The Encyclopedia
The Psychology
ABERRATION, SEXUAL

The notion of sexual aberration had some currency in the literature of psychiatry during the first half of the twentieth century. Although the expression encompassed a whole range of behaviors regarded as abnormalities, it is probably safe to say that it was used more with reference to homosexuality than for any other "disorder." In due course it yielded to deviation, and then to deviance—somewhat less negative concepts.

The term derives from the Latin aberrare, "to go astray, wander off." It is significant that the first recorded English use of the verb "aberr" (now obsolete), by John Bellenden in 1536, refers to religious heresy. For nineteenth-century alienists and moralists, the word aberration took on strong connotations of mental instability or madness. Thus, in its application to sexual nonconformity, the concept linked up with the notion of "moral insanity," that is to say, the nonclinical manifestation of desire for variant experience. The notion of departure from a presumed statistical norm, and the prefix ab-, connect with the concept of abnormal. The proliferation of such terms in the writings of psychiatrists, physicians, moralists, and journalists in the first half of the twentieth century reveals a profound ambivalence with regard to human variation, in which prescriptive condemnation struggles with, and often overcomes, descriptive neutrality.

ABNORMALITY

The lay public remains much concerned about the question of whether homosexual behavior is abnormal. In medical pathology the term "abnormal" refers to conditions which interfere with the physical well-being and functioning of a living body. Applied to social life, such an approach entails subjective judgments about what the good life is. Moreover, insofar as homosexual and other variant lifestyles can be considered "maladjusted," that assumption reflects the punitive intrusion of socially sanctioned prescriptions rather than any internal limitations imposed by the behavior itself. In other words, once the corrosive element of self-contempt, which is introjected by the social environment, is removed, homosexual men and lesbian women would appear to function as well as anyone else. Another difficulty with the concept is that the pair normal/abnormal suggests a sharp dichotomy. Kinsey's findings, however, suggest that sexual behavior is best understood as a continuum with many individuals falling between the poles and shifting position over the course of their lives.

It is true but trivial that in a purely statistical sense homosexual behavior in our society is abnormal, since it is not practiced by most people most of the time. But the same is the case with such behavior as opera singing, the monastic vocation, medicine—all of which are valued occupations, but ones practiced only by small segments of the population. Labeling sopranos, monks, or physicians abnormal would be tautological—it amounts to saying that a member of a group is a member of a group. Needless to say, we are not accustomed to refer to such pursuits as abnormal because they do not, as a rule, incur social disapproval. Sometimes the matter is referred to biology, by enquiring as to whether animals practice it. (See
animal homosexuality.) Once again, such cultural activities as religion and medicine are not practiced by animals, but this lack does not compel us to condemn them as abnormal. Because of the negative freight that has accumulated over the years, augmented by numerous courses in "abnormal psychology," it is best that the term be used very sparingly—if at all—in connection with sexual behavior.

The history of the word itself reveals an interesting, if obscure interchange between linguistic development and judgmentalism. As the *Oxford English Dictionary* noted (with unconscious irony) in 1884, "few words show such a series of pseudo-etymological perversions." The process that occasioned this unusual lexicographical outburst is as follows. Greek anomalos ("not even or level") produced Latin anomalus—and eventually our word anomalous. Then, through confusion with norma, "rule," the Latin word was corrupted to anormalis, hence French and Middle English anormal. The parasitic "b" crept in as the second letter of the modern word through scribal intervention rather than the natural evolution of speech. (Compare the intrusive "d" and "h" in "adventure" and "author" respectively.)

It is true that classical Latin had abnormis, "departing from the rule," but it did not possess abnormalis. The presence of the "b" in our word abnormal serves to create an unconscious association with "aberrant," "abreaction," etc. To summarize, the pejorative connotations are enhanced by the intrusion of two consonants, "b" and "r," which—the etymology shows—do not belong there.

Two rare anticipations of modern usage may be noted as curiosities. In a harangue against sodomites, the French thirteenth-century Roman delarose (lines 19619-20) refers to those who practice "exceptions anormales." In 1869 the homosexual theorist Károly Mária Kertbeny coined a word, normalsexual (= heterosexual), in contrast with homosexual (which by inference is not normal). Although Kertbeny's first word, in striking contrast to the second, gained no currency, it did anticipate the twentieth-century contrast of normal and abnormal sexuality.


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**ABOMINATION**

In contemporary usage the terms abomination and abominable refer in a generic way to something that is detestable or loathsome. Because of Old Testament usage, however—Leviticus 18:22, "Thou shalt not lie with mankind as with womankind: it is abomination" (cf. Leviticus 20:13; Deuteronomy 22:5 and 23:19; and I Kings 14:24)—the words retain a special association as part of the religious condemnation of male homosexual behavior. In Elizabethan English they were normally written "abomination," "abominable" as if they derived from Latin ab- and homo—hence "departing from the human, inhuman." In fact, the core of the Latin word is the religious term omen.

In any event the notion of abomination owes its force to its appearance in Jerome's Vulgate translation of the Bible, where it corresponds to Greek bdelygma and Hebrew ābēāb. The latter term denotes behavior that violates the covenant between God and Israel, and is applied to Canaanite trade practices, idolatry, and polytheism. The aversion of the religious leaders of the Jewish community after the return from the Babylonian captivity to the "abominable customs" of their heathen neighbors, combined with the Zoroastrian prohibition of homosexual behavior, inspired the legal provisions added to the Holiness Code of Leviticus in the fifth century before the Christian era that were to be normative for Hellenistic
Judaism and then for Pauline Christianity. The designation of homosexual relations as an "abomination" or "abominable crime" in medieval and modern sacral and legal texts echoes the wording of the Old Testament.

The complex web of prohibitions recorded in the Book of Leviticus has defied full explanation from the standpoint of comparative religion. Recently influential among social scientists (though not among Biblical scholars) has been the interpretation of the anthropologist Mary Douglas (Purity and Danger, London, 1967), who views the abominations as part of a concern with the boundaries of classification categories, strict adherence to which attests one's purity in relation to divinity.

ABRAHAMIC RELIGIONS

According to the French Catholic Orientalist Louis Massignon (1883–1962), the Abrahamic religions are the three major faiths—Judaism, Christianity, Islam—that look to the patriarch Abraham as their spiritual father. In their belief systems, Abraham ranks as the first monotheist who rejected the pagan divinities and their idols and worshipped the true God who revealed himself to him. (Modern scholars have concluded that the book of Genesis is a historical novel written only after the return of the exiles from the Babylonian captivity, and that monotheism in fact began with Akhenaten, the heretical pharaoh of Egypt in the fourteenth century b.c. But completely eradicated in Egypt itself after his death, Akhenaten's innovations left no resonance except for their possible survival in the neighboring Israelite monarchy, which began its rule under Egyptian cultural hegemony.)

All the Abrahamic religions proclaim homosexual behavior, a taboo that derives from the Holiness Code of the book of Leviticus and the legend of Sodom as these were received in Palestinian and then Hellenistic Judaism between the fifth century B.C. and the first century, when the writings of such Jewish apologists as Philo Judaeus and Flavius Josephus show it in a fully developed form. Thus the negative attitude of all three faiths has a single Old Testament source; its reception in Christianity is secondary and in Islam tertiary, the Islamic tradition having mainly been shaped by Nestorian Christianity of the early seventh century. All three contrast in the most striking manner with the role that homosexual behavior and the art and literature inspired by homoerotic feeling played in Greco-Roman paganism—a legacy that the medieval and modern world has never been able fully to suppress or disavow, but which has driven scholars and translators to acts of censorship and artful silence when confronted with texts and artifacts bequeathed by the ancient civilizations.

The claim of homophobic propagandists that the prohibition of homosexuality is universal rests essentially upon its proscription in the Abrahamic religions, which have primarily condemned male homosexuality. Lesbianism is nowhere mentioned in the Old Testament, the New Testament, or the Koran. The passage in Romans 1:26 that has often been interpreted as referring to lesbian sexuality actually concerns another Old Testament myth, the sexual union of the "sons of God" and the "daughters of men" in Genesis 6:1–4. The association of Sodom's twin city of Gomorrah with lesbianism is an accretion of the later Middle Ages and confined to Latin Christianity.

As for the texts in Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13, modern critical scholarship has identified them as part of a legal novella from the Persian period, and the entire Mosaic Law as a document compiled by Ezra and the "men of the Great Assembly" in the years 458–444 B.C., hence long after the return of the exiles from the Babylonian Captivity. The account of the destruction of Sodom is a geographical legend inspired by the salinization and aridity of the shores of the Dead Sea, a result of the
lowering of the prehistoric water level that exposed the barren vicinity to full view. The book of Genesis and its later elaboration in Christian and Islamic legend have in their totality been dismissed from history, as modern scholars with access to Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources now conclude that the authors of the Old Testament had no knowledge of any historic event earlier than 1500 B.C. and that there was no urban culture in Palestine in the so-called patriarchal age.

While Jewish communal life in Palestine laid the foundations, the prohibition on homosexual behavior could not be enlarged into a Kantian imperative for all humanity without a Hellenic supplement. Some Greek thinkers had independently formulated a condemnation of homosexuality on philosophical and ethical grounds, the chief of which was that sexuality was intended by nature solely for the purpose of procreation. But this view remained a philosopher's dictum with no support in religion or mythology. It was Judaism that brought to the question the uncompromising prohibitions of Leviticus and the accompanying death penalty, a sanction exemplified by the myth of the destruction of Sodom. The four lines of attack—philosophical, ethical, legal—religious, and mythical—converged in Philo Judaeus (ca. 20 B.C.—ca.A.D. 45), who formulated in flawless Attic prose the arguments that Christianity was to adopt as the basis for the intolerance of homosexuality in its own civilization.

The enforcement of the taboo in the three Abrahamic religions is quite another matter. For most of its history Judaism lacked the state power with which to impose the Levitical death penalty, but could resort to ostracism and exclusion from the Jewish community. Christianity, and above all Latin Christianity, succeeded in creating not just a fearsome legal prohibition, but also an intolerant public opinion that mercilessly ostracized not just those guilty of "unnatural vice," but even those accused or merely suspected of it, and so burdened even exclusive homossexuals with the mask of a heterosexual identity. Islam, even after adopting this part of the Abrahamic tradition, never effectively superimposed it upon the more tolerant folkways of the Mediterranean societies which it conquered and won to its faith, but even allowed homoerotic literature to flourish in the languages cultivated by its adherents, though plastic art celebrating male beauty was restricted by dogmatic opposition to image-making.

Louis Massignon composed a work entitled Les trois prières d'Abraham, II, La prière sur Sodome (1930), inspired by Abraham's intercession for the Sodomites in Genesis 18, in which he confessed to have discovered the "spiritual causes of inversion." It is the most sophisticated piece of theological homophobia the twentieth century has produced. A summary of his ideas appears in "Les trois prières d'Abraham, père de tous les croyants," Dieu Vivant, 13 (1949), 20–23.

However deep-seated and tradition-hallowed the prohibition of homosexuality in the Abrahamic religions may be, it stems in the last analysis from pre-scientific ignorance and superstition and not from beliefs accredited by modern science and philosophy. The contemporary gay liberation movement may be regarded as a rejection of the Abrahamic tradition in regard to homosexuality and a return to the more tolerant and accepting attitude of Greco-Roman paganism, even though some gay activists seek to sanction their beliefs in the guise of pseudo-Christian or pseudo-Jewish communities. On the other hand, the unanimity of the three religions authorizes their adherents to collaborate in good faith against gay liberation and other goals of sexual reform, however much they have hated, shunned, and even persecuted one another over the centuries because of their mutually exclusive claims to be the sole revealed religion.

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ABU NUWAS (CA. 757–CA. 814)

Arab poet. One of the greatest of all Arab writers, Abu Nuwas was the outstanding poet of the Abbasid era (750–1258). Abu Nuwas al-Hasan ibn Hani al-Hakami was born in Al-Ahwaz; his father was from southern Arabia and his mother was Persian. His first teacher was the poet Waliba ibn al-Hubab (died 786), a master who initiated him into the joys of pederasty as well as poetry.

Abu Nuwas continued his education in theology and grammar, after which he decided to try his luck as an author in the capital city of Baghdad. Here he soon acquired great fame as a poet who excelled in lyrical love poetry (ghazal), in lampoons and satire, and in mujun—frivolous and humorous descriptions of indecent or obscene matters. He became the boon companion of the Caliph Al-Amin (ruled 809–813), son and successor of the illustrious Harun ar-Rashid (ruled 786–809). His irresistible humor and irony made him a favorite figure in popular stories of the Arab world, where he played the role of court jester. (He makes several appearances in The Thousand and One Nights.)

Abu Nuwas’s favorite themes were wine and boys. He was one of the first Arab poets to write lyrical love poetry about boys, and his genius brought the genre to great heights. His preferred type of youth was the pale gazelle, whose face shone like the moon, with roses on his cheeks and ambergris in his long curly hair, with musk in his kisses and pearls between his lips, with firm boyish buttocks, a slender and supple body, and a clear voice. Beardless boys held the greatest attraction—the growth of hair on the cheek was likened to that of apes—but here also Abu Nuwas flouted social norms by describing down on the cheek as erotically appealing, since it preserved beauty from indiscreet glances and gave a different flavor to kisses.

The only woman who played an important part in his life was Janan, a slave girl, but, because of his libertine conduct, she never trusted the sincerity of his love. When she asked him to renounce his love of boys, he refused, saying that he was one of the “people of Lot,” with reference to the Arab view that the Biblical Lot was the founder of homosexual love. Abu Nuwas was sexually interested in women or girls only when they looked like boys, but even then he considered their vagina too dangerous a gulf to cross. As he said symbolically: “I have a pencil which stumbles if I use it on the front of the paper, but which takes great strides on the back.” Lesbianism he derided as pointless: “It is fat rubbed up by fat, and nothing more. And rub as one may, when down to bare skin, there is nothing to rise in response. There is no wicked shaft that is smooth at the tip to drive itself home and sink into place.”

Abu Nuwas was notorious for his mockery and satire, in which the sexual intemperance of women and the sexual passivity of men were favorite themes. A lot of people, even those in high places, were verbally “buggered” by him: “Your penis would not be soft if you did not widen your anus!” Such verbal abuse landed him in prison twice; he was also jailed once for drinking wine.

He liked to shock society by writing openly about things which transgressed the norms and values of Islam. For example, he was probably the first Arab poet to write about the taboo subject of masturbation, which he declared to be inferior to the love of boys, but preferable to marriage. He did not hide his “sinful” behavior behind a cloak of silence, as was expected in Islam; instead he openly boasted of his love of boys and wine: “Away with hypocrisy... discreet debauchery means little to me. I want to enjoy everything in broad
daylight." Social blame only served as an enticement, and regrets were not to be expected.

At the very end of his life, Abu Nuwas underwent a sudden reformation, and devoted his final days to the composition of verses in favor of Islamic holiness. Yet it is not these verses which brought him his fame.

See also Ghulamiyya; Islam.


Maarten Schild

ACHILLES

Greek mythological hero. Achilles was the son of Peleus and Thetis, usually represented as their only child. All the evidence suggests that the Greeks thought of him as a man, real or imaginary, and not as a "faded" god, and that his widespread cult resulted mainly from his prominence in the Iliad. His portrait was drawn once and for all by Homer, and later writers supplied details from their own imagination or from local traditions of obscure origin.

In the Iliad he appears as a magnificent barbarian, somewhat outside the sphere of Achaeans civilization, though highly esteemed for his personal beauty and valor. Alone among the figures of Homer, he clings to the archaic practice of making elaborate and costly offerings, including human victims. His furious and un gov ernable anger, on which the plot of the Iliad turns, is a weakness of which he himself is conscious. When not aroused by wrath or grief, he can often be merciful, but in his fury he spares no one. He is a tragic hero, being aware of the shortness of his life, and his devoted friendship for Patroclus is one of the major themes of the epic. Later Greek speculation made the two lovers, and also gave Achilles a passion for Troilus.

The homoerotic elements in the figure of Achilles are characteristically Hellenic. He is supremely beautiful, kalos as the later vase inscriptions have it; he is ever youthful as well as short-lived, yet he foresees and mourns his own death as he anticipates the grief that it will bring to others. His attachment to Patroclus is an archetypal male bond that occurs elsewhere in Greek culture: Damon and Pythias, Orestes and Pylades, Harmodius and Aristogiton are pairs of comrades who gladly face danger and death for and beside each other. From the Semitic world stem Gilgamesh and Enkidu, as well as David and Jonathan. The friendship of Achilles and Patroclus is mentioned explicitly only once in the Iliad, and then in a context of military excellence; it is the comradeship of warriors who fight always in each other's ken: "From then on the son of Thetis urged that never in the moil of Ares should Patroclus be stationed apart from his own man-slaughtering spear."

The Homeric nucleus of the theme of Achilles as homosexual lover lies in his relationship with Patroclus. The friendship with Patroclus blossomed into overt homosexual love in the fifth and fourth centuries, in the works of Aeschylus, Plato, and Aeschines, and as such seems to have inspired the enigmatic verses in Lycophron's third-century Alexandria that make unrequited love Achilles' motive for killing Troilus. By the fourth century of our era this story had been elaborated into a sadomasochistic version in which Achilles causes the death of his beloved by crushing him in a lover's embrace. As a rule, the post-classical tradition shows Achilles as heterosexual and having an exemplary asexual friendship with Patroclus.

The figure of Achilles remained polyvalent. The classical Greek pederastic tradition only sporadically assimilated
him, new variations appeared in pagan writings after the Golden Age of Hellenic civilization, and medieval Christian writers deliberately suppressed the homoerotic nuances of the figure. But in the world of Greek gods and heroes, Achilles remains the supreme example of the warrior imbued with passionate devotion to his comrade-in-arms.

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**ACKERLEY, JOSEPH RANDOLPH (1896–1967)**

British writer and editor. In 1918 Ackerley wrote a play "The Prisoners of War" about the cabin fever and repressed homoerotic longings of his own stint in a German camp during World War I. It was produced in 1925, by which time Ackerley had become a protégé of E. M. Forster. Forster arranged for him a nebulous position with the Maharajah of Chhatarpur, whose misadventures in pursuit of homosexual love Ackerley mercilessly lampooned in his travel book _Hindoo Holiday_ (1929).

The frustrations of Ackerley's own inhibited sexual encounters with working-class men and men in uniforms led him to concentrate his affections on his dog, an Alsatian named Queenie, who is the main romantic interest of _My Dog Tulip_ (1956), and of his one novel, _We Think the World of You_ (1960), which juxtaposes the pleasures of owning a dog with the difficulties of having a lower-class beloved. After Queenie's death and Ackerley's retirement from the BBC (where he had been an editor of _The Listener_, 1935–59), he journeyed to Japan, where he had a modicum of sexual gratification. Ackerley wrote an obituary of Forster and sold Forster's letters to the University of Texas, then predeceased him by three years.

Just before his death, Ackerley completed a memoir _My Father and Myself_ in which he fantasized that as a youth his guardsman father had prostituted himself to rich patrons, thereby securing the financial stability that was eventually to afford his son the opportunity to rent later generations of guardsmen for mutual masturbation. Unfortunately, many of his admirers have taken this account to be established fact.


*Stephen O. Murray*

**ACQUIRED IMMUNE DEFICIENCY SYNDROME**

_See AIDS._

**ACTIVE–PASSIVE CONTRAST**

Common usage divides homosexual behavior into active and passive roles. These terms are ambivalent and often confusing.

A truism of physics is that bodies may be either at motion or at rest. Inert objects, however, can only respond to external attraction and repulsion. It is the property of living things that they can initiate activity as well as respond (or refuse to respond) to stimuli. This last distinction is the basis of commonsense notions of active personalities as against passive ones. Some individuals seem to expend energy freely while others conserve it. In addition to this expend–conserve model, the active–passive contrast corresponds in large measure to those of lead–follow and command–obey.

Around such notions the popular morality of ancient Greece and Rome constructed a sexual dichotomy that classified participants in sexual acts not so
much according to the male–female difference, based on body build and genitalia, or the heterosexual–homosexual contrast of object choice, both of which are familiar to modern thinking, but in a stark opposition of the doer and the one who is done to. The doer (agent) is the phallic male, his receiving partner (patient or pathic) either a female or a pubescent boy. (Sometimes older males could enact the passive role, but they were generally disprized in consequence, for the paradigm admits of only one role for the adult male.) The active–passive contrast largely corresponds to the penetrator–penetratee dichotomy. In modern sexual encounters, the penetrator can be, with respect to overall body movement, largely passive, amounting to a contradiction. The ancients avoided this problem by their tendency to analyze oral–phallic activity as irrumation, that is, where the penetrator engages his partner with vigorous buccal thrusts. A common belief in this system is the notion that only the active partner experiences pleasure; the role of the passive is simply to endure. It is easy to see how such a model of dominator and dominated would accord with the mindset of a slave-owning society.

This contrast of active vs. passive is abundantly illustrated in Greek and Latin sexual texts, and as these are the foundation of the Western tradition their formulae have often been echoed, though changed—consciously or unconsciously—to fit new social norms. The contrast is also found in medieval Scandinavia, in our prisons, jails, and reformatories, and to a large extent in contemporary Latin America.

All these manifestations stem from popular modes of thought which tend to privilege the active, even predatory male. Other trends were found, however, in more cultivated spheres of Greco-Roman thinking. Self-restraint is a quality much praised in ancient ethical philosophy, and insofar as this ideal filtered down it tended to mitigate the notion that the more rapacious copulation the active male could engage in the better. The Platonic tradition also reserved a special place for contemplation, a preference which passed into Stoicism, where it even may take the form of commendation of nonaction. These contemplative and Stoic trends migrated into Christianity, which however did break with classical tradition by excluding the adolescent youth from the category of licit sexual objects, thus clearing the way for the male–female dichotomy that has been dominant in Western culture ever since. Nonetheless, the pederastic ideal never completely died out, despite the winds of theological disapproval. Many medieval and Renaissance texts attest to the survival of pederastic patterns, at least among a cultivated few.

In modern heterosexual practice the identification of the male with the active and the female with the passive was sealed by the repressive norm of the passionless female and the standard injunction of the “missionary position,” in which the penetrating male lies atop his partner. Feminism has sought to combat such restrictions and today a variety of sexual positions are noted in every sex manual. With respect to male and female homosexual conduct, however, the notion lingers that sexual activity, and indeed the whole relationship, must be structured around the active–passive contrast. Thus gay men and lesbians are often asked: “Are you active or passive?” It is frequently difficult to persuade the interlocutor that the two roles are assumed alternately, or that one pattern may prevail in bed while the opposite occurs in everyday life. That is to say, a “butch” lesbian accustomed to take the lead in social encounters may be responsive rather than aggressive in bed. For a time “politically correct” gay and lesbian thinking condemned sex-role differences in couples, claiming that they were a reactionary mimicry of heterosexual norms, but it is now generally recognized that
whether these patterns are to be honored or overcome should be a matter of individual choice.

See also Pederasty, Slavery.

Wayne R. Dynes

**Activist, Gay**

Familiar in the 1970s, the expression “gay activist” has become less common owing to the ebbing of the more strenuous and utopian aspects of the gay liberation movement. It served to denote someone choosing to devote a major share of his or her energies to the accomplishment of social change that will afford a better life for homosexual men and lesbian women. Its most famous institutional embodiment, subsequently imitated in many parts of the world, was the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA), formed in New York City in the wake of the 1969 Stonewall Rebellion. The group took as its symbol the Greek letter lambda, apparently because of its association with energy transformation in physics. Unlike the New Left, GAA was expressly a “one-issue” organization, refusing to submerge the cause of gay rights in a network of social change groups, what came to be known as the Rainbow Coalition. In Europe the term “gay militant” is sometimes found as a variant, but in North America the word militant is generally eschewed because of its Old Left connotations and limitations.

The history of the idea of gay activism displays a complicated pedigree. The concept is rooted ultimately in the perennial contrast between the active and the contemplative life—the latter being traditionally preferred. In 1893, however, the French Catholic philosopher Maurice Blondel in essence turned the tables in his book *L'Action*. Blondel, in keeping with the vitalist currents of the day, held that philosophy must take its start not from abstract thought alone but from the whole of our life—thinking, feeling, willing.

Shortly thereafter, in Central Europe Rudolph Eucken, who received the Nobel Prize for literature in 1906, developed his own philosophy of Aktivismus. At this time many figures of Germany’s political and literary-artistic avant-garde were drawn to Franz Pfemfert’s periodical *Die Aktion* (1911–32). Further permutations occurred with the Flemish nationalist Activists in Belgium and the Hungarian artistic movement, Aktivismus, that arose in the aftermath of World War I. As early as 1915, however, Kurt Hiller, a political theorist and journalist, as well as an advocate of homosexual rights, drew several strands together in his broader concept of Aktivismus, urging the intelligentsia to abandon ivory tower isolation and participate fully in political life. How the term activist in its political (and gay movement) sense reached North America in the 1970s can only be surmised. The mediation of German refugee scholars is likely, as is suggested by this 1954 quotation by Arthur Koestler: “he was not a politician but a propagandist, not a ‘theoretician’ but an ‘activist’.” (The reference, from *The Invisible Writing*, is to Willi Münzenberg, an energetic Communist leader in Paris in the 1930s.)

Wayne R. Dynes

**Adeßward Fersen, Baron Jacques d’**

(1880–1923)

French aristocrat and writer. Descended from Marie Antoinette’s lover Axel Fersen, the wealthy young baron wrote several volumes of poetry and fiction in the first decade of the century, including *Hymnaire d’Adonis, Chansons légères, Lord Lyllian*, and *Une jeunesse*. In addition, he edited and contributed to twelve monthly numbers of a literary periodical, *Akademos* (1909). At the age of twenty-three he was arrested for taking photographs of naked Parisian schoolboys, but was allowed to go into exile on the...
island of Capri for several years, later returning to France after having visited Sri Lanka and China.

The great love of his life was the boy Nino Cesarini, who lived with him in the Villa Lysis on Capri, which was filled with statues of naked youths and which is now overrun by weeds and stray cats. Adelswärd Fersen also wrote poems to a thirteen-year-old Eton schoolboy. He was the model for Baron Robert Marsac Lagerström in Compton Mackenzie's amusing novel Vestal Fire (1927), and was the hero of Roger Peyrefitte's historical fiction L'exilé de Capri (1959). He died of a drug overdose in 1923, having for years been an opium and cocaine addict. He had modeled his life on that of Count Robert de Montesquiou, but the latter refused to have anything to do with him, for even in Capri Adelswärd Fersen had caused scandals. He was even associated with Essebac (as the novelist Achille Bécasse was known), Norman Douglas, and Baron von Gloeden. The story of his sexual life is to be found in his own books, in the works of Norman Douglas, and in Peyrefitte's novel, which is spoiled by a mixture of fact and fiction.


Stephen Wayne Foster

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**ADHESIVENESS**

The concept of adhesiveness was introduced into English by the phrenologist Johann Gaspar Spurzheim (1776–1832) in the meaning of "the faculty that causes human beings to be attached to one another." It derived ultimately from the Latin verb *adhaerere*, as in Genesis 2:24, where St. Jerome's equivalent of "Therefore shall a man . . . cleave unto his wife" is "Quam obrem . . . homo . . . adhaeret uxorixuae." Diffusion of the concept of adhesiveness by the (pseudo-)science of phrenology enabled it to become part of the special vocabulary of the emerging homosexual subculture of the nineteenth century. Phrenologists themselves grounded this passionate friendship—which could exist between members of opposite sexes as well as between those of the same sex—in the brain, giving it a material base and a congenital origin. Walt Whitman self-consciously narrowed the reference of the term "adhesive love"—which he also named "comradeship"—to homosexual relationships, and in so doing coded his writings for the initiated reader.

**Permutations of the Concept.**

George Combe (1784–1858), a middle-class lawyer from Edinburgh, met Spurzheim in 1815, and soon thereafter became a leader of British phrenology. His *Constitution of Man Considered in Relation to External Objects* (1828) became the basis of orthodox phrenology. His major contribution to the understanding of adhesiveness was his complex sense of the working of the "organ" and his additions to the iconography. He also contrasted the selfish side of adhesiveness with the nobler ends that had to be directed "by enlightened intellect and moral sentiment." Excess of adhesiveness could, however, amount to a disease.

At least two of the European contributors to the definition of adhesiveness may themselves have been homosexual: Spurzheim himself, and his younger Scottish contemporary Robert Macnish (1802–1837). In discussing women with small amativeness and large adhesiveness, he said that they "prefer the society of their own sex to that of men." Amativeness thus applied to relations between the sexes, while the other term was discretionally given the implicit meaning of "homoerotic attachment." Romantic passions between young people of the same sex Macnish deemed an "abuse of adhesiveness." He went so far as to describe a male couple whose mutual attachment was so excessive as to be "a disease."

There is no indication that Walt Whitman knew Macnish's writings. His own acquaintance with the phrenological
ADHESIVENESS

tradition came from the Americans associated with "Fowler and Wells," the "phrenological cabinet" that distributed the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* and later hired Whitman to write for their publication *Life Illustrated*. Owen Squire Fowler (1809–1887) took up phrenology with great gusto after hearing Spurzheim's lectures during his student days at Amherst College. In 1840 he published an *Elemental Phrenology* in which adhesiveness was defined as "Friendship; sociability; fondness for society; susceptibility of forming attachments; inclination to love, and desire to be loved..." When he treated adhesiveness at length, as he did repeatedly in journal articles in the following years, he was strong on repetitious rhetoric but weak in analysis. Little of his sermonizing derived from exact observation or rigorous debate.

Franz Joseph Gall (1758–1828), the founder of phrenology, had classified excessive adhesiveness as a "mania," which meant that it could fall within the scope of the physician's interest. However, in the middle of the nineteenth century medical science had not gone beyond defining quantitative (as opposed to qualitative) changes in the sexual drive as pathological. Homosexual tendencies were either dismissed as "excesses of friendship" or relegated to the category of "revolting moral aberrations."

**Walt Whitman.** Under the influence of Fowlerian phrenology Whitman developed his own ideas on the role of adhesiveness in his universal scheme of things. Whitman's self-conception was powerfully shaped by the reading of his head done by Lorenzo Fowler, which showed him to have immense potential, and in the wake of this event Whitman underwent a self-transformation that made him the bold prophet of a new vision of democracy.

In the 1856 edition of *Leaves of Grass* Whitman wrote:

Do you know what it is, as you pass, to be loved by strangers?
Do you know the talk of those turning eye-balls?
Here is adhesiveness—it is not previously fashioned—it is apropos.

The restriction to love between members of the same sex—which was not borrowed from the phrenologists—was Whitman's initial adaptation of the term. When later in *Democratic Vistas* he came to elaborate his new vision of society, he spoke of "the adhesive love, at least rivalling the amative love." For the phrenologists amativeness and adhesiveness had been distinct, but had not been so polarized, simply because the opposition heterosexual: homosexual did not yet exist in their minds, although they could recognize adhesiveness as "the fountain of another variety of mental symptoms."

Whitman can be seen in this light as a forerunner of Hans Blüher, who, in the second decade of the twentieth century, from an openly elitist and conservative standpoint exalted the role of homoeroticism and of male bonding in the maintenance of the state. For Whitman the core of social organization was same-sex comradeship, which he set at least potentially on a par with heterosexual marriage. He could now celebrate the equalizing effects of his version of adhesiveness, developing it as the basis of social reform in *Democratic Vistas* (1871). His ideal of comradeship linked both his early enthusiasm for the promiscuous anonymity of Manhattan and his later, more or less serial monogamy with his hopes for the future of American democracy.

**Aftermath.** In the remaining decades of the century, the few surviving phrenologists became painfully aware of the moral dangers of adhesiveness and of the injurious effects of the "excessive desire for friends." In 1898, three years after the disgrace of Oscar Wilde, the *Phrenological Journal*, now edited by Orson Fowler's younger sister, published a two-part ar-
ticle that dwelt as never before on the excesses of friendship, which "causes its possessor to seek company simply for the sake of being in it, whereby their time is wasted and they become a natural prey to the dishonest, tricky, unscrupulous, and vicious, who may take advantage of and link them into all sorts of obligatory concerns ruinous to their pockets and their morals."

Today discredited and forgotten, phrenology retains a historical interest as one of the disciplines that sought to analyze the causal factors in personality before a scientific psychology had emerged from philosophy. As such, it brought Whitman and perhaps others involved in the homosexual subculture of that day to a better understanding of themselves and of the potential of homoerotic urges for the positive task of nation-building. The notion of adhesiveness as related to male comradeship linked it to the paiderasteia of Greek antiquity, with its emphasis on loyalty to one's comrade in arms and on duty to the state of which one was a citizen—the latter being one of the sources of the modern democratic ideal.


Warren Johansson

ADLER, ALFRED (1870–1937)

Austrian psychiatrist, founder of Individual Psychology, commonly known as the Adlerian School. Like Sigmund Freud, Adler came from a lower middle-class Jewish family in Vienna. A central figure in Freud's psychoanalytic circle from 1902 to 1911, his heated disputes with the master in the latter year led to his seceding with several other members to form an independent group.

Adler's theories are technically less complex than those of Freud, and draw more directly on his experiences with patients of humbler social origin. As a result they have a commonsense quality that earned them considerable popularity in the middle decades of the twentieth century, a popularity that has since ebbed. Alfred Adler's thinking emphasized the individual's striving for power and self-esteem (with the inferiority complex often arising as an unwanted byproduct) and the patient's lifestyle—a concept that, much modified over the decades, was to play a notable role in the ideology of the gay movement.

Although he attained a qualified approbation of the goals of the women's movement, he insisted on classifying homosexuals among the "failures of life"—together with prostitutes and criminals. His writings on homosexuality began with a 52-page brochure in German in 1917 and continued sporadically through most of the rest of his life. Possessing little independent explanatory power, Alfred Adler's views on homosexuality are now chiefly of historical interest, as instances of stereotyped judgmentalism and reified folk belief of a kind not uncommon among professionals of his day. Beginning in the 1970s some adherents of (Adlerian) Individual Psychology proposed a less negative approach to homosexual behavior, but their revisionism was opposed by others.


Ward Houser

ADULT–ADULT SEXUALITY

See Androphilia
ADVERTISEMENTS,
PERSONAL

In the years before World War I, insertions by homosexuals began to appear in the personal columns ("petites annonces") of mainstream newspapers in France and Germany. Unlike contemporary graffiti, they avoided sexual explicitness and were couched in the guise of seeking friendship. No counterpart is known in English-speaking countries of the time. In the 1920s the homophile press of Germany became even bolder, but it was soon snuffed out by the Depression and the rise of the Nazis.

In the United States in the 1960s, the underground press represented by such Counterculture organs as The Berkeley Barb and The East Village Other began to push farther the boundaries of accepted expression—as seen in the printing of four-letter words and graphic descriptions of sexual acts in news stories. In order to enhance revenue, these papers ran personal ads soliciting sexual partners. This custom was taken over by the gay newspapers, some of which have quite extensive listings. Although they are explicit and often raunchily detailed as to the activities desired, to save space they tend to employ a code of abbreviations recalling that used by real-estate ads. The existence of these ads has enlarged the sexual marketplace beyond the usual sphere of face-to-face meeting. These ads are generally separate from those placed by "entrepreneurs of the body," models, masseurs, and escorts; for their services payment is expected (generally at a specified rate).

