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**Introite! Nam et hoc templum naturae est! Classical Literature as a Reference System for Karl Heinrich Ulrichs' Theory of Homosexuality**

The founding of the *Wissenschaftlich-humanitäre Komitee* by Magnus Hirschfeld and the first petition towards the abolition of the anti-homosexual paragraph 175 in the German Reichstag in 1897 are generally considered in the gay historiography the beginning of the "gay movement." Berlin's Gay Museum thus celebrated the supposed centennial anniversary of the birth of the movement in the summer of 1997 with the exhibition "Goodbye to Berlin—100 Years of the Gay Movement".

But this dating is in need of correction. Thirty years prior, on August 29, 1867, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs stepped up to the lectern at the Sixth Congress of German Jurists in Munich, his "heart pounding heavily," and publicly defended his proposal for decriminalization of male-male love: "that the inborn love of men for the male gender [&] should go unpunished."

This demonstration of „Gay Courage“ (as Rosa von Praunheim's film on Ulrichs is titled) was preceded by a series of booklets under the radical motto "*Vincula frango* [I will tear the bonds asunder!]" in which Ulrichs attempts to offer a "scientific" explanation of the "riddle of love between men". Five individual articles with the programmatic Latin titles *Vindex* ("Liberator"), *Inclusa* ("Enclosed"), *Vindicta* ("Staff of Freedom"), *Formatrix* ("Nature Creating"), and *Ara Spei* ("Altar of Hope") were already published before the congress, and seven further articles were to follow. Ulrichs, who Sigusch terms "the first gay man of world history," developed in a total of twelve "*Researches on the Riddle of Love between Men*" (1864-1879) the "first modern theory of male-male attraction."

Unlike Magnus Hirschfeld, Ulrichs decided to make a unique kind of "coming out": in 1862, two years before the publication of the first two "studies" *Vindex* and *Inclusa*, he informed his family of his sexual disposition in four confessional letters. In 1867, he dropped the pseudonym Numa Numantius, publishing from then on under his own name: "today I am opening the visor."

This paper will focus on Ulrichs' method and scholarly approach. From the very beginning, this "man of universal scholarship" uses Greek and Roman literature as a model and evidence for his theory. Already his mere choice of terminology ("*Uranismus*" for mm love, "*Uranier*" and "*Urning*" for male-loving men, and "*Dionäer*" or "*Dioning*" for a woman-loving men) is based on an interpretation of Pausanias' speech on the two forms of Eros, the two Aphrodites in Plato's *Symposium*.

Arguing that the urning has a "woman's soul confined by a man's body" (*anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa*), Ulrichs adapts Plato's notion that the body holds the soul like a prison. He also uses passages from Greco-Roman literature to support and certify the main theses of his theory and his own empirical observations. Two examples:

The presentation of evidence in *Inclusa*, in a section subtitled "Scholarly Evidence for the Inborn Nature of mm Sexual Love" ends with a listing of "Evidence from <ancient> Authors for the Inborn Character of Umic Love": Plato's *Symposium*, Phaedrus and Petronius. The "wonderful pleasure of touch" is not only supported by the evidence of subjective experience ("do we feel attracted to one another by an invisible [&] power": *Inclusa*, p. 24), but also supported by "further evidence" like Xenophon's *Symposium*, Historia Augusta's *Heliogabal*, and Plato's *Politeia*.

A deeper analysis of the ancient reference texts will show that Ulrichs prefers to refer to Latin authors. He here differs significantly from other participants in the early struggle towards the emancipation of male-male love, like Paul Brandt (a.k.a. Hans Licht), who with his series "Der *paidon eros* in der griechischen Literatur" (I-X: 1906-1922) in the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* ignores the Roman world in a Winckelmanian spirit.

In contrast, Ulrichs argument focuses on Petronius, Phaedrus, Juvenal, and particularly Martial. He even integrates the last of these into his classification scheme: unlike Ulrichs, who considers himself a "*Weibling*," Ulrichs finds Martial a typical representative of a "virile" "*Mannling*".

Before this backdrop, it must seem like a painful loss that Ulrichs anthology "*Nemus sacrum*" (Sacred Grove), a collection of umic poetry [&] of the Greeks, Romans, Persians [&] and the Germans, which he had planned from the very beginning, was never realized. We have a vague notion of what this collection would have contained from a preliminary sketch of topics, but the file with the material fell victim to the whim of the Prussian police, when after Ulrichs' second imprisonment on April 2, 1867, all his manuscripts were confiscated in the course of a house search and never returned.