

(Community of the Exceptional), which united the virile, pederastic type of homosexual in contrast to the effeminate male and viraginous female which Hirschfeld was trying to palm off on the learned world as a biological "third sex." Blüher in turn accused Hirschfeld of falsifying the text of his work of 1912 *The Wandervogel Movement as an Erotic Phenomenon*, stressing as it did the role of male comradeship in mass organizations and public life.

Hirschfeld's life and work represent at best an ambivalent legacy for the homophile movement of today. He never succeeded in formulating a coherent scientific explanation of homosexuality, and the Nazi seizure of power in 1933 spelled the tragic end of the organization he had founded. His career presents in retrospect as many errors and failings to be shunned as achievements to be emulated.

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## HISTORY

The word history refers both to the events of the past and to the systematic study of them; the practice of the latter is sometimes termed *historiography*. The Greeks, who invented the word, used *historia* to refer to any sort of organized study or inquiry; under the Romans, however, the word assumed the meaning it has today. Examples of Roman history are the continuous narratives of Tacitus and the biographies of Suetonius.

During the Middle Ages history was largely subsumed under the category of sacred history, though there were national and local chronicles and biographies of rulers. The Middle Ages adopted the

idea of progress, both as a narrative device and an ideology; the idea persisted in later secular historians of the Whig type, who emphasized the concomitant growth of technical, moral, and intellectual progress.

*The Renaissance and the Rise of Historicism.* The beginnings of modern historiography lie in the Renaissance, when a revival of models derived from classical antiquity combined with the idea of fame to foster local and national histories. Although classical scholars became familiar with homosexual aspects of ancient history and mythology, these were commonly discussed in learned volumes of Latin commentary rather than made available in narratives for the lay reader.

From about 1550 to 1750 European historiography was dominated by an ideal known as the Exemplar Theory. This approach concentrated on the commanding role of great figures, some of them deserving emulation and veneration, others meriting only scorn. In this perspective history was *magistra vitae*, the great compass of how we should live, linking the experiences of the reader to those of the great protagonists of earlier times. One of the favorite models of this mode of history writing was the *Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans* of Plutarch which mentions homosexual behavior as an aspect of the lives of a number of heroic individuals. Needless to say, this feature was not imitated in the officially sanctioned writings of Christian Europe. Suitably updated, this was a preeminently "elevating" (and judgmental) view of the past, which was not only usable, but peremptory.

Moreover, as there have been good and bad people, there have been good and bad eras. Outstanding among the happy eras of human history were Periclean Athens, Augustan Rome, and Medici Florence. The supreme instance of a bad era was, of course, the Middle Ages, the "Dark Ages."

New ideas came to the fore in the historiographic revolution that occurred in Germany during the second half of the eighteenth century with such writers as Justus Moser, Johann Gottfried Herder, and J. W. von Goethe. When the standard bearers of the new view appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century, the Exemplar Theory was already fading—though it never completely died out, exacting tribute even today in journalistic treatments of “Great Men” of the past. The new view is often called Historicism (or in German *Historismus*). Its outlook stressed the fundamental difference between the phenomena of nature and those of history. Nature, in this view, is the theatre of the stable and eternally recurring, while history comprises unique and unduplicable human acts. In the summary of George G. Iggers, “The world of man is in a state of incessant flux, although within it there are centers of stability (personalities, institutions, nations, epochs), each possessing an inner structure, a character, and each in constant metamorphosis in accord with its own internal principles of development. . . . There is no constant human nature; rather the character of each man reveals itself only in his development.”

In its emphasis on subjective uniqueness the new orientation of Historicism accorded in part with romanticism. Yet the individual was not seen as alienated and atomic, but was rather immersed in that ongoing stream that is Process. With regard to epochs it insisted that sympathetic understanding must always precede judgment.

*The Emergence of Homosexual History.* Building on these foundations the nineteenth century has been termed the age of history. Yet when Heinrich Hoessli and K. H. Ulrichs began their pioneering homosexual scholarship, they found little in the way of comprehensive historical data, except for material from ancient Greece and Islam. Some other information was added by the English scholars

Richard Burton and Havelock Ellis. In German Albert Moll published a volume collecting lists of famous homosexuals. By the end of the century, however, when the Berlin Scientific-Humanitarian Committee was formed it was realized that a comprehensive bibliographical search must be undertaken. The results of this inquiry were incorporated into the volumes of the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* and the monumental tome of Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (1914). After World War I similar, though somewhat shorter attempts at synthesis were made in the Iberian peninsula, by Arlindo Camillo Monteiro (1922), Asdrúbal António d’Aguiar (1926), and Alberto Nin Frías (1932). The world Depression and the rise of Nazism put a stop to most serious homosexual research.

In 1950 the contemporary gay movement began in Southern California, at first with little consciousness of its European predecessor. Gradually a certain number of historical articles made their way into such movement periodicals as *The Ladder*, *Mattachine Review*, *One*, and *One Quarterly*. In France *Arcadie*, thanks to one of its editors, Marc Daniel (Michel Duchein), published a considerable amount of historical material. Almost without exception, university scholars were afraid to touch the subject—even under a pseudonym. As a result much of the work was done by autodidacts toiling under less than ideal conditions. Since most of this scholarship was done under movement auspices, it tended to reflect relevant concerns: compiling a brief of injustices (histories of oppression) and biographical sketches of exemplary gay men and women of the past.

In the 1960s this atmosphere began to change. The sexual revolution itself made human sexuality an appropriate object of research. Then a new emphasis on social and intellectual history appeared, stemming in large measure from the group around the French periodical

*Annales*. Yet standards for homosexual and lesbian history continued to be contested, as seen in the quarrel in the 1980s over the **Social Construction** approach. Although several useful syntheses of the world history of homosexuality have appeared, much material, especially from **Islam, China**, and other non-Western cultures has not yet been properly studied and published, so that undoubtedly these will be superseded.