Analysis of the ads reveals different styles for men and women. Women's ads are less explicit and are more likely to turn upon qualities of personality such as one might seek in a friend. Male ads tend to show remarkable narrowness in somatic tastes—height, weight, hairiness, race, etc. Age restrictions in the desired partner are common, with parameters generally going considerably below the age of the person who places the ad, but rarely much above it. The coming of the AIDS crisis in the 1980s led to a decline in certain appeals (as for rimming), as well as more positive indications, such as the notation that the advertiser is "health conscious."

As a rule American and English mainstream newspapers do not accept personal ads for sex. In Europe, however, as a striking token of recent changes, they even appear in middle-class, "family" newspapers.


AESCHINES (ca. 397-ca. 322 B.C.)

Athenian orator. His exchanges with Demosthenes in the courts in 343 and 330 reflect the relations between Athens and Macedon in the era of Alexander the Great. Aeschines and Demosthenes were both members of the Athenian boule (assembly) in the year 347/46, and their disagreements led to sixteen years of bitter enmity. Demosthenes opposed Aeschines and the efforts to reach an accord with Philip of Macedon, while Aeschines supported the negotiations and wanted to extend them into a peace that would provide for joint action against aggressors and make it possible to do without Macedonian help. In 346/45 Demosthenes began a prosecution of Aeschines for his part in the peace negotiations; Aeschines replied with a charge that Timarchus, Demosthenes' ally, had prostituted himself with other males and thereby incurred atimia, "civic dishonor," which disqualified him from addressing the assembly. Aeschines' stratagem was successful, and Timarchus was defeated and disenfranchised.

The oration is often discussed because of the texts of the Athenian laws that it cites, as well as such accusations that Timarchus had gone down to Piraeus, ostensibly to learn the barber's trade, but
in reality he was a hustler for the sailors landing at the port. The prosecution is one of the earliest instances of the attempt to destroy a political opponent in a democracy by attacking his sexual past. The offense of which Timarchus was guilty was that by prostituting himself he had in effect put himself in the power of another male, which was not a crime per se, but an act that disqualified a free citizen from speaking before the assembly, and had no relevance to a slave or a foreigner. Nothing in the oration suggests that a general reprobation of *paiderasteia* prevailed in Athenian society at the end of the Golden Age; Aeschines even says expressly that both he and the members of the jury have been honorable boy-lovers, but that the ignoble ("passive") and notorious conduct of which Timarchus had been guilty rendered him unfit to participate in public life. The oration contrasts Timarchus’ behavior with the ideal of pederasty that the Greeks derived from the comradeship in arms depicted in the Homeric poems.


**Aeschylus**

(525/4–456 B.C.)

First of the great Attic tragedians. Aeschylus fought against the Persians at Marathon and probably Salamis. Profoundly religious and patriotic, he produced, according to one catalogue, 72 titles, but ten others are mentioned elsewhere. He was the one who first added a second actor to speak against the chorus. Of his seven surviving tragedies, none is pederastic. His lost *Myrmidons*, however, described in lascivious terms the physical love of *Achilles* for *Patroclus*’ thighs, altering the age relationship given in Homer’s *Iliad*—where Patroclus is a few years the older, but as they grew up together, they were essentially age-mates—to suggest that Achilles was the lover (*erastes*) of Patroclus.

Plato had Phaedrus point out the confusion, and argue that *Patroclus* must have been the older and therefore the lover, while the beautiful *Achilles* was his beloved (*Symposium*, 180a).

Among Attic tragedians Aeschylus was followed by Sophocles, Euripides, and Agathon. Sophocles (496–406 B.C.), who first bested Aeschylus in 468 and added a third actor, wrote 123 tragedies of which seven survive, all from later than 440. At least four of his tragedies were pederastic. Euripides (480–406 B.C.) wrote 75 tragedies of which nineteen survive, and the lost *Chrysippus*, and probably some others as well, were pederastic. Euripides loved the beautiful but effeminate tragedian Agathon until Agathon was forty. The latter, who won his first victory in 416, was the first to reduce the chorus to a mere interlude, but none of his works survive.

All four of the greatest tragedians wrote pederastic plays but none survive, possibly because of Christian homophobia. The tragedians seem to have shared the pederastic enthusiasm of the lyric poets and of Pindar, though many of their mythical and historical source-themes antedated the formal institutionalization of *paiderasteia* in Greece toward the beginning of the sixth century before our era.

*William A. Percy*

**Aesthetic Movement**

The origins of this trend are usually sought in the concept of "art for art's sake," a concept that arose in France in the middle years of the nineteenth century, when a tendency to deny all utilitarian functions of art gained favor. However, the full development of the aesthetic movement would not have been possible without the background in England, for it was here that the movement in the specific sense arose. In such writers as A. W. N. Pugin (1812–1852) and John Ruskin (1819–1900) disgust with the squalor and alienation brought by the coming of the industrial revolution went hand in hand
with a demand for thoroughgoing reform of society, religion, and art. This agitation called forth such diverse results as Christian socialism; the Oxford movement and Anglo-Catholicism; the Gothic revival in architecture; Pre-Raphaelitism in painting and poetry; and the arts and crafts movement. As this catalogue suggests, these trends melded a nostalgic yearning for a supposed organic society of bygone days with utopian hopes for a new social and aesthetic order. The arts and crafts movement in particular sought to transform the domestic environment. The homosexual contribution to the rise of this trend has not been adequately documented, but clearly it foreshadowed the enthusiasm of so many cultivated gay people today for furniture and antiques.

By common consent, the high priest of the aesthetic movement in the literary sphere was a homoerotic Oxford don, Walter Pater. His Studies in the History of the Renaissance (1873) was the bible of the arty young man of late Victorian times, and his novel Marius the Epicurean (1885) offered further detail, in a nostalgic Roman setting. By 1881 the type had become familiar enough to be satirized by W. S. Gilbert in his musical comedy Patience. The trend attained triumph and tragedy in the meteoric career of Oscar Wilde, whose trials and conviction for gross indecency tarnished the whole tendency. Many aesthetes, to be sure, were not homosexual, yet like Algernon Swinburne and Aubrey Beardsley they could be accused of cognate sexual sins. In the public perception, there was also an interface between the homosexual aesthetes and those who were merely sissified or wimpish. The overelegant, foppish type has a history stretching back to the dandy of the early nineteenth century and forward to the sissy of Hollywood films.

Another manifestation lay in the sphere of religion. Many British homosexuals were attracted to the "aesthetic" emphasis of high Anglicanism with its elaborate ritual and lavish vestments. Others were attracted to esoteric novelities, such as spiritualism and theosophy. These two trends, historic ritualism and the occult, were combined in the eccentric figure of Charles Webster Leadbeater.


Wayne R. Dynes

AFGHANISTAN

A mountainous Islamic nation in central Asia, Afghanistan is inhabited by warlike tribes and their descendents. Various empires rose and fell before the nation of Afghanistan emerged from the ruins of Nadir Shah's empire in 1747. The royal dynasty of the Dunians ruled until 1973, when a republic was declared. A war between the Soviet Union and Afghan guerrillas began in 1978 and extended over the next ten years, devastating the country. Previous invasions by the British from India took place in 1839, 1879, and 1919.

Three quotations may serve to introduce a survey of homosexuality in Afghanistan. The first is from C. A. Tripp: "almost 100 percent homosexuality in Afghanistan" (Gay News, London, issue 118). The second is from a British soldier who fought there in 1841: "I have seen things in a man's mouth which were never intended by nature to occupy such a position." The third is an opening stanza from the Afghan love song, "Wounded Heart" ("Zekhmi Dil"): "There's a boy across the river with a rectum like a peach, but alas, I cannot swim."

Although there is as yet no evidence of lesbianism in Afghanistan, it is safe to assume that, as in many Islamic lands, the harems were rife with it.

A number of Afghan poets wrote about beautiful boys, including Sana'i Ghaznavi, Husain Baiqara of Herat, Badru'd-din Hilali, and Abu Shu'ayb of Herat—
the last-named famous for his love for a Christian boy [presumably a slave].

In the tenth century, the Ghaznavid empire was founded by Subuktogin, who got started as a king’s boyfriend. The great Sultan Mahmud the Ghaznavid (died 1030) loved a slave-boy named Ayaz, a relationship comparable in Islamic literature to the oft-cited love of the Roman Emperor Hadrian and Antinous in Western culture.

Huseyn Mirza, who ruled from Herat (1468-1506), and his vizier [prime minister] Hasan of Ali, both had harems of boys. Babur (1483–1530), a poet who ruled from Kabul, became infatuated as a seventeen-year old with a boy known as Baburi; Babur went on to found the Mughal Empire in India and eastern Afghanistan, while Herat fell to the Persians.

During a war of the early nineteenth century, Dost Mohammed Khan fled to the Amir of Bukhara, the pederast Nasrullah, who kidnapped his guest’s fourteen-year-old son, Sultan Djan. Dost Mohammed Khan went back to Afghanistan, where he captured Kabul and annihilated a British army east of there in 1842. This was the background for the “things in a man’s mouth” quotation.

Herat once again became capital of a kingdom under the pederast Kamran (ruled 1829-1842). King Abd al-Rahman (ruled 1880–1901) and his sons were pederasts. King Amanullah Khan (ruled 1919-1929) was also homosexual.

Page boys had been executed for sodomy, however, and the Penal Code of 1925 established the death penalty for sodomy. If the culprit was under 15, however, he was not executed. These laws were not applied to the royal family.

In those days, Afghan soldiers of the regular army were in the habit of gang-raping boys and sometimes foreign diplomats. In later decades, more fortunate foreigners could find willing boys at a certain restaurant on the aptly-named Chicken Street.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Western sexologists and pornographers discovered an audience for lurid tales of sexual hijinks in Asia, yielding a good deal of gamey material about Afghanistan and other places that may or may not be true; there are few footnotes which might allow for verification of this material. This accumulation started with Sir Richard Burton (1821–1890) and culminated in 1959 with what has been called “a prurient wank book” (by the writer of a letter to Gay News), Allen Edwards’ The Jewel in the Lotus. Possibly referring to Abd al-Rahman, Edwards quotes from an anonymous book a mention of “the Ameer of Afghanistan, insane for rare handsome white youths.” The reader is unable to determine the author, the book’s title, the name of the “Ameer”, nor the date of the reference. The scholar is tempted to dismiss all such data, but then one finds authentication in other works for such items as the “boy across the river” song.

From various reliable and dubious sources, we can construct a picture of pederasty in Afghanistan over the past hundred years. Homosexuality was common in early adulthood. The aristocrats and frontier chiefs had harems of dancing boys and eunuchs dressed as women. Camel caravans included “traveling wives” [zun-e-suffuree] who were boys dressed as women.

There was a street in Kabul, the original “gay ghetto,” known as Bazaar-e-Ighlaum, “the bazaar of male lust.” Edwards states without attribution that “Greek” [probably Circassian] boys with blond hair and blue eyes were especially prized by pederasts in Kabul. The popular writer James Michener mentions the dancing boys in his novel Caravans, which is set in 1946. More recently, the long war against Soviet troops has probably led to an increase in homosexuality, as large numbers of women fled to Pakistan.

See also Islam.
AFRICA, NORTH

This term generally denotes Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, a region which the Arabs term the Maghrib, or "West." Formerly the Maghrib also embraced Muslim Spain—including the kingdom of Granada—which are discussed separately.

General Features. Pederasty was virtually pandemic in North Africa during the periods of Arab and Turkish rule. Islam as a whole was tolerant of pederasty, and in North Africa particularly so. (The Islamic high-water points in this respect may tentatively be marked out as Baghdad of The Thousand and One Nights, Cairo of the Mamluks, Moorish Granada, and Algiers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.) The era of Arabic rule in North Africa did, however, witness occasional puritan movements and rulers, such as the Almohads and a Shiite puritanism centered in Fez (Morocco). This puritanism continues with the current King Hassan II of Morocco, who is, however, hampered by an openly homosexual brother.

Islam was a slave society, and one of the chief commercial activities of North Africa was the vast trade in slaves from sub-Saharan Africa. Slavery dated back to Roman times, but during this era it reached very large proportions—sometimes assuming almost the character of a mercantile trans-Saharan kingdom.

The Ottoman Turks, who followed the Arabs, were even more notorious as adepts of pederasty. If one is to trust the reports of scandalized European visitors, the "vice" was everywhere, and no social class was "uninfected." The simple tolerance of same-sex eroticism was a source of endless Christian horror.

AFRICA, NORTH

The Christian horror was not universal. Some Europeans captured by the Turks saw no reason to return to the fold of Christendom; other Europeans simply emigrated (or fled the law). These "renegades" became an important subclass in North Africa. It was frequently remarked that some of the "renegades" became the worst enemies of Christianity; frequently better educated than the local citizenry, they often held the reins of power. When Moorish Spain fell in 1492, a large number of new recruits joined the "renegades." Four hundred Franciscan friars left the Spain of Isabel the Catholic and embraced Islam rather than "mend their ways," as she had commanded them to do.

During the Turkish period, the bazaars or suqs of North Africa had special sections devoted to the sale of Christian slaves, both male and female, who had been captured by pirates on the Mediterranean to face the proverbial "fate worse than death"—consignment to the seragllos of the ruling classes of the notorious Barbary Coast (the most beautiful captives were frequently reserved for the harems of Constantinople). This trade in white Christians, kidnapped and raped on the Mediterranean, gradually supplanted the previous trade in Negro slaves.

Universal throughout pre-colonial North Africa was the singing and dancing boy, widely preferred over the female in cafe entertainments and suburban pleasure gardens. A prime cultural rationale was to protect the chastity of the females, who would instantly assume the status of a prostitute in presenting such a performance. The result was several centuries of erotic performances by boys, who were the preferred entertainers even when female prostitutes were available, and who did not limit their acts to arousing the lust of the patrons. A North African merchant could stop at the cafe for a cup of tea and a hookah, provided by a young lad, listen to the singing, and then proceed to have sex with the boy right on the premises, before returning to his shop.
The French conquest of the area drove much of this activity underground. Although the French penal code, since the time of Napoleon, had no legal sanction for same-sex activity, and the colonists were thus largely restricted to shocked horror and verbal scorn when confronted with the behavior of the "natives," the French did put a stop to slave-trading, piracy, and much prostitution, which effectively eliminated the old romance and terror of the Barbary Coast.

Its apparent benefits notwithstanding, colonialism seems to have had an immensely destructive effect throughout much of the world, as people everywhere suddenly desired to be modern, Western, and European—certainly not to be "backwards." The European superstitions about homosexuality were swallowed entire, and adopted as if they had always been in force. The present writer has spoken with a Tunisian supervisor of schools who firmly believes in the death penalty for all homosexuals. Thus, in their rush to modernism, Third World leaders often adopt the sexual standards of medieval Christendom, even as Europe and America are moving toward legalization and tolerance of same-sex activity. Such, at least in part, is also the plight of modern North Africa.

Libya. Libya is almost entirely desert: the Sahara takes up at least 90% of the country's surface area. The coastal towns support some agricultural production, but the major export comes from the desert—oil.

Early reports from Libya include the famous oasis of Siwa located near the Libyan–Egyptian border, but since the accession of Mu'ammar Gaddafi and his purportedly revolutionary regime, the country has not been generally accessible to foreigners. However, numerous and independent travelers' reports indicate that at least one highly-placed Libyan authority is addicted to blond European lads, whom he flies in for weekend trysts and decorates with gold and silver. There is also, for the general populace, a quasi-clandestine pederastic trade, with the older males in automobiles and the younger on the sidewalks, where money is exchanged for quick satisfaction of lust. Neither Libya nor its neighbor, Egypt, has a strong tradition of hedonism.

Tunisia. A small and impoverished country of some four million, Tunisia's high birthrate keeps the country very young—about half the people are under eighteen. Although it is common to see men walking hand-in-hand (as in all Islamic countries), it would not be wise for a foreigner to adopt the practice with a male lover. Tunisians can easily tell the difference between two friends of approximately equal status (where hand-holding is expected) and a sexual relation (which is "officially" disapproved of and therefore not to be made public). The "official" disapproval means that hotels will frequently not allow Tunisian visitors in hotel rooms occupied by foreigners. In the heartland of homosexual tourism (the Hammamet-Nabeul area), when summer is at its peak, squads of police have occasionally been posted to keep the boys out of the luxury beach hotels. They are not always successful.

Homosexual behavior in Tunisia goes back for hundreds or even thousands of years. In the days of Carthage, the city was known for its perfumed male prostitutes and courtesans. After Carthage was destroyed in the Punic wars, Tunisia became a Roman colony. The country did not regain its independence until modern times. The Romans were supplanted by the Vandals, who in turn surrendered the country to the Byzantine Empire. The rise of the followers of Muhammad swept Tunisia out of Christendom forever, and the country eventually passed into the Turkish Empire, where it remained until the French protectorate. In the Islamic period, Tunisia was centered on the town of Kairouan and known as "Ifriqiya."

Algeria. Algeria is different from Tunisia, principally because of the savage
war of independence against the French, and the subsequent drift of Algeria into the socialist camp. Marxist societies abominate homosexuality, and this influence has had a chilling effect on Algeria. The passing tourist will see nothing of such activity, although residents may have a different experience. Another fact is that Algerians do not like the French (because of the war) and this dislike is frequently extended to all people who look like Frenchmen, though they may be Canadian or Polish. It is a strange country, where you can spot signs saying “Parking Reserved for the National Liberation Front” (the stalls are filled with Mercedes Benzes), and also the only place in all of North Africa where the present writer has even seen a large graffito proclaiming “Nous voulons vivre français!” (“We want to live as Frenchmen!”).

The adventures of Oscar Wilde and André Gide in Tunisia and Algeria before the war are good evidence that this modern difference between the two countries was in fact caused by the trauma of the war. There is better evidence in the history of Algiers long before. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Algiers was possibly the leading homosexual city in the world. It was the leading Ottoman naval and administrative center in the western Mediterranean, and was key to Turkey’s foreign trade with every country but Italy. Of the major North African cities, it was the furthest from the enemy—Europe. It was the most Turkish city in North Africa, in fact the most Turkish city outside Turkey.

Morocco. Almost nothing is known of homosexuality in Morocco prior to the end of the fifteenth century. It is possible that the Carthaginians introduced the religious prostitution of boys to the indigenous Berbers. In the impressive remains of the Roman/Moroccan city of Volubilis, a large bas-relief stone phallus testifies to a phallic cult. When Morocco does appear in written history, however, it has the same guise as the rest of North Africa: Europeans report the omnipresence of behavior which was thought to be an act against nature, or a temptation of the Devil. The loss of Azzamur on the Moroccan coast was blamed on “the horrible vice of Sodomie,” in a parallel to the original tale of the destruction of Sodom itself. The bathhouses (hammans) of Fez were the object of scandalous comments around 1500.

Two factors assume a bolder relief in Morocco, although they are typical of North Africa as a whole. One is a horror of masturbation. This dislike, combined with the seclusion of good women and the diseases of prostitutes, leads many a Maghrebi to regard anal copulation with a friend as the only alternative open to him, and clearly superior to masturbation. It also leads to such behavior being regarded as a mere peccadillo.

The other, more peculiarly Moroccan tradition is that of baraka, a sort of “religious good luck.” It is believed that a saintly man can transmit some of this baraka to other men by the mechanism of anal intercourse. (Fellatio has traditionally been regarded with disgust in the region, although the twentieth century has been changing attitudes.)

The Frenchman responsible for establishing the French protectorate over Morocco in 1912, Resident General Louis-Hubert-Gonzalve Lyautey, was an aristocratic pederast, who in his youth was already working with clubs of Catholic working men, and always paid attention to the welfare of his men. It is universally reported that Lyautey showed great respect for local Moroccan institutions. A member of the French Academy and a Marshal of France, Lyautey was a soldier/pederast of great distinction. [His own love was directed toward his aristocratic French aides.]

The city of Tangier was notorious during the period 1950–1980, when numbers of American and European celebrity homosexuals made the city their second home. (They had the same motivations as
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the composer Camille Saint-Saëns, who spent his declining years in Tangier.) Visitors and residents included Jane Bowles, Paul Bowles, William Burroughs, Truman Capote, Allen Ginsberg, Jean Genet, Tennessee Williams, and other notorieties. The British playwright Joe Orton's Moroccan vacation was shown with great panache in the biographical film Prick Up Your Ears, and was fully described in his diaries (published posthumously). In more recent years, there have been some indications of a puritan backlash developing, and the city has lost much of its celebrity glitter, although pederasty remains a constant of the Moroccan cultural scene.


Geoff Puterbaugh

AFRICA, SUB-SAHARAN

Africa south of the Sahara presents a rich mosaic of peoples and cultures. Scholarly investigations, which are continuing, have highlighted a number of patterns of homosexual behavior.

Male Homosexuality. Recurrent attempts have been made to deny any indigenous homosexuality in sub-Saharan Africa, at least since Edward Gibbon wrote, in The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1781), "I believe and hope that the negroes in their own country were exempt from this moral pestilence." Obviously, Gibbon's hope was not based on even casual travel or enquiry. Sir Richard Burton, who a century later reinforced the myth of African sexual exceptionalism by drawing the boundaries of his Sotadic Zone where homosexuality was widely practiced and accepted to exclude sub-Saharan Africa, was personally familiar with male homosexuality in Islamic societies within his zone, but had not researched the topic in central or southern Africa, where there were "primitive" hunter/gatherer societies and quite complex state formations before European conquest. In a number of the latter, such as the Azande of the Sudan (see Evans-Pritchard), the taking of brides was well-established.

Clearly, gender-crossing homosexuality also existed from Nubia to Zululand on the East Coast of Africa (and offshore on Madagascar as well). In many societies it was related to possession cults in which women have prominent roles and male participants tend to transvestitic homosexuality. Cross-gender homosexuality not tied to possession cults has been reported in a number of East African societies. Folk fear of witches is widespread in Islamic cultures, although a link between witchcraft and pederasty is unusual in existing ethnographic reports of Islamic cultures.

Nadel (1955) did not mention any such link in contrasting two other Sudaneese peoples: the Heiban in which there is no expected corollary of homosexual acts (i.e., no homosexual role), and the Otoro where a special transvestitic role exists and men dress and live as women. Nadel (1947) also mentioned transvestitic homosexuality among the Moro, Nyima and Tira, and reported marriages of Korongo londo and Mesakin tubele for the bride-price of one goat. In these tribes with "widespread homosexuality and transvestiticism," Nadel (1947) reported a fear of heterosexual intercourse as sapping virility and a common reluctance to abandon the pleasures of all-male camp life for the fetters of permanent settlement: "I have even met men of forty and fifty who spent most of their nights with the young folk in the cattle camps instead of at home in the village." In these pervasively homoerotic societies, the men who were wives were left at home with the women, i.e., were not in the all-male camps." Among the Mossi, pages chosen from among the most beautiful boys aged seven to fifteen were dressed and had the other attributes of women in relation to chiefs, for whom sexual intercourse with women was denied on Fri-
days. After the boy reaches maturity he was given a wife by the chief. The first child born to such couples belonged to the chief. A boy would be taken into service as his father had as a page, a girl would be given in marriage by the chief (as her mother had).

Among the Bantu-speaking Fang, homosexual intercourse was *bian nku’ma*, a medicine for wealth, which was transmitted from bottom to top in anal intercourse, according to Tessmann, who also mentioned that “it is frequently heard of that young people carry on homosexual relations with each other and even of older people who take boys.” Even more remarkable than Fang medical benefits of anal intercourse is Gustave Hultsaeart’s report that among the Nkundo the younger partner penetrated the older one, a pattern quite contrary to the usual pattern of age-graded homosexuality.

Besmer discussed a possession cult among the (generally Islamic) Hausa strikingly similar to New World possession cults among those of West African descent. As in the voudou(n) of Haiti, the metaphor for those possessed by spirits is horses “ridden” by the spirit. In patriarchal Hausa society, the *bori* cult provides a niche for various sorts of low status persons: “women in general and prostitutes in particular . . . Jurally-deprived categories of men, including both deviants (homosexuals) and despised or lowly-ranked categories (butchers, night-soil workers, menial clients, poor farmers, and musicians) constitute the central group of possessed or participating males” plus “an element of psychologically disturbed individuals which cuts across social distinctions.”

Herskovits reported the native view in Dahomey (now Benin) that homosexuality was an adolescent phase: when “the games between boys and girls are stopped, the boys no longer have the opportunity for companionship with the girls, and the sex drive finds satisfaction in close friendship between boys in the same group. . . . A boy may take the other ‘as a woman,’ this being called *galglo*, homosexuality. Sometimes an affair of this sort persists during the entire life of the pair.” Of course, this last report shows the insufficiency of the native model. Among the nearby Fanti of Ghana and Wolof of Senegal there are also gender-crossing roles for men and for women.

Among the Bala (sometimes referred to as the Basangye in older literature) in Kasai Oriental Province of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, there is a role at variance with the conventional male role in that culture (particularly patterns of dress and of subsistence activity) with expectations of unconventional sexual behavior. Although it seems *kitesha* is a gender-crossing role, rather than a primarily homosexual role, a possible reconciliation of the seemingly contradictory views that there is no homosexual behavior among Bala men and that *bitesha* are homosexuals is that the Bala do not consider *bitesha* to be men, i.e., that the Bala afford another example (compare the North American *berdache*, South Asian *hijara*, Polynesia *mahu*) of a folk model of third sex given by nature rather than volition.

In an earlier report on another Kongo tribe, the Bangala, mutual masturbation and sodomy were reportedly “very common,” and “regarded with little or no shame. It generally takes place when men are visiting strange towns or during the time they are fishing at camps away from their women.”

In the old kingdom of Rwanda, *male homosexuality was common among* Hutu and Tutsi youth, especially among young Tutsi being trained at court. In the neighboring kingdom of Uganda, King Mwanga’s 1886 persecution of Christian pages was largely motivated by their rejection of his sexual advances. Junod (1927: 492–3) vacillated between attributing elaborately organized homosexuality among the South African Thonga to the unavailability of women and to a homo-
sexual preference. The nkhonsthana, boy-wife, "used to satisfy the lust" of the nima, husband, received a wedding feast, and his elder brother received brideprice. Junod mentioned that some of the "boys" were older than 20, and also described a transvestitic dance, tinkonsthana, in which the nkhotshana donned wooden breasts, which they would only remove when paid to do so by their nima.

**Female Homosexuality.** Controversy continues about the purported chastity of woman/woman marriage in three East African and one West African culture. Other mentions of lesbian sex from the East Coast of Africa include discussion of a woman's dance, lelemama, in Mommbassa, Kenya (which variously serves as a cover for adultery, prostitution, and recruitment into lesbian networks without the husband's knowledge) and the wasaga (grinders) of Oman. An Ovimbundu (in Angola) informant, told an ethnographer, "There are men who want men, and women who want women... A woman has been known to make an artificial penis for use with another woman." Such practices did not meet with approval, but neither did transvestic homosexuals of either sex desist. Among the Tswana (in addition to homosexuality among the men laboring in the mines), it was reported that back home, "lesbian practices are apparently fairly common among the older girls and young women, without being regarded in any way reprehensible." Use of artificial penises was also reported among the Ila and Naman tribes of South Africa. Among the much-discussed Azande of the Sudan, sisters who are married/retained by brothers were reported to have a reputation for lesbian practices.


**AFRICAN-AMERICANS**

*See Black Gay Americans.*

**AGEISM**

This new term encompasses a cluster of attitudes that have become increasingly common in modern industrial societies. Ageism is prejudice of young people against the old expressed in the perpetuation of stereotypes; ridicule and avoidance of older people; and neglect of their social and health needs. Such attitudes frequently appear among male homosexuals, much less among lesbians. The word ageism, which came into use about 1970, is modeled on the older terms racism and sexism.

**Cultural Analogues.** The ancient Greeks divided the course of human life into stages, the simplest scheme being one that still lingers: childhood, maturity, and old age. Although one may assign precise boundaries to these stages—and add intermediate ones such as adolescence that may seem needed—age may also be viewed relatively and subjectively. A youth of 21 may regard someone who is 38 as old, while the latter considers himself still young.

Tribal cultures and traditional societies usually valued age as a repository of experience. This custom of honoring the elderly balanced the tendency, found among males through most of the world, to experience sexual attraction toward younger people. In an era in our own society when social security income was not yet the rule, the younger, productive members of a family acknowledged a duty to look after elderly retirees. Now younger people, with the assurance that their parents are provided for economically, often
feel free to neglect them socially. Another factor upsetting the traditional balance is the fact that the virtues of youth itself came to be idealized and celebrated, beginning in the nineteenth century. Thus in 1832 Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872) rallied his supporters in the campaign for Italian independence under the banner of Giovane Italia (Young Italy). Hence Young Ireland, Young Poland, the Young Turks, and so forth. At the turn of the century innovative artists in Germany created the Jugendstil (literally “Youth Style”; a variant of art nouveau), while Russian painters formed the Union of Youth, echoing the title of a play by Hendrik Ibsen (De unge forbund [The League of Youth], 1869).

Increasingly, youth was identified with political change and artistic innovation, and journalists habitually contrasted its energy with the inertia of the old fogies. Beginning at the end of the nineteenth century, the enormous growth of interest in competitive athletics made young bodies the image of strength and accomplishment, a notion relentlessly promoted by Madison Avenue in the interests of consumerism. In a period of rapid social change youth became synonomous with progress, age with reaction.

Homosexual Aspects. The youth cult among homosexuals has deep roots. In classical Greek pederasty, the characteristic dyad was an adult man and an adolescent. Yet this youth–age nexus is less significant for the origins of ageism than it seems, because in such couples the relative (though temporary) inferiority of the boy partner was always recognized. It was precisely to promote his education and training in manly virtues that the relationship existed. In pederasty the youth was not an equal partner, when he became so, the liaison ended. With the rise of androphilia (homosexual unions of two adults) in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, this pattern shifted, for both partners were adults in the sense that both had attained puberty. But age differentials did not vanish. A glance at the advertisements (personals columns) of today’s gay press will show that most gay men seek younger partners. Indeed the advertisers often place an upper limit—40, 30 or even as low as 21 years of age—on partners they are willing to accept. Gay slang stigmatizes older men as “aunties,” “dogs,” “toads,” and “trolls,” who congregate in “wrinkle rooms.”

Eroticization of youth produces various secondary manifestations among gay men: preference for youthful clothing styles; adhesion to the latest trends in pop music; dieting and exercising so as to maintain a slim body; and adoption of voguish hair styles, including bleaching to keep a boy’s towhead look. Indisputably, the erotic imagination of the gay male community privileges youth; gerontophilia, attraction to older men, is relatively rare. This pattern of preference contrasts with that of the lesbian community where older persons are more likely to be prized. The difference between gay men and lesbians may mirror that of the larger (heterosexual) society, where older men typically marry younger women.

In the 1960s and 70s the cult of youth that had long flourished in the gay male community was reinforced through symbiosis with the Counterculture. As a mass movement the Counterculture was made possible by post-World War II prosperity, which gave younger people a disposable income in amounts that could only be dreamed of by their forerunners. The confidence born of such newfound economic power, and the reaction against rule by the old that was perceived as tolerating racism and war, led to open proclamations of ageist prejudice, witness the slogan “Don’t trust anyone over thirty.”

As a result of the confluence of all these factors, psychological counselors report seeing gay men, some as early as their mid-thirties, who have internalized ageism, regarding themselves “as over the hill.” As would be expected, this subjective phenomenon of “accelerated ageing” is not common among lesbians, though it
is found among heterosexual women, who are subjected to a barrage of commercial messages for products that purport to keep them looking young.

The negative effects of ageism have not been ignored in today's gay community. In the 1980s some younger gay men and women, recognizing that in due course old age awaits them as well, joined such social organizations as San Francisco's GLOE (Gay and Lesbian Outreach to Elders) and New York's SAGE (Senior Action in a Gay Environment), in order to befriend and assist older people. Over the years gay churches and synagogues have also done much to achieve interaction of people of various age groups.

Wayne R. Dynes

AGEISM

AGING

Gerontology, the social science of aging, began well before World War II, experienced rapid growth after the war, and has recently become a major field, as an ever larger proportion of the population reaches sixty. For many years, gerontological research assumed that all older people were heterosexual, even though upwards of three million North Americans over sixty are lesbian or gay. This scientific blindness was hardly accidental. The social science of "deviant behavior" knew that older homosexuals existed, but it propagated the myth that "old auntsies" and "aging dykes" lived lonely, miserable lives, shunned by a homosexual subculture obsessed with youth. Not until the year of Stonewall (1969) did Martin Weinberg publish the first study showing that homosexuals adjust well to age. Only in the late 1980s did gay gerontology become established as a field of research.

A major theme of gay liberation, as of black liberation and feminism, was a new positive emphasis ("gay pride") which pushed the pendulum of gay gerontology to the opposite extreme. Some research in the 1970s argued that homosexuals actually enjoyed "advantages" over heterosexuals, in adjusting to midlife and old age. More recently, a middle position has been taken: homosexuals obviously differ in some aspects of aging, but on such key issues as psychological health, income, friendships, satisfaction with life they do not differ significantly from heterosexuals (Brecher; Lee).

This article supports the middle position—that homosexual elders are no less likely to live happy, healthy and comfortable lives than their nongay neighbors. The focus is on interesting aspects of contemporary homosexual aging, especially those which provide generally useful insights, whatever the person's sexual orientation.

Accelerated Aging. For many years it was argued that homosexuals experienced the effects of aging sooner than nongays. Homosexual culture was considered "obsessed with youth," thus the loss of youthful appearance made thirty the threshold of "middle age." Recent studies indicate that most homosexuals do not feel or act older than 30 or 40 than their nongay peers. However, they do think that other homosexuals view them and treat them as if they were further advanced in age. Thus, while feeling young and active at 40, homosexuals may lie about their age because they fear other homosexuals consider 40 "over the hill." It appears that homosexuals still suffer a mutual misunderstanding, rather like that of a male teenage virgin who lies about his sexual conquests because he concludes from his peers' boasts that they are already sexually experienced.

Earlier Socialization and Later Adjustment to Aging. A young person "growing up gay" faces much the same learning tasks as a nongay classmate, but there is an essential difference, which the gay youth has in common with other minority groups: how to handle stigmatized status. Unlike most minority stigmas, the young homosexual can decide to remain secret ("in the closet") yet enter a subculture ("the gay world") which pro-
vides numerous facilities and opportunities for contact with others of the same minority. Prior to “gay liberation” this was the only attractive option for all homosexuals except the few who deliberately chose a “flaunting” role (e.g., Quentin Crisp) or found work and friends in a tolerant, low-status occupation (e.g., restaurant waiter, hairdresser).

One of the major themes of gay liberation is “taking pride in one’s chosen lifestyle.” In this light, gerontology now distinguishes several forms of adjustment in gay/lesbian aging: (1) the stereotypic or self-oppressing gay/lesbian elder, who has internalized the heterosexual world’s hatred of homosexuals, and is ashamed and guilt-ridden; (2) the passing elder, who at least partially accepts the validity of homosexuality as a lifestyle, but fears those who do not, so admits to being gay/lesbian only among those who can be trusted not to betray the secret; (3) the gay-positive elder, who has “come out of the closet” to at least some nongay persons in the family, workplace, and other social contexts, participating in the gay community without fear of being discovered.

There is no agreement yet among gerontologists about the ways and extent to which each of these forms of adjustment affects psychological health or happiness of the gay/lesbian elder. At least some fearful and self-oppressing gay elders lead successful and productive lives and enjoy satisfying friendships, both gay and nongay. There is certainly no evidence to persuade any homosexual, whether very open or very hidden, that the elder years must be less satisfying merely because of sexual orientation.

Older Gays/Lesbians in Their Community. Variations in socialization and adaptation to homosexual stigma pose serious problems for organizations attempting to develop a place for elders in the new gay communities. These groups must cope with the tension between public and politically active members, and those who wish gay social contact without disclosing their private lives, which they regard as “nobody else’s business.”

Even a decision to invite a speaker from, or cooperate with, nongay senior citizens groups, or government agencies for the aged, may be opposed by closeted gay elders. Older homosexuals who have been married for many years to unaware spouses, or who have prestigious positions in the work world, are especially fearful that someone who believes them to be heterosexual, may see them at a gay meeting. Thus, groups tend to attract more homosexuals who have little or nothing to lose by being there, and have less resources to contribute to the group’s growth.

In spite of these special problems, the number of organizations of older gay men and lesbians is slowly growing in North America. The most successful and enduring organization, SAGE of New York City, has contact with about 60 other elder gay/lesbian organizations in the USA and Canada. Many gay community listings (such as The Gay Yellow Pages in Los Angeles), now include one or more gay elders’ groups. There is a National Association of Lesbian and Gay Gerontology at 1290 Sutter St., San Francisco.

The Gay Generation Gap. Differences in adaptation to stigma among gay elders have contributed to a “generation gap” in the gay world different from that between young and old in the nongay population. Even if not active in the gay community and gay liberation, many younger lesbians and gay men have grown up in a society which tolerates, and in some cases legislatively protects, their lifestyle. This profound difference in experience adds to the difficulty of younger and older gays understanding each other.

The “generation gap” affects gay individuals and communities by restricting the supply of suitable role models of aging for younger gays and lesbians. Most heterosexual young people have at least some positive images of middle and old age among their family, or in the media, but there are very few models of happy
homosexual aging available to the younger gay/lesbian. Even within the best-developed urban gay communities there is still little contact, and often a good deal of deliberate avoidance, between younger and older gays, and this is often true even within gay liberation organizations officially opposed to "ageism" (Berger). Indeed, the generation gap has probably contributed to the sometimes passionate disputes between "essentialists" and "social constructionists" over the history of gay people. (See social construction.)

**Age-Stratified Relationships.** Many human societies are age-stratified; they portion out roles and rewards according to the individual's age, with appropriate markers ("rites de passage" like puberty and retirement) to indicate that the individual has successfully passed from one age strata to another. Although there remain many social distinctions between age levels, North American society has tended to emphasize equal liberty of each individual; it now opposes most forms of discrimination, including "ageism."

One of the least predictable consequences for the homosexual minority has been the decline of age-stratified intimacy as a key structure in the gay community. From ancient times to the Victorian era—a familiar pattern of relationship in the-gay/lesbian subculture was the partnership of an older and a significantly younger person. This pattern provided stability, resources and leadership in the gay underworld. It had its most eloquent defense by Oscar Wilde at his second trial, as the partnership of youthful beauty, vigor and hope, with mature intellect, confidence, and social resources.

The age-stratified pattern also provided upward social mobility in the gay world, by which a young man or woman of poor economic and educational background could acquire polished manners, dress and language, and favorable economic opportunities. The reference here is not to the "kept boy" and "sugar daddy," though these also existed and continue to exist, but rather to the classic mentor/protégé relationship as epitomized by the 33-year partnership of Christopher Isherwood and Don Bachardy, who met when Christopher was 48, Don 18.

Gay liberation has tended to undermine the age-stratified pattern, both through its emphasis on social equality (the mentor/protégé partnership must begin with some recognition of inequalities), and through the development, in urban gay communities, of facilities where young gays and lesbians can easily meet each other without requiring (or wanting) the mediation or resources of older homosexuals. Many gay/lesbian elders who grew up in a pre-liberation gay subculture largely organized and financed by their elders, looked forward to a time when they would take over leadership positions, and hopefully find their own young protégé. The new gay communities have reduced or eliminated these opportunities, and many gay elders are finding it difficult to adjust to a gay life largely restricted to age-peers.

**Intimacy and Sexuality in Gay/Lesbian Old Age.** In an era which first made sexual pleasure practically equivalent to the enjoyment of life itself, and then (since AIDS) almost synonymous with the courtship of death, any consideration of happiness in homosexual old age must include sexuality. One should begin with great scepticism of self-reported data such as that of Berger's respondents who claimed not to experience a decline in sexual opportunity and outlet with the onset of old age. Elders are no more likely than teenage male virgins to openly admit that sexual gratification is lacking.

More reliable studies, such as observed behavior in gay baths, studies of advertising for partners, and participant observation in gay communities, all suggest that sexual happiness in the gay older years, as in heterosexual old age (Brecher), involves learning to cope with changing circumstances. Lesbians, who tend to place more emphasis on nonorgasmic intimacy from the onset of a relationship, are more
likely to make sexual adaptations to age, including more frequent celibacy than reported by gay male elders.

Coping mechanisms among gay males include willingness to validate sexuality as pleasurable without orgasm; an increased reliance on pornography as stimulant to release (an important factor in both gay and nongay populations, as all moralists and censors should be reminded), and an improved ability to use purchased sex safely.

At least until the possibly reduced income of retirement, seniority in our society generally brings rising income, and thus resources to purchase sexual gratification. But a particularly dangerous form of ageism may be found among gay hustlers. It is built into the social structure of the hustler, who reaches occupational obsolescence long before a hockey player, and is translated into disdain, exploitation, and sometimes violence directed at the older customer.

Another notable adaptation more typical of gay males than lesbians (but this is changing in recent years) is the elaboration of sexual foreplay, and reduced emphasis on genital contact and orgasm, through such means as sexual toys, bondage, uniforms, and scenarios. In most large urban gay communities, there is a marked difference in average age between the "twinkle" or "disco" gay crowds, and the "leather and denim" places. As beauty fades, older homosexuals may learn to continue attracting partners by conveying messages of sexual self-confidence and experience through leather, accessories, and body stance.

It is quite possible to be single and happy in heterosexual old age, but overall, satisfaction with life (and even life expectancy itself) is generally correlated with intimate and enduring partnership. Likewise, gay gerontology indicates that having an intimate partner (not necessarily a "lover" or even a gay person) in homosexual old age is a reliable predictor of general adjustment and satisfaction with life.

Sharing old age with a partner "doubles the joys and halves the sorrows."


John Alan Lee

AIDS

Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome is a medical condition that produces a radical suppression of the human immune system, permitting the body to be ravaged by a variety of opportunistic diseases. It is believed to be caused by the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), which can exist in the body indefinitely before symptoms emerge. In advanced industrial countries and in Latin America, AIDS occurs mainly among male homosexuals and intravenous (IV) drug users; in Africa it is found primarily among heterosexuals.

The Emergence of an Epidemic. The as-yet-unnamed syndrome first came to the attention of the medical community through a report released in June 1981 by the Centers for Disease Control, a Federal agency, concerning five California cases. Because the first cases studied were in homosexual men, the syndrome became associated with homosexuality itself. In fact one of the first suggestions for a name was GRID (Gay-Related Immunodeficiency). Although this was shortly changed to AIDS, a ceaseless flow of media reports about gay men affected by the disorder served to fix the connection in the public mind.

For the first few years the number of cases in the United States doubled annually, and about half as many of those already infected died. Not only was the disease spreading very quickly but it was
highly lethal. While it appears that the earlier idea that it is invariably fatal is mistaken, it is a very difficult disease for a patient to cope with, and even with the most determined and successful strategy no cure is effected—the disease is simply kept at bay. At first the American cases were largely confined to New York City and environs, the San Francisco Bay Area, greater Los Angeles, and Miami. Although AIDS subsequently was found in nearly every state, this pattern of concentration in these metropolises on the two coasts has continued. Foreign physicians found AIDS in Canada, Europe, and Latin America, though the incidences are generally lower than in the United States. (In most countries the American acronym has been used, but French-speaking nations prefer SIDA [Syndrome d’Immunodéficience Acquise]; SIDA is also the Spanish acronym.) By 1988 over 65,000 AIDS cases had appeared in the United States, 64% of the reported total world-wide. However, reliable figures for incidence in Africa are not available; they are said to be high in a number of countries of equatorial Africa.

Transmission and Symptomatology. AIDS cannot be transmitted by any form of casual contact, but must go from blood to blood or from semen to blood. Blood-to-blood transmission occurs when intravenous-drug users share narcotics needles, or occasionally through accidental needle-sticks among health-care givers. It may also occur that a surgeon will nick him or herself with a scalpel, which may cut through gloves. Sexual transmission occurs when a seminal discharge of an infected person passes into the bloodstream of another. The sexual contact that is most at risk is anal penetration; oral and vaginal contacts are unlikely to transmit AIDS unless there is a lesion in the affected part of one or both partners. If it is believed that infection may have occurred, tests can be performed for the presence of the HIV virus in the blood, though they are not absolutely reliable.

A few medical experts have expressed doubts that the HIV virus is the culprit, but they are in a great minority. If not a cause, HIV is at least a good indicator of exposure to whatever is the cause. There has also been discussion of a variety of potential "cofactors," but none has been convincingly isolated.

The majority of persons infected with HIV show no symptoms, and it remains uncertain how many will develop AIDS itself. The emergence of the condition is signaled by night sweats, loss of weight, and other signs of physical distress. In some cases a diagnosis of ARC (AIDS-Related Complex) is made; many of these patients will progress to full-blown AIDS. The patient will usually develop either Kaposi’s sarcoma—a previously rare type of cancer producing numerous lesions on the outside or inside of the body—or pneumocystis carinii (PCP), a form of pneumonia that is devastating to the patient. PCP usually requires hospitalization with intensive care and the administering of a variety of drugs prescribed by the physician. However, many patients can return home after the first crisis has been met—if there is a home to return to.

Response. Members of the gay community have charged government agencies with inadequate response to the epidemic. An expression of genuine concern, these complaints are valid only in part. It was the first time in many years that advanced countries had to deal with the outbreak of a hitherto previously unknown disease, and the initial recognition of the problem could not have occurred immediately. Moreover, a few decades earlier, when prudery and censorship kept the whole issue of homosexuality from being discussed publicly at all, the official response would have been either helpless or schizophrenic, as the social locus of the epidemic would have been a taboo subject. Still, there is no doubt that bureaucratic red-tape, as well as jealousies among physicians and officials eager for
the glory of being identified with breakthroughs, have been a handicap. Again, because the disease was new and because there was no treatment, it inspired a whole set of amateur, politically motivated, at worst paranoid explanations of its etiology—and corresponding quack methods of treatment by special diets and medical regimes of the kind held out as a last resort to dying cancer patients. By contrast, the self-medication movement, which has placed possibly effective drugs in the hands of people with AIDS, bypassing government tests that can take years, may be a positive development. Patients abroad, where much of the research and testing was being done, had access to drugs that Americans did not. Here too dangers exist, but the situation has highlighted a serious dilemma of public policy.

Locally some communities handled the crisis better than others. Nonetheless, real progress was made in the middle years of the 1980s against a very cunning viral adversary. The gay press carried warnings of the lethal consequences of unsafe sex practices, and others were reached by leafletting and word of mouth. These campaigns had a noteworthy effect as measured by the decline in cases of all sexually transmitted diseases, including syphilis and gonorrhea, among gay men. The climate of the 1970s, characterized for some by a seemingly limitless horizon of sexual experimentation, yielded to a new sense of caution, and many sought long-term, essentially monogamous relationships.

Gay self-help groups specifically concerned with AIDS sprang up, involving many people who in the previous decade had turned a deaf ear to the call for movement work. By the end of the 1980s there were several hundred of these organizations in North America, and many others in Europe. Other groups were formed of people with AIDS (PWAs, the term preferred by those who have the condition). Gay and lesbian lawyers mobilized to meet a host of legal problems triggered by the spread of the epidemic. This manifold response contrasted with the apathy of the IV-drug user community, which remained unorganized, without media of its own, and therefore almost entirely dependent on public health advocates and facilities.

Gay men and lesbians (the latter little affected by AIDS) rallied to apply pressure on politicians for more funding and to deal with some of the backlash that was developing. In the panic-laden years of the mid-1980s some religious and right-wing leaders obtained support in their calls for quarantine or drastic treatment of those who might be infected. Although these calls generally fell on deaf ears, the general public, which had previously been showing increasing tolerance of homosexuals as measured by opinion polls, now registered a moderate tendency to move in the other direction. Often insensitive reports on the nightly television news, supplemented by rumor and a flood of malicious AIDS jokes, served to spread dismay even among those who had formerly offered a modicum of support for gay rights. The publicity had the side effect of acquainting otherwise cloistered souls with some explicit realities of oral and anal sex. People even suspected of having AIDS found themselves harassed on the job and denied insurance coverage, while dentists and doctors became wary of treating persons with the disease. On the whole, however, the late 1980s showed a decline of these pressures as better information became available and gay organizations showed that they would not bow to hostile pressure.

Cultural Responses. Several plays, notably As Is (1985) by William Hoffman and The Normal Heart (1985) by Larry Kramer, an early passionate advocate of group action by the gay community to stop the disease, have been successfully presented in the United States and abroad. Fictional responses are more numerous and varied, ranging from the serio-comic fable Tweeds (1987) by Clayton R. Graham to the probing stories in The Darker Proof
AIDS (1988) by Adam Mars-Jones and Edmund White. The poet and novelist Paul Monette has written Borrowed Time: An AIDS Memoir (1988), an eloquent account of a decade of living with Paul Horowitz, who died in 1986. Other memoirs include a mother's story, The Screaming Room (1986) by Barbara Peabody, that of a wife, Good-bye, I Love You (1986) by Carol Lynn Pearson, and those of several persons with AIDS, including Mortal Embrace: Living with AIDS (1988) by the Frenchman Emmanuel Dreuilhe. In 1985 NBC Television presented a drama, An Early Frost, with Aidan Quinn, which offered a sensitive exploration of the emotional effects of the disease on a person with AIDS and his family. Bill Sherwood's independently made film Parting Glances (1986) focused on a relationship between two men, one of whom has AIDS. Several leading contemporary photographers, including Nicholas Nixon, Rosalind Solomon, and Brian Weil, have produced moving portraits of people with AIDS.

The Names Project Quilt began early in 1987 with a single cloth panel to commemorate one person who died of AIDS. In a little over a year the project grew to over 5000 panels, which were exhibited in a national tour. The colorful panels are rectangular and contain the name of the deceased which is painted on or appliqued. The victim's survivors who make the quilts often add other appliques of cloth, sequins, and the like to suggest favorite residences and avocations of the departed. The quilt, which takes up a long-established American folk tradition, constitutes a collective work of anonymous art. Not only has it provided a moving experience for visitors, it may serve as a salutary challenge to existing elitist notions of art itself.

None of this cultural activity can be construed as a "silver lining" that in any way compensates for the enormous suffering that AIDS has caused, but it gives evidence of a real effort to confront the problem rather than to hide it or to hide from it.


Ward Houser

ALAN OF LILLE (CA. 1120–1203)

French theologian and poet. A prolific writer in Latin, Alan was a leading figure in the "Renaissance" of the twelfth century. His surviving works include disquisitions in practical and speculative theology; sermons; a preaching manual; a theological dictionary; a guide for confessors; an attack on heretics; a book of versified parables; and two substantial poetic allegories, Anticlaudianus and The Complaint of Nature.

In the last-named work Alan offered original variations on the Early Christian polemic against homosexual behavior as a sin against nature. These animadversions were prompted by the prevalence of sodomy among the clergy of his day, which Alan opposed. In a series of ingenious, if bizarre comparisons, Alan likened sexual inversion to grammatical barbarism. This allegory of grammatical "conjugation," licit or illicit, was to have many successors throughout the Middle Ages. In a more general sense, Alan is a link in a chain of
antihomosexual argument based on the claim that it is unnatural.


*Wayne R. Dynes*

**ALBANIA**

Until recent decades, remoteness and a distinctive language permitted this Balkan country to retain, more than its neighbors, cultural traits from the past. Travelers in the nineteenth and early twentieth century noted that Albanian men showed a particular passion for handsome youths, so much so that they would even kill one another in disputes over them. Albanians would also contract male–male pacts which were blessed by priests of the Orthodox church; these, it was claimed, were Platonic. Yet this assertion of purity seems to be contradicted by a common term for the pederast, *būthar*, literally “butt man.” Among the Muslim Sufis some held a belief in reincarnation; having lived a previous life as women, they believed, it would be natural for some men to be attracted to male sex objects. It is tempting to regard these customs as a provincial relic of Greek institutionalized pederasty, or even (following Bernard Sergent) of some primordial “Indo-European” homosexuality. Sometimes the Albanians attributed the custom to a Gypsy origin. Yet Turkish Islamic influence is a more likely source, supplemented by the Byzantine custom of brotherhood pacts. Of further interest is the fact that many Janissaries and Mamluks were recruited among the Albanians.

Since 1945 Albania has been ruled by a puritanical and repressive Marxist regime. Although homosexuality is not mentioned in the Penal Code, elementary prudence requires that relations between “friends” be conducted with the utmost discretion. Foreign tourists report sexual contacts—but only with other tourists.


**ALBERTINE COMPLEX**

In *Remembrance of Things Past*, Marcel Proust’s female character Albertine contains elements taken from the personality of the novelist’s chauffeur Agostinielli, with whom Proust was in love. Accordingly, it has been suggested that the habit of gay and lesbian novelists—once a necessity—of “heterosexualizing” relationships by changing the sex of the characters be called the “Albertine complex.” In W. Somerset Maugham’s *Of Human Bondage* (1915) the waitress with whom the main character is in love is surely a man in disguise. A different device appears in Willa Cather’s *My Ántonia* (1918), where the choice of male authorial persona, Jim, allows the writer to express interest in various female characters.

It must be granted that this critical procedure can be reductive if it simply seeks to “restore the true sex” to a character that is a composite product of the literary imagination. It may also falsely imply that gay and lesbian novelists are incapable of creating convincing characters of the opposite sex. Nonetheless, E. M. Forster gave eloquent testimony of his dissatisfaction with the procedure by abandoning writing novels in mid-career. After writing five published books simulating heterosexual relationships (and one, *Maurice*, on a homosexual’s quest for love, which Forster believed was unpublishable), he declined to play the game any longer.

A related, though different phenomenon appears in the disguise dramas of the Renaissance. *La Calandria* (1513), by Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena, concerns two twins, one male, one female. The twins appear on stage four times, once both dressed as women, once both dressed as men, once in reverse attire, and once (at the end) in the appropriate dress. These
permutations allowed the dramatist to explore for comic effect the confused emotions induced in other characters who are attracted to them. In less complete form the device spread into Spanish and Elizabethan drama, including Shakespeare's familiar *As You Like It*. At the end of these plays the sexual ambiguities are resolved, to the relief of the audience—or at least of the censor. Thus the effect of such dramas contrasts with that of the later novelistic Albertine complex where the device is not meant to be detected. In both cases, however, preservation—or apparent preservation—of normality is the aim.


**ALCIBIADES FANCIULLO A SCOLA, L'**

According to the notation on the title page, this spirited dialogue in defense of pederasty ("Alcibiades the Schoolboy") was published anonymously at "Ginevra [Geneva], 1652"—though it was probably actually printed in Venice. In 1662 a new limited edition of 250 copies appeared in Paris; it is almost as rare as the original. However, an Italian critical edition appeared in 1988 (Rome: Salerno).

The identity of the author long remained mysterious. The title page of the first edition bears the initials "D.P.A.," which has been interpreted as "Divini Petri Aretini"—an unlikely attribution to Aretino. In 1850 Antonio Basseggio gave it, on stylistic grounds, to Ferrante Pallavicino (1616–1644), a freethinker who was a member of the Accademia degli Incogniti in Venice. Finally, an article of 1888 by Achille Neri solved the puzzle. Neri included the text of a letter by Giovan Battista Loredan, founder of the Accademia degli Incogniti, which revealed that the author was Antonio Rocco (1586–1652), a "libertine" priest, Aristotelian philospher, and a member of the Academy. The initials on the title page could be resolved as "Di Padre Antonio." It is likely that Loredan, a noble Venetian, had a hand in the printing of the little volume.

While the obscenity of the story is quite explicit, it must be understood in the context of similar texts of the trend of libertinism, using the term in its original sense of a sceptical philosophical tendency. The colloquy is conventionally set in ancient Athens and the teacher is modeled on Socrates, as suggested also by the derivation of the literary form from the Platonic dialogue. Having conceived an unquenchable passion for his pupil, the instructor resolves to overcome his charge's every objection to consummation of the relationship. Through astute marshalling of argument, as well as rhetorical skill, the preceptor is successful, thus demonstrating also the value of education. The persuader uses examples from Greek mythology and culture, which had become familiar to many Italians through the *Renaissance* revival of classical antiquity. He rebuts counterarguments of later provenance, such as the *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* story. Anticipating the eighteenth century, he appropriates the argument from naturalness for his own ends, saying that Nature gave us our sexual organs for our pleasure; it is an insult to her to refuse to employ them for this evident purpose.


Giovanni Dall'Orto

**ALCIBIADES**

*(ca. 450–404 B.C.)*

Athenian general and statesman. Reared in the household of his guardian and uncle Pericles, he became the erom-
enos and later intimate friend of Socrates, who saved his life in battle. His brilliance enabled him in 420 to become leader of the extreme democratic faction, and his imperialistic designs led Athens into an alliance with Argos and other foes of Sparta, a policy largely discredited by the Spartan victory at Mantinea. He sponsored the enosis extreme democratic faction, and his impeachment enabled him in 420 to become leader of the imperialistic designs led Athens into an alliance with Sparta, which ended after his recall in the capture of thousands of Athenians, most of whom died in the salt mines where they were confined, but soon after the fleet reached Sicily his enemies recalled him on the pretext of his complicity in the capture of thousands of Athenians, most of whom died in the salt mines where they were confined, but soon after the fleet reached Sicily his enemies recalled him on the pretext of his complicity in the mutiny of the Hermæ, the phallic pillars marking boundaries between lots of land. He escaped, however, to Sparta and became the adviser of the Spartan high command. Losing the confidence of the Spartans and accused of impregnating the wife of one of Sparta's two kings, he fled to Persia, then tried to win reinstatement at Athens by winning Persian support for the city and promoting an oligarchic revolution, but without success. Then being appointed commander by the Athenian fleet at Samos, he displayed his military skills for several years and won a brilliant victory at Cyzicus in 410, but reverses in battle and political intrigue at home led to his downfall, and he was finally murdered in Phrygia in 404.

Though an outstanding politician and military leader, Alcibiades compromised himself by the excesses of his sexual life, which was not confined to his own sex, but was uninhibitedly bisexual, as was typical of a member of the Athenian aristocracy. The Attic comedians scolded him for his adventures; Aristophanes wrote a play (now lost) entitled Triphales (the man with three phalli), in which Alcibiades' erotic exploits were satirized. In his youth, admired by the whole of Athens for his beauty, he bore on his coat of arms an Eros hurling a lightning bolt. Diogenes Laertius said of him that "when a young man, he separated men from their wives, and later, wives from their husbands," while the comedian Pherecrates declared that "Alcibiades, who once was no man, is now the man of all women." He gained a bad reputation for introducing luxurious practices into Athenian life, and even his dress was reproached for extravagance. He combined the ambitious political careerist and the bisexual dandy, a synthesis possible only in a society that tolerated homosexual expression and even a certain amount of heterosexual licence in its public figures. His physical beauty alone impressed his contemporaries enough to remain an inseparable part of his historical image.


**ALCOHOLISM**

The linkage of alcoholism and homosexuality has produced a long and fascinating body of literature. Both share similar characteristics: they are stigmatized behaviors, are subject to legal and moral sanctions, have etiologies that are not completely understood, are often concealed from others, have inconsistent definitions, and are dealt with in a variety of conflicting ways. How homosexuality and alcoholism are perceived is typically a function of the theoretical position taken. The shifts from a more psychoanalytic model, to a learning theory approach, to a sociocultural viewpoint illustrate the varied attitudes toward these stigmatized behaviors by the dominant culture. Each school, however, seems to accept that the rate of alcoholism among homosexuals is significantly higher than in the rest of the population.

The Psychoanalytic Model. The earliest connections evolved from the school of psychoanalysis founded by Sigmund Freud. Emphasizing the idea of latent homosexuality as the etiology of
problem drinking, neo-Freudians sought a causal model to explain what they perceived as sexual pathologies. Alcohol use was seen as the cause of regression to a level of psychosocial development in which latent homosexuality, sadistic and masochistic tendencies, and lewdness are released (Israelstam and Lambert). Excessive alcohol use, therefore, was the means of overcoming the repression of homosexuality and other sexual inhibitions.

The connection between homosexuality and alcoholism stressed the oral dimensions. Using such phrases as "oral neurotics" and "oral diseases," the psychoanalytic school focused on only certain aspects of drinking behavior and homosexuality. Alcoholics were seen to be fixated in the oral stage, to be anxious about masculine inadequacy and incompleteness, to have experienced traumatic weaning, or to have an irrational fear of being heterosexual (Nardi). Similar phrases were used to describe the etiology of homosexuality. Oral frustrations were linked to both homosexuality and alcoholism. Tennessee Williams' play Cat on a Hot Tin Roof (1955) reflects the prevalence of the psychoanalytic argument: Brick's alcoholism is linked to his frustrating relationship with his wife Maggie and his repressed homosexual feelings about his dead friend Skipper.

Much of the early empirical research on the linkage between homosexuality and alcoholism emphasized the psychoanalytic assumptions. However, rather than studying alcoholism among homosexual populations, researchers tended to look for homosexuality among alcoholics. Unfortunately, their definitions about what demonstrated homosexuality were faulty. Numerous studies used masculinity–femininity scales with the belief that high femininity scores indicated homosexuality in the male.

Clearly, then, a problem with these early studies is the faulty assumptions underlying the empirical and theoretical models. There is an overemphasis on oral aspects of homosexuality, thereby ignoring the range of sexual practices and the emotional-love dimensions of same-sex relationships. It is also assumed that only homosexuality has these oral dimensions to it, while implying that heterosexual practices do not. Furthermore, the psychoanalytic approach does not account for lesbians, for the repressed homosexuals who are not alcoholic, for the open gays and lesbians who are not alcoholic, and for the open gays and lesbians who are alcoholic (Small and Leach).

While repression of fundamental characteristics of self can often lead to destructive behavior, the focus of psychoanalytic perspectives is of particular relevance here. The relationship between latent homosexuality and alcoholism assumes that learning to overcome one's repressed homosexual feelings and to love heterosexually is the best "cure" for alcoholism. Thus, the focus of therapy is on one's sexuality, not on the drinking or the repression. The pathology is the homosexuality, not just the alcoholism.

During the 1960s and 1970s, however, the psychoanalytic models started losing favor. With the introduction of humanistic Rogerian psychology, existential models of R. D. Laing, and the sociological approaches of labeling theory, the link between homosexuality and alcoholism took on different emphases (Israelstam and Lambert). With the rise of gay and lesbian rights movements, research began to look at a newer link: the relationship of homophobia and alcoholism. The tone was no longer on sexual repressions and regressions to oral stages, but on the social contextual dimensions of gay lifestyles. The theories now emphasized behavior and the role drinking played in integrating people into a subculture or in reducing stresses caused by hostile social settings. Alcoholism was seen as a response to situational factors, not as a correlate of homosexuality. While some argue for the dominance of biological and genetic explanations for alcoholism (and
homosexuality as well), most researchers believe that the social context plays an important part in understanding the connections.

The Learning-Theory Approach. Social learning theory has contributed much to our understanding of the link between context and deviant behaviors. Alcoholism is seen as a learned behavior resulting from reinforcement of pleasurable experiences and the avoidance of negative ones. Tension reduction, relaxation, peer approval, and feelings of power have all been connected to alcohol consumption. Thus, a learning model explanation of excessive drinking among gay men and lesbians stresses tension-reduction and the positive reinforcement of participation in an open gay lifestyle of bars and other alcohol-related social events. The tension, anxiety, and guilt feelings generated in the context of a society which does not condone homosexual behavior are reduced by increased alcohol use. For some, the resultant feelings of power allow gay people to make sexual contacts and overcome social resistances.

The role of the gay bar becomes an important component of this approach. The emergence of gay bars as a common institution for introduction into a gay community derives from their history of permissiveness and protectiveness. Gay bars provide some anonymity and segregation from the dominant culture while contributing to and maintaining a gay identity for its patrons. The positive aspects of belonging to a gay community tend to reinforce drinking patterns. Heavy drinking, in this model, is not used to escape from some latent fears or to fulfill oral needs, but as a way to participate in a group. Initial socialization into a gay social network often occurs by attending gay bars, cocktail parties, and meals involving alcohol. Achieving a gay identity, for some people, necessitates learning roles which include an alcohol component.

Since there are many different types of homosexuals and many forms of alcoholism, searching for a single link to explain all drinking by homosexuals is a misguided task. For some open gays, a pleasure-seeking explanation is probably a more accurate learning model. For others just “coming out,” a tension-reduction approach may serve as a clearer explanation. For those still “in the closet” and repressing their identity, alcohol may serve as a means to disinhibit their feelings or to deny them further. Whichever is used, all illustrate a learning model, stressing the importance of the situation for understanding problem drinking. The shift away from pathologies and oral fixations represented a major step in the theoretical understanding of the linkage between homosexuality and alcoholism.

Sociocultural Perspectives. The approach to studying the linkage took another direction with the growing emphasis in the 1970s of a gay lifestyle and subculture. From this viewpoint, drinking patterns are a function of a group or subculture’s norms, values, and beliefs. How a culture defines drinking and drunkenness, what meanings are construed for behavior while “under the influence,” and what situational factors are relevant, all affect drinking rates. The whole lifestyle must be taken into account: the connections between drug use, alcohol consumption, and sex; the value placed on attending bars; the laws and norms directly related to alcohol consumption in that geographic area; and the attitudes of the larger social context toward the stigmatized group.

This theoretical approach focuses on the social context in which gay people find themselves, how they define reality and perceive their situation, and what symbols and values they hold with respect to alcohol use. Understanding the linkage between homosexuality and alcoholism, thus, requires understanding how certain gay individuals manage and control their feelings in an oppressive social context. In other words, homophobia is seen as a contextual explanation as to why some
gay men and lesbians drink excessively. Being a homosexual is not the pathology leading to alcoholism; alcoholism is the response to a homophobic environment. Alienation, low self-esteem, and morally weak labels are maintained by the social system, thereby increasing vulnerability to addictive behaviors. To study alcoholism and homosexuality now means researching the subculturally approved responses to perceived and actual homophobic situations. Gay men and lesbians become the focus of study; their thoughts, behavior, and perceptions are the data. Rather than looking at alcoholics and assessing whether they are latent homosexuals or high scorers on a femininity scale, current research, under the sociocultural model, goes directly to gay alcoholics and studies their views and responses to their social situations.

Research Problems and Prospects. Unfortunately, the reliability about the extent of alcoholism problems in the gay community has suffered from faulty research methodology. Small sample sizes, lack of control groups, non-random samples, inconsistent definitions of alcoholism and homosexuality, and anecdotal information typify much of the recent research in this area. Generalizations to the diversity of homosexuals are very difficult to make. Not only are those “in the closet” impossible to study, but generating non-middle-class samples of open gays and lesbians is not an easy task. In addition, asking people to relate their drinking patterns with honesty and accuracy becomes problematic the more they drink excessively.

Despite these problems with current research, the move away from the neo-Freudian, psychoanalytic models is an important step in understanding the linkages between alcoholism and homosexuality. Results from many of the recent studies seem to indicate an alcoholism rate at two to three times that of the rest of the population. While some of this is due to the same factors that affect other alcoholics (such as low self-esteem, difficulty in expressing one’s feelings, having an alcoholic parent, ethnic and religious background, and other drug use), it is the unique aspects of establishing and maintaining a gay identity in a generally hostile environment that has become the focus of attention in recent research.

The theoretical approaches discussed (psychoanalytic, learning theory, and socio-cultural perspective) represent specific sociological and psychological viewpoints. Other models can, and have, been developed to assess alcoholism using economic, political, biological, and genetic variables, and explanations. Each of these can be used to further an understanding of the linkage between homosexuality and alcoholism.

Treatment and Prevention. Which model one adopts can have important implications for the development of treatment and prevention programs. Some people define alcoholism as a disease, thereby invoking a medical model with very different consequences from a learned behavior model adopted by others. Those stressing the psychoanalytic approach focus on curing the pathology of homosexuality, while the socio-cultural model leads to the emphasis on getting the client to act on one’s homosexual feelings. In general, most practitioners today believe that treating the alcoholism is the first priority. This, however, typically requires a climate in which the patients can feel comfortable about discussing their identity openly. Being honest about oneself and one’s feelings is essential for recovery. This cannot be attained in a homophobic context. Some, therefore, strongly encourage homosexual clients to seek treatment in gay and lesbian facilities. When these are not available, it is very important that treatment programs and therapists can accept and encourage gay and lesbian clients to be themselves. While the techniques for treatment may be the same for everyone, the importance of establishing a climate in which the clients can express
themselves openly becomes of prime importance.

Similarly, while prevention and education programs have messages relevant to all people, some specific tailoring to the needs, issues, and language of gays and lesbians is essential. For example, recent evidence on the role alcohol and drugs play in lowering immune system functioning has important prevention implications for AIDS. There are also some indications that excessive alcohol use can lead to higher risk taking, especially in sexual situations, thereby increasing the possibilities of engaging in practices with a higher probability of contracting the AIDS virus. Prevention and education programs aimed at the gay and lesbian populations must, therefore, take into account the unique dimensions of their lifestyles and sexuality. It is in prevention and treatment programs that the link between homosexuality and alcoholism becomes an important aspect.


ALEXANDER THE GREAT

(356–323 B.C.)

King of Macedonia and conqueror of much of the civilized world of his day. The Hellenizing aspirations of his father Philip II caused him to summon Aristotle from Athens to tutor his son. On his succession to the throne in 336 Alexander immediately made plans to invade Asia, which he did two years later. In a series of great battles he defeated the Persian king and took possession of his vast empire. Unwisely extending his expedition into India in 327–325, he returned to Babylon where he died.

Historians still debate the significance of Alexander’s plans for the empire: it now seems unlikely that he intended a universal culture melding the diverse ethnic components on an equal footing.
ALEXANDER THE GREAT

His concessions to his new subjects were probably intended to secure their loyalty, while preserving Greek supremacy. His romantic figure has exercised an unceasing fascination over the centuries, though usually with minimal acknowledgement of his bisexual appetites, which supreme rule allowed him to gratify to the full.

Although he entered into a state marriage with the Sogdian Roxane and had relations with other women, all his life Alexander was subject to unbounded passions for beautiful boys (Athenaeus, Deipnosophists, XIII, 603a). From childhood Alexander had been closely bonded with his friend Hephaistion, whose death in 324 he mourned extravagantly, reportedly devastating whole districts to assuage his grief. His relationship with a beautiful eunuch Bagoas, formerly the favorite of king Darius, is the subject of Mary Renault's novel The Persian Boy (New York, 1972).


Warren Johansson

ALEXANDRIA

Ptolemy I, Alexander the Great's successor in Egypt, transferred the capital from Memphis to the city near the Nile's western mouth, which had been founded by Alexander after he conquered Egypt to accommodate large fleets and thus secure his communications with Europe. Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III made Alexandria the center of Hellenic learning by endowing (1) the Museum, where Herophilus and his younger contemporary Erasistratus conducted vivisection on condemned slaves to advance surgery, anatomy and physiology, while Eratosthenes calculated the circumference of the globe; and (2) the Library, arranged by Aristotle's pupil Demetrius of Phalerum according to the Master's cataloguing system, which grew to contain over 100,000 (perhaps even 700,000 scrolls) where Callimachus, Apollonius, and Theocritus vied with one another in editing classical Greek texts and in composing pederastic verses. From 300 b.c. until 145—when Ptolemy VII Physcon expelled the scholars—and again after order was restored, Alexandria was also the literary center of Hellas. The golden age of Alexandrian poetry lasted from ca. 280 to ca. 240 with an Indian summer in the early first century B.C., when Meleager produced his Garland, so important a part of the Greek Anthology, and his contemporaries wrote other works that soon became popular in Rome and influenced Latin literature.

Imitating the elegists and lyricists who had flourished in the Aegean ca. 600 B.C., the Alexandrians of the golden age enthusiastically composed pederastic verse. The seven greatest Alexandrian tragedians were dubbed the Pleiad. In the second century B.C. Phanus, Moschus, and Bion continued the traditions of Callimachus, Apollonius, and Theocritus with archaic fastidiousness and recondite allusions of the earlier librarians there. Big city inconveniences produced a longing for the rural life expressed in pastoral poetry. Whether ideal or sensual, love—especially pederastic—held a central position.

The luxurious gymnasium, temples, and baths erected by the Ptolemies, of whom the seventh kept a harem of boys, surpassed those of the homeland. A local peculiarity was the Serapeum, a temple which attempted to fuse Dionysiac with Egyptian religion.

This commercial port linked Europe with Africa, and via the canal built by the ancient Pharaohs that the Ptolemies reopened between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, also with India, for the Greeks learned to follow the monsoon to complete the periplus there and back. Its great Pharos (lighthouse) symbolized its maritime dominance, and Ptolemaic fleets often ruled the Aegean. Alexandria, whose synagogues overshadowed those in
Palestine, attracted diaspora Jews even before the Seleucid Antiochus IV began to persecute them and the Diaspora began in earnest, continuing during and after the Maccabean uprisings. In Alexandria seventy Jewish scholars were believed in later legend to have translated the Pentateuch into the koine, as the Hellenistic Greek of the newly acquired colonial regions was styled. Riots often occurred among the ethnic groups, especially against the Jews, who had their own quarter in the capital. Resembling New York, with a true cacophony of languages, Alexandria became the largest Greek as well as the largest Jewish city and certainly the richest in the world. Philo Judaeus, who clearly judged the homosexual behavior of the Sodomites responsible for the destruction of the Cities of the Plain, synthesized Old Testament homophobia with Greek philosophical condemnation: the Mosaic prohibition with Plato’s notion of “against nature,” while the Ptolemies married their sisters and nude Greek men chased eromenoi in gymnasia or hired poor boys in the teeming streets or bazaars.

Lavishing the wealth for which the Ptolemies were famous, Cleopatra married first three of her brothers (Ptolemy XIII, XIV, and XV), then Julius Caesar (if she was not merely his mistress), and finally Mark Antony. She committed suicide to avoid granting the triumph of Octavian, who annexed Egypt for Rome, as Augustus, administering it as a special, incomparably valuable province. Trade with India via Alexandria reached such a height during the Pax Romana (31 B.C.—A.D. 180) that the Empire was drained of specie to pay for Eastern luxuries. The later “Alexandrian” Latin poets of the first century B.C., of whom Catullus is the only surviving exemplar, wrote bisexual verses, like those of their models. In the early Empire, even more than in the last century of the Republic, things Egyptians were the rage. Athenaeus of Naucratis, another seaport at a mouth of the Nile, ca. A.D. 200 wrote of an elaborate symposium where scholars discussed pederasty as well as fine foods and wines, and pagan learning continued in Alexandria until Hypatia, a female mathematician and Neo-Platonist, was torn limb from limb by a mob of Christian fanatics incited by their bishop St. Cyril in 415, after which pagan learning declined. The neglected Library repeatedly suffered from fires, book burnings, and other catastrophes, perishing in the Arab conquest of 641.

Christianity, too, flourished in Alexandria from the time the Apostle Mark introduced it there. Combining Platonic with Biblical homophobia in the tradition of Philo Judaeus, Clement, Origen, Arian, and Athanasius and other Patristic writers shaped Orthodox dogma.

As the center of learning of the Hellenistic world and the rival of Rome for wealth and population, it was naturally the home of the most erudite Christians. They were as shocked as the Jews by the lasciviousness of the pagans with whom they rubbed shoulders in the cosmopolitan streets of the metropolis. “Nothing,” it was said, “was not available in Alexandria except snow.” This applied to sex where the vices, like the merchandise, of Asia, Africa, and Europe met and were exchanged amid great wealth and extreme poverty. The Patriarch of Alexandria, like that of its Hellenistic competitor Antioch, rivaled the one Constantine appointed at the new capital in 330 and the one at Jerusalem—all of whom vied with the bishop of Rome.

Alexandria was scarcely affected by the Germanic occupation of the West. Arab hordes newly inspired by the religion of Islam, however, invaded Egypt in 638 and captured Alexandria in 641, the grief of the loss causing the death of the Emperor Heraclius (610–641). Although the Moslems removed the capital to Fustat (Old Cairo), near ancient Memphis, Alexandria remained a vital port as long as they dominated the Mediterranean, a Moslem lake from about 700 to about 1100, when the crusaders regained dominance of that
sea for Christendom. With its women secluded even more than in the Ptolemaic and Byzantine epochs, Moslem Alexandria, now called al-Iskandariya, continued the tradition of pederasty.

Dynasties followed one another, the Shiite Fatimids (965–1171), the Sunni Ayyubids (1171–1250), whose Saladin fought Richard I the Lionhearted, followed by the Mamluks, a group of unmarried, often castrated Slavic bodyguards known for pederasty, one of whose number was chosen Sultan from 1250 to 1519. Under the Mamluks Cairo completely outshone Alexandria, which declined to little more than a fishing village.

In 1881 the British established a protectorate over Egypt, Turkish sovereignty being purely nominal. Thereafter Alexandria became the center of a cosmopolitan blend of Eastern and Western civilization known as Levantine. With its languid sensuousness and sexual promiscuity, Alexandria, like other Levantine ports, attracted gay writers and expatriates in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The modern Greek poet Cavafy, the Russian writer Mikhail Kuzmin, Lawrence Durrell and others put the city permanently on the literary map of the world. In his lyric poems Constantine Cavafy (1863–1933) evoked the moods and memories of Hellenistic Alexandria at its zenith—as the capital of the cosmopolitan civilization his ancestors had created. E. M. Forster had a love affair with an Egyptian tram-conductor, Mohammed el-Adl, in 1917, during World War I. He also wrote a guide to the city, and introduced Cavafy’s poems to English-speaking readers.

The resurgence of Arab and Egyptian nationalism spelled the death of the “colonial,” Levantine Alexandria by forcing most of the permanent foreign residents to emigrate. Now the premier beach resort of Egyptians, the city abounds in summer with homosexual activity in spite of the revival of Moslem puritanism.


*William A. Percy*

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**ALGER, HORATIO, JR. (1832–1899)**

American novelist. The son of a clergyman, he sought to emulate his father’s career in a church in Brewster, Massachusetts. In 1866, however, he abruptly left the ministry and went to New York City, where he devoted the rest of his life to grinding out an enormous number of books for boys, most of which have the same plot, the legendary “rags to riches” tale about a poor boy who makes good. The most famous of these books were *Ragged Dick* (1868) and *Tattered Tom* (1871). The total number of Alger books sold, both before and after his death, is estimated at being anywhere from one to four hundred million. Alger became known as the inspiration for many of the American boys who in real life went from poverty to wealth, and even today it is said in obituaries that a man’s “life was like a Horatio Alger story.”

Alger’s status as a wholesome legend was ironically the cause of his eventually being found out. In *The American Idea of Success* (1971), Richard Huber told how he had discovered in the archives of the church in Brewster evidence that Alger had “been charged with gross immorality and a most heinous crime, a crime of no less magnitude than the abominable and revolting crime of unnatural familiarity with boys.” Alger had gone to New York to escape the wrath of the parents of Brewster. This bombshell lay dormant until a journalist read Huber’s book and broadcast the news across the United States.

Alger was included in Jonathan Katz’ *Gay American History* (1976) and is now a standard member of everybody’s list.
of famous homosexuals. The story of Alger's life has been the subject of several biographies both before and after the Huber bombshell, and this is a story in itself. One early biography was a pack of lies in which Alger has relationships with various women, and other early biographies had also invented episodes here and there, and these false "facts" were repeated innocently by later biographers. Even in these early biographies, however, it was possible to read between the lines—or between the lies—to see that Alger was attracted to boys. He spent a lot of time around the Newsboys Lodging House in New York, a sort of hotel for homeless boys and a paradise for any pederast who could succeed, as Alger did, in winning the confidence of the owner and the young residents. The greatest love of Alger's life was a ten-year-old Chinese boy named Wing, who was later killed by a street-car. All of this information was reported by the early biographers, but nobody seemed to understand what it meant until Huber found the evidence.


Stephen Wayne Foster

ALLSTON, WASHINGTON (1779-1843)

American artist. The slave-owning Allstons of South Carolina enjoyed a life of near baronial splendor. Traditionally families such as his have demonstrated their appreciation of art only through patronage, since artists, like all craftsmen, must work with their hands. Allston chose to deny his family's inculcated values when, having graduated from Harvard, he insisted on pursuing his muse.

In 1801 Allston sailed for England to study for several years at the Royal Academy with Benjamin West and Henry Fuseli. They imbued the aspiring artist with the spirit of romantic classicism which was to become his stylistic hallmark. During his first European sojourn, Allston traveled extensively, settling by 1804 in Rome. There he first met Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Washington Irving. He insinuated himself into the circle of Rome's German colony, which centered around the Prussian consul, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and the habitués of the Caffè Greco. There he got to know Wilhelm's homosexual brother, Alexander von Humboldt, and such neoclassical sculptors as Thorvaldsen and Canova, together with the artists Asmus Jakob Carstens, Gottlieb Schick, and Joseph Anton Koch. Then in 1808 he left Rome precipitously, sailing for Boston, where he married Ann Channing, a socially prominent New Engander who had been affianced to Allston for nine years.

With his new wife, Allston traveled to England again in 1811. This time he secured the patronage of the influential Sir George Beaumont. His painting of "The Dead Man Revived" won a prize of two hundred guineas at the British Institution. In the Annals of the Fine Arts in 1816, he was listed as one of the principal history painters in England. The illness and death of his wife, in 1815, was the one ostensibly disturbing interlude of these very successful years. But a second time, giving his friends no warning, he decamped for America in 1818.

Back in Boston, Allston fixed his attentions on a Boston Brahmin spinster, Martha Dana, whom he married in 1830, after a courtship strung out over ten years. The course of his professional life matched that of his private life in its failure to find a focus and locate a goal. Ensonced in a studio in the suburb of Cambridgeport, the artist manifested behavior we would now perceive as highly neurotic. He habitually abandoned major, multifigured canvases—by his own report of 1836, five in 18 months. Over the years, he managed to disappoint the Boston Hospital, the Pennsylvania
Academy, the State of South Carolina, the United States government, and private individuals as highly placed as the Duchess of Sutherland. None of his undertakings, however, provided him with a better excuse for a dilatory performance than the never-to-be-finished "Belshazzar's Feast." After a visit to his studio in 1838, the English art critic Anna Jameson observed that his sensitivity on the subject of his unfinished "Bel" did "at last verge on insanity."

Why did Washington Allston live in a state of psychic imprisonment which paralyzed his will to create and made him guilt-ridden? To cast his dilemma into perspective, we must acknowledge that some of the most puzzling moments of his life begin to make sense only on the hypothesis that he was a closeted homosexual. During his lifetime, family and friends shielded him or pretended not to know, as evidenced in his official biography written by his reverential nephew, Jared Flagg. Scholars in this century have perpetuated the subterfuge when they failed to evaluate the documented evidence.

In chronological sequence, the first document—omitted in the modern biographies—is a letter of Allston's, quoted in the first comprehensive history of American art. Here Allston reminisced about his earliest patron, a South Carolinian named Bowman. The latter offered to the handsome scion of the Allston family an annual stipend of 100 pounds for the period of his study abroad. The stipend declined, Bowman upped the ante by volunteering to send him away with "a few tierces of rice." "His partiality was not of the everyday kind," the mature artist observed. During his lifetime, family and friends shielded him or pretended not to know, as evidenced in his official biography written by his reverential nephew, Jared Flagg. Scholars in this century have perpetuated the subterfuge when they failed to evaluate the documented evidence.

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Flagg's recycling of the incident, the word "partiality" was suppressed, leaving the inserted pronoun without antecedent: "it was not of the everyday kind." In context, the suppressed word would not have raised eyebrows; but since Allston's adoring nephew removes the word, and so ineptly, we may conclude that family tradition wanted something hushed up.

Next, there is the matter of those courtships of unusual length even for the nineteenth century. Collectively, they provided a cover for a total of nineteen years. But the most telling circumstance involves the cause for Allston's second departure from England.

The period of Allston's sojourn in England followed years in which England instituted harsh penal measures against homosexuals. Nobles were exiled, members of the working class hanged. Under these conditions, blackmail became a common practice; and we have it from Allston himself that he was continuously importuned by beggars who were literate, since they petitioned through the mails. Accordingly, he wished his new address in America kept secret. After his return, he instructed his pupil, C. R. Leslie, to forward no more correspondence: "I know, my good fellow, you will excuse this, for you know what I have already suffered. . . . There are letters of this unpleasant kind I have had from Bristol and other places. Tell Mr. Bridgen never to take out any letter to me from the Dead-Letter Box. If any should be there let them remain; for I do not want them." Leslie would be just the person to sympathize with his teacher's predicament, since his own sexual orientation made him equally susceptible. His liaisons with some of the London actors whose portraits he painted fell short of discretion. Flagg, who was probably ignorant of Leslie's proclivities, applied to this former pupil for further information about his uncle's seemingly inexplicable decision. Leslie, in his written reply, elided the truth; and his explanation, as redacted by Flagg, reads like a fairytale: "Leslie gives as his belief that one cause for his leaving England was the result of his open-handed charity to street beggars in London"—as though Allston were a soft-hearted American, helpless to
resist out-stretched palms and needing to put an ocean between unlettered beggars and his own purse.


Phoebe Lloyd

AMAZONIA

In addition to holding the world's largest tropical rainforest, the Amazon basin of South America has remained until recently the home of many tribal peoples scarcely touched by Western civilization.

Initiation and Joking Behavior.

As in the Melanesian cultures of the Pacific, initiation, more than marriage, is indispensable in northwest Amazonia to the transition from the asexual world of childhood to the sexual world of adults. In these customs, anthropologists have been struck by the commonness of joking sexual play among initiated but unmarried men. "Missionaries working in the Piran-anará are frequently shocked by the apparent homosexual behavior of Indian men. However, the Barasana distinguish between this playful sexual activity and serious male homosexuality. This play, rather than stemming from frustration of normal [sic] desire, is regarded as being normal behavior between brothers-in-law, and expresses their close, affectionate, and supportive relationship" (Hugh-Jones). Claude Lévi-Strauss, who had reported "reciprocal sexual services" by classificatory "brothers-in-law" among the Nam-bikwara in 1943, added: "It remains an open question whether the partners achieve complete satisfaction or restrict themselves to sentimental demonstrations, accompanied by caresses, similar to the demonstrations and caresses characteristic of conjugal relationships." Although maintaining that "the brother is acting as a temporary substitute" for his sister, he admits: "On reaching adulthood, the brothers-in-law continue to express their feelings quite openly." Stephen Hugh-Jones similarly reported, "A young man will often lie in a hammock with his 'brother-in-law,' nuzzling him, fondling his penis, and talking quietly, often about sexual exploits with women." About the Yamanamo, Chagnon wrote: "Most unmarried young men having homosexual relations with each other have no stigma attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public." Alves da Silva reported public mutual masturbation by boys, although officially, homosexuality only occurs in the puberty rites for boys.

Other Aspects. Nimuendajú and Lowie noted formalized, intense, but apparently non-sexual friendships among another Ge tribe, the Ramko'kamekra. Wagley's 1939 ethnography of the Tapirape—a southern Amazon tribe with a Tupi-Guarani rather than Ge language, who were therefore likely pushed from the coast rather than being traditionally jungle dwellers prior to 1500—included reports of males in the past who had allowed themselves to be used in anal intercourse by other men. "They were treated as favorites by the men, who took them along on hunting trips. Kamairaho gave me the names of five men whom he had known during his lifetime or about whom his father had told him 'had holes.' Some of these men were married to women, he said, but at night in the takana [men's house] they allowed other men to 'eat them' [have anal intercourse]. His father told him of one man who took a woman's name and did women's work. . . . Older men had said that the "man-woman" had died because she was pregnant. 'Her stomach was swollen but there was no womb to allow the child to be born.'" None of
Wagley's informants could recall a case of a woman who had taken the male role or who preferred sex with another female.

Gregor added a muddled account of conceptions of homosexuality as (1) inconceivable, (2) situational, and (3) forgotten for the Mehinaku of the Xingu River. Soares de Souza asserted the Tupinamba were "addicted to sodomy and do not consider it a shame. . . . In the bush some offer themselves to all who want them." In the upper Amazon, Tessmann found that "while there are no homosexuals with masculine tendencies, there are some with extreme effeminacy. My informants knew of two such instances. One of them wears woman's clothing . . . [The other] wears man's clothing, but likes to do all the work that is generally done by women. He asked one member of our expedition to address him with a woman's name and not with his masculine name. He lives with a settler and prostitutes himself as the passive partner to the settler's workers. He pays his lovers. He never practices active sexual intercourse." A more extended description of widespread homosexual play and of fairly-enduring but "open" relationships is provided by Sorenson: "Young men sit around enticingly sedate and formal in all their finery, or form troupes of panpipe-playing dancers." Occasional sex is regarded as expectable behavior among friends; one is marked as nonfriendly—enemy—if he does not join, especially in the youth 'age group' [roughly 15-35]."

Homosexual activity was limited neither to within an "age group" nor to unmarried men. Moreover, inter-village homosexuality was encouraged and some "best friends" relationships developed. That the "best friend" is more likely later to marry a sister of his "best friend" is implied in Sorenson's report.

Some of the denials that homosexual behavior among "my people" is "really homosexuality" say more about the observer than the observed. In other cases, denials of what can be observed come from natives. In such cases, it is difficult to know whether the concern that imputations of accepting homosexuality will stigmatize their tribe are the result of Western acculturation or more venerable cultural concerns.


Stephen O. Murray

AMAZONS, AMERICAN INDIAN

A distinct gender role for masculine females was accepted in many American Indian tribes of North and South America. This role often included a marriage between such a female and a woman. Though sometimes mistakenly referred to by anthropologists as "female berdaches," this term historically was applied only to males and does not account for the special character of the amazon role. Even though the Indians did not live in separate all-female societies, the earliest historic references to such masculine females referred to them as "amazons" rather than as "berdaches," and the Portuguese explorers
in northeastern Brazil named the large river there the River of the Amazons after the female warriors of the Tupinamba Indians.

The extent to which this gender role was socially accepted in aboriginal cultures is unclear, owing to the lack of attention paid to women in the male-written documents of the early European explorers. It is also unclear to what extent these females were "gender-crossers" who were accepted as men, or as "gender mixers" who combined elements of masculinity and femininity with some other unique traits to become an alternative gender. There was probably variation between tribes and among individuals.

Such females were noted for their masculine interests from early childhood, and as adults they often famed for their bravery as warriors and skill as hunters. In some tribes, parents who had no son would select a daughter to raise as a hunter, and this child would grow up to do all the roles of a man, including the taking of a woman as a wife. The amazon's avoidance of sex with a man would protect her from pregnancy, and thus insure her continued activity as a hunter. Kaska Indians of the western Canadian subarctic explained that if such a female had sex with a man, her luck in finding game would be destroyed. Her sexual affairs and marriage with a woman were the accepted form.

Some tribes, like the Mohave, held the view that the true father of a child was the last person to have sex with the mother before the baby's birth. This meant that an amazon would easily claim paternity to the child of her wife, if this wife had been previously impregnated by a man. Therefore, these marriages between an amazon and a woman were socially recognized with their children as families.

Because of their uniqueness, amazons often had the reputation for spiritual power and a gift of prophesy. This was sometimes shared by another form of female gender variance among Plains tribes, known as Warrior Women. Here, women would sometimes participate in male occupations on the hunt or in warfare, but this did not imply an alternative gender role since they continued to be defined as women. Still, there were some amazons on the Plains, the most famous of which was Woman Chief, a leader of the Crow Indians in the nineteenth century. She was the third highest ranked warrior in her tribe, and was married to four women.

For those who were socially defined as women, it was more important that they reproduce the population than that they be exclusively heterosexual. Motherhood was highly valued, and a woman's status was usually related to her role as a mother more than as a wife. As long as a woman had children, to whom she was married was of less concern to society. Since the amazon was not seen as feminine, and was not socially defined as a woman, she was able to gain status based on her hunting and military abilities.


Walter L. Williams

**AMAZONS, CLASSICAL**

Greek mythology includes references to a legendary race of female warriors. Homer's *Iliad* offers only scanty indications of them, and the name given to them is *antianeirai*, later interpreted as "man-hating" or "man-like." The main features of the later Greek Amazon legend are as follows. Coming from the east, they founded a commonwealth of women in the northeast of Asia Minor on the Ther-
AMAZONS, CLASSICAL

modon, between Sinope and Trapezus, with Themiskyra as its capital. They honor Ares as their ancestor and Artemis. For breeding purposes they live during two months of the spring with a neighboring people. The male children are killed (or rendered unfit for military service or returned to the fathers). The girls are brought up as warriors; they remain virgins until they have slain three foes. Their weapons are bow and arrow and a sword hanging from a band that runs over the breast; they are mostly mounted. In their genealogies they do not count the father. The major sources of this legend are Didorus Siculus and the geographer Strabo of Alexandria. Herodotus connects the Amazons with the Scythians and makes the Sauromates (Sarmatians) descend from them. There is a pseudo-etymology that derives the name from a-privative and mazos, "breast," with the explanation that they cut off one of their breasts so as better to aim their arrows; the artistic depictions of them always show both breasts.

The legend is sometimes interpreted as the echo of historic combats with matriarchal Asiatic tribes combined with fairy tale motifs such as the abduction of women. The Amazons were a favorite theme of ancient art and sculpture; particularly renowned were statues of the wounded Amazon by four artists of the fifth century B.C.: Polycleitus, Cresilas, Phidias, Phradmon.

The Amazon legend both tempted and intimidated the explorers of Latin America; societies of Amazons were reported from Brazil, whence the name of the Amazon River; Guiana; the western part of the Peru of the Incas; Colombia; Nicaragua; the Western Antilles; Mexico, Yucatan, and Lower California. Modern scholarship tends to discredit these accounts as reverberations of the classical myth or as fictions invented by the natives to discourage the Europeans from proceeding farther inland. Some lesbian writers of modern times have reinterpreted J. J. Bachofen's conception of matriarchy (1861) in the direction of a primitive, predominantly female and matrilineal society, but admit that Amazonism and lesbianism are distinct phenomena, however they may coincide in time and space.

Warren Johansson

AMERICAN INDIANS
See Indians, American.

ANAL SEX
The anus is the posterior opening of the alimentary canal. The actual closing and opening is effected by a muscle known as the sphincter, beyond which lies the rectum, leading to the sigmoid colon. For many in our society, the anus is either a neutral part of the body, or one that can induce pain, through hemorrhoids or other disfunctions. While a majority of the population seems to have experimented in some way with anal stimulation, many decline to practice anal sex regularly, whether heterosexually, homosexually, or autoerotically. It has been asserted that this reluctance reflects deep-seated cultural taboos, which is undoubtedly part of the explanation for avoidance. It is also likely, however, that many people simply find other sexual practices more rewarding.

Techniques. For those who derive erotic stimulation from them, anal activities fall into two main categories, external or internal. The former may consist of either digital stimulation or anilingus, that is, tongue-to-anus stimulation, known in street language as "rimming" or "rear French." While it is very ancient, the practice of tonguing the anus has been shown to hold serious risks for hepatitis and parasitic infections. External stimulation of the anus may constitute foreplay, to be followed by some other activity, including anal penetration.

Internal stimulation of the anus may be effected through the insertion of the penis (anal copulation or anal intercourse), the fingers, or through the intro-
duction of some inert but flexible implement, such as a dildo. In all these practices lubrication of the inserting agent is required. In older writings penile penetration of the anus is sometimes termed pedication [from the Latin pedico], not to be confused with pederasty. The most common positions for penile penetration are standing, with the receptive partner usually bending forward; lying, with both partners prone, the penetrator reclining with his abdomen on the receptor's back; and lying, with the receptive partner supine on his back with his legs drawn up against the other's chest so that the two are face to face. In this last position the seeming discomfort is balanced by the resultant elevation of the anal opening, facilitating entry, and the ease of kissing. A nonpenile variant, apparently introduced relatively recently in our society, is fistng or handballing. In this practice the hand, with nails carefully trimmed, is the inserting implement. Because of the danger of puncturing the colon, which may lead to fatal peritonitis, fistng should be avoided.

Folk belief holds that in male couples practicing anal intercourse one, the "active" partner, will always take the inserter role, while the other, the "passive" partner, will always be the penetratee. Surveys show that this role polarization is not in fact common in advanced industrial countries such as the United States, though it lingers in Latin America and among prison populations.

Recent medical studies have indicated that use of a condom is indispensable in anal intercourse. For the receptive partner unprotected anal copulation with an infected companion has been shown to be a high-risk practice for Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). This risk may be primarily due to the fact that the rectal mucosa is easily torn, with resultant bleeding and access of AIDS-virus-infected sperm to the receptive partner's bloodstream. Moreover, it is possible that the virus may directly infect the cells of the colonic mucosa (the inner lining or wall of the colon, which includes the anus and the rectum). In the case of dildos and other anal toys, care must be taken that they are not inflexible, contain sharp angles, or are provided with internal wires that could emerge and tear the lining of the passageway. No small objects that are capable of being "lost" should be inserted. Dildoes should be carefully washed before use, especially if shared. Finally, engaging in such activities while under the influence of drugs is doubly risky. As a general rule, the riskier the activity, the fewer chemicals are advisable.

Popular perception holds that in anal sex only the inserter derives pleasure, while the receiving partner simply agrees to bear it to please his or her partner. If this were the case, autoerotic stimulation would not be practiced. In fact the walls of the lower alimentary canal are lined with nerve endings, or proprioceptors, which transmit the pleasurable sensations. In the male, stimulation of the prostate is often found to be enjoyable, and may lead to ejaculation on the part of the receptor.

**Historical Aspects.** Descriptions of homosexual anal copulation are abundant from ancient Greece. In Greek society, as to a large extent in traditional China, Japan, and Islam, the practice was age graded, with the older man penetrating his adolescent partner. Adult men who took the insertee role tended to be scorned. Among the North American Indians the berdache commonly was the receptor in anal intercourse. In medieval and early modern British texts, anal copulation is sometimes termed buggery or sodomy, but these terms are confusing as they can also refer to other forbidden modes of sexual gratification such as bestiality and oral-penile sex, which were also subject to criminal sanctions. Some of the conceptual confusion is probably grounded in the horror that the practices engendered, inasmuch as they were associated in the popular mind with diabolism, heresy, and uncleanness in general. In the view of some, these acts were crimes that could not even
be named, at least in the vernacular. In more recent legal texts the two major criminalized practices are commonly designated more precisely by the Latin terms “per os” (oral) and “per anum.” Modern methods of sanitation, and the influences of other cultures, made the Anglo-Saxon world more tolerant of anal sex in the twentieth century.

From early times anal copulation has also been practiced heterosexually, the male penetrating the female. This has been done mainly for contraceptive reasons, though some men also hold that it is more pleasurable because the anal sphincter is tighter than the vulva. Recently, some heterosexual men have discovered that dildo stimulation by their female partner produces a pleasant sensation in the prostate.


Ward Houser

ANARCHISM

The Russian thinker Peter Kropotkin [1842–1921] defined anarchism as “a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government—harmony in such a society being obtained, not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being.” While anarchists agree in abhorrence of government, there are many schools of anarchism, with some emphasizing the rights of private property and individualism (libertarianism), others the necessity for voluntary cooperation and community self-control.

Anarchists agree in opposing the regulation of sexual behavior by governments and other powerful organizations (such as the church). State power has frequently been used to persecute homosexuals: thus homosexuals and anarchists have often shared a common enemy. Anarchism as a philosophy and as a movement has offered legitimation to homosexuals and homosexuals have contributed much to anarchism.

Forerunners. Etienne de la Boétie (1530–1563) and William Godwin (1756–1836) wrote two proto-anarchist classics. Boétie’s Discours de la servitude volontaire (1552–53) [translated as The Politics of Obedience and as The Will to Bondage] is still read by anarchists. Montaigne dedicated his essay on friendship to Boétie after the young man’s death.

William Godwin’s Inquiry Concerning Political Justice (1793) provided a philosophy for his circle which included Mary Wollstonecraft [his wife], Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, and Percy Bysshe Shelley [who translated Plato’s Symposium]; another daughter of Godwin’s bore a child of Byron’s. Their whole circle deviated wildly from conventional sexual standards. Among the followers of Godwin’s philosophy was Oscar Wilde.

Diffusion of Anarchism. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) first used the term anarchie to designate a political philosophy [rather than a form of disorder] like his famous “property is theft,” Proudhon’s anarchism challenged convention. His De la Justice dans la Révolution et dans l’Eglise (1858; untranslated] celebrated the Greeks and denounced the Roman Catholic Church. He interpreted Anacreon’s poems as gay and praised Socrates for his link with Alcibiades. “We all want to see,” he wrote, “to caress attractive young boys. Pederasty comes not so much from lack of marriage bed as from a hazy yearning for masculine beauty.”

Max Stirner’s individualist classic Der Einzige und sein Eigentum [1845; The Ego and His Own] awakens a cry of recognition in every lesbian or homosexual who has ever felt she or he was the only one. The boy-lover John Henry Mackay
(1864–1933), who wrote widely on both pederastic (under the pseudonym "Sagitta") and anarchist topics, prepared the first (and only) biography of Stirner in 1898.

Mikhail Bakunin (1814–1876) and Sergei Nechaev (1847–1882) are the most famous anarchist pair of friends. After leaving Russia, Bakunin agitated across Europe in the revolutions of 1848, was captured, shipped to Siberia, escaped (via San Francisco, London, New York, and Paris) and played a major role in organizing the First International (a federation of working-class political organizations, 1864–76), where he engaged in a prolonged struggle with Karl Marx. Using a word learned in San Francisco, Bakunin nicknamed Nechaev "boy." George Woodcock maintains that the fascination that Nechaev "wielded over Bakunin reminds one of... Rimbaud and Verlaine, or Lord Alfred Douglas and Oscar Wilde" (Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements, New York: Meridian, 1962).

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels had a personal disgust for homosexuality (Engels told Marx to be grateful that they were too old to attract homosexuals). Marx published full-length diatribes against Proudhon, Stirner, and Bakunin. He used Bakunin's relationship to Nechaev as an excuse for expelling the anarchists from the International in 1872. Lenin later denounced anarchists as politically "infantile," just as Freudians argued that homosexuality was an arrested infantile (or adolescent) development.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, anarchism became popular among painters, poets, and bohemians as it likewise spread among workers and farmers in Italy, Spain, Greece, and other countries where homosexuality was less persecuted than in Germany, England, and the United States. In England, Oscar Wilde went to prison for his "love that dare not speak his name," but his anarchist leanings are less publicized. Besides writing the Soul of Man Under Socialism in 1891, Wilde signed petitions for the Haymarket Martyrs (1886) and publicly identified himself as an anarchist. Thomas Bell, a gay secretary of Frank Harris and a trick of Wilde's, has written a book on Wilde's anarchism, available only in Portuguese.

During the Third Republic (1871–1940), Paris became a center for those celebrating their political, artistic, and sexual unorthodoxy. Stuart Merrill (who had met Walt Whitman) wrote Symbolist poems and supported the anarchist paper Les Temps Nouveaux. Apollinaire's sexuality was as boundaryless as his poetry, his nationality, and his politics. The Surrealists have a real but unclear tie to anarchism and to homosexuality, but they welcomed Sade, Lautreamont, and Jean Lorain into their pantheon.

In Spain during the Civil War (1936–39), anarchists fought against both the fascists and the communists, and for a time dominated large areas of the country. Many gay men and lesbians volunteered to fight in the war, while others worked as ambulance drivers and medics. Jean Genet, who was in Barcelona in 1933, described a demonstration of queens ("Carolinas") after their favorite pissor fell in a battle: "in shawls, mantillas, silk dresses and fitted jackets" they deposited on the fallen urinal "a bunch of red roses tied together with a crepe veil."

American and Contemporary Developments. In the United States, Emma Goldman (1869–1940) and Alexander Berkman (1870–1936) both supported homosexual freedom. Goldman herself preferred passive cunnilingus with either a man or woman to other forms of sexual intercourse. She is unquestionably the first person to lecture publicly in the United States on homosexual emancipation; she firmly supported Wilde against his persecutors. Berkman wrote appreciatively in his Prison Memoirs (1912) of men who loved men. Whether from choice or necessity, anarchists have written extensively against prisons and in favor of prisoners,
many of whom either from choice or necessity have experienced prison homosexuality. William Godwin opposed punishment of any kind and all anarchists have opposed any enforced sexuality.

Among the American anarchists, Paul Goodman wrote prolifically on anarchism and homosexuality. Robert Duncan published his 1944 essay on homosexuality in *Politics*, an anarchist publication, and he first met Jack Spicer at an anarchist meeting. Goodman, Duncan, and Spicer had reservations about the Mattachine Society because of its conservative positions during the late fifties and early sixties. While not always formally recognized, much of the protest of the sixties was anarchist. Within the nascent women's movement, anarchist principles became so widespread that a political science professor denounced what she saw as "The Tyranny of Structurelessness." Several groups have called themselves "Amazon Anarchists." After the Stonewall Rebellion, the New York Gay Liberation Front based their organization in part on a reading of Murray Bookchin's anarchist writings. The Living Theater embodied many of the countercultural drives of the sixties. Julian Beck, who directed the group with his wife, Judith Malina (both active in anarchist organizations), had a male lover; the theater collective included people of every gender and sexual orientation.

During the seventies, Tom Reeves and Brett Portman were active both as anarchists and as homosexuals. Ian Young of the Catalyst Press in Toronto combined poetry and anarchism in his speeches and writing. In New York, Mark Sullivan edited the gay anarchist magazine *Storm* and organized the John Henry Mackay Society, which has undertaken publication of Mackay's out-of-print works. Both anarchists and gays can be found in the Punk Rock movement. Since many anarchists do not really believe in organizations, they can often be as hard to identify as homosexuals once were. During the early eighties at the New York Gay Pride marches, gay anarchists, S/M groups, gay atheists, NAMBLA, *Fag Rag* and others all marched together with banners as individual members drifted back and forth between all the groups.

Enlivened by the nascent French gay liberation movement, Daniel Guérin (1904–1988) showed the interconnections between *Homosexualité et révolution* [Paris: Le Vent du Ch'min, 1983]; Guérin also advanced the notion that interclass homosexuality promoted revolutionary consciousness. In 1929 he wrote a novel, *La vie selon la chair* [Life According to the Flesh], in which he mocks the apostle Paul; in 1983 (in an article in *Gai Pied*) he attacked a Communist party official and poet who publicly denounced homosexuality but privately maintained a harem of boys.

A major question is whether homosexuals are inherently attracted to anarchism or whether homosexuals have been equally attracted to democracy, communism, fascism, monarchy, nationalism or capitalism. Because of the secrecy, no one can ever figure what percentage of homosexuals are anarchists and what percentage of anarchists are homosexual. But only among anarchists has there been a consistent commitment, rooted in basic principles of the philosophy, to build a society in which every person is free to express him- or herself sexually in every way.

Charley Shively

**ANDEAN CULTURES**

The northwestern coast of South America was notorious for "shameless and open sodomy" according to the chroniclers of the Inca and Spanish conquests (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, respectively). The Inca empire and those conquered by and absorbed into it lacked writing, so that what is known about earlier societies derives from chronicles of the conquerors' conquerors, supplemented by archeological and linguistic evidence.
Chroniclers' Reports. The conquistador historian Pedro de Cieza de León's Chronicle, written between 1539 and 1553, mentions that Guayaquil men "pride themselves greatly on sodomy." Continuing south, Cieza recorded cross-dressing males on the island of Puna, reported that both there and on the mainland (Tumbez or Puerto Viejo) sodomy was rife, and related a Manta myth of the origin of an all-male world. Cieza reported personally punishing male temple prostitutes in Chincha (south of modern Lima near Pisco on the coast) and in Conchucos (near Huánuco in a highland valley). The Incas and other mountain peoples (serranos), specifically including the Colla (Aymara) and Tarma, he judged free of the nefarious sins so common on the coast, especially in what had been the Chimú empire, conquered by the Incas less than a half century before the arrival of the Spaniards. [Pedro Pizarro is the only chronicler who claimed that Cusco's nobility ever engaged in sodomy—during times of drunken celebrations in the precincts of Inca gravesites or huecos.]

Half a century later Garcilaso de la Vega in his Comentarios reales (written between 1586 and 1612 and drawing on oral history from his Inca relatives and considerable invention of his own) aimed to show the virtuousness in Christian terms of Inca society. Counter-Reformation Catholicism and the Inca theocracy apparently concurred in their abhorrence of sodomy and attempts to extirpate sodomites. Speaking of coastal peoples (Yungas), Garcilaso wrote that before Inca conquest they had prostitutes available for sodomy "in their temples, because the Devil persuaded them that their gods delighted in such people." Clearly there was a sacred role for sodomites in the coastal tribes the Incas conquered. In contrast, sodomy was "so hated by the Incas and their people that the very name was odious to them and they never uttered it." This formulation seems to be a projection of "the sin not named among Christians," especially since Garcilaso could not have known directly what words were in common use more than a century before.

Attributions of sodomy to particular tribes or areas conquered by Inca armies are more reliable than the resemblances Garcilaso adduced between Catholic and Inca ideology. The practice of sodomy was not attributed to all conquered tribes, and open practice of sodomy was attributed to still fewer, so charges of sodomy do not appear to be a general purpose rationale for Inca conquests. One should not assume that sodomy only occurred in the areas in which explicit mention is made, but can accept that it was recognized rather than invented in the areas for which mention was made. The tenth Inca, Capac Yupanqui, who reigned from 1471 to 1493, vigorously persecuted sodomites, according to Garcilaso. His general Auqui Tatu burned alive in the public square all those for whom there was even circumstantial evidence of sodomy in the [Hacarí valley (south of Nazca), threatening to burn down whole towns if anyone else engaged in sodomy. Again in Chincha, Yupanqui burned alive large numbers, pulling down their houses and any trees they had planted. Unlike Cieza, Garcilaso attributed sodomy to the Tarma and Pumpu, but followed Cieza in mentioning the notorious and (embarrassingly) serrano sodomites of Callejón de Huaylas. Capac Yupanqui's son, Huayna Capac, who reigned from 1493 to 1525, appears to have been less zealous in attempting to extirpate sodomy from the lands he added to the Inca empire. He merely "bade" the people of Tumbez to give up sodomy. Garcilaso did not record any measures taken against the Manta, who he said "practiced sodomy more openly and shamelessly than all the other tribes."

The giants of Santa Elena, whose legend fascinated the conquistadors, also purportedly practiced open/public sodomy. According to Garcilaso, this all-male race was destroyed in a fire while everyone was engaged in a society-wide orgy of sodomy.
This legend is clearly a parallel to that of the destruction of Sodom. In the indigenous myth “a youth shining like the sun” descended from the sky and fought against the oppressors of the Indians, throwing flames that drove them into a valley where they were all finally killed, and where what were believed to be their bones were found by a Spanish captain in 1543 (Zárate).

Other Evidence. In addition to mention of sodomy in the chronicles, archaeological excavations have produced evidence of coastal homosexuality, especially Mochica ceramics. Modern anthropologists have also attributed tolerance for male and female homosexuality to the modern Aymara on the basis of vocabulary relating to masculine women, effeminate (castrated?) men, and fellatio in an early seventeenth century dictionary. Although there are no reports of homosexual behavior or roles among the contemporary Aymara, most of the vocabulary has survived (Murray).

South of what was the southern end of the Inca Empire (and south of the modern Chilean capital of Santiago), socially respected third gender (gender-crossing homosexual) shamans have been reported among the Araucanians from the report of “the happy captive,” Núñez de Piñeda, in 1646 through fieldwork done in the early 1950s (Murray). Hardly anything is known about the social structures and cosmologies of the indigenous peoples who lived between the Aymara and the Araucanians (such as the Atacameño, Chango, Lipe and the Chilean Diaguita), whose cultures did not survive for twentieth-century fieldwork, and whose populations were not as large and concentrated as those on the northwest coast of South America. Late marriage ages for the Argentine Diaguita probably indicate elaborate initiation rites, but nothing is known of their content, homosexual or otherwise.


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ANDERSEN, HANS CHRISTIAN (1805–1875)

Danish writer of fairy tales. The son of a shoemaker and an almost illiterate mother, Andersen came to Copenhagen at the age of 14, and there found protectors who sent him to grammar school and then to University. His fame rests upon the 168 fairy tales and stories which he wrote between 1835 and 1872. Some of the very first became children’s classics from the moment of their appearance; the tales have since been translated into more than a hundred languages. Some are almost child-like in their simplicity; others are so subtle and sophisticated that they can be properly appreciated only by adults.

A lifelong bachelor, Andersen traveled extensively in almost every country in Europe. He considered Italy his second homeland, but his ties with German culture were much closer. He developed an intense affection for Edvard Collin that peaked in the years 1835-36, when he wrote a letter to Collin asserting that “Our friendship is like ‘The Mysteries,’ it should not be analyzed.” To describe his feelings for Collin he used expressions like “my half-womanliness,” “as tender as a woman in my feelings,” “I long for you as though you were a beautiful Calabrian girl,” and “The almost girlish in my nature.” The letters reflect the farthest acceptable limit to which a tender friendship between two males could extend at that time. Collin himself did not reciprocate the affection, and after Andersen’s death he wrote that
his inability to do so “must have inflicted suffering on a man of Andersen’s nature.”

In the novel O.T., written in the autumn of 1835, Andersen seems to have attempted to escape his frustrations in the relationship with Collin by describing a tender friendship between two students, one of whom consents to intimacy with the other and joins him on a long trip abroad. His own feminine qualities are transferred to the character modeled on Collin, while his alter ego is a capable and wealthy student who nevertheless has a self-perception as a deviant and stigmatized person—to a far greater degree than warranted by his actual social background and by the attitudes of the people surrounding him.

An attempt has been made to deny Andersen’s homosexuality with reference to the fact that the concept appeared only late in his lifetime, yet a crucial component of the homosexual “identity,” particularly after the trial of Oscar Wilde in 1895, was the feeling of membership in a stigmatized and ostracized minority. While it is impossible to look into the mind of the novelist to determine whether he understood that the physical consummation of his passion was socially unacceptable, it is remarkable that the villain of the novel uses the secret of the hero’s (Andersen’s) childhood for blackmail—a Damocles’ sword over the head of every homosexual in those days—and is made to drown “accidentally” on the last page of the work. It has also been speculated that the fairy tale “The Little Mermaid,” completed in January 1837, is based on Andersen’s self-identification with a sexless creature with a fish’s tail who tragically loves a handsome prince, but instead of saving her own future as a mermaid by killing the prince and his bride sacrifices herself and commits suicide—another theme of early homosexual apologetic literature. In lines deleted from the draft of the story, the mermaid is allowed to say: “I myself shall strive to win an immortal soul . . . so that in the world beyond I may be reunited with the one to whom I gave my whole heart.” The “Little Mermaid” was thus a monument to his unconsummated friendship with Edvard Collin, which still probably rested upon his homosexual love for a heterosexual who had no way of returning it. Thus if Andersen was not an “overt homosexual” in the modern sense, he seems to have been aware of his orientation and the insoluble conflict with nineteenth-century sexual morality that it entailed.


Warren Johansson

ANDERSON, MARGARET (1886–1973)

American publisher, editor, and memoirist. With her lover Jane Heap, Anderson edited the Little Review in New York (1915–27), which—despite its tiny circulation—was one of the best literary journals of the time. Under the banner of “Life for Art’s sake,” she charted a course of “applied Anarchism, whose policy is a Will to Splendor of Life.” With Ezra Pound as its foreign editor, the magazine published James Joyce’s Ulysses in installments. In July 1920, however, a reader complained about a section of the novel containing Leopold Bloom’s erotic musings. The editors were arrested but, undaunted, they continued with the series. Later when she had moved to Paris with the magazine, Anderson concluded that Pound was lacking in understanding for women, especially lesbians. Clearly the continuing success of the Little Review depended on the close bond between Anderson and Heap. As Anderson later remarked, “my greatest ambition in [the magazine] was to capture her talk, her ideas. As she used to say, I pushed her into the arena and she performed to keep me quiet.”
In France Anderson and Heap—together with Heap's ward Fritz Peters, who later became a homosexual novelist—became adherents of the mystic George Ivanovich Gurdjieff, who was then at the height of his influence. Anderson spent most of her later years in semi-seclusion in London, where she wrote her memoirs, which are an important source for the literary history of the period.


Evelyn Gettone

ANDROGYNY

An androgynous individual is one who has the characteristics of both sexes. Ideally, this quality should be distinguished from hermaphroditism in the strict sense, whereby the fusion of male and female is anatomically expressed through the presence, or partial presence, of both sets of genital organs. There is a tendency to consider androgyny primarily psychic and constitutional, while hermaphroditism is anatomical. In this perspective most (psychic) androgynes are not strictly hermaphrodites in that anatomically they are no different from other men and women; some hermaphrodites may not be androgynous, that is to say, despite their surplus organ endowment, they behave in an essentially masculine or feminine way.

The term androgyne stems from the Greek *androgyne*, “man-woman.” The famous myth recounted in Plato's *Symposium* presents three primordial double beings: the man-man, the woman-woman, and the man-woman. The first two are the archetypes of the male homosexual and lesbian respectively; the third, the *androgyne*, is—paradoxically from the modern point of view—the source of what we would now call the heterosexual. Other ancient writers use the term to refer to an anatomical intermediate between the two genders, synonymous with *hermaphroditos*. From this practice stems the modern conflation of the meaning of the two terms, which is unlikely to disappear.

Basic Concepts. Modern languages use “androgyne” in a variety of senses. First, identifying it with the hermaphrodite category, it may denote a somatic intermediate. In fact, the pure type with fully developed genitals of both sexes is clinically so rare as to be virtually nonexistent in the human species. The individuals known as (pseudo-) hermaphrodites generally have incompletely formed genitals of one of their two sexes or both. That is to say, an individual may have a fully formed vagina together with a stunted, unfunctioning penis, or a well developed penis with a shallow, nonuterine vagina. Of course, in the plant and animal kingdoms there are many fully hermaphroditic species that are androgynous in this sense. Secondly, nineteenth-century writers extended the physiological concept to apply to those whose genitals are clearly of one sex but whose psychic orientation is experienced as primarily of the other: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs' “female soul trapped in a male body.” Since Ulrichs and others were primarily interested in same-sex behavior, the term often carries the connotation of “homosexual,” even though such usage begs several questions. Thirdly, with reference to male human beings “androgyne” implies effeminacy. Logically, it should then mean “viraginous, masculinized” when applied to women, but this parallel is rarely drawn. Thus there is an unanalyzed tendency to regard androgyny as essentially a process of softening or mitigating maleness. Stereotypically, the androgyne is a half-man or incomplete male.

In addition to these relatively specific usages there is a kind of semantic halo effect, whereby androgyne is taken to
ANDROGYNY refer to a more all-encompassing realm. Significantly, in this broader, almost mystical sense the negative connotations fall away, and androgyny may even be a prized quality. For example the figures in the Renaissance paintings of Botticelli and Leonardo are sometimes admired for their androgynous beauty. It comes as no surprise that these aspects of the artists were first emphasized by homosexual art critics of the nineteenth century.

Permutations of the Androgynous Ideal. Cross-cultural material bearing on androgyny is very extensive, especially in the religious sphere. In Hinduism and some African religions there are male gods who have female manifestations or avatars. A strand of Jewish medieval interpretation of Genesis holds that Adam and Eve were androgynous before the Fall. If this be the case, God himself must be androgynous since he made man "in his own image." Working from different premises, medieval Christian mystics found that the compassion of Christ required that he be conceived of as a mother. Jakob Böhme (1575–1624), the German seer, held that all perfect beings, Christ as well as the angels, were androgynous. He foresaw that ultimately Christ's sacrifice would make possible a restoration of the primal androgyny. Contemporaneously, the occult discipline of alchemy presented androgyny as a basic cosmic feature.

After a period of neglect, interest in the theme resurfaced among the German romantics. Franz von Baader (1765–1841), who interpreted the sacrament of marriage as a symbolic restitution of angelic bisexuality, believed that primordial androgyny would return as the world neared its end. In France the eccentric Evadist [Eve & Adam] thinkers advocated the equality of man and woman; one of their leaders, Ganneau, styled himself Mapah. The occultist and decadent writer Josephin Péladan (1858–1918) was a tireless propagandist for androgyny; through his Rose + Croix society he had a considerable influence on Symbolism in the visual arts.

In the twentieth century the psychologist Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961) was preoccupied with androgyny, which he illustrated through his ingenious, but eccentric interpretations of alchemical imagery. Some of his followers have suggested that androgyny is a way of overcoming dualism and regaining a primal unity, the half-beings of man and woman as we know them must yield to the complete man-woman. Thus androgyny points the way to a return to the Golden Age, an era of harmony unmarred by the conflict and dissension of today which are rooted in an unnatural polarization.

Contemporary Perspectives. In the field of academic psychology, the researches of Sandra L. Bem and others have sought to present empirical evidence that the androgynous individual enjoys better mental health and can function better socially. Significantly, it is usually "androgyne" women who score higher on such psychological tests than men. Thus these findings may be an artefact of the strategic situation in which a career-minded woman finds herself: to succeed in a male-defined professional world an ambitious woman will find it expedient to incorporate some male qualities.

The androgynous ideal had considerable appeal for feminist and homosexual thinkers in the 1970s. It was pointed out, no doubt correctly, that the straitjacket of the masculine role tended to keep men from expressing their feelings, as through kissing or crying. Men can practice a wider range of expressiveness, and therefore lead more satisfying lives, if they will discard the extreme polarization inherent in the traditional masculine role. Science fiction writings, notably the Left Hand of Darkness (1969) by Ursula LeGuin, explored what complete androgyny might mean. In popular culture there was a kind of "androgyne chic," as exemplified by such rock stars as David Bowie and Boy George.
ANDROGYNY

As the initial enthusiasm cooled, however, it was perceived that, applied to present day society, the androgynous ideal might lead to a disregard of the inherent strengths of male and female, whether these be culturally or biologically determined. Thus some feminist thinkers today emphasize nurturing and cooperative behavior as distinctive and desirable female traits. Despite some exaggerations, recent discussions have had the merit of helping bring into question earlier popular negative dismissals of androgyny, promoting a more supple concept of the relation between sex roles and gender.


Wayne R. Dynes

ANDROPHILIA

This rarely used term serves to focus attention on those homosexuals who are exclusively interested in adult partners rather than adolescents and children. In our society such a focus would seem self-explanatory, inherent in the definition of homosexuality itself. Yet in other societies, such as ancient Greece, China, and Islam, and in many tribal groups, age-graded differences were or are the norm in same-sex conduct in contradistinction with androphilia, which is most familiar to us. Because of the prevalence of androphilia in modern Western culture, its assumptions are sometimes unwittingly or deliberately imported into other settings; some discussions of homosexual behavior in ancient Greece, for example, tend to gloss over the fact that it was predominantly pederastic (though not pedophile in the narrow sense of attraction to prepubertal boys).

In the early years of the present century, the great German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld offered a three-fold classification of homosexuals: [1] ephebophiles, who prefer partners from puberty to the early twenties (in current usage, from about 17 to about 20); [2] androphiles, who love men from that age into the fifties; and [3] gerontophiles, who seek out old men.

Contemplating this scheme from the standpoint of an individual of, say, thirty years of age, it is evident that the first and third categories of sex object constitute differentiation, the second relative similarity.

The shift to dominance of androphilia, in which the two partners are of comparable age, occurs only with the rise of industrial society in Europe and North America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; in Mediterranean countries the shift remains incomplete, and in much of the world has barely begun or has not occurred at all.

Attempts at explaining the new homosexual pattern include keying it to a change in heterosexual marriage, which led the way by becoming more companionate and less asymmetrical; to the rise of the democratic ideal; to demographic changes such as increased life expectancies; and to changes in the social treatment of youth which made the young less available as sexual partners. Nevertheless, the dynamics behind this fundamental transition remain historically mysterious, a major challenge to any attempt to draw up a reasonably comprehensive history of homosexuality.

Wayne R. Dynes

ANGLICANISM

Anglicanism, or Episcopalianism as it is also termed, is a worldwide Christian religious fellowship, stemming from
the state-supported Church of England. Generally regarded as a form of Protestantism, Anglicanism (especially in its High Church variety) may also claim to represent a third path between Catholicism and Protestantism in the strict sense.

The Church of England and homosexuality began on an antagonistic footing, stemming not only from the inherited homophobia of Christianity as a whole, but from the reformers' polemical critique of Catholic monasteries as dens of corruption and sexual indulgence. It has also been argued, though the matter is disputed, that Henry VIII's law of 1533 on buggery was linked to his "smear campaign" against the monasteries. In ensuing centuries it was a commonplace of English anti-homosexual propaganda to attribute the presence of sodomy to the complaisant customs of Catholic Europe, whence the infection is supposed to have spread to the otherwise untainted British Isles. Several notable scandals, including those of John Atherton, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore (1640), Reverend John Fenwick (1797), Reverend V. P. Littlehales (1812) and Percy Jocelyn, bishop of Clogher (1822), show that members of the Anglican clergy were by no means exempt from the "vice."

In the latter decades of the nineteenth century a more comfortable relationship developed, at least de facto, between homosexuals and the Church of England. This rapprochement was due to the High Church or Oxford movement, which favored an aesthetic approach to religious ceremonial. This atmosphere appealed to homosexual aesthetes, who were welcomed, as long as discretion was observed, to the churches practicing the High Church liturgy. Conversely, adherents of the opposing faction, the Broad Church, were tempted to pillory their ritualist opponents as sissies or worse.

In 1955 Canon D. S. Bailey's book *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* appeared, influencing both secular and ecclesiastical thinking. Bailey was a member of the Church of England's Moral Welfare Council, the predecessor of the Board for Social Responsibility. This work of these bodies was part of the background of the successful decriminalization of male homosexuality in Britain and Wales in 1967, a legal change strongly supported by the archbishop of Canterbury, Michael Ramsey. At the pastoral level, Anglican clergy offered counseling and support to British gay people. In 1979 a Board for Social Responsibility working party, chaired by the bishop of Gloucester, produced *Homosexual Relationships*, a report that acknowledged the possibility of permanent gay relationships. The appearance of the report was indicative of a new atmosphere in which many homosexuals in the church felt free to proclaim their identity.

Yet counterforces were gathering. A new breed of militant evangelicalism regarded homosexual behavior as a corrupting influence. This kind of religious intolerance accorded with the rise of Margaret Thatcher within the Conservative Party and the growth of New Right economic and political ideas. Local councils in Britain's cities that were seeking to promote positive images of gay people came under heavy attack from the right and from the tabloid press. In this context the 1987 General Synod was presented with a motion by Tony Higton, leader of the Alliance for Biblical Witness to Our Nation, calling in effect for the removal of "practicing" gay clergy. Although the resolution was rejected in favor of a compromise one, no serious theological debate took place. The popular press seized the occasion to run stories under such headlines as "Holy Homos Escape Ban" and "Pulpit Poofs Can Stay." Under these circumstances Anglican gay clergy felt intimidated. Then in May of 1988 the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement was evicted from its home in St. Botolph's church in London, where it had been located since 1976.
Gay Anglicans have fared better in the United States. In the era of gay liberation, the lay Episcopal group Integrity was formed, encountering the benevolent support of many Anglican clerics. In 1976 the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. passed a resolution stating that “homosexual persons are children of God, who have a full and equal claim with all other persons upon the love, acceptance, and pastoral concern and care of the Church.” Reverend Paul Moore, bishop of New York, has been outspoken in his defence of gay people, whom he has also ordained. To be sure, his positive attitude is not universally shared among American Episcopalians, but on the whole their church has borne the stress of the age of AIDS with calmness and compassion.


*Wayne R. Dynes*

**ANGLO-SAXONS**

Our information about homosexual behavior in Anglo-Saxon England is chiefly linguistic. The word baedling, a diminutive of baeddel, occurs in an Old English glossary as the equivalent of the Latin terms effeminatus and mollis, designating the effeminate homosexual. A synonym is the word wæpenwifstere (approximately: “male wife”). Evidently, these words reflect an Anglo-Saxon stereotype of the homosexual as an unwarlike, womanish type. In all likelihood, this negative concept derives in part from a common Germanic archetype, attested by a passage in *Germania* (12) by the Roman historian Tacitus—where death by drowning is stipulated for such individuals—but probably modified in the early Middle Ages by Mediterranean-Christian influences.

Similar in form to baedling is deorling, the source of the modern English darling. While the Old English word had a general sense of a beloved person or thing, it was also used more specifically to label a minion, a youth favored because of his sexual attractiveness.

At the present stage of research further data about homosexual behavior in Anglo-Saxon times (that is, from ca. 500 to 1066) remains elusive. For its part, however, the word baeddel survived, turning eventually—through a process of semantic expansion—into the general English adjective of pejoration, “bad.” The word also forms part of two place names in England: Baddlesmere (“baeddel’s lake”) in Kent and Baddlinghame (“the home of the baedlings”) in Cambridgeshire.

The broadening of the meaning of the word baeddel in the direction of general desparagement (“bad”) has several historical parallels. The first, from another Germanic sphere, is the shift from old Scandinavian argr, cowardly, effeminate, to modern German arg, bad, wicked. Then early medieval France seems to have witnessed the creation of felol felonis, evil person (the etymon of our legal term felon) from Latin fellare, to fellate. It is also possible that Russian plokhoi, bad, is cognate with Greek malakos (with change of the initial labial from m to p), as the Polish plochy has the meaning of “timid, fearful,” another of the nuances of argr.

**ANIMAL HOMOSEXUALITY**

A body of evidence has accumulated showing homosexual behavior among many species of animals—behavior that has been observed both in the wild and in captivity. While this evidence suffices to dispel the old belief that homosexuality is unknown among animals, more extended comparisons with human homosexual behavior remain problematic.

**Examples and Characteristic Features.** In the 1970s the well-publicized reports of the German ethologist Konrad Lorenz drew attention to male–male pair...
bonds in greylag geese. Controlled reports of "lesbian" behavior among birds, in which two females share the responsibilities of a single nest, have existed since 1885. Mounting behavior has been observed among male lizards, monkeys, and mountain goats. In some cases one male bests the other in combat, and then mounts his fellow, engaging in penile thrusts—though rarely with intromission. In other instances, a submissive male will "present" to a dominant one, by exhibiting his buttocks in a receptive manner. Mutual masturbation and fellatio have been observed among male stump-tailed macaques. During oestrus female rhesus monkeys engage in mutual full-body rubbing.

Those who have observed these same-sex patterns in various species have noted, explicitly or implicitly, similarities with human behavior. It is vital, however, not to elide differences. Mounting behavior may not be sexual, but an expression of social hierarchy: the dominant partner reaffirms his superiority over the presenting one. In most cases where a sexual pairing does occur, one partner adopts the characteristic behavior of the other sex. While this behavioral inversion sometimes occurs in human homosexual conduct, it is by no means universal. Thus while (say) Roman homosexuality, which often involved slaves submitting to their masters, may find its analogue among animals, modern American androphilia largely does not. This difference suggests that the cultural matrix is important. Human sexual behavior, whether heterosexual or homosexual, has a vast expressive dimension which has both sociological (group) and psychological (individual) aspects. Cross-cultural study reveals wide variations in the social organization of homosexual behavior. In the psychological realm, we know of persons, such as some members of monastic orders, who—because of their erotic fantasy life—regard themselves as completely homophile yet have never had a homosexual experience. Such a thing is possible among animals, of course, but it is very unlikely—and in any case there is no way of studying an animal's consciousness except on the basis of its overt behavior.

Human homosexuality is a complex interaction of physiological response, social patterning, and individual consciousness. For many, homosexuality in human subjects demands the complete suppression of the dialectic of sexual polarity—it involves the masculine in the male seeking the masculine in another male, or the feminine in the female seeking the feminine in another female. It can be doubted that homosexuality, by this definition, ever occurs in animals; the mechanisms that trigger sexual arousal and activity would not allow it.

In the light of this complexity, a simple identification of human homosexual behavior with same-sex interactions among animals is reductive, and may block or misdirect the search for an understanding of the remaining mysteries of human sexuality. Still, for those aspects to which they have relevance, animal patterns of homosexual behavior help to place human ones in a phylogenetic perspective—in somewhat the same way as animal cries and calls have a relation to human language, and the structures built by birds and beavers anticipate the feats of human architecture.

Classical Antiquity and Animalitarianism. The observational powers of the Greeks encompassed the question of same-sex behavior among animals, which some affirmed and others denied. There were also folkloric beliefs, such as the notion that males of the partridge species are so highly sexed that in the absence of females they readily assault each other sexually. Early Christian writers associated the hare with pederasty because of the fantastic belief that it grows a new anus each year. More radically, the hyena symbolized gender ambiguity because it changed its sex each year. Finally, the weasel, which was supposed to conceive
through the mouth, stood for the practice of fellatio. To be on the safe side, the author of the Epistle of Barnabas forbade eating the flesh of any of these creatures. These "bad examples" from the animal kingdom, are exceptional and atypical. The contrasting notion that the conduct of animals is in key respects superior to that of human beings, and therefore serves as a yardstick to determine our "naturalness," has been dubbed "animalitarianism" by the historian of ideas George Boas. The Greek writer Plutarch (second century of our era) has a fanciful essay, "Gryllos," in which a talking pig asserts that animals are better than human beings because they do not practice pederasty. (This idea was in fact adumbrated by Plato in the fourth century B.C.) As been noted, recent evidence shows that in fact animals do engage in homosexual behavior, but of a circumscribed kind: perhaps animalitarians could now argue that less is better ("A little homosexuality is acceptable, but...")

Since the Greeks, the animalitarian gambit has enjoyed a long run of popularity, answering to a sentimental hankering for a pastoral life without pressures and ambiguity, for a never-never land of the "state of nature," which the life of animals—guided solely by instinct—is supposed to preserve. The beast standard is, of course, selective, inasmuch as its advocates are not apparently willing to discard a host of conveniences—from clothing to computers—not available to animals. Nor are these persons inclined (as Aristophanes pointed out when the thesis was first broached) to perch on roosts at night like birds, or to throw feces as a friendly way of gaining attention like apes. Human beings use a wide variety of soaps and deodorants to reduce or mask smells which their bodies produce. The argument that animal ways are best, then, rests on a kind of selective amnesia which makes it possible to ignore some types of human departure from the animal model, while focusing moral indignation on others.

In statements by contemporary antihomosexual propagandists, it is revealing that they will sometimes first insist that homosexuality must be unnatural, since "even the lowest animals don't do it," and then when confronted with ethological evidence to the contrary exclaim with outrage that same-sex relations drag man down to the subhuman level. "behaving like a filthy swine." Such dodges suggest that moral distinctions are first posited and then superimposed on interspecies comparisons, instead of being derived from them in any consistent way. From time immemorial human beings have used animal comparisons as criticism (dumb as an ox, scared as a rabbit) and as praise (bold as a lion, far-sighted as an eagle); the choice depends upon the presuppositions of the speaker.

Every species has patterns of sexual behavior unique to itself, so that claiming on supposedly moral grounds that man should imitate the lower animals is absurd. Moreover, social control of human sexual activity can only be justified on the grounds that the policy promotes the higher interests of mankind—including the evolutionary progress of the species—rather than following the lead of the instinctual life of creatures far lower on the evolutionary scale. All living things exist in a world in which—as Darwin showed—they must compete for scarce resources; but while nature confronts scarcity with redundance, man confronts scarcity with foresight. That is to say, lower forms of organic life survive by engendering such myriads of young that at least a minimal number will reach adulthood and the reproductive stage; but man survives by economic and demographic measures that seek to proportion his numbers to the resources available for consumption. Especially given the absence of superfetation in the human female, the notion that "homosexuality means race suicide" is preposterous. All human sexual activity, homosexual and heterosexual, occurs in a context of economic and social values that removes it entirely from
the genetically programmed coupling of animals, even though such behaviors as competition and courtship anticipate the sexual rivalry and mating of human beings. Finally, the prolonged phase of education through which members of civilized society must pass—with the need for mentoring and initiation into the world of adulthood—lends a significance to homosexual bonds between adult and adolescent that could find no parallel in the social life of animals.


*Ward Houser*

**ANONYMOUS SEX**

*See Impersonal Sex.*

**ANTHOLOGIES**

An anthology is a collection of selected literary pieces or passages, usually by several authors. The selection may be determined by considerations of quality, period, or subject matter. The first homosexual example is Book XII of the collection known as the *Greek Anthology*, a collection of poetry that spans a thousand years.

With the establishment of Christianity as the state religion such same-sex gatherings became impossible—at least none is known until after the French revolution. Heinrich Hoessli, the pioneering homosexual scholar, included a good many selections from ancient and Islamic verse in his *Eros: die Männerliebe der Griechen* (Glarus, 1836-38), which makes him a forerunner. However, the first true anthology of male homosexuality was created during the efflorescence of homosexual studies that occurred in Germany by the artistically inclined Elisàr von Kupfer (*Lieblingminne und Freundesliebe in der Weltliteratur*, Berlin, 1900). This collection, with its interspersed commentary, was almost immediately imitated by Edward Carpenter in his *Iolàus: An Anthology of Friendship* (London, 1902), which had many subsequent editions. Despite Carpenter’s cautious discussion of the matter in terms of friendship, this volume was dubbed the “bugger’s bible.”

After Carpenter’s time the custom largely lapsed. On the European continent periodicals, some of which published contemporary and older fiction, largely took up the slack, while in the English-speaking world the subject became more taboo than ever. In 1961, however, Carpenter found a successor, albeit a timid one, in *Eros: An Anthology of Friendship*, edited by Alistair Sutherland and Patrick Anderson (London, 1961). This had been preceded by the American Donald Webster Cory’s short story collection *Twenty-one Variations on a Theme* (New York, 1953). With the easing of censorship in the United States, however, pulp publishers undertook to produce various soft-core specials—some aimed at gay men, others seeking to exploit a broader interest in lesbianism; since they include little that is now hard to find, they are now justly forgotten.

The rise of militant gay liberation after 1969 created a need for new collections such as those edited jointly by Karla Jay and Allen Young, as well as the two *Gay Liberation Anthologies*, mainly of nonfiction, made by Len Richmond and Gary Noguera (San Francisco, 1973-79). The importance of periodicals was recognized by anthologies assembled from the pages of *The Ladder*, *Christopher Street*, *The Body Politic*, and *Der Kreis*. Ambitiously, David Galloway and Christian Sabisch created an international anthology of male homosexuality in twentieth-century literature: *Calamus* (New York, 1982). A wide span of mainly French material appeared in *Les Amours masculines* (Paris, 1984), while Joachim S. Hohmann issued several useful antholo-
gories of German material. Other collections gather Dutch, Italian, and Latin American writings. Another development of this period is the creation of anthologies on a particular sector of gay experience and writing, as black gays, Chicano lesbians, lesbian nuns, older people. Genres were also singled out: poetry, plays, science fiction and fantasy. Some of these new anthologies, especially those produced by lesbians, tend to emphasize personal experience rather than "fine writing" in the usual sense.

Anthropology

According to an old, but serviceable tradition, anthropology has two main branches, physical and cultural. Interfacing with biology, physical anthropology focuses on reconstructing the evolution and structure of the material embodiment of humanity. Cultural anthropology, the discipline of interest in the understanding of sexual behavior, studies the lifeways and belief systems of human groups. Cultural anthropology comprises both ethnography, the examination and recording of specific cultures, and ethnology, the comparative and historical analysis of culture. In the United Kingdom the field has usually been termed social anthropology in keeping with the traditional British emphasis on social structure in contrast to the American emphasis on the concept of culture. Although in principle cultural anthropology addresses all human societies, in fact it tends to be restricted to the preliterate or tribal peoples of the third world, leaving the study of industrial society and its past to sociology and history respectively. Since the 1960s, there has appeared a welcome crossing of this tacit boundary in urban anthropology, which studies groups within the modern city.

The accumulating body of research in cultural anthropology has gradually dissolved the deeply rooted belief that any single culture offers an ultimate or absolute standard of value, the view known as ethnocentrism. To be sure, even today a few diehard absolutists maintain that homosexual behavior has been despised and condemned everywhere, but comparative studies have shown this notion to be utterly false: it tells us something of the wishes of those who propound it, but nothing about humanity. Cultural attitudes toward homosexuality run the gamut from outright condemnation to mandatory participation in same-sex rituals. The cultural relativism inherent in the anthropological enterprise has served not only to enhance our understanding of the range of human capabilities, but has fostered the growth of tolerance in our own society.

Historical Precedents. The Greek traveler and historian Herodotus (ca. 480–ca. 420 B.C.) is rightly regarded as the founder of a comparative approach to human societies. Avoiding overt ethnocentrism—the kind of parochial glorification of their own culture that was rife among the ancient Greeks—he examines the cultural patterns of a number of peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond. Yet recent studies have shown that he does not examine them with the objectivity cherished by modern anthropology, but rather viewed them in a "mirror" of Greece, emphasizing the very oddity (and therefore bizarreness) of traits that most differed from the Greek ones. Because he took same-sex behavior for granted, Herodotus rarely mentioned it—except among the Persians [his central subject] and the Scythians, where a still mysterious phenomenon, that of the asexual Enarees, prevailed. Other Greek and Roman writers actually professed to prefer the customs of primitive groups to their own as less corrupted by luxury. In his idealized picture of the ancient Germanic tribes, Tacitus notes, with his usual dry concision, the aspect of their military ethos that required the execution of cowards and effeminates. Later the Christian Salvian, a Patristic writer, was to transform this perception into a true homophobic pro-Germanism.
Medieval travel writers and protoethnologists believed that remote parts of the world were inhabited by races with strikingly different physical characteristics and correspondingly bizarre customs (the "monstrous races"). John Mandeville, for example, claimed that a region of Asia was actually inhabited by a race of hermaphrodites possessing the physical organs of both sexes, a myth that has reverberated in later times. When the Spanish conquistadors took possession of the New World they tended to assimilate the practices and beliefs of the indigenous peoples to archetypes inherited from their ancient and medieval past. Thus the weaknesses of pre-Columbian Mexico and the Andean cultures, according to some Spanish writers, was bound up with their toleration of sodomy. The Amazon takes its name from the belief that it was dominated by tribes of viraginous women, as in the classical legend.

The Rise of Cultural Relativism. Eighteenth-century Pacific voyages engendered a European idealization of Polynesian societies as a kind of earthly paradise. Montesquieu used the device of a set of fictitious Persian Letters (1721) to criticize European customs. Toward the end of the century Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) gave an impetus to the emerging discipline of folklore, by emphasizing the need to listen to the "many voices of the peoples." The interest in differences between peoples ultimately paved the way for attention to differences within peoples—including difference of sexual orientation. These trends fostered ethical relativism and diversitarianism, the appreciation of variety for its own sake. While they helped to erode chauvinistic prejudices, they bore within them the seeds of a contrary exaggeration, the ethnорomanticism that sees only harmony and virtue in remote primitive societies.

These developments notwithstanding, even travelers tended to see non-European cultures in the mirror of classical civilization: the lure of Hellenism. In time the comparison rebounded on the study of classical philology itself. A striking example is the career of the Swiss scholar Johann Jakob Bachofen (1815–1887), who formulated the hypothesis of primitive matriarchy, a prehistoric stage of society preceding the establishment of patriarchy. This fantasy—for little conclusive evidence has been offered for a universal horizon of matriarchy in humanity's past—has returned today among some anthropologists, who search for traces of a lost system of social organization which probably never existed.

Modern Anthropology. The extension of European domination throughout the globe helped to create a much larger pool of data about tribal cultures. Armchair scholars such as Adolf Bastian, Lewis Henry Morgan, and Edward Burnett Tylor then sought to synthesize this material, creating the foundations for modern cultural anthropology. This trend culminated in Sir James Frazer's massive The Golden Bough (1890–1936), a work that was more influential in literary quarters than among anthropologists. There also developed a popular genre of sensationalized reporting of "the strange customs and practices of savages," that sometimes included sexual data. Although it is commonly asserted that there is little information about same-sex behavior from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century travelers and anthropologists, the great survey of Ferdinand Karsch-Haack, Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker [Munich, 1911] shows that in fact much was observed and recorded. But since the recorders were often European government agents and missionaries, due allowance must be made for professional bias.

After some impressive nineteenth-century amateur efforts—especially with regard to the American Indians—American anthropology was put on a firm footing by the practical work and teaching of Franz Boas (1858–1942), a German immigrant. Although Boas professed meth-
odological agnosticism, most of his followers rallied to some form of Hegelian holism. Seeing cultures as homogeneous units dominated by a single "modal" personality type, they were inattentive to subgroups who might engage in homosexual behavior. However, the reception of European psychoanalytic ideas, embodied in the "culture and personality" trend, produced some manifestations of interest in same-sex behavior, as by Ruth Benedict and Abraham Kardiner. Yet on the whole American anthropologists continued to neglect the subject until the 1950s, perhaps tacitly holding that indigenous peoples—at least those unpolluted by acculturation—were exempt from this typically Western vice.

Flushed with confidence in a newly emerging discipline, a few anthropologists became pundits and sages, commenting on the problems of American life. In the case of Margaret Mead (1901–1978), the "lesson" she drew from her less-than-perfect research in Pacific island cultures—namely, that gender roles are essentially malleable rather than fixed—may have been on balance salutory. Yet the sense that scientific findings were being bent to serve sociopolitical ends caused unease. Not surprisingly, Mead was eventually dislodged from her popular standing as the virtual personification of the anthropological discipline. Gradually, however, the relativistic message sank in. Even if most lay people did not accept the idea that Kalahari bushmen are on the same level as, say, modern Danes, the idea that cultures were valuable for their own sake promoted tolerance. Whether intentionally or not, by "destabilizing" the conventional ethnocentric wisdom of American culture, anthropology prepared the way for the social experiments of the 1960s.

At midcentury a major scholarly instrument emerged in the Human Relations Area Files at Yale University. This vast compilation of world culture traits, though it has rightly been faulted for crudity and errors in coding, did yield information of a substantial number of societies in which homosexual behavior was tolerated as a matter of course, thus eroding one aspect of the "homosexuality is unnatural" argument.

A new positive element appeared in the 1950s, as professional anthropologists took up again the berdache phenomenon among the American Indians (see W. L. Williams, for details). A further step was taken in the 1970s with the formation of the Anthropological Research Group on Homosexuality. The Newsletter of this group (now termed the Society of Lesbian and Gay Anthropologists) serves as an instrument of communication among serious researchers.

Problems and Prognostics. Twentieth-century cultural anthropology has not been able to shake free of its earlier dilemma. In principle value-free, individual researchers find it hard in practice to steer a completely even course between the Scylla of overattachment to their own cultural norms and the Charybdis of ethnoromanticism. Until recently many cultures were known essentially from one ethnography produced by a single investigator, who may have leaned to one or the other side in the "our values/their values" contrast. More disturbingly, when second and third opinions became available, the portraits drawn of the cultures were often very different. Although this so-called "Rashomon effect" can often be explained by the fact that different field workers have been looking at different aspects of the society under study, discrepancies point up the need for fuller confirmation of many assertions. Then too, questions have been raised about the limits of ethical neutrality: is it appropriate to observe, say, slavery or clitoridectomy ("female circumcision"), and to conclude that such practices are simply a valid part of a culture different from ours? It is hard not to grant that in a universal horizon of human rights, some behavioral patterns are simply unacceptable.
Many cultures are being contaminated by acculturation or simply disappearing, and anthropologists must scramble. In many cases, however, tribal informants have learned to tailor their responses to what they believe the investigator expects—or else to make a fool of him for their own amusement. Such informant self-editing may include denial of homosexual practices, which in any event are often associated with tribal rituals closed to outsiders. Institutions thought to be dead, such as the North American berdache, are sometimes surviving marginally—but for how long? At the same time urban anthropology has extended its methods to more developed environments, especially in the third world. Acknowledging criticisms of subjectivism and lack of cross-checking, a few anthropologists have proposed simply to “write novels,” a trend that is unlikely to become dominant, as it would seriously erode the scientific credentials of the discipline.

Despite these continuing problems, enough data have accumulated to essay a tentative world map of male homosexual behavior in tribal societies. There appear to be two main types. In the first, common in Sub-Saharan Africa and Melanesia in the Pacific, age asymmetry predominates, with an older man pairing with a boy or adolescent youth. In the second type, one of gender-role variation, some men depart from gender norms to become berdaches. This type predominates among the North American Indians, in Polynesia, and on Madagascar. In addition to this typology, anthropologists are beginning to discern regularities within a culture area, as the initiatory homosexualty of Melanesia.


ANTINOUS

Adolescent favorite of the Roman Emperor Hadrian (ca. 111–130), who won his lover’s affection by his beauty and grace. During a trip up the Nile in which he accompanied Hadrian, he was drowned. Contemporary gossip enveloped his death in romantic legend; some even alleged that he had given his life for his master. Hadrian’s grief was such that he ordered the boy deified as god and hero and even promoted the belief that Antinous had entered the firmament as a new star, at the end of the sixteenth century Tycho Brahe assigned the name to a particular star on his stellar map.

In Egypt Hadrian founded a new city named Antinoopolis in his honor, and elsewhere he was commemorated by cult, festivals, and statues. Numerous inscriptions in his honor survive, and poems on him were written by Pancrates and Mesomedes. The Early Christians reacted to the cult as one inspired by an “impure” passion, contrasting it with their own reverence for the saints.

The Antinous type appears on scores of coins and statues. The extant statues found today in museums in Italy and elsewhere display the neo-Greek manner that flourished under Hadrian, and have been much admired in modern times by students of the classic style. The influential homosexual archaeologist J. J. Winckelmann (1717–1768) went into raptures over two of these works as “the glory and crown of art in this age as well as in all others.” In these depictions his somewhat full features correspond to the late-adolescent type of the ephèbe rather than those of the pais or boy. The mystery surrounding his career and death has inspired a number of literary works in modern times, some with an explicitly homosexual theme, such as Marguerite Yourcenar’s much admired...


Wayne R. Dynes

ANTI-SEMITISM AND ANTIHOMOSEXUALITY

Social scientists have isolated several common features in prejudice directed against human groups. The prejudiced individual tends to view all members of the targeted group in terms of a stereotype; despite empirical counterevidence, he stoutly resists any abandonment of his views. Prejudiced persons are likely to act out their feelings through discrimination toward and avoidance of members of the disliked groups.

Several features link Jews and homosexuals as targets of prejudice. Unlike, say, Asian-Americans, both Jews and homosexuals have the option of passing, that is, not acknowledging their difference publicly and allowing those they meet to assign them tacitly to the majority group. However, just as many Jews in recent decades have been asserting ethnic pride through resuming their original “Jewish” surnames (when Anglo-Saxon ones had been adopted by the parents or ancestors) and wearing evident markers such as the Star of David and the yarmulka, so homosexuals and lesbians are now more assertive through “coming out” to colleagues, friends, and relatives, and wearing the pink triangle and the lambda symbols. Yet there is another side of the coin: both Jews and homosexuals seem to have more than their share of individuals who are afflicted with self-contempt—Jewish anti-Semites and antigay homosexuals. Just as some Jews restrict themselves to non-Jewish sexual partners and spouses, some homosexuals find their erotic ideal only in the person of a heterosexual (or one presumed to be so). Both Jews and homosexuals have created mordant versions of ingroup humor, which serve as safety valves for such feelings, but do not suffice to exercise them. One of the functions of advocacy and service organizations for both groups is to address such kinds of psychological self-oppression so that the victims may overcome them.

Our society also shows historical parallels of anti-Semitism and anti-homosexuality. In the eleventh century in Western Europe, for reasons that are still not clearly understood, the majority society began actively to persecute heretics, lepers, Jews, and sodomites, as the Christian emperors had done by the time of Justinian. The first two social categories are no longer in the line of fire, but the latter two have continued to remain the object of prejudice, discrimination, persecution, and (ultimately) genocide. At various times Christian denominations have focused their ire on Jews (or Marranos [crypto-Jews]) and homosexuals. Even among some secularists, as the Enlightenment thinkers Diderot and Voltaire, a distaste for both groups has been freely vented. Popular opinion tends to attribute a conspiratorial clannishness to both Jews and homosexuals, the former ostensibly owing allegiance to the mythical organization described in the scurrilous Protocols of the Elders of Zion, the latter supposedly adherents or agents of a nonexistent “Homintern.” Both Jews and homosexuals have attracted envy through their appearance of easy financial circumstances. While the economic advantages of both groups (which are relative, not absolute, as there are many poor Jews and many poor homosexuals and lesbians) reflect self-discipline and industry, they also stem from the fact that Jewish middle-class families are statistically more likely to have few children or even remain childless, while homosexuals (though more of them have children than would be ex-
As measured by public opinion polls, recent decades have shown a significant lessening of stereotypical prejudices directed against both Jews and homosexuals. Yet both have reason for concern about countervailing trends which suggest that bigotry is on the rise again. Unpredictable factors may lie at the root of such disconcerting reversals. In the case of the Jews it appears to be the continuing Arab–Israeli dispute and the Palestinian independence struggle that are the major sources of tensions. For homosexuals the AIDS crisis, especially in the sensationalized and selective presentation offered by the media, has negatively impacted progress toward full toleration. Some observers, such as the American playwrights William Hoffman and Larry Kramer, have seen an analogy between the fate of homosexuals in the AIDS crisis and the fate of the Jews in Hitler’s holocaust. The analogy is imperfect, however, since the National Socialist persecution was the malevolent action of an ideology that singled out whole ethnic communities for extermination, while AIDS is a viral disease that has disproportionately affected several human groups, but (on present evidence) has not been engineered by a human agency expressly to destroy them. Nonetheless, there may well be similarities in the effects on the victims, and these parallels in the fate of otherwise dissimilar stigmatized groups merit insightful and sympathetic study.


Ward Houser

APOLOGETIC, HOMOSEXUAL

For some centuries Christians have engaged in a systematic effort to analyze and defend their faith to nonbelievers, such defenses being termed apologias. An analogous tendency has surfaced among some homosexual and lesbian
scholars. Conceived as an effort to cleanse the Augean stable of the accumulated detritus of homophobic myths and fabrications, the procedure is understandable and laudable. Sometimes, however, the undertaking may cross over into apologetic in the bad sense, distorting or glossing over the truth in an effort to create a favorable image for the cause. One instance is the claim made by modern defenders of pederasty that such relationships, in keeping with their purported Greek model, are always noble and character-building. Some undoubtedly are, but others are surely less so. Conversely, some students of ancient Greece, Islam, and other societies where pederasty has been the norm, claim to find only their own preferred androphilia there.

Another gambit is the posthumous "naturalization" of individuals such as Pontius Pilate or George Washington as gay. Of course, in many instances it is necessary first to raise the question of the homosexuality of a past figure so that the evidence may be weighed; where it is lacking, however, stubbornness should yield to agnosticism.

These matters raise broader issues of method. A dispute has long raged between those who uphold the ideal that scholarship must strive to be objective and value neutral and their opponents (many, but not all on the political left), who believe that scholarly work is always conducted in the service of a political or ideological position. The former view, that of classical European rationalism and natural science, has been eloquently defended by the great sociologist Max Weber, who held that while the choice of a research problem is shaped by interests, the conduct of the investigation itself can and must be objective. Conversely, Martin Heidegger and Jean-Paul Sartre insisted that the intellectual must become committed or engaged in a cause. They differed sharply on what that cause should be, Heidegger flirting—for a time at least—with Nazism, and Sartre involving himself with a variety of left-wing tendencies from Castroism to Maoism.) Another version of this demand for commitment appeared among the New Left thinkers of the 1960s who stipulated that only "emancipatory" scholarship should be supported, while Herbert Marcuse went so far as to authorize in theory forceable suppression of "harmful" [i.e., nonprogressive] enquiry (in his 1967 essay "Repressive Tolerance").

Applied to history, selective research of the kind that has been discussed is sometimes called "advocacy scholarship." Many practitioners in this mode display what may be called a "shopper's approach" to their material. That is, they sift through the mass of data available to them, extracting only the items that are attractive and leaving the rest behind. This procedure yields a highly selective view of the past, but one which the amateur is often unable to distinguish from genuine work informed by integral understanding and judgment. In extreme cases, this selective approach, fueled by the tyro's enthusiasm and unchecked by training in method, may even resemble the industry of the magpie: the "researcher" collects attractive baubles and heaps them together, little knowing that his treasures are mostly of trifling value. Regrettably, some writings publicized as restorations of our "hidden heritage" are of this sort.

Concededly, these methodological shortcomings are part of the growing pains of research in a sphere that, until recent decades, had been largely taboo. Also, because of the lack of funding and university chairs, much of the work on the history of homosexuality and lesbianism has of necessity been conducted by private scholars, who have volunteered their own time and money, often having to content themselves with the meagerest recognition for their toil. Untrained in the strict canons of evidence and argument, their errors are often innocent ones. Having suffered from the profusion of negative stereotypes that our culture offers, it is perhaps understandable that they should
AQUINAS, THOMAS, SAINT (1224–1274)

Italian theologian and philosopher, the most important exponent of the medieval system of thought known as Scholasticism. Born to a noble family in southern Italy and cousin of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, he studied at St. Benedict's monastery of Monte Cassino and at the University of Naples, and as a young man entered the Dominican order. Trying to dissuade him from joining that new and radical order of friars, his brothers supposedly brought a prostitute to his room to tempt him, but he drove her out with a burning brand he took from the hearth. At twenty, having graduated from Naples he traveled to Paris and later to Cologne to study under Albertus Magnus, who set him on the path of fusing Aristotle with Christian thought, an innovatory combination which became his life's work. Aquinas was a copious writer whose works in their modern edition fill scores of folio volumes, and who sought to combine encyclopedic breadth with precision and systematic presentation. He called for the capital punishment of heretics, witches, and sodomites.

In his sexual views he adhered to the restrictivist approach laid down by the Patristic writers, interweaving, however, some elements taken from his extensive study of Aristotle. A sense of his approach emerges from his classification of “unnatural vice.” After first condemning masturbation, he distinguishes three types of improper sexual contact: with the wrong species (bestiality), with the wrong gender (homosexuality and lesbianism), and with the wrong organ (oral and anal sex) (Summa Theologiae, II–II 154, 11). This threefold schema became normative for Christian thought.

In another passage (I–II 31, 7), Aquinas asserts that some pleasures are unnatural to man but become connatural for physical or psychological reasons or because of habit, and among these is intercourse with males or with brute animals. This text, however, was adapted from Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics (1148b), in which the Master held that sexual intercourse with males could be pleasurable owing to the innate constitution (in the medieval Latin translation natural) of the individual. Aquinas reiterated this crucial point in his own commentary, the Sententia Libri Ethicorum (VII, 5), but suppressed it in the Summa. By this act of intellectual dishonesty, Aquinas made true, innate homosexuality an "insoluble problem" for Christian theologians who are obliged to maintain that erotic attraction to one's own sex is acquired and therefore abnormal and pathological.

Some modern scholars have deplored the views of Aquinas and his contemporaries as representing a turn toward a negative view of sexual nonconformity in contrast to the ostensibly more tolerant attitude that had preceded him—though they must grant that he was less hostile than Peter Damian. In this realm, however, Aquinas is a codifier, innovative only in his characteristically systematic approach, and not in any substantive enhancement of the negative content, which represented a fusion of the prohibitions of the Mosaic Law with an anti-homosexual tradition in the Hellenic world that went as far back as Plato. Even before Christianity, the synthesis of the two traditions had already been realized by Philo Judaeus,
continued by Clement of Alexandria and John Chrysostom, and reformulated for the Latin West by St. Augustine in the early fifth century. What Aquinas did was to give the condemnation a proper scholastic context, thus assuring its normative status for the moral theology and the Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church to this day and making the "sodomy delusion" a hallmark of Western civilization. His theologically and philosophically reasoned stance precludes acceptance of the premises of the gay liberation movement.

The Council of Trent recognized Thomas as a "doctor of the Church." Regrouping after the assault of the French Revolution, the Catholic restoration put great emphasis on the work of Aquinas, which had been neglected since the seventeenth century. In 1879 Leo XIII went so far as to declare Neo-Thomism the official philosophy of the Roman Catholic church. In recent decades this hegemony has ebbed in Catholic universities and seminaries, which are now in touch with a broader range of currents of thought. Official Thomism still has its survivals here and there, as seen, for example, in elements of the thinking of the radical feminist [and ex-Catholic] Mary Daly. Thomism always had a strong element of social moralism, so that it is not surprising to find traces of its influence in the liberation theology of the Third World.

Warren Johansson

**Arcadia**

Arcadia is a predominantly rural area of ancient Greece that has become a byword for an idealized pastoral existence. In an important study, Byrne R. S. Fone has shown that a number of homosexual writers—from Vergil through Richard Barfield, Walt Whitman and the English Uranians to Thomas Mann and E. M. Forster—drew upon the image of Arcadia to evoke "that secret Eden" that offers solace "because of its isolation from the troubled world and its safety from the arrogant demands of those who would deny freedom, curtail human action, and destroy innocence and love." In the vision of these writers Arcadia is a sylvan retreat where it is safe to live in accord with one's feelings, while at the same time providing the author with a device to present a quasi-allegorical image of homosexual happiness during times in which such sentiments could not be openly avowed. It could serve as a vehicle for the implication that "homosexuality is superior to heterosexuality and is a divinely sanctioned means to an understanding of the good and the beautiful." In such an idyllic setting the quest for the Ideal Friend could find its term and consecration.

The Latin tag "Et in Arcadia ego" has often been translated (according to some wrongly) as "I too was in Arcadia," and thus held to encapsulate the yearning for a Golden Age. Denis Diderot, for example, rendered it "Je vivais aussi dans la délicieuse Arcadie" ["I too lived in delightful Arcady."]. In the broader perspective this tradition fits within the overall framework of the pastoral tradition stemming from Theocritus, the great poet of Alexandria.

The concept was also significant in the context of the French homosexual movement. With his classical training, the novelist Roger Peyrefitte suggested the name "Arcadie" for what was to become the major French homosexual organization after World War II. In fact the group began by putting out a magazine, itself called *Arcadie* (from January 1954), on the model of the Swiss *Der Kreis*. The membership society followed in 1957. André Baudry, the director dissolved the organization in 1982, when the monthly, which had been noted for the quality of its scholarly articles, also ceased.

The Arcadie group was a typical product of the "homophile" phase of the resurgent gay movement as it rose from the ashes of war and the desolation of Nazi occupation. Members of Arcadie, and by extension sympathizers with its relatively
conservative goals, were termed Arcadiens. It has been claimed that a high proportion of the actual membership consisted of priests and ex-priests.


Wayne R. Dynes

ARCHIVES
See Libraries and Archives.

ARETINO, PIETRO
(1492–1556)
Italian writer. Known as the "scourge of princes," Aretino occupies a place all his own in Italian literature, both for his erotic writings (which were for centuries considered among the most "outrageous") and for his extraordinary rapport with the powerful. He made use of his journalistic flair to sell his benevolence in exchange for monetary gifts. Of humble origins (though not bereft of education), he in fact succeeded in becoming rich and famous thanks to his literary works which oscillated between adulation of notables and libel. Among his best known works—apart from such erotic classics as the Sei giornate (Dialogues of the Courtesans) and the Sonetti lussuosi—are comedies and six volumes of Letters addressed to major figures of the period.

Despite the grave charges leveled by Niccolò Franco (1515–1570)—who in his Priapea and Rime contro Pietro Aretino (1541) treats him simply as a prostitute—and by the libelous Vita di Pietro Aretino of 1537, there is no doubt that Aretino’s erotic interest was gallantly directed toward women. Domenico Fusco, who analyzed the accusations of homosexuality directed against the writer by his contemporaries, concluded that they amounted to unfounded gossip of a type common at the time.

Nonetheless, Aretino seems to have made some forays into the realm of homosexuality. Alessandro Luzio has published two curious letters of Federico Gonzaga (of February 1528) who writes from Mantua to Aretino of having failed to convince a certain Roberto "son of Bianchino" to accept the advances of his correspondent.

In "L’Aretino e il Franco" (Giornale storico della letteratura italiana, 29 [1897], 252) Luzio published a 1524 letter to Giovanni de’ Medici, in which Aretino playfully declared that he had decided to give up sodomy, because the ardent love he was experiencing for a lady had made him change his tastes.

As these instances show, Aretino’s attitude toward homosexuality was one of amused complacency, similar to that of many contemporaries. This fact explains the presence in his work of many homosexual allusions and double entendres.

The work of Aretino in which homosexuality is most prominent is the comedy Ilmarescalco (1533). The protagonist, the duke of Mantua’s farrier, dislikes women. To tease him the duke decides to force him to take a wife, which very much upsets the poor fellow. At the marriage, however, he learns that his "bride" is a beardless page dressed in women’s attire, and he cannot contain his happiness. Nowhere in the play is the farrier’s homosexuality openly stated, but the double entendres and various indirect references aptly serve to convey that the reason why he hates women is that he prefers boys.

The work entitled La puttana errante (1531), long attributed to Aretino, depicts both male and female homosexual conduct, but it is now attributed to Lorenzo Veniero.


Giovanni Dall’Orto
ARISTOCRATIC VICE

ARISTOCRATIC VICE, HOMOSEXUALITY AS

Little meaningful study has been accomplished on class differences in the incidence of homosexual behavior. The findings of the first Kinsey Report (1948), which appeared to show greater prevalence of homosexuality among the less educated, must be disregarded in as much as this cohort in the Kinsey survey had a disproportionate number of prisoners.

If data are lacking, stereotypes have flourished—in particular the notion that homosexual behavior is more prevalent among the upper classes. This perception accords with the broader working-class belief that the upper classes are over-educated, effete, and effeminate.

The notion of homosexuality as a distinctively aristocratic vice has a considerable history. In the seventeenth century Sir Edward Coke attributed the origin of sodomy to “pride, excess of diet, idleness and contempt of the poor.” The noted English jurist was in fact offering a variation on the prophet Ezekiel (16:49). This accusation reflects the perennial truism that wealth, idleness, and lust tend to go together—a cluster summed up in the Latin term luxuria. Sometimes the view is expressed that the confirmed debauche, having run through virtually the whole gamut of sexual sins, turns to sodomy as a last resort to revive his jaded appetite.

A forerunner of this thought complex appears in the comedies of Aristophanes [ca. 450–385 B.C.], who satirized the pederastic foibles of Athenian politicians and dandies. In the first century of our era, the Jewish writer Philo of Alexandria regarded Sodom as the archetype of the link between homosexuality and luxury: “The inhabitants owed this extreme licence to the never-failing lavishness of their sources of wealth... Incapable of bearing such satiery, plunging like cattle, they threw off from their necks the law of nature and applied themselves to deep drinking of strong liquor and dainty feeding and forbidden forms of intercourse.”

The scholastic theologian Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) held that the vice of sodomy was “more common in persons of high station than in humble persons.” This impression reflects in part the greater visibility of the doings of the privileged, and also the fact that, through their status or influence, the nobility could frequently escape with a reprimand for the commission of crimes which were subject to capital punishment when committed by commoners. This aspect of class justice has fueled social envy, leading to the demand on the part of the straitlaced middle class that the aristocracy be disciplined and required, for its part, to adhere to the narrow canons of petty bourgeois morality.

In England the claim that homosexuality was an aristocratic weakness fell together with the prejudice that it was ultimately of foreign derivation; the fondness of the noble lords for the Grand Tour of the continent brought them into contact with the vice—which they then conveyed to England, where it was supposedly not native. A curious episode of this phase of British social history was the Macaroni Club, an association of cosmopolites formed in London about 1760 to banquet on that then-rare food. Their foppish, extravagant dress was regarded as bordering on transvestism. This fashion explains an otherwise mysterious allusion in an American song of the period: “Yankee Doodle came to town/ upon a little pony; he stuck a feather in his hat and called it macaroni” (1767). The colonial hero’s attempt to play the exquisite exposed him to the danger of ridicule as a milktoast—or worse.

The stereotype of aristocratic vice has a sequel in the early twentieth-century Marxist notion that the purported increase of homosexuality in modern industrial states stems from the decadence of capitalism; in this view the workers fortunately remain psychologically healthy and thus untainted by the debilitating proclivity. In the Krupp and von Moltke-
Eulenburg scandals in Germany in 1903-08, journalists of the socialist press did their best to inflame their readership against the unnatural vices of the aristocracy, which were bringing the nation to the brink of ruin.

During the late nineteenth century, homosexual vanguard writers such as Edward Carpenter and John Addington Symonds advanced an opposing thesis. They held that it was precisely the fact that homosexual contacts tended to link the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, that made them suited to advancing democracy and the social integration of previously antagonistic classes. Class and homosexuality are sensitive issues for modern society, and the zone of their intersection is fraught with emotion. See also Working Class, Erotization of.

Wayne R. Dynes

ARISTOPHANES
(Ca. 450–ca. 385 B.C.)

The greatest of the comic playwrights of ancient Athens. Aristophanes composed a series of plays performed between 427 and 388 B.C. The texts of eleven comedies have survived, together with fragments from others. Little is known of his life other than what can be learned from the plays, which reveal a much-read and educated personality, fond of nature and of country life, and conservative by inclination.

His plays satirize contemporary Athenian society, with a verbal dexterity and wordplay that are difficult to convey in translation. The object of his wit is often the real or alleged effeminacy, passive homosexuality, or prostitution of the male characters—failings if not vices in the eyes of his fellow Athenians—in which the resources of Attic colloquial speech are exploited to the full. Aristophanes gives effeminate men feminine names, Sostrate instead of Sostratos, Cleonyme instead of Cleonymos (Clouds, 678, 680), or uses nicknames that allude to their “swishy” gestures and manner of walking, and especially the feminine dress which they affected. Similarly reproached are boys who sell their bodies for gifts or payment. In the Plutus, 153, a character declares: “And they say that the boys do this very thing, not for their lovers, but for the sake of money. Not the better types, but the catamites, since the better types do not ask for money.”

The positive side of Greek pederasty is mentioned only in passing: the praise of boyish beauty, the wall inscriptions with the boy’s name and the word kalos, “handsome,” and the memory of the heroism of the past inspired by male comradeship and fidelity. The world of lust and venality which the comedians depict is the baser side of Greek pederasty, not the nobler, though it is the aristocrat who is depicted as the boy-lover par excellence. The allusions and innuendoes in regard to the institution are legion. An element of jealousy is present, provoked by the preference which a boy would naturally show to a nobleman over a middle-class burgher, but the significant phenomenon is the role which pederasty played in the life of the upper class in the Golden Age of Athens. Nowhere do the plays suggest that an Athenian gentleman would find intercourse with a handsome boy anything but agreeable, and even the opportunity to scrutinize boyish beauty is a source of delight (Wasps, 568).

The ideal cherished by the conservative Aristophanes is the smooth-skinned, muscular, shy, serious boy of the past, not the avaricious hustler or effeminate youth of the present. There is a longing for values that have been lost or submerged in the Athens of the playwright’s own day. So while humor is an essential component of the treatment of homosexuality in Aristophanes, it serves to set in relief the idealized paiderasteia that served an educational function in Greek civilization; never does Aristophanes express indignation or disgust at the institution,
ARISTOPHANES

he rather criticizes the debased form to which (in his view) it had sunk in his day. It is as satire of the lower and ignobler manifestations of boy-love that the humorous and sarcastic passages in his plays are to be interpreted, not as condemnation in the vein that Christianity was to adopt in later centuries.


Warren Johansson

ARISTOTLE (384–322 B.C.)

Major ancient Greek philosopher. Aristotle's thinking was formed at the Academy in Athens, where in 366–347 he studied under Plato. Aristotle tutored the bisexual Alexander the Great in Macedonia (343–336), and then returned to Athens, where he opened a school. His habit of lecturing in the covered walking place (peripatos) of the Lyceum gave his school the name of Peripatetic. As a thinker Aristotle is outstanding for the breadth of his interests, which encompassed the entire panorama of the ancient sciences, and for his efforts to make sense of the world through applying an organic and developmental approach. In this way he departed from the essentialist, deductive emphasis of Plato. Unfortunately, Aristotle's polished essays, which were noted for their style, are lost, and the massive corpus of surviving works derives largely from lecture notes. In these the wording of the Greek presents many uncertainties: hence the differences in the various translations, which in sexual matters are often marred by euphemistic evasion or anachronistic modernization. Dubious points can only be settled by wrestling with the Greek.

Although Aristotle is known to have had several male lovers, in his writings he tended to follow Plato's lead in favoring restraints on overt expression of homoerotic feelings. He differs, however, from Plato's ethical and idealizing approach to male same-sex love by his stress on biological factors. In a brief, but important treatment in the Nicomachean Ethics (7:5) he was the first to distinguish clearly between innate and acquired homosexuality. This dichotomy corresponds to a standard Greek distinction between processes which are determined by nature (physis) and those which are conditioned by culture or custom (nomos). The approach set forth in this text was to be echoed a millennium and a half later in the Christian Scholastic treatments of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas (Summa Theologiae, 1a 11a, 31:7). In The History of Animals (9:8), Aristotle anticipates modern ethology by showing that homosexual behavior among birds is linked to patterns of domination and submission. In various passages he speaks of homosexual relations among noted Athenian men and boys as a matter of course. His treatment of friendship (Nicomachean Ethics, books 8 and 9) emphasizes its mutual character, based on the equality of the parties, which requires time for full consolidation. He takes it as given that true friendship can occur only between two free males of equal status, excluding slaves and women. Aristotle's ideas on friendship were to be echoed by Cicero, Erasmus, Michel de Montaigne, and Sir Francis Bacon.

The Problems (4:26), a work attributed to Aristotle but probably compiled by a follower, attributes desire for anal intercourse in men to the accumulation of semen in the fundament. This notion derives from the common Greek medical view that semen is produced in the region of the brain and then transferred by a series of conduits to the lower body.

In England and America a spurious compilation of sexual and generative knowledge, Aristotle's Masterpiece, enjoyed a long run of popularity. Compiled from a variety of sources, including the Hippocratic and Galenic medical traditions, the medieval writings of Albertus Magnus, and folklore of all kinds, this farrago was apparently first published in
English in 1684. A predecessor of later sex manuals, the book contains such lore as the determination of the size of the penis from that of the nose.


**Wayne R. Dynes**

**ART, VISUAL**

Homosexuality intersects with the visual arts of painting, sculpture, and photography in two ways: through subject matter (iconography) and through the personal homosexuality or bisexuality of artists.

Despite the fact that until recently most of the relevant images were inaccessible—relegated to museum basements or hidden in private collections—it is no secret that the world's heritage of the fine arts includes much homoerotic material. To be sure, the project of a comprehensive history of "gay art" seems problematic. In some areas where there is reason to believe that the material is abundant—as in China and the Islamic countries—the essential studies and publications needed to form the basis for a synthesis have not been produced. More fundamentally, it is hard to extract a common denominator from the varied material itself, which ranges from explicit scenes of copulation, through simple portraits of figures known to be homosexual, to homophobic depictions of the persecution of homosexuals. Large gaps exist. Lamentably, through many centuries of Christian domination in Europe, the ban on the making of such works was effective. Then there has been vandalism. In the New World much was destroyed by the Spanish conquistadores and the fanatical churchmen who accompanied them. As recently as the early twentieth century some Moche pieces from pre-Columbian Peru showing same-sex acts were destroyed by their finders as "insults to national honor." The situation for lesbian art is even more difficult. Because until recent times works of art have generally been commissioned by men for their own purposes, sympathetic depictions of lesbian love are sparse. Before the sixteenth century, we find only representations of friendship between women; then in the Venetian school there begins an imagery of lesbian dalliance—but only for male entertainment. Only in recent decades has there been a substantial production of lesbian art by lesbians and for lesbians. This raises the final problem: how are we to consider the work of an artist known to be homosexual or bisexual, but whose subject matter—through lack of commissions or reticence—does not extend to his or her own sexuality?

**Classical Antiquity.** A comparison of Greek homoerotic literature and art is instructive. Since the time of their composition, Greek texts of male–male love have always been known to those who cared to seek them out, and they provided continuity through the whole subsequent literary development. Parallel works in the visual arts passed unrecognized, languished in museum storerooms, or remained hidden in the ground to be discovered only through recent excavations. Not being known to homosexual artists of later times, they could not form the signposts of a recognized perennial tradition. And the lack of a continuous tradition is the main reason why one cannot rightfully speak of a "history of gay art."

Still ancient Greece supplies a considerable amount of material. The explanation for this flowering lies in the fact, that unlike its predecessors in the ancient Near East, Greece was a secular society in which the priestly caste was relatively unimportant. Even in statues dedicated in temples and placed on tombs the wishes of the patron are paramount. In antiquity the Greeks were noted for their
national peculiarity of exercising in the nude. Out of this custom grew the monumental nude statue, a genre that Greece bequeathed to the world. The tradition began a little before 600 B.C. with the sequence of nude youths known as kouroi. (Monumental female nudes did not appear until ca. 350 B.C.) Although archeologists have maintained a deafening silence on the matter, it seems clear that the radiance of these figures can only be explained in the light of the Greek homoerotic appreciation of the male form. Whatever else they may have been, the kouroi were the finest pinups ever created. Studying them in chronological order, one can observe an evolution of the ideal somatic type, from the sturdy, almost burly archaic figures, through the classical "swimmer's body" ones, to a kind of graceful dancer type in the fourth century B.C. A special variation on the kouroi is the pair of figures dedicated in Athens in 477 B.C. to the memory of the homosexual lovers, the tyrant-slayers Harmodius and Aristogiton.

The recovery of masses of decorated vases in modern times has revealed a particularly forthright category of Greek art: the scenes of homoerotic courtship. In these depictions, which begin about 570 B.C., an older bearded man approaches a youth, clearly indicating his intent by placing one hand in entreaty against the boy's chin while the other touches his genitals. Often these scenes of courtship are accompanied by gifts of hares, cocks, and other animals to help persuade the boy. In contrast to the occasional depictions surviving from earlier civilizations, these scenes are not merely renderings of same-sex acts or lifeways, but vivid emblems of homoerotic desire. Little of the monumental painting for which the Greeks were famous has survived. A spectacular exception is the fifth-century Tomb of the Diver at Paestum in southern Italy, which preserves a banquet scene of two male lovers embracing.

As Greek literature attests, the gods had their own homoerotic loves. Some vases and other works show them in pursuit of their beloveds. A special place belongs to the depictions of Zeus and Ganymede, as represented for example by a monumental terracotta of ca. 460 B.C. from Olympia. An essential part of the legacy of Greece is mythology, and we find that over the centuries artists did dare to evoke again and again the Greek homoerotic figures of Ganymede and Hyacinth, Ampelos and Orpheus.

The Romans did not share the Greek fondness for nude exercise and their attitude toward homosexual behavior was more ambiguous. Perhaps it is not surprising that they favored the old religious subject of the hermaphrodite, the double-sexed being, but now reduced largely to a subject of titillation. They also were capable of depicting scenes of peeping toms that recall the atmosphere of Petronius's Satyricon. Standing far above the general Roman contribution to the subject are the idealized portraits of Antinous commissioned by the emperor Hadrian after his Bithynian favorite drowned in the Nile in A.D. 130. In his honor the emperor founded the Egyptian city of Antinoopolis; excavations have revealed something of its magnificence.

After the reign of Hadrian, who died in 138, the great age of ancient homoerotic art was over. Consequently, the adoption of Christianity cannot be said to have killed off a vibrant tradition, but it certainly did not encourage its revival. Medieval Christian art did have nudes and scenes of classical mythology, but significantly no homoerotic ones. Liberal toward some aspects of classical culture, for centuries Christianity stifled the reemergence of positive homoerotic art. It also fostered the creation of antihomoerotic iconography, as in the scenes of the burning of the city of Sodom found at Monreale, Canterbury, and elsewhere.

The Renaissance Tradition. When homosexuality in art again became significant, as it did under the humanistic auspices of fifteenth-century Florence, it is
through our knowledge of the biographies of the artists, rather than from their subject matter. Botticelli, Donatello, Michelangelo, and Sodoma are all known to have been predominantly homosexual in orientation, but with rare exceptions (as Donatello's bronze David and Michelangelo's drawings for Tommaso de' Cavalieri) their works give little hint of it. Still the biographical information we have is fascinating for the reconstruction of the connection between sexuality and the creative process. Since Freud's essay of 1910 the enigmatic figure of Leonardo has offered a special appeal. A less well known Florentine figure, Jacopo Pontormo, left behind a diary which chronicled not only his troubled mental state, but also (laconically) his relations with boys. The onset of the Counter-Reformation in the later sixteenth century made life harder for Italian homoerotic artists, though the stormy career of the bisexual Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571–1610) is well documented. From Flanders comes the tragic case of the Baroque sculptor Jérôme Duquesnoy, who was caught with two boys and executed in 1654.

During the Renaissance and Baroque periods the status of artists rose, and they became proud of their creativity. The image of the artist "born under Saturn" flourished, that is to say painters and sculptors were expected to be moody, melancholy, and withdrawn, but not effeminate. Homosexual artists of this time fulfilled the expectations of the stereotype. As the public's concept changed, however, the type went out of production so to speak. When in later times homosexual artists became visible they were measured according to different standards. Because of such shifts one cannot speak of any single dominant character type of the "gay artist" any more than purported continuities of style and subject matter permit the recovery of a single aesthetic of "gay art."

It is not surprising that the rococo art of the eighteenth century, so concerned with heterosexual dalliance, should have little to show that is relevant. Yet with the rise of Neoclassicism toward the end of the century this situation changed. For one thing the theorist and prophet of the new movement J. J. Winckelmann (1717–1768) was a homosexual bachelor whose rhapsodic descriptions of male nudes had an impact on countless artists. Regardless of the orientation of their creators, the great male nudes of such masters as Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825) and Bertell Thorwaldsen (1768–1848) are inseparable from Winckelmann's evocations. And other artists, including Jean Broc, Claude-Marie Dufrene, and Benjamin West, boldly revived the Greek themes of the homoerotic loves of the gods.

Academics and Moderns. French nineteenth-century art witnessed a significant production of lesbian scenes by heterosexual artists, including such masters as Gustave Courbet. One major artist who was lesbian, Rosa Bonheur (1822–1899), did not leave behind works directly related to her orientation. The same is true of the American sculptor Harriet Hosmer (1830–1908). In a number of male artists—Washington Allston, Thomas Couture, Thomas Eakins, Aleksandr Ivanov, Frederick Lord Leighton, John Singer Sargent, and Henry Scott Tuke—the work and other evidence points to a homosexual or bisexual orientation, but full confirmation tends to be elusive. A special place in this group belongs to the lonely German idealist, Hans von Marées (1837–1887), who produced evocative male nudes in an Arcadian setting. The fate of the English painter Simeon Solomon (1840–1905), disgraced after a wild party in 1873, must have given many pause. Symbolists such as Jean Delville and Gustave Moreau flirted with homoerotic subjects which were accepted as contributions to the "decadent repertoire." A similar vein of poetry runs through the practitioners of a new technique, that of photography: the German Wilhelm von Gloeden (1856–1931) specialized in languorous Sicilian youths
while Fred Holland Day (1864–1933) created evocative tableaux vivants of New Testament and other exotic subjects. By the turn of the century magazines began to appear in Germany presenting, by means of photographic reproduction, works appealing exclusively to male homosexual taste; lesbian magazines were only to emerge after World War I. Exceptionally, the American George Platt Lynes (1907–1955) pursued a career in both mainstream and gay media (the latter in his extensive work for the Swiss magazine, Der Kreis).

A chief characteristic of the avant-garde art of the twentieth century is international exchange. Even when they stayed at home, artists sought to free themselves from parochial restrictions. When traveling, they tended to stop in the Bohemian quarters of large cities, where sexual freedom was long the rule. For the first forty years of the century, Paris was the great magnet. In the city’s international lesbian colony the most formidable figure was the American experimental writer Gertrude Stein. Through her remarkable art collection, and her influence on her lover the major collector Etta Cone and others, Stein was able to play a formative role in the reception of advanced modernist art in English-speaking countries. Unfortunately, the only homosexual artist she promoted was the mediocre Englishman Sir Francis Rose. Paris was also the home of the American painter Romaine Brooks (1874–1970), whose often forceful works are executed in a somewhat old-fashioned style, recalling that of James McNeil Whistler. Also dwelling mainly in Paris, the Polish-born heterosexual Tamara de Lempicka (1898–1980), whose work became synonymous with art deco, produced lush images of women interacting that played, teasingly but sometimes powerfully, on the city’s image as a modern Lesbos. Her German contemporary Jeanne Mammen (1890–1976) created a more candid and direct iconography of the lesbian cabaret culture in her country, in which she participated. The “Fur-Covered Cup, Saucer, and Spoon” (1936) of Meret Oppenheim, a Swiss woman artist, is a stark proclamation of lesbian (vaginal) symbolism; ironically it has become one of the chief icons of the Surrealist movement, which was generally hostile to homosexuality.

The trajectory of avant-garde art from post-impressionism through fauvism and cubism to non-objectivism and constructivism saw progressive abandonment of representational subject matter. This meant the exclusion of all types of sexual allusion, though these were to make a temporary comeback with the para-Freudian preoccupations of the Surrealism of the 1920s. The enigmatic, germinal figure of Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968) cherished a female persona, “Rrose Sélavy,” going so far as to have himself photographed as her in drag. Inasmuch as homosexual attachments are not documented for Duchamp, this experiment in gender malleability and double personality is probably to be attributed to a personal penchant made possible by the freedom of Bohemia.

Two Americans illustrate the possibilities of the gay modern artist. Marsden Hartley (1877–1943) resided in Berlin at the start of World War I, where he created emblematic expressionist portraits of his lover Karl von Freyburg, a soldier who was killed in the first days of the war. The work of Charles Demuth (1883–1935) is hard to classify, though it has affinities with Georgia O’Keeffe and the precisionism of Charles Sheeler. Demuth did a series of evocations of New York’s gay baths, as well as groups of sailors (who were important gay icons in the period). Paul Cadmus (b. 1904) deliberately chose to work in a style derived from the early Italian Renaissance. Frequently a subject of controversy, he exposed a seamy, vulgar side of American sexuality that some would prefer to forget.

Although the Surrealists sought to explore sexuality, the homophobia of their leader André Breton placed a ban on
gay subjects—or at least male ones. Two related figures did explore in this realm, however, the writer Jean Cocteau (1889–1963), with his drawings of sailors, and the Argentine-born painter Leonor Fini (b. 1908), with enigmatic scenes of women. The ambitious Russian-born Pavel Tchelitchew (1898–1957), connected with several avant-garde circles in Europe and America, also belongs in this company. The gay art of southern Europe in this period is just beginning to become known, as seen in the Italians Filippo De Pisis (1869–1956) and Gulgielmo Janni (1892–1958), as well as the Spaniard Gregorio Prieto. To this group should be added the Dominican Jaime González Colson, who resided in Europe for many years.

The Contemporary Epoch. The better atmosphere of the period since 1960 has allowed artists of stature to be open about their homosexuality. The Englishman Francis Bacon (b. 1909) has created phantasmagoric scenes of two men wrestling which convey a powerful sense of existential angst. David Hockney (b. 1937), also English-born, but California–Parisian in his choice of domiciles, pleased by his agile recycling of major modernist themes. Finally, Andy Warhol (1928–1986) was a kind of presiding spirit over New York’s chic art scene. It is possible that the popular acceptance of these artists has been achieved at the cost of pigeonholing them in stereotypical categories that the straight public can assimilate: Bacon is the unhappy neurotic, Hockney the stylish, facile designer, and Warhol the arch-priest of camp. The restricted role categories permitted by our art world contrast with the more generous possibilities vouchsafed to artists in the Renaissance, however difficult that era may have been in other ways.

Other openly gay and lesbian artists have been less successful at securing fame, though a monographic series published by Gay Men’s Press serves to make the work of some of them widely available. The somber works of the late Mario Dubsky (1939–1985) are somewhat in the Bacon mold. Others, such as the Chilean Juan Davila, Philip Gore, and the London couple known as Gilbert and George, explore the byways of camp. A gentle and romantic vision is projected by the Englishman David Hutter. The major burst of neo-Expressionism that appeared in Berlin during the 1970s saw the emergence of a number of artists, including Rainer Fetting and Salome, who treat gay subject matter in a frank, often ironic way.

Lesbian art parallels the great upsurge of women’s art in our time, as exemplified by the collective work “The Dinner Table” coordinated by Judy Chicago. The Scottish-born June Redfern fuses ancient myths from the goddess sphere with modern imagery. The American Harmony Hammond, who is also active as a critic, has worked in several late modern and postmodern styles. The new interest in women’s art has also helped to revive painters of the recent past, such as the bisexual Mexican Frida Kahlo.

In male photography the “old master” Bruce Weber’s achievement was commemorated at a retrospective at the Whitney Biennial in 1987. The photographs of Duane Michals are poetically yet disturbingly enigmatic, while Tress and Robert Mapplethorpe capture the blunt starkness of the 1970s scene. Lesbian photography has concentrated on portraiture, as seen in the work of JEB (Joan E. Birren), or evocative, nonsexual scenes.

In the late 1970s art entered a phase defined first as “pluralism” and, increasingly, as “postmodernism.” It may be doubted that the long-standing premises of the modernist aesthetic—its sense of discontinuity, irony, and high seriousness—have been definitively overcome, but there is no doubt that the boundaries of the acceptable have been broadened. This enlargement creates opportunities for gay and lesbian artists. At the same time, however, the tyranny of the market and of critical stereotypes is as great as ever, so that artists are under great pressure to settle into niches that have been prepared
for them. It should be remembered that many painters, sculptors, and photographers whose personal orientation is homosexual are as reluctant to be styled "gay artists" as they are to be called neo-expressionist, neo-mannerist, or some other label.


Wayne R. Dynes

ARTEMIDORUS
(LATE SECOND CENTURY OF OUR ERA)

Greek writer. Although Artemidorus resided in Ephesus he is sometimes termed "of Daldis" because the latter was his mother's native city. He traveled widely in the Mediterranean world to collect material for his extant major work The Interpretation of Dreams. This book, which incorporates much ancient folklore, influenced Byzantine and Islamic dream books, not to mention the magnum opus of Sigmund Freud, Traumdeutung (On the Interpretation of Dreams, 1900).

Artemidorus takes a favorable view of homosexuality, which he says is "natural, legal, and customary." Consequently, whenever the dream symbol involves same-sex relations Artemidorus' interpretation presages good events. The only exceptions are symbols pertaining to incestuous relations between father and son and those in which a slave takes an aggressive role in relation to his master. The interest in sexual dreams probably derives from Egyptian dynastic dream books, which freely note such incidents.

In his accepting attitude toward homosexual behavior, Artemidorus is fully in accord with popular Greek ethics. Significantly, however, when the body of his teaching passed to Byzantine authors of dream books, they subjected the homosexual material to a Christian filtration process so that it is either omitted altogether, or (in two rare instances where it survives) treated negatively.


ASCETICISM

Sexual asceticism may take the form of total abstinence—lifelong virginity—or it may imply infrequency of sexual congress and abstinence during specified periods. In some individuals sexual asceticism is reinforced by chastisement and mortification of the body through flagellation, fasting, and denial of sleep.

Comparative studies reveal a number of motives for these restrictions. The priestesses in sanctuaries of ancient Greece were required to avoid sexual contact with any human being in order faithfully to serve the god whose consort they were. Widespread throughout the Mediterranean world—and elsewhere—was the idea that sexual contact makes one unclean and therefore unworthy of setting foot on holy ground without purification and a specified period of abstinence. Finally, chastity was believed to bring strength to the one who practiced it, and sometimes to others as well. In ancient Rome the purity of the Vestal Virgins was thought to safeguard the city from harm.

In later Greek times and under the Roman empire this cluster of beliefs underwent a sharpening, whose effects left a permanent impress on Western civilization. In some Stoic thinkers the shift was relatively conservative: a modification of the traditional Greek commendation of temperance in eating, drinking, and sex in
the direction of a more active self-denial, which should not be pressed to extremes. Still this change is significant: the older concept had enshrined an even-handed balance between appetite and renunciation—enlightened self-management—while the newer trend tilted toward renunciation. Along these lines, the physician Musonius Rufus discouraged homosexual intercourse because of its “violence,” which led to fatigue.

Set apart at first from the Greco-Roman mainstream, a number of religious and philosophical sects arose that regarded the human body as one's enemy, to be mortified and humiliated. The Galli, priests of the Eastern goddess Cybele, could be witnessed ritually castrating themselves. In the Jewish world, the Qumran sect known to us from the Dead Sea Scrolls seems to have insisted on “spiritual eunuchism”—total continence—for the inner core of believers. At the heart of Christianity lay a Holy Family that was cordoned off from sex. From the fourth century onwards, Mary was regarded as not simply a virgin at the time of Jesus's birth, but perpetually a virgin. Jesus, though fully capable of sexual relations, never—in the view of the Early Christian Fathers—chose to exercise the option. As for Joseph, if he had once been capable of sexual activity, he was safely beyond it by the time of his marriage. It is not surprising that these exemplary figures were imitated in various ways. Virgins had great prestige in the Early Christian communities, as did married couples who had ceased to have sexual relations. The sect of the Encratites held that semen must be conserved in the body at all costs. (Even such a respected medical authority as Soranos of Ephesus taught that every emission of the male seed was injurious to health.) And the monks of the Egyptian and Syrian deserts not only practiced chastity, but subjected the body to an unremitting regime of mortification. It is against this background that the Early Christian prohibition of homosexuality must be seen. Marriage itself was a lesser option, justifiable only to provide offspring. Some historians have concluded that the depopulation of the later Roman empire was a direct consequence of countless numbers of individuals declining to participate in the procreation cycle.

Needless to say, in those times and in ensuing centuries the flesh made demands that were not to be denied. But their exercise was henceforth to be accompanied by a gnawing guilt. The eleventh-century papal imposition of celibacy on the priesthood meant that the whole of the clergy, held up as the fullest embodiment of the Christian ideal, was condemned to lifelong abstinence. In every walk of life transgressors of the narrow sexual ethic were exposed to ridicule and punishment. The notion that sexual uncleanness could bring divine retribution on a nation frequently recurs in sermons against homosexuality in the early modern period. At the end of the fifteenth century the appearance of syphilis in Western Europe seemed to set a terrible seal on this complex of fears. The way in which such feelings of guilt could be manipulated is evident in the great masturbation scare, which began in the early eighteenth century and reached its zenith in the Victorian period. In fact the horror of self-pollution was but a new avatar of the Early Christian Encratite fear of loss of semen. The commercial mind of the Victorians also linked emission of seed with monetary expenditure; hence sexual mismanagement led to sexual bankruptcy. In Britain and North America the late nineteenth century saw the rise of the Sexual Purity Movement, which effectively propagated for continence.

In recent decades the importation of elements of Indic religions—Hinduism and Buddhism—into Western industrial countries does not seem to have led to any sustained emulation of the ascetic traditions cherished by those faiths in their homelands. A more powerful persuader in the direction of sexual continence has been the AIDS crisis, a factor that has served to enhance (and probably exaggerate) an in-
ASCETICISM

Recipient reaction to the emancipated sixties and seventies.

See also Celibacy.


Wayne R. Dynes

ASIAN-AMERICANS, GAY AND LESBIAN

Asian Americans who are gay or lesbian live within the same social constraints as their heterosexual counterparts, facing many of the prejudices and cultural exclusions of modern North America. Among identifiable ethnic peoples, Asians, even those of the third, fourth, or fifth generation, are most likely to be considered foreign, illegal aliens, unable to speak English and so forth. This perpetual state of being foreign—not being part of the American cultural milieu—stems from multiple historical roots.

An initial wave of immigration from China and Japan in the late nineteenth century to meet labor demands in the railroad industry was followed by the Chinese Exclusion Acts which explicitly aimed at stopping immigration from Asian countries. These obstacles to Asian immigration were not eased until the 1960s, when a new wave of immigrants from Asian countries, mostly middle-class and professional people, was allowed into the United States. Continuity and growth of viable Asian ethnic communities were also hampered during World War II by the mass internment of Japanese Americans (and Japanese Canadians), resulting in massive dislocation and dispersion of Japanese American families and communities who had settled in the Western states.

Gay Men and Lesbians. In the gay community, Asian gay men and lesbians experience the same alienation, being perceived as “The Other”: the foreign, the exotic, the non-American. The preoccupation of modern gay male culture with the sexual images and physical types of the fifties and sixties—the short-haired blue-eyed all-American boy who symbolized the United States in its empire-building, expansionist phase—has also resulted in the exclusion of Asian men from the sexual and romantic interchange of modern gay male life in the United States. Among both gay men and lesbians, popular stereotypes of Asians as being subservient, passive, and eager to please inform many of their relationships with their non-Asian counterparts.

Within their ethnic communities many Asian gay men and lesbians keep their homosexuality hidden from families and friends. While Asian traditionalists may tolerate instances of homosexuality if discreet and surreptitious, an open avowal of gayness is often condemned as a Western corruption. Asian gay people with more traditional families also have to contend with intense social and cultural pressures to marry, to reproduce the family line, not to disgrace the family name and so on. For those who have immigrated more recently there are other pressures: immigration laws that exclude homosexuals and that threaten HIV testing and dependence for cultural support on ethnic communities which are largely homophobic.

Organizing. To provide support and to air and resolve many of their common problems, Asian gay men and lesbians have organized in many of the largest cities of the United States. Through their activism, many of the groups also challenge the exclusive identification of American gay culture and gay communities with Caucasian men.

A major impetus to organizing began with the first National Third World Lesbian and Gay Conference (October 12–15, 1979) held in conjunction with the
First National Lesbian and Gay March on Washington. The handful of Asian lesbians and gay men who met at the conference, many for the first time, lobbied hard to have an Asian gay person (Michiyo Cornell) speak at the March rally. Tana Loy, an Asian lesbian from New York City, also addressed the Third World Conference. The energy and support generated as a result of this first meeting led many to see the value of support and organizing in their local areas. The Boston Asian Gay Men and Lesbians (BAGMAL), the first Asian gay group in the United States, was already a few months old at the time of the conference. The Gay Asians of Toronto was formed shortly afterwards by a participant at the conference.

Throughout the eighties other groups appeared in major cities. Some are of the more social club variety with leadership and participation by both Asian and non-Asian gay men. These clubs, modeled after the Black and White Men Together groups, sprang up in such cities as Chicago, Washington, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York. Other groups have agendas determined more directly for and by gay Asian men and Asian lesbians themselves. Included among these are the Alliance of Massachusetts Asian Gay Men and Lesbians, the Gay Asians of Toronto, and the Gay Asian Pacific Alliance (based in San Francisco and formed in 1988). Among Asian lesbian groups there is the Asian Lesbians of the East Coast (based in New York and formed in 1983), while on the West Coast the group called Asian Women organized in 1984 around the journal Phoenix Rising, then regrouped as Asian Pacific Sisters in August, 1988.

The First West Coast Asian/Pacific Lesbian and Gay Conference was held July 18, 1987 in West Hollywood, California, and the first North American Conference for Lesbian and Gay Asians was held August 19–21, 1988, in Toronto, Canada. The year 1988 also saw the formation of new groups for lesbians in San Francisco and Washington (D.C.) and the inauguration of Asian gay men's groups in San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Washington.

A distinctive feature of the North American gay Asian movement is its international perspective. Many individual activists and organizations maintain ties with gay groups and activists in East and South Asia—the political and cultural exchanges that have developed have enriched the movement on both sides of the Pacific. Of note is the gay South Asian newsletter Trikone (formed as Trikon in January, 1986) based in Palo Alto, California, which has inspired chapters in the Indian subcontinent as well as throughout North America.

Communities. With the rise of local groups and the building of local communities the climate for coming out for Asian gay men and lesbians improved throughout the 1980s. Asian gay communities in most cities are a diverse mix of North American-born and foreign-born men and women from a variety of East and South Asian cultural backgrounds with a substantial proportion of persons of mixed cultural heritage. These communities vary substantially from city to city. For example, groups in San Francisco with its high incidence of AIDS concentrate on AIDS-related issues while providing support and services for infected Asian people. In Toronto where a high proportion are Hong Kong-born Chinese, a lively gay Chinese culture based on the Cantonese dialect has developed. All communities were enlivened by the influx of Southeast Asian refugees into North American cities during the eighties.

Siong-huat Chua

ASTROLOGY

The history of astrology, the pseudoscience which claims to divine events from the positions of the heavenly bodies, has attracted considerable recent scholarship, but the sexual aspects have been neglected. In a passage in the Confessions (4:3), Augustine condemns astrology because it could excuse sin as under the
control not of the will but of the stars ("the cause of thy sin is inevitably determined by heaven"). For those who accepted the astrological systems, and many did in late Greek and Roman antiquity, the stars could explain attraction to members of one's own sex. The astral mechanism is detailed by Ptolemy of Alexandria (ca. A.D. 100-178) in the classic treatise on Hellenistic-Roman astrology: "Joined with Mercury, in honorable positions, Venus makes them...in affairs of love restrained in their relations with women, but more passionate for boys, and jealous." (Tetrabiblos, 3.3). The interpretation of this particular pairing of the planets was probably suggested by their Greek names Hermes and Aphrodite, which join to produce Hermaphroditos.

Babylonian astrology was the source of Greek astrology. Not surprisingly, then, a neo-Babylonian text of ca. 500 B.C. says that "love of a man for a man" is governed by the constellation Scorpio. The Greeks personalized astrology by developing the notion that each individual's character and destiny are determined by the position of the planets at his birth. Hellenistic-Roman Egypt saw astrological interpretation take the form that it was to retain through the Renaissance, though the intervention of Christianity and Islam caused the homoerotic readings of certain planetary dispositions to be suppressed and disappear from standard works. Ultimately, as has been seen in the case of Augustine, Christian scorn of astrology succeeded in driving the discipline underground, though it survived in Islamic lands.

During the Renaissance, as part of the overall program of revival of classical antiquity, the Florentine Neoplatonist Marsilio Ficino (who was homosexual) created a vision of the cosmos linking humanity with the heavenly bodies through emanations of love. At the same time the actual techniques of astrology enjoyed a remarkable resurgence, though with complicated readjustments to take account of shifts in the position of the heavenly bodies in the intervening centuries. In the sixteenth century, for example, Michelangelo—whose horoscope showed just the conjunction of Mercury and Venus noted by Ptolemy—seems to have assuaged his guilty conscience with the belief that his attraction to his youthful assistants (garzoni) had been decreed by celestial forces beyond his control. François Rabelais, in the Pantagrueline Prognostication of 1532, spoke of "Those whom Venus is said to rule, as...Ganymedes, Bardachoes, Huflers [fellators], Ingles." Some planets were held to be androgynous, because they are sometimes hot and sometimes cold. Thus Mercury was accounted hot and dry when near the sun, cold and moist when near the Moon. Clearly, then, the concept of sexual inclination as guided by the stars helped some of the system's adherents to grasp that their sexual interests were not a mere caprice or vicious deviation, but were essentially natural, being defined by cosmic imperatives.

In the seventeenth century, under attack by rationalism, astrology went underground again. The late nineteenth-century crisis of faith, however, engendered a compensatory upsurge of occult and esoteric beliefs, notably Theosophy (founded by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky in 1875). Theosophy, which had an attraction for some homosexuals (e.g., C. W. Leadbeater), incorporated Buddhist and Hindu elements, which henceforth played their role in some astrological systems. As the emerging homophile movement made it possible to discuss homosexuality in public, the long-suppressed erotic interpretation of certain signs reappeared in the literature. The first thoroughgoing modern attempt to correlate astrology with homosexual behavior was made in the 1920s by the German occultist and right-wing theorist Karl-Günther Heimsoth. Independently, the American homophile Gavin Arthur discovered the occult tradition in Paris in the 1920s. In 1960, having settled in San Francisco, he published a book, The Circle of Sex, which correlates character types with astrological influ-
ences. Arthur is credited with having launched the idea of the coming of the Aquarian Age, which was to become celebrated through the musical \textit{Hair}.

In twentieth-century America astrology has exercised an enduring hold on the popular imagination, witness the newspaper columns devoted to the subject. Thanks in large measure to the symbiosis with the \textit{Counterculture}, astrology gained a foothold in gay circles, and several paperbacks have appeared explaining the role of the stars in homosexual and lesbian destinies. Significantly, however, astrological explanations (based, as it were, on the cosmic environment) play no part in the current debate over acquired vs. constitutional factors in the etiology of sexual orientation. Today's astrology, the debased descendant of a millennia1 tradition, holds an essentially personal, often superficial significance for its adherents. Before dismissing its contribution entirely, however, one should note that man, unlike the lower animals, has no fixed mating season but copulates at all times of the year, a fact that may play an as yet undetermined role in the characterological variation of which homosexual orientation is but one aspect. In a sense, then, astrology, though rightly divested of its own credentials, may yet rank as the precursor of the emerging science of biometeorology that may shed unexpected light on the causes of homosexuality.


\textit{Warren Johansson}

\textbf{ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS (FLOURISHED CA. A.D. 200)}

Author of the \textit{Deipnosophistai}, or “Banquet of the Learned,” of which 15 of some 30 books survive. It is a specimen of “symposium literature” in which guests at a banquet discuss philosophy, belles lettres, law, medicine, cuisine, and other subjects. The framework, while occasionally tinged with humor, serves as a vehicle for the collections of excerpts that are introduced into the dialogue. Athenaeus cites some 1,250 authors, gives the titles of more than 1,000 plays, and quotes more than 10,000 lines of verse.

The significance of his work lies in showing that in cultivated pagan society at the close of the second century pederasty and all that related to it could be discussed freely and casually with no tone of reproach such as Christian apologists would like to trace back to the Golden Age of Hellenic civilization and beyond. The passions of legendary and historic figures for boys are mentioned, and famous boy-lovers are named: Alcibiades, Charmides, Autolycus, Pausanias, and Sophocles. Books and plays on pederasty are named and cited: \textit{The Pederasts} by Diphilus, a play entitled \textit{ Ganymede}, a treatise \textit{On Love} by Heraclides of Pontus, the play \textit{The Effeminates} by Cratinus, and allusions to boy-love in Aeschylus and Sophocles. The creation of the Sacred Band of Theban warriors is ascribed to Epaminondas. The fondness of particular cities and ethnic groups for homosexual pleasures is mentioned: the Cretans, the Chalcidians of Euboea, the Medes, the Tuscons, the inhabitants of Massilia (Marseilles). Some individuals who were exclusively homosexual, such as Onomarcus and the philosopher Zeno, are named, with no implication that their conduct was deemed pathological or reprehensible.

The extant portions of the work—Book XIII is the most relevant—are a goldmine for the study of the homosexual side of classical civilization and the cultural expression of pederasty in the ancient world. Even when the compositions quoted have not survived, the titles and fragments preserved by Athenaeus give an idea of the volume of literature and art which male love inspired when it was an
accepted part of the everyday life of all classes of society, individual differences in erotic taste notwithstanding.

_Warren Johansson_

**Athletics**

Athletics is the broad field of physical activity in which strength is called into play and increased. Homosexual men and women have been and are active in both mainstream and gay community athletics. Their experience in athletics is, in many respects, the same as that of their heterosexual counterparts: experiences such as physical exertion, team membership and competition.

_Athletics and the Male Image._ Since the ancient Olympic Games, athletics has been considered a sign of masculinity. Women, until the twentieth century, have been excluded from athletics; they were prohibited from participation in the Sacred Games of Olympia and from the activities of the gymnasia of Ancient Greece. (There is evidence, however, that in ancient China, upper-class women played a version of soccer with men.) With the emancipation of Western women in the twentieth century, some became athletes. The modern Olympics prohibited the participation of women until 1928. At the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics less than a quarter of the athletes were female.

In the nineteenth century, theories of homosexuality were developed which saw it as a symptom of gender confusion; in conjunction with that, there developed a common belief that homosexual men were essentially feminine and lesbians masculine.

The nineteenth-century expansion of the British Empire and its sphere of cultural influence, the ascendency of the bourgeoisie, the rise of the British "public school" system, and the central role that sports played in that system have made a cumulative contribution to the twentieth-century Western conception of sports. Athletics became the quintessential expression of masculine values, the values of model citizenship: aggression, competition, racism, elitism, militarism, imperialism, sexism, and heterosexism. Many writers have suggested that athletics and healthy heterosexual masculinity are popularly equated. That athletic image is dramatically unlike the dominant religious, medical, and legal models of homosexuality which categorized homosexuals as sinful, pathological, and criminal. Because the popular images of the athlete and the homosexual are virtually antithetical, model healthy citizen and degenerate pathological criminal respectively, many athletes, especially professionals, have found it difficult publicly to acknowledge their homosexual orientation. Consequently, it is difficult to know who in professional sports is homosexual. Some famous athletes are known to be homosexual, among them John Menlove Edwards (mountaineering), Billie Jean King (tennis), David Kopay (football), Martina Navratilova (tennis) and Bill Tilden (tennis).

_Lesbian and Gay Athletes._ The masculine signification of athletics, in conjunction with the popular belief that lesbians are more masculine than their heterosexual counterparts, has led to the notion that many athletic women are lesbian. It seems likely that there is a concentration of lesbians in athletics, but the factual truth of this assumption cannot be determined. Statistical research on the presence of homosexuals in athletics is inevitably flawed; fear of negative repercussions mitigates against athletes identifying themselves as homosexual. There has been a concerted effort by individual athletes, sports organizations, administrators, coaches and scholars in the history and sociology of sport to disguise the substantial participation of lesbians in sport. Many lesbian athletes have been denied participation on teams and been fired from positions as national coaches when their lesbianism became known. Research on lesbians in athletics is minimal and pro-
posals for research are frequently dismissed by academic juries. Many lesbian athletes try to downplay lesbian participation, saying that if the extent of lesbianism in athletics were known "it would give women's sports a bad name."

Whereas in this century athletics has been a popular occupation for lesbians, until the development of the "modern" gay liberation movement, many homosexual men avoided athletics. It could be that they have been aware of the masculine heterosexual signification of athletic participation and wanted no part of it. Standard athletic insults refer to fags, pansies, or sissies. To avoid such derision, finding athletics socially and psychically traumatic, many homosexuals eschewed sports. Male homosexual oral history research projects reveal few references to athletic activity; when it is mentioned, it is usually with considerable distaste.

Gay Sports. The modern gay liberation movement fostered a strong reaction to the old medical definition of homosexuality which associated it with gender confusion. Gay writers of the 1970s saw gay liberation, in some measure, as liberation from the oppressive restrictions which society exercised over homosexuals through the effeminate stereotype of the homosexual. The popular gay conception of the homosexual has changed from degenerate effeminacy to "normal" masculinity. Consequently, gay men who want to look "masculine and normal" by developing athletic bodies have taken up exercise. Whereas before the Stonewall Rebellion (1969), the representation of urban homosexual men in athletics was probably equal to or less than their representation in society as a whole, gay men now comprise either a very substantial minority or, in some instances, a majority of the population of urban athletic facilities. For example, YMCA in major North American and European cities have large homosexual memberships. Many North American cities now have athletic clubs which are almost exclusively gay male.

Since athletics offers a subjective feeling of physical power, homosexual men who have felt powerless because of the low social position of their sexual orientation, can find athletics especially significant. They can derive intense satisfaction from excelling in a sport knowing that as "fag-gots" they are beating "macho men" at their own game. Gay liberation encouraged gay athletes to come out. Coming out has made it possible for some to become athletes.

Although there have been "respectable artistic treatments" of the "jock" in gay literature, for example The Front Runner (1974) by Patricia Nell Warren, the most prominent position the jock has in gay culture is probably in gay pornography. One of North America's earliest and most prolific gay pornographers was the Athletic Model Guild of Los Angeles, which has produced soft-core gay pornography since 1945. Other examples of sporty soft-core gay pornography can be found in Scott Madsen's Peak Condition (1985) and in the photos of athletes by Bruce Weber and Christopher Makos which frequently appear in Andy Warhol's magazine Interview. Athletes are often featured in hard-core pornographic publications and videos with titles such as "Jocks," "Spokes," and "These Bases are Loaded."

One of the products of the gay liberation movement has been the creation of specifically gay political and social organizations. Gay athletic clubs, which can be found in major cities across North America, constitute an important aspect of gay community life. The common purpose of gay sports groups is essentially twofold: to promote social interaction, and to provide athletic opportunities for people who share a way of life. The roster of gay community sports clubs is extensive; space affords only a brief sampling of this significant facet of gay culture. In many North American cities the largest gay organizations are sports clubs. There are outing clubs affiliated with the International Gay and Lesbian Outdoor Organization; they
have names like the "Out and Out Club" and organize activities such as bicycle tours, cross-country and down-hill skiing, hiking, camping, canoeing, parachuting and white-water rafting. Included in the list of organized North American gay community sports groups are: Spokes, a cycling club in Vancouver; The San Francisco Gay Women's Softball League; and the Judy Garland Memorial Bowling League in Toronto. The Ramblers Soccer Club of New York City is one of nine teams in the United Nations Soccer League; it is the only non-UN member and the only openly gay team.

There are gay sports governing bodies for many sports. The North American Gay Amateur Athletic Alliance is a non-profit organization dedicated to promoting amateur softball for all persons with a special emphasis on gay participation; it also establishes uniform playing rules and regulations. The International Gay Bowling Association has 65 local affiliates across North America with over ten thousand members. The National Gay Volleyball Association has clubs in over 60 North American cities. Many cities have umbrella sports organizations which interact with other gay community groups and help to coordinate local, national and international competitions. There is the Metropolitan Sports Association in Chicago, the San Francisco Arts and Athletics and the Metropolitan Vancouver Athletic and Arts Association which is a Registered Society and has offices in the Sports British Columbia Building, a provincially funded facility. Although there are gay sports groups in other parts of the world, Australia being an important example, most gay community sports activity at the present takes place in North American cities.

The ideological signification of gay athletics is important. Over the last ten years or so, there has been a shift in focus in the gay liberation movement from the dialectic of oppression and liberation to the experience of gay pride. An important expression of gay pride can be found in gay athletics; in New York City, a major event in the gay pride festivities, one which attracts athletes from all parts of North America, is the five mile Gay Pride Run in Central Park. A prestigious international gay pride event is the Gay Games. Gay liberationists have seized upon athletics as an ideological instrument of gay politics. Athletic events are promoted by gay community organizers to counteract the frequently negative image of homosexuals by emphasizing a picture of health and good citizenship.

Gay community sports have been used for overt political ends. The relations between urban gay communities and police forces are notoriously poor. Many cities, including Vancouver, New York, and San Francisco, have annual competitions between police and gay all-star teams in an effort to improve relations.

Conclusion. The participation of homosexual men and women in athletics is extensive. Their presence in mainstream athletics is often not visible because of the fact that they frequently pass as straight. Their experience in that milieu can be unique and is intimately related to the history of sexuality and popular conceptions of masculinity and athletics. Gay liberation has brought with it a flourishing of gay culture which has produced a plethora of gay teams, clubs, and sports governing bodies across North America, a trend which is spreading to other parts of the world.


Brian Pronger

AUDEN, WYSTAN HUGH (1907–1973)
Anglo-American poet and critic. The child of cultivated, upper-class parents, Auden profited from a traditional British elite schooling. As a student at Christ College, Oxford, he first excelled in science, but shifted to English with the intention of becoming a "great poet." A quick study, Auden acquired an undergraduate reputation as an almost oracular presence, and he began to assemble around him a group of young writers that included Christopher Isherwood (whom he had met at preparatory school), C. Day Lewis, Louis MacNeice, and Stephen Spender. After leaving Oxford in 1928 Auden decided to spend a year in Berlin learning German. He then held a series of school-teaching jobs that allowed time for writing.

Like the other members of his group—who came to be known as "the poets of the thirties"—Auden broke with the pastoral placidity of the Georgian trend in English poetry, seeking to encompass such modern technology and such trends in thought as Freudian psychoanalysis and Marxism. Although he later repudiated their ideological commitments, Auden's early poems have a numinous ambiguity that unfortunately was largely lost in his later more pellucid but often facile work. In his early poetry the exaltation of the figures of the Airman and the Truly Strong Man represents a continuation of the adolescent aesthete's admiration for the "hearty." His work in the 1930s had both the exhuberance and the limitations of youth.

In 1937 he expressed his sympathy for the loyalist cause by visiting Spain, and the following year he traveled to China with Isherwood. In 1940, having become disillusioned with left-wing causes, he converted back to Anglicanism, a change that profoundly affected the character and tone of his writing. With the outbreak of World War II in Europe, he settled in New York, where he met and fell in love with a young man, Chester Kallman, who was destined to be his lifelong companion. This relationship was celebrated in a series of poems to an anonymous and ungendered lover, and also in a deliberately outrageous composition, "The Queen's Masque." This unpublished dramatic composition, intended to be performed for Kallman's twenty-second birthday on February 7, 1943, was not rediscovered until 1988. In 1941 Auden collaborated with the gay composer Benjamin Britten in a chamber opera, Paul Bunyan. Through Kallman, whose knowledge was expert and unflagging, Auden expanded his interest in opera, and the two collaborated on a libretto for Igor Stravinsky's The Rake's Progress, as well as other works. Although actual sexual relations between them ceased after the first years, the two men made a life together based on mutual trust and affection. Auden took charge of earning a living, while Chester excelled in cooking and homemaking. Despite some asperities, their relationship survived not only in New York, but in Ischia on the Mediterranean and in Kirchstetten in Austria, where they spent the summers.

Auden's later work is marked by ambitious cycles, such as A Christmas Oratorio (1945) and The Age of Anxiety (1947), which are technically expert but, for many readers at least, lacking in the charisma of truly great poetry. Partly to make ends meet, Auden produced a considerable body of prose criticism, and this sometimes deals movingly with other homosexual authors. His most explicit homosexual poem is a piece of doggerel called "The Platonic Lay" or "A Day for a
Lay," which is not included in authorized editions of his works. Late in life he had some contacts with the emerging American gay movement, though to some his attitudes seemed old-fashioned and not devoid of self-contempt.

Auden's works are still being edited and published, and consensus on his ultimate status has not been achieved. A recent attempt to show that his work anticipated the feminist and ecology movements is unconvincing. Often courageous in his outspokenness, Auden no doubt suffered at the hands of critics who were uncomfortable with his sexuality. His poetry and prose, which were wide-ranging and copious, retain a strong sense of period: they tell us much of what the thirties were like in Britain, and the forties and fifties in America.


Wayne R. Dynes

AUGUSTINE, SAINT
(354-430)

Bishop of Hippo and one of the Doctors of the Church. Born at Thagaste in North Africa, he was raised as a Christian. As a young man Augustine seems to have been deeply troubled by the strength of his sex drive. Later he recalled how "in the sixteenth year of my flesh... the madness of raging lust exercised its supreme dominion over me." In the course of his studies of rhetoric at Carthage he gradually abandoned his Christian faith. Augustine was drawn instead to Manichaeanism, which held that man was a product of a primal struggle between the high god and his Satanic opponent, whose powers were almost equally great. Although he later abandoned this dualistic belief, important residues of its dark coloration remained with him.

During his youth he formed a very deep bond with another male student. After the premature death of this beloved friend, Augustine movingly remarked: "I still thought my soul and his soul to have been but one soul in two bodies; and therefore was my life a very horror to me, because I would not live by halves. And even therefore perchance was I afraid to die, lest he should wholly die, whom so passionately I had loved." (Confessions, 4:6).

In his thirties Augustine came under the influence of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, and was baptized in 387. He then returned to North Africa, where he became a priest in 391. Four years later he became bishop of Hippo, where he led a demanding life of church administration, theological controversy, and serious writing. His best known works are his autobiography, The Confessions, and his lengthy meditation on Christian history, The City of God, which was occasioned by the news of the sack of Rome in 410.

In keeping with the mainstream views of the Greek and Latin theologians who had preceded him, the mature Augustine maintained that sexual intercourse was lawful only within marriage with the aim of producing offspring—thus excluding birth control. Even within marriage he denied that sexual pleasure could ever be approved as an end in itself. Somewhat exceptionally, he held that, despite the cleansing efficacy of baptism, some taint of the sin of Adam lingered in the very act of procreation through semen which ascended genealogically to our first parent. From such premises Augustine concluded that the individual free will is radically circumscribed, seeing in the capacity of the male member for unsought-after erec-
tion a signal example of the capacities of rebellion found within our own being.

His eloquent advocacy of these rigorist views, grounded as it was in his personal ambivalence toward sexuality, has been widely influential in the Western tradition. That Augustine cannot be considered uniquely responsibly for the intensification of Christian sex negativism is shown by the parallel triumph of asceticism in the Eastern Church where his writings were little known.

If the consequences of Augustine's view for individual self-development have been regrettable, the political conclusions that he drew from them were perhaps more salutary. Government is at best a necessary evil. Since rulers are subject to the same character flaws as other human beings, he warned against the kind of personality cult that has been endemic from Alexander and Augustus to Stalin and Castro. By the same token, he placed no exaggerated faith in popular rule, since the people also are made up of fallible individuals. There can be no political utopia on earth, he counseled, and the best that can be done is to check arbitrary exercise of power through foresight and realism.


Wayne R. Dynes

AUSTRALIA

An affluent, highly urbanized nation with a population of less than twenty million of largely European and minority indigenous (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island) stock, Australia has a significant number of citizens who lead their lives as openly homosexual men and women. This phenomenon and the associated growth of a homosexual subculture, highly developed in the largest cities, Sydney and Melbourne, has emerged since 1970. In that year, for the first time, homosexuals established an open organization, the purpose of which was to demand recognition, equal and just treatment before the law, and an end to discrimination. When one considers the almost taboo nature of homosexuality and the social invisibility of the homosexual before 1970, the progress toward achievement of these goals has been remarkably rapid. Yet it has also been uneven, with male homosexual acts remaining illegal in Tasmania, Western Australia, and Queensland, while only two states, New South Wales and Victoria, have enacted legislation outlawing discrimination. The advent of AIDS, still perceived by some as a "gay disease," has created new problems, apart from the medical issues, which have been only partially resolved.

The Convict Era. White settlement of Australia began in January 1788, as a British penal colony, and the transportation of convicts continued until 1840 in eastern Australia, 1852 in Tasmania, and 1868 in the west. Throughout the transportation period there was a severe imbalance between the sexes, convict and free, and of course large numbers of convicts were kept in relative or complete isolation from the other sex. Ample evidence exists of the prevalence of homosexual behavior, then referred to as "unnatural or abominable crimes"; it is intermittent in the early years but more abundant after the term of Governor Lachlan Macquarie (1810-21).

After five years of settlement Captain Watkin Tench was pleased to note in his memoirs that the convicts' "enormities" did not include "unnatural sins." This state of affairs did not last, and in 1796 Francis Wilkinson became the first man to be charged with buggery (he was acquitted). Many more such charges were to follow. In 1822 an official inquiry into the sexual scandal that resulted from the movement of thirty female prisoners to the (male) prison farm at Emu Plains, west of Sydney, reported the rumor current that
the women had been placed there to prevent "unnatural crimes" on the part of the men. Lesbianism occurred among women prisoners in the female factories. In a secret dispatch of 1843 the Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), Sir Eardley Wilmot, stated that women in the Hobart female factory have "their Fancy-women, or lovers, to whom they are attached with quite as much ardour as they would be to the opposite sex, and practice onanism to the greatest extent."

Select committees of the British Parliament inquiring into transportation in 1832 and 1837 heard much evidence of the prevalence of sodomy in the colonies. Occasionally we find suggestions that it was not a sporadic occurrence but was structured to the extent of involving role-playing and mutual affection. Major James Mudie testified that prisoners called each other "sods" and that at Hyde Park Barracks in Sydney boy prisoners went by names such as Kitty and Nancy. Thomas Cook, a chain-gang prisoner laboring on roadworks in the Blue Mountains west of Sydney in the 1830s, lamented that his gangmates were "so far advanced . . . in depravity" that they openly engaged "in assignations one toward the other" and "kicked, struck or otherwise abused" anyone who dared to condemn "their horrid propensities."

The fullest evidence comes from Norfolk Island, a recidivist penal settlement. A magistrate, Robert Pringle Stuart, sent to investigate conditions on the island in 1846, made it his business to burst unannounced into the prisoners' barracks one night. "On the doors being opened, men were scrambling into their own beds from others, concealment evidently being their object." He continued: "It is my painful duty to state that . . . unnatural crime is indulged in so excess . . . I am told, and I believe, that upwards of 100—I have heard that as many as 150—couples can be pointed out, and moral perception is so completely absorbed that they are said to be 'married,' 'man and wife,' etc. [This in a prisoner population of 600–800.] In a word, the association is not unusually viewed by the convicts as that between the sexes; is equally respected by some of them; and is as much a source of jealousy, rivalry, intrigue and conflict."

Colonial Mateship. The early economic development of the colonies was heavily dependent on pastoralism, and the opening-up of new, unfenced lands for grazing required the use of shepherds. As solitude in the bush tended to produce insanity, the shepherds worked in pairs (or threes), one (or two) tending the sheep, the mate looking after the hut and cooking. This situation is the origin of the Australian tradition of mateship, which later took other forms. Modern writers on it have made much of its quasi-marital nature but have at the same time insisted that it was nonsexual. Yet, while most early witnesses are silent on this score, a few, such as Bishop Ullathorne and Jemas Backhouse, a Quaker missionary, explicitly deprecate the prevalence of sodomy among shepherds and stockmen. In 1848 J. C. Byrne, deploring the absence of women in the "backwoods," stated expressly that "where black gins [women] are unobtainable, there is reason to believe, that the sins for which God punished 'the doomed cities' prevail among the servants of the squatters."

Law. English law came with the colonists, and so buggery [hetero- or homosexual anal intercourse and bestiality] was a felony from the outset. The Offences Against the Person Act (1861) reduced the penalty for buggery to life imprisonment and created new offences of attempted buggery and indecent assault upon a male person, and these provisions were extended to the colonies by an Imperial Act of 1885, the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Around the time of the Federation in 1901 the States all enacted similar laws for themselves. They also enacted statutes—N.S.W. as late as 1955—along the lines of the British Labouchere amendment of 1885, which criminalized consen-
sual "gross indecency between males" even when performed in private.

All such offences were indictable and so tried before a judge and jury. The laws have never been dead-letter laws, though in recent decades there has been a tendency for "offences" not involving violence or coercion or abuse of authority to be prosecuted under various non-criminal statutes having to do with offensive behavior, indecent exposure, soliciting, and the like. Such lesser charges are dealt with summarily by magistrates, and convictions are easier to obtain. There is evidence that in the 1950s and 1960s the New South Wales police used agents provocateurs to induce the commission of offenses.

Following a gay-bashing murder in which police were involved, South Australia became, in 1972, the first state partially to decriminalize homosexual acts between consenting adults, and in 1975 introduced statutory equality for all sexual offenses, gay or straight. Decriminalization followed in the Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory in 1973, in Victoria in 1980, and in New South Wales in 1984. Unsuccessful attempts at law reform were made in Western Australia in 1977 and in Tasmania in 1979 and 1987; only in Queensland has no attempt been made.

Religion and the Churches. Australian anti-gay laws were the legal manifestation of the traditional Christian antipathy to the sodomite. As elsewhere, the Australian churches continued to abominate a sin that seemed all too prevalent. Yet, as elsewhere in the Anglican communion, each Australian capital city has long had at least one High Anglican church with a traditional toleration of homosexuality in the congregation.

In the 1960s, in line with progressive thinking, mainstream Protestant churches moved cautiously toward a less condemnatory attitude and began to support limited law reform. The Roman Catholic and parts of the Anglican church remain unreceptive to revisionist theological trends, and consequently have movements of disaffected homosexual believers working for change from within. Other gay Christians turned to the Metropolitan Community Church established in 1975 as an offshoot to the U.S. gay church of the same name.

Medicine and Psychiatry. In the nineteenth century Australian medicine did not concern itself with homosexuality per se: "It is beyond the range of medical philosophy to divine the special causes for its existence," Dr. J. C. Beaney declared in his Generative System (1872, 1883). In this century, although doubtless many have accepted the psychopathological explanations usual in psychiatric literature, there does not seem to have been any systematic effort to submit homosexuals to medical treatment until the late 1950s when some psychiatrists began to apply aversion therapies and psychosurgery in this area. The issue was one of the first to be addressed by the new gay movement of the 1970s, and the application of these practices to homosexuals has ceased. Although Australia avoided the fashion for sexual psychopathy laws that afflicted the United States from the 1940s to the 1960s, some cooperation between the courts and psychiatrists claiming to be able to cure so-called sex offenders occurred informally.

In its public utterances, represented by editorials and articles in The Medical Journal of Australia, the medical profession has, on the whole, been in advance of general community opinion in calling for reform of social attitudes and the law as they affect homosexuals.

"Camp" Life Before Gay Liberation. Given social attitudes and the legal position, it is hardly surprising that in the latter half of the nineteenth century homosexuality remained secretive, and indeed evidence of it before World War I is adventitious, court records being the most consistent source.

Dr. Beaney told with astonishment of a "respectable" Melbourne wife
who "decoyed into her acquaintance young married women, and compelled them, by her influence, to entertain the same unnatural feelings toward men and women [as she had]." Other lesbians passed as men, as we learn from two cases that have come to light of transvestite women marrying and apparently satisfying their wives. In 1879 the thrice-married Edward Delacy Evans was revealed in the Bendigo Lunacy Ward to be a woman and in 1920 Eugenia Falleni, alias Harry Leo Crawford, was convicted of the murder of the woman she had legally married while passing as a man.

For men as well as women, friendship must have been the most common locus of homosexual relations, but of this and more extended friendship-networks we know little before World War I. A hint of what was possible emerges from a Sydney household of male couples that the police raided in 1916 because neighbors complained about the mysterious comings and goings of "women"—it transpired that some of the men cross-dressed.

The other main "institution" of male homosexual life was the beat, a public place, such as a park, toilet, baths, or beach, where one could expect to encounter sexual partners. Hyde Park in Sydney was a beat from at latest the 1880s until the early 1960s. The importance of the beat, indicated by the creation of a slang term for it, lay not simply in the opportunities for sex it afforded. For some men it was, for good or for ill, what homosexuality meant to them; for others it led to friendships and perhaps entry to a world that would otherwise have remained closed to them.

After World War I, in Sydney and Melbourne, a few cafés, restaurants, and bars were frequented by gays and/or lesbians, who never, however, constituted the exclusive clientele. Such places usually had a reputation for bohemianism. By World War II Sydney had an annual drag-ball called the Artists' Ball, of which Jon Rose gave an hilarious account in his autobiography At the Cross (1960). By the 1950s social clubs had emerged in Sydney but to avoid unwanted attention from the police and the tabloid press elaborate secrecy was necessary. By the late 1960s Sydney had several exclusively gay clubs and wine bars; gay pubs emerged in the 1970s.

Homosexual Emancipation.

Australia had no homophile movement, an absence that was regretted by a liberal social critic shortly after the first homosexual law reform organization was founded in 1969. However, a short-lived lesbian group calling itself Daughters of Bilitis was apparently formed in that same year. In July 1970 in Sydney, inspired by the newly emerged gay liberation movement in the United States, John Ware and Christabel Poll formed the first widely-publicized gay-run group. The Campaign Against Moral Persecution or CAMP (camp being then the usual Australian homosexual slang term for "homosexual") soon had branches in most states. In 1971 groups using the name gay liberation emerged, and some gay liberationists dismissed CAMP as "reformist." However, both CAMP and gay liberation groups organized social events and consciousness-raising sessions for their members, and both participated in demonstrations intended to assert gay pride, demand gay rights, and protest against instances of discrimination, which now for the first time victims were prepared to make public.

As public awareness and acceptance of homosexuals grew (in the first public opinion survey on the issue in 1967 only 22% of respondents supported homosexual law reform, but in 1976 68% did so), the gay movement found less need to employ confrontationist tactics and became increasingly involved in the mainstream political processes. Gay groups made submissions to the Royal Commission on Human Relationships whose final report in 1977 made many recommenda-
tions to improve the legal and social position of homosexuals, and began to deal directly with politicians and governments.

At the same time, the number and complexity of homosexual institutions increased and a distinct subculture emerged in the largest cities. A gay press was vital in this development. The first gay magazine, *Camp Ink*, was produced in Sydney in November 1970 by CAMP and lasted some four years. The first truly commercial magazine appeared in 1972. There are now two national monthlies, the older founded in 1975, and a number of free community newspapers, professionally produced and paid for by advertising. Gay publishing of books has been slower to develop and remains embryonic.

In 1975 the first national gay and lesbian conference was held, and for eleven years these gatherings provided a useful forum for political, cultural, and social exchange. They helped to boost morale among activists who were now increasingly involved in lobbying for law reform and anti-discrimination legislation. After failures in Western Australia and Tasmania, this process finally had a significant success in Victoria in 1980.

An unprovoked police attack on peaceful Gay Pride marchers in 1978, arrests then and at subsequent demonstrations against police brutality, and the long but successful defense against the charges led to a revival of the flagging movement in New South Wales. The police were humiliated and the political and legal skills of gays clearly demonstrated. Nevertheless, the struggle for law reform took another six years. The march acquired in the process a new symbolic meaning and, moved from wintry June to late-summer February, became the Sydney Gay Mardi Gras, which is now the city’s largest annual street parade.

Perhaps the most striking sign of the changed situation of homosexuals in Australian society is the extent to which gays and lesbians are involved in the official structures created to respond to the AIDS crisis. Since in Australia the majority of the AIDS cases are homosexual men, this involvement is appropriate and desirable; yet it would have been as unimaginable twenty years ago as the disease itself.


**G. R. Simes**

**AUSTRIA**

This European country traces its existence to 1180 when Frederick Barbarossa convicted Henry the Lion the heir to Bavaria proper from its eastern extension which became Austria. Defeating Otokar I of Bohemia in 1278, the Emperor Rudolf I granted Austria as a fief to his son Albert I, the first Habsburg to rule there. From 1278 until 1918 Habsburgs reigned in Austria, adding to their domain more by astute and fortunate marriages than by conquest.

Joseph II (1741–1790), great-great-grand nephew of the emperor Rudolf II (possibly homosexual) and son of Maria Theresa, was one of the most admired of Austrian monarchs. Inspired by Voltaire and the Encyclopedists and by the example of Frederick the Great of Prussia, he began in 1761 (after his mother associated him into the government) to draw up memoranda, many of which he put into effect after her death. Joseph was the first monarch in Europe to emancipate the Jews (in 1791). In reforming the penal code, he followed the humane principles of Count Cesare Beccaria, eliminating torture and cruel and unusual punishments, reducing...
the number of capital offenses, and decriminalizing many activities. He reduced the penalty for homosexuality from death at the stake to life imprisonment.

In Joseph II’s time, Vienna emerged as the musical capital of Europe with such giants as Mozart and Haydn. Franz Schubert, the only major composer of the group actually to have been born in Vienna, was probably homosexual. Suspicions that have been voiced about Beethoven’s interest in his nephew are hard to substantiate.

The Habsburg Empire that Maria Theresa and Joseph II had solidified endured the revolutions and Napoleonic wars and rose under Metternich during the Congress of Vienna to dominate European diplomacy until his overthrow by the Revolution of 1848, during which the 18-year old Franz Joseph succeeded upon his father’s abdication. This grand-nephew of Joseph II reigned until 1916, trying to patch together the old system against the rising tides of nationalism and socialism, and to hold together his dominion served by three armies—a standing army of soldiers, a sitting army of bureaucrats, and a creeping army of informers. The decadence of Franz Joseph’s reign contrasted with the brilliant intellectual and artistic life of his capital, which became one of the gay centers of Europe.

In the field of sex research, the first major figure of modern times was Richard Freiherr von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902), called from Germany to Graz and then to Vienna, which had become the world’s leading medical school. His *Psychopathia Sexualis* (first edition 1886) disclosed to the educated public the existence of homosexuality and other sexual “perversions,” of which he assembled a picturesque dossier on the basis of his own and others’ observations mainly in prisons and insane asylums that left the public with the conviction that all who engaged in forbidden sexual activity were in some way “mentally ill.” At a symposium he criticized Freud’s presentation of his seduction theory. Also, Moritz Kaposi (1837–1902) was professor of dermatology at Vienna from 1875 until his death; in 1872 he had published the article that first described Kaposi’s sarcoma, which later became significant in AIDS.

The misogynist and Jewish anti-Semite Otto Weininger, who committed suicide in 1903 on discovering too much of the feminine in his own personality, invented the modern concept of bisexuality—or perhaps borrowed it from the Berlin physician Wilhelm Fliess, who had not published it. Anna Freud seems to have had a long-term lesbian relationship with an American woman in the Vienna of the 1920s. The leading modernist writer Robert Musil described in *Young Törless* (1906) how two older boys at a preparatory school he attended forced a younger boy to have sexual relations with them. The witness, presumably the author, had a nervous breakdown. Hermann Broch’s *The Death of Vergil* (1945), which he completed after his emigration to America, relates Vergil’s musings about the boys he loved.

The Austrian penal code of 1852, which criminalized lesbianism, reduced the penalties imposed by the Josephine code for male homosexuality, and generally came closer to the provisions of the Prussian code of the same year. But the existence of the law did not prevent Vienna from having a lively homosexual subculture at the turn of the century, with its cafés, restaurants, bathhouses, and places of rendezvous all under the surveillance of the police, who like their counterparts in Berlin kept systematic lists of those who engaged in homosexual activity.

The Scientific-Humanitarian Committee founded in Berlin in 1897 acquired a branch in Vienna in 1906 under the leadership of the engineer Joseph Nicoladoni and the psychoanalyst Wilhelm Stekel. Freud is reported to have made small donations to it, and Isidor Sadger used the periodical of the Committee to locate subjects for his (not particularly
sympathetic) psychoanalytic studies. Among the minor gay literary figures of this time were Emil Mario Vacano, Karl Michael Freiherr von Lewetzow, Joseph Kitir, and Emerich Graf Stadion, who published in the journal Poetische Flugblättern, edited by Kitir.

In 1901 the writer Minna Wettstein-Adelt published under the pseudonym Aimée Duc a novel entitled Sind es Frauen? [Are They Women?] that depicts a circle of self-consciously lesbian women in Geneva, the center of which is a Russian named Minotschka Fernandoff. The feminist Marie von Najmajer (1844-1904), born in Hungary, saluted the new century with a “Hymn to the Daughters of the Twentieth Century” that had strong lesbian overtones. Yet the lesbian subculture of Vienna took little interest in the literary treatment of the natives of the city; it preferred works showing the Viennese lesbian abroad or the foreign lesbian drawn to the Austrian capital. Compared with the network of enterprises catering to the male homosexual the lesbian subculture remained small and marginal.

One of the myths that later circulated abroad was that the Viennese of the early decades of the century were sexually repressed to the point of neuroticism, when in fact the capital had much the same ambiance in contrast with the provinces as did Paris in relation to the rest of France. As the focal point of the homosexual emancipation movement, Berlin garnered more than its share of attention, but Vienna until 1918 was the cosmopolitan center of a multi-national empire where erotic pleasure was always sought—and frequently found. Ludwig Wittgenstein cruised the Prater, where the ferris wheel is located, during the 1920s, and often went to a classy café, a chess club with newspapers by day and a flaming gay club at night. After the 1938 Anschluss, which joined Austria to Hitler’s Reich, a number of the country’s homosexuals became victims of the holocaust.

The strength of the Catholic church in Austria, particularly the state that remained after the Treaty of Saint-Germain, kept law reform from occurring until 1971, two years after the Federal Republic of Germany amended Paragraph 175. There is a higher age of consent for male homosexuals (18) than for heterosexuals and lesbians (14). Moreover, article 220 of the 1971 penal code provides for up to six months imprisonment for anyone who advocates or states approval of homosexuality, while article 221 stipulates the same penalty for anyone belonging to an organization that "favors homosexual lewdness." These provisions have never been enforced. The major gay organizations Homosexuelle Initiative [HOSI] operate quite successfully under the shadow of this legislation, while gathering data about gay people in the Warsaw pact nations of Eastern Europe. From 1979 this information has been recorded in the quarterly Lambda Nachrichten [HOSI Wien], which even received an official press subsidy in 1987. Vienna also has a gay and lesbian community center, Rosa Lila Villa.


William A. Percy

AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY

The concept of the authoritarian personality was introduced to social psychology by the work of Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno and his associates in a major study published in 1950. According to this model the authoritarian personality accepts middle-class conventionality because it enjoys widespread acceptance and support, but has not internalized the meaning of the accompanying social norms; is hostile and aggressive toward outsider groups, especially ethnic minorities and relatively powerless, marginalized deviant groups; and glorifies its own authority.
figures. Adorno had been a member of the Frankfurt school of sociology which the Nazi seizure of power exiled to the United States, and the formulation of the notion had begun in Germany through analysis of the mass psychology of the fateful years of the early 1930s, when authoritarian and democratic creeds contended for rule. Originally the contrasting democratic personality type was labeled the “socialist personality,” revealing the leftist bias that hovered over the creation of the antinomy. And indeed one problem with the idea of the authoritarian personality is the difficulty that many researchers have in acknowledging that authoritarianism is found as much on the left as on the right. Put another way, the notion of the authoritarian personality, though not devoid of content, bonds all too easily with the left-liberal prejudices and folklore of the contemporary intelligentsia, serving to confirm its disdain of conservatives of every stripe and to suggest that beliefs linked with the right stem from a character disorder that occludes a “correct” perception of reality.

Academic psychology had until the 1950s failed to discover any correlation between personality structure and political attitudes. The contribution of Adorno and his associates was to trace a common denominator between ethnic chauvinism, political and economic conservatism, anti-Semitism, and authoritarianism. As an indirect measure of prejudice and a measure of “prefascism” in the personality, they developed the F scale soliciting expressions of agreement or disagreement with 29 broadly phrased assertions. Continuing review and criticism of the early work and its theoretical presuppositions have led to the development of new scales and also to debates among professional psychologists. For example, there has even been academic controversy over whether left-wing authoritarianism exists, when any insightful observer of the left knows that this is the watershed between Communists and Social Democrats. The overarching problem is to determine how it is that myths and fabrications and stereotypes come to be entertained in sets, so that if one or two are acquired the others are likely to follow.

A hallmark of the authoritarian personality is preoccupation with deviations from the norm of sexual conduct and advocacy of harsh penalties for “perverts” and the like. While certain issues that elicited sharp contrasts between authoritarian and democratic personality types in the 1940s have become irrelevant because the political controversy surrounding them has faded, the rise of a militant gay liberation movement after 1969 has made one’s tolerance of homosexuality a clear index of personality. A recently developed tool called the Attitudes Toward Homosexuals [ATH] scale asks agreement or disagreement with such statements as “Homosexuals should be locked up to protect society” and “In many ways, the AIDS disease currently killing homosexuals is just what they deserve.” Authoritarianism accounted for 29% of the variation in the subjects’ hostility toward homosexuals; fear and self-righteousness supplied nearly all the rest. Fear of a dangerous world—and of homosexual assertiveness in it—and self-righteousness justifying punitive sanctions are what trigger the authoritarian’s rage and vindictiveness. The growing role of anti-homosexual themes in the propaganda of conservative and clerical social movements attests to the significance of homophobia for the mass psychology of the present day.


Warren Johansson

AUTobiography
See Biography and Autobiography.
AUTOEROTICISM
See Masturbation.

AVERTION THERAPY
This type of modification of human conduct is grounded in a basic principle of behaviorism, the stimulus-response mechanism. If pleasant experiences continue to be regularly associated with a particular stimulus the behavioral response is said to be positively reinforced; unfavorable experiences cause negative reinforcement or deconditioning. Thus Pavlov's dogs came to salivate at the ringing of a bell when this sound regularly preceded feeding, substituting electric shocks for the feeding would cancel the response of salivation, replacing it with symptoms of fear. Applied to homosexuality, it is posited that if the favorable associations evoked by the same-sex bodies are displaced by unpleasant ones (in the form of electric shocks or a nausea-inducing drug), while a pattern of pleasant feelings is brought into play with respect to the body of the opposite sex, the subject will shift from a homosexual orientation to a heterosexual one. In its negative-reinforcement aspects aversion therapy amounts to a routinization of punishment. The therapy known as Behavior Modification is similar in its reliance on the principle of conditioning, but it tends to emphasize rewards more than punishments.

When imposed involuntarily—as in a prison or hospital setting—aversion therapy raises strong moral questions. As a result of unfavorable publicity it is rarely applied today to any but pedophiles, regarded as a danger to society. Even here, however, the ethical questions persist. In fairness, one should note that many proponents of these techniques have protested their involuntary use, asking that such interventions cease.

Most practitioners of aversion therapy maintain that they act only at the request of the patient. Yet here, despite claims of "cures" on the part of some advocates, doubts as to efficacy of the treatment arise. While aversion therapy may succeed for a time in causing the subject to feel revulsion toward his or her homosexuality, it has failed to instill heterosexual desire where a basis for this was lacking. Thus the "cured" clients were almost always bisexuals with a strong preexisting heterosexual component; the therapeutic intervention simply deleted the homosexual component. Even here it is by no means certain that the effect will prove lasting, inasmuch as the deconditioning has a tendency to fade over time so that the homosexual side may eventually return.

Some behavioral therapists assert that they would use such techniques only to help the homosexual to adjust to his condition. Here the problems addressed would be from the realm of daily conduct (as seen, for example, in excessive timidity that would prevent the client from finding partners) and from the area of sexual functioning. Once again, because of the fading principle, one may doubt that the results are permanent. It may be that, however, in a larger program designed to achieve the patient's self-actualization, aversion procedures may have a specific instrumental value. The harnessing of the techniques to a broader, humanistic endeavor would help to address the criticism of depth psychologists and others, who assert that aversion techniques and behavior modification affect only the surface, neglecting the inner life of the client.


Ward Houser
AZAÑA, MANUEL
(1880–1940)

President of Spain, 1931–33 and 1936–39. Azaña was a man of letters before entering politics. With his long-time companion, the theater director Cipriano Rivas Cherif, whose sister he was to marry in 1929, he edited the literary magazine La Pluma (1920–23), and then joined the board of the more political España (1923–24). In the late 1920s he published a novel, Garden of the Monks, dedicated to Rivas Cherif, and much literary scholarship. Elected president of the influential Atheneum of Madrid in 1930, Azaña emerged as a national leader with the proclamation of the Second Republic in 1931. It was he who declared that Spain was no longer Catholic, and an opposition to Catholicism, support for personal liberty, and a belief in the power of the intellect were at the center of his political philosophy.


Daniel Eisenberