooting the homophile subculture, stifling the writing of erotic literature, or preventing homosexuals from occupying high positions. French politics and literature have exercised an incalculable influence on other countries, from England to Quebec, from Senegal to Vietnam. Whether justified or not, a reputation for libertine hedonism clings to the country, and especially to its capital, Paris—by far the largest city of northern Europe from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries (when London surpassed it), making France a barometer of changing sexual mores.

The Middle Ages. Little of the exuberant homosexuality for which the ancient Celts, including the Gauls, were famed in antiquity seems to have survived the Roman occupation, Christian conversion, barbarian invasions, and finally the Frankish conquerors' adoption of Catholicism with its moral theology that pilloried as the "crime against nature" all nonreproductive forms of sexual expression. The heavy-drinking later Merovingians, descendants of the Frankish king Merovech and his grandson Clovis, who conquered all Gaul, were barbarians who indulged their sensual appetites freely. Lack of control allowed considerable sexual license to continue into the more Christianized Carolingian period (late eighth-ninth centuries), and probably to increase during

the feudal anarchy that followed the Viking invasions of the ninth and tenth, but in the eleventh century the church moved to regulate private conduct according to its own strict canons.

The term *sodomia*, which appears in the last decades of the twelfth century, covered bestiality, homosexual practices, and "unnatural" heterosexual relations of all kinds. As early as the late eleventh century theologians associated what came to be called sodomy with heresy and magic. Commentators on the Scriptures grouped around Anselm of Laon, the most influential teacher of his day, linked heresy and sodomy as forms of sacrilege both punishable by death.

Before 1200 Southern France became a stronghold of heretical sects known as Cathars or Albigensians. Because of their similarity to the Bogomils of Bulgaria they came to be stigmatized as *bougres*, a term that meant first "heretic" and then "sodomite." Charges of sexual heterodoxy were brought against them by the Catholic authorities, who claimed that unrestrained sexual hedonism was part of their cult. Popes organized the Inquisition against them and invoked the bloody Albigensian Crusade which devastated much of Languedoc, homeland of a sensual culture tinged by Moslem influences from the south. The word itself survives to this day as English *bugger*, which in Great Britain, apart from legal usage, remains a coarse and virtually obscene expression.

Paris, already the center of French academic and political life, had its *trouvères* who like the troubadours of Languedoc sang of love—and its clandestine homoerotic subculture. About 1230 Jacques de Vitry denounced the students at the Sorbonne for practicing sodomy, and in 1270 the poet Guillot in his *Dit des rues de Paris* cited the rue Beaubourg as a favorite cruising area for sodomites. Again in the fifteenth century the poet Antonio Beccadelli alluded to the continued homosexual practices of the intellectual community in Paris and the still-obscure jargon

poems of François Villon (b. 1431) have also been cited as evidence for that Parisian subculture.

Some feudal customaries and municipal ordinances punished sodomy. Politics have occasioned accusations of sodomy in many epochs, none ever more notorious than the trial of the entire order of Knights Templars, who were blamed for the fall to the Moslems of Acre (1291), the last remnant of the crusader state in Palestine and Syria. The first charges of sexual heterodoxy against the Templars date from 1304 or 1305 in the Agen region of France. Many witnesses—some of whose testimony is suspect because they had been expelled from the order for misconduct or subjected to torture under examination—claimed that the order tolerated as sinless "acts against nature" between members. Philip IV of France pressured Pope Clement V to take action against the Templars, and by October 13, 1307, the arrest of all Templars throughout France was ordered. For the next several years, despite some conflict between secular and ecclesiastical authority, hundreds of episcopal and royal tribunals tallied the wealth of the order, gathered witnesses, heard testimony, and passed judgment. By 1314 the dignitaries of the order were placed in perpetual imprisonment by the church and executed by royal edict. The guilt of the Templars remains moot to this day, while some may have been involved in homosexual liaisons, the political atmosphere surrounding the investigation and the later controversy made impartial judgment impossible.