*Conclusion.* Without attempting to forecast the content of particular future researches, it may be worthwhile to offer a tentative scheme of how this research will be allocated. Here is a five-level model for the investigations of sexual meanings and behaviors in historical context.

(1) The universal level grounded in biology. This most general level recognizes that in human beings the libido emerges forcefully in adolescence and is capable of direction to a single gender. Further investigation of biological parameters is not to be discouraged but encouraged. There is also the possibility of detection of universals that are not, in any obvious sense, biological, as the universals of language, some of which are governed by principles of logic which must also be observed by thinking machines, which are not biological. They are suprabiological.

(2) *Kulturkreise* (supraregional cultural entities). As employed by some Central European ethnologists, the *Kulturkreis* is a large complex of societies in which certain cultural constants can be observed. Examples would be the Bantu-speaking peoples of southern **Africa** and the **Paleo-Siberian peoples**. The *berdache* phenomenon, which is historically recorded not only in North America but also in Western Siberia and Madagascar, would be a good example of a same-sex *Kulturkreis*. Another is the *kadesh* (cult prostitute type), found in many cultures of classical antiquity. The possibility of "submerged *Kulturkreise*," where only a few islands survive of once much larger

complexes, must be entertained. If Bernard Sergent is right, the institution of pederasty, known from the record for only a few **Indo-European** peoples, is the relict of a once-vast family.

(3) Migration of individual motifs across cultural boundaries. For example, the category of the "unnatural" was first applied to same-sex behavior by **Plato** and his circle in classical Greece. It found its way into the Pauline corpus of the **New Testament**, being transmitted by medieval Scholasticism to the present. Of course such "unit-ideas" undergo modification according to context, but continuity must also be recognized. If one is studying the unnatural in, say, nineteenth-century texts it does not suffice to limit one's horizon to that century, especially since reading of the classics was still widespread during that period. The history-of-ideas methodology developed many years ago by Arthur O. Lovejoy offers guidance in this approach.

(4) Cultural epochs. There are attitudes that are specific to particular periods, such as the later Western Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. In investigating these care must be taken not to overinsulate them from what came before and what followed after in the manner of Michel Foucault's epistemes. One must also beware of a too-easy acceptance of economic and social determinism, where "superstructure" attitudes are simply derived from the supposedly all-determining base or *Unterbau*. The detection of a pervasive pattern of such determinisms is the holy grail of the historical materialists of the **Marxist** tradition. Without denying such relationships in this or that case, one must be sceptical of the overall validity of such a research program, especially in view of levels 1-3.

(5) Temporary fashions lasting only one or two generations. The "beatnik" organization of sexuality of the 1960s and 70s (though it has roots and successors like anything else) seems a relatively limited phenomenon. So perhaps was the molly subculture of early eighteenth-

century England, which was snuffed out before it had much chance to develop.

The advantage of such a scheme is that it encourages scholars to pursue investigations in all time frames, from the longest (humanity itself) to the shortest (a single generation). It does not anticipate constants, but allows one to correlate those that seem to be emerging, however tentatively.

See also **Typology**.

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## HOBOES

The hobo subculture of the United States is now largely a thing of the past, as it flourished when the railway was the only means of travel over long distances, and began to decline when the automobile and the truck shifted America's transport to the roads and highways. The best studies of this marginal subculture were done at the end of the nineteenth century and in the first two decades of the twentieth. There seems to be no precise European counterpart, though the vagabonds known from late medieval times constitute an anticipation.

The hobo was a permanently unemployed vagabond who lived by begging and had mastered the art of life "on the road" with a variety of schemes and tricks. Characteristically the hoboes lived along the railway lines, taking refuge in unguarded freight cars or nestling in the grass near watering tanks. The hobo subculture originated in the western United States and spread eastward. Recruited at first from the ranks of Civil War veterans who could not adjust to peacetime existence, the hoboes were joined by adolescents who had left home in search of freedom and adventure, by unsuccessful crimi-

nals reduced to beggary, and also by alcoholics who had lost their jobs and families and had reached "the bottom of the heap."

In this society of the lower depths—vividly, though reticently recalled in Jack London's memoir *The Road* (1907)—homosexuality largely took the form of pederastic relations between adult hoboes and their teen-aged companions. The youth, known as a "prushun," was obliged by the unwritten law of the hobo fraternity to be the virtual slave of the "jocker," his protector. The "prushuns" were generally between 10 and 15 years of age, occasionally older or younger. In every town the pair visited the "prushun" had to beg for their keep, and lack of success brought him harsh punishment from the older male. The boy was periodically beaten by his protector in a manner that was but an exaggerated form of the discipline then customarily meted out to the young, though the modern observer would perceive sado-masochistic undertones in the liaisons.

The sexual aspect of the relationship usually consisted of interfemoral intercourse, sometimes of anal. The passive partner is described as enjoying the physical side of the contact. Men who engaged in these relations generally preferred a "prushun" to a woman. Those who had served in the army or navy and then made their way into hobo life are mentioned as likely to be exclusively homosexual in their preferences. A few hoboes are said to have adopted homosexuality because of the scarcity of women in their milieu, as they were outnumbered by men a hundred to one. The gruff masculinity of the older partner was usually matched by a femininity in the younger one—a phenomenon of the sexual culture of the lower class in general. The male hustler also appeared as a denizen of this underworld. The jails of the period reflected this side of hobo life, and boys incarcerated in them were forced to submit to the older inmates. When the boy grew old enough to fend for himself, he