A persistent fear of sexuality and a pathetic inability to stamp out its proscribed manifestations, even with periodic burning of offenders at the stake and strict regulations within the cloister, plagued medieval society to the end. However, the medieval state was unable to concert the mass arrests and judicial murders of homosexuals that were to occur in the eighteenth-century Netherlands.

The Renaissance. If the Italy of the quattrocento saw the revival of the culture of classical antiquity—including its open avowal of pederasty—in France homosexuality was long deemed a caprice reserved to the nobility, the intellectual and artistic elite, and the princes of the Church. To be sure, other classes are known to have been involved, but their activity tended to be severely repressed. The notion of homosexuality as the **aristocratic vice** took root and thrived into modern times, though even this privileged minority did not enjoy absolute immunity from prosecution.

At the court both male and female homosexuality could at times flourish. The “flying squadron” of Catherine de’ Medici was accused of lesbianism by such contemporaries as Brantôme. **Henri III** was celebrated for his *mignons*, the favorites drawn from the ranks of the petty nobility—handsome, gorgeously attired and adorned adolescents and magnificent swordsmen ready to sacrifice their lives for their sovereign. Although the king had exhibited homosexual tendencies earlier in life, these became more marked after a stay in **Venice** in 1574. Yet neither he nor the *mignons* scorned the opposite sex in their pursuit of pleasure, and there is no absolute proof that any of this circle expressed their desires genitally. Yet a whole literature of pamphlets and lampoons by Protestants and by Catholic extremists, both of whom disapproved of the king’s moderate policy, was inspired by the life of the court of Henri III until his assassination in 1589.

The intellectual nonconformity of the last centuries of the Old Regime was accompanied, or perhaps motivated, by a sexual nonconformity that found expression in different modes. The amalgam of free thought and sodomy precisely mirrored the medieval association of heresy and sodomy. The circle of “**libertine**” poets whose work launched the great tradition of French erotic verse included Denis Sanguin de **Saint-Pavin**, who so openly

proclaimed his fondness for Greek love that he earned the nickname “the King of Sodom.” For centuries his poems could circulate only in manuscript, where many of them still await publication. Saint-Pavin’s friend and fellow poet Théophile de **Viau** was also gay in his life and writings.

Even the entourage of Cardinal Richelieu included the Abbé **Boisrobert**, patron of the theatre and the arts, and founder of the French Academy, the summit of French intellectual life. His proclivities were so well known that he was nicknamed “the mayor of Sodom,” while the king who occupied the throne, **Louis XIII**, was surnamed “the chaste” because of his absolute indifference to the fair sex and to his wife Marie de’ Medici.

Under Louis XIV, who himself was strongly averse to homosexuality, the court nevertheless had its little clique of homosexuals led by the king’s brother “**Monsieur**” (Philippe of Orléans), who may have inherited the tendency from their father Louis XIII, if indeed he was their biological father. Despite France’s long history of homoeroticism, the king and his associates affected to believe that the practice had been recently introduced from Italy. About 1678 the court homosexuals formed a secret fraternity whose statutes provided for total abstinence from women other than for the purpose of obtaining offspring and whose insignia depicted a man trampling a woman underfoot in the manner of Saint Michael and the devil. In 1681 the young Count de Vermandois, the son of Louis by Louise de La Vallière, applied for admission, but so indiscreetly that the king learned of the order in 1682 and broke it up with great severity. He sent for his prodigal son, had him whipped in his presence, and then exiled him. The other members of the fraternity were in their turn disgraced and driven from the court.

The Enlightenment. In the eighteenth century France became the center of the intellectual movement that was to

challenge the beliefs of the Old Regime and overthrow it. Critique of the morality and criminal legislation of the past could not fail to include the medieval attitude toward "sodomy." The very word *sodomite* faded from the usual vocabulary to be replaced by *pédéraste* or *infâme*, the latter being the designation preferred by the police. On the other hand, the Enlightenment philosophes could never break fully with the earlier beliefs, in part because they had no alternative sexual morality, and in part because they were aware of the large number of homosexuals in the church, which they hated as the source of the superstition and intolerance they opposed. In fact, a monastic setting characterizes one of the best erotic novels of the eighteenth century, Gervaise de Latouche's *L'Histoire de Dom Bougre, portier des chartreux* (The History of Dom Bougre, the Porter of the Carthusian Monks; 1742). In his posthumously published novel *La religieuse*, Denis Diderot indicted convents as hothouses of lesbianism.

Despite the link between theological and sexual non-conformity, the Enlightenment thinkers never perceived individuals with homosexual inclinations as their allies. When they wrote on the subject of homosexual activity and the attitude which the state should adopt toward it, it was either in terms of condemnation as "unnatural," "infamous vice," "turpitude," "filthiness," or else as a peccadillo that had lost the aura of the mephitic and diabolical in which medieval fantasy had enveloped it. At times they could treat homosexual inclinations as the result of a "bad habit" encouraged by the rigid segregation of the sexes in the educational establishments of the Old Regime, or advocate a more rigorous "police des moeurs" that would maintain the moral purity of the large cities. The practice of keeping a list of known pederasts already existed; in Paris in 1725 it had 20,000 names, in 1783 40,000. However, with the Italian Cesare Beccaria the

task of reforming the criminal law of the Old Regime began, to be pursued by Voltaire and others who upheld the general principle that crimes against religion and morality, when they violated the rights of no third parties or the interests of society but were penalized solely out of superstition and fanaticism, did not fall within the purview of civil law, until the French Revolution created a new code of laws in which sodomy had no place.

This innovation, it is true, was effected quietly and almost without attracting anyone's attention; it was an act of omission rather than of commission. But the criminal code enacted by the Constituent Assembly in September – October 1791 for the first time in modern history contained no penalties for homosexual activity that did not entail the use of force or the violation of public decency; and incorporated into the Code Napoléon of 1810, it became the model for repeal of the medieval laws throughout the civilized world.

During the Revolution an anonymous pamphlet appeared entitled *Les Enfants de Sodome à l'Assemblée Nationale* (The Children of Sodom at the National Assembly), proposing to ameliorate the lot of the homosexuals in the name of the rights of man, and offering a Constitution in seven articles which asserted that one could be both *bougre et citoyen*, "bugger and citizen." It contained a list of all the members of the National Assembly who were accused or suspected of belonging to the special interest group to which the title of the pamphlet refers. The Revolution secured the release (though only for a time) of the imprisoned pansexual writer and thinker, the Marquis D. A. F. de Sade, who carried the transgressive strain in the Enlightenment to the ultimate limits of the imagination.

From the Restoration to World War I. While French homosexuals were freed from the legal burdens of outlawry and infamy which had been theirs under the Old Regime, society still forced them

to lead a clandestine existence, with cruising areas known only to the initiated, secret gatherings and clubs—in short, they constituted in the nineteenth century a “freemasonry of pleasure” that unobtrusively pursued its goals but did not as yet claim to be a distinct sub-species of mankind. While conditions were scarcely ideal, in the absence of a criminal code that made their activities illegal the French homosexual subculture felt no need of a movement that would assert its rights. France became a haven for Englishmen seeking refuge from the far more intolerant law and public opinion of their own country. Also, Paris was a publishing center where books banned in England could be published and sold to British and American tourists.

Nineteenth-century France did see significant treatments of the homosexual theme in literature, from the pornographic novella *Gamiani* (1833) by Alfred de Musset to the realism of Balzac who included several gay characters in his panorama of the France of the July monarchy, followed by Paul Verlaine, the lover of Arthur Rimbaud and author of a number of classic poems on homosexual love and Joris-Karl Huysmans, whose 1884 novel *A rebours* (Against the Grain) depicts the decadent sensuality of the *fin-de-siècle*. Joséphin Péladan celebrated androgyny in a series of works under the general title *La décadence latine*. It is to France that modern art and literature owe the whole “decadent” trend that often included a display of overt homosexuality among the more bohemian-inclined sectors of the artistic elite. To the theme of lesbianism Pierre Louÿs devoted his *Chansons de Bilitis* (1894), while Paris under the Third Republic became the residence of little coteries of French and foreign intellectuals, including Oscar Wilde, Natalie Barney, Djuna Barnes, Robert McAlmon, and Gertrude Stein, and patrons of the arts who expressed their homosexuality in literature. This foreign colony was to play a significant role in spreading a more open

discussion of the matter to the cultural life of other nations. But a political movement aimed at “emancipation” of the homosexual did not develop.

The homosexual emancipation movement that began on the other side of the Rhine, in Germany, after 1864 barely reached France, where after 1871 everything German became suspect. In 1909 Jacques d'Adelswärd Fersen published a few issues of a journal entitled *Akademios* in Paris. The erotic literature that flourished in France in the early years of the century abounded in lesbian themes, but only rarely treated male homosexuality. Also, the psychiatric study of homosexuality that began in the German-speaking countries reached France only in the 1880s, when Julien Chevalier published first a dissertation and then (1893) a book entitled *Une maladie de la personnalité* (A Disease of the Personality). Several other French psychiatrists wrote on the subject, at times in connection with other sexual “perversions,” but two foreigners, Marc-André Raffalovich, a Polish Jew resident in England, and Arnold Aletrino, a Dutch Jew, were responsible for the most important writings in French. The pages of the Lyon periodical *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle* from the years before the First World War contain numerous contributions on the subject, among them Raffalovich's eyewitness accounts of the trial of Oscar Wilde in London and the Harden-Eulenburg affair in Berlin and Munich.

From the Interwar Period to the Present. Not until after World War I did the public become aware of the extent of homosexuality in French life. The work that “broke the ice,” the first part of Marcel Proust's *Sodome et Gomorrhe* (1921), featured the homosexual Baron de Charlus as a member of the French aristocracy in the early years of the Third Republic. Then André Gide, by publishing the set of essays entitled *Corydon* (1924), made homosexuality a literary and political question that the salons could no longer ignore. Yet the

attempt to create a homosexual journal *Inversions* in 1924–25 ended when the publisher was prosecuted and convicted. In the literary avant-garde Jean Cocteau devoted *Le Livre blanc* (1929) to an autobiographical treatment of homosexuality, albeit anonymously, and contributed poetry, plays, diaries, and drawings to the subject; beginning with *Le Sang d'un poète* (1930) he added films to his repertoire. The surrealist movement proved hostile to homosexuality, except for René Crevel, who was openly gay. Interwar Paris saw the number of resident foreigners multiply, and a colony of expatriates, exiles and émigrés, escaping the provincialism and puritanism of normalcy on the other side of the Atlantic established itself. A few minor non-fiction works on homosexuality were published, never approaching in volume the material issued in Germany under the Weimar Republic.

The fall of the Third Republic and the imposition of the Vichy regime saw a change in the laws that had scarcely been altered since 1810. A new law of 1942, promulgated by Pétain at the instigation of Admiral Darlan, made homosexual acts with an individual under the age of 21 criminal—a parallel to similar legislation elsewhere. On the other hand, in occupied France Roger Peyrefitte completed the writing of *Les Amitiés particulières* (1943), a classic novel of homosexual attachment between two boys at an exclusive Catholic boarding school that was later filmed (1959). Peyrefitte's friendship—based on their joint quest of teen-aged boys—with the closeted novelist Henry de Montherlant was only revealed after the latter's suicide (1971). The postwar period, in which French law retained Pétain's innovation, did not alter the general atmosphere, but witnessed significant developments.

Under the editorship of André Baudry, the homosexual monthly *Arcadie* was for many years after 1954 the most intellectual among the journals that pro-

moted the gay cause. In the face of the hostility of the De Gaulle regime the publication stood firm and survived beyond his fall until the beginning of the 1980s. The novels of Jean Genet, a former professional thief, treated male homosexuality with a pornographic frankness and style rich in imagery unparalleled in world literature. Genet enjoyed the patronage of the dominant intellectual of the time, the heterosexual Jean-Paul Sartre, who also wrote about homosexuality in other contexts. Heartened by his example, other writers in the 1950s and 1960s broached the matter as public hostility diminished.

The sudden efflorescence of the gay movement in the United States after 1969 could not fail to affect France, which had already felt the impact of American popular culture. A whole subculture inspired by the example of San Francisco and New York sprang up, with bars, baths, political organizations, and a pictorial magazine entitled *Gai Pied* (first issue: April 1979) that outdid the Los Angeles *Advocate* in splashing homoerotic sensuality across its pages. The arrival in power of a socialist regime at the end of the 1970s spelled the end of many of the barriers which the Gaullist Fifth Republic had erected against the intrusion of such a minority as the homosexual, and soon even a gay radio station, *Fréquence Gaie* (subsequently renamed *Future Génération*), was broadcasting around the clock. In 1981 the socialist government repealed the discriminatory law that had been enacted by the Vichy regime, and the existence of a homosexual minority was accepted as an unalterable fact by even the conservative parties which regained much of their strength in the mid-1980s, if not by the church. Innovations such as a computerized gay bulletin board—the Minitel—reached France, but also the tragic incursion of AIDS (in French SIDA), spread in no small part from Haiti and the United States. A flood of new publications ranging from trivial and movement literature to serious

investigations of the homosexual aspects of France's own past showed that the Gallic spirit had its own inimitable contribution to the homoerotic culture of the late twentieth century. Even the provincial cities began to boast their own organizations, periodicals, and rendezvous for the gay public. All are recorded in the *Gai Pied Hebdo Guide*, published annually since 1983.

The political battles that had to be waged before courts and legislatures in other countries to gain the minimum of legal toleration were spared the French movement; its principal foe was the unenlightened public opinion surviving from the recent past, but receding as the subject of homosexuality became an everyday matter in the mass media. So France joined the ranks of those nations with a politically conscious and culturally enterprising gay community.

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FREDERICK II (1197-1250)

Hohenstaufen king of Sicily and Holy Roman emperor (1212-1250). Called *Stupor mundi* (Wonder of the World) by contemporaries, he was designated the "first modern man" by the Swiss historian Jakob Burckhardt in his *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860). Son of the German Emperor Henry IV and Constance, the Norman heiress of the Kingdom of

Sicily, as well as grandson of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, he was born in the square in a small town in Southern Italy, in full public view so that no one could doubt that his mother, old in the estimation of contemporaries for a first conception, produced him. Orphaned at the age of one and entrusted to the guardianship of Innocent III (1198-1216), the most powerful of medieval popes, he actually grew up on the streets of Palermo in Sicily, where he received a most unorthodox education, learning Arabic and Greek as well as German, French, and Latin in that melting pot of cultures.

When Frederick attained his majority he broke his promises to his now dead guardian by failing to surrender the Sicilian crown, which included all of Southern Italy up to the border of the Papal States, when he received the crowns of Germany (1215) and of the Holy Roman Empire (1220), which included all of Northern Italy down to the Papal States. Innocent's successors excommunicated him when he also delayed his promised crusade. Frederick was the only leader to crusade while excommunicated, but he recovered Jerusalem, which Saladin had recaptured from the Christians, by negotiating with Saladin's sophisticated nephew al-Kamil. When he returned he completed the reorganization of Sicily, making it the first autocratic European monarchy, basing it on Arab, Byzantine, and Norman models and Roman law precedents. He issued at Melfi in 1231 the constitution known as the *Liber Augustalis*, which remained in effect until 1860. He was then drawn into the disastrous second Lombard war by the papacy that feared renewed imperial domination more than before, now that Frederick's lands surrounded the papal states. The struggle renewed the War of the First Lombard League (1162-1183) that the popes had waged against his grandfather Barbarossa and the earlier war of the Investiture Controversy (1076-1122) that Pope Gregory VII had launched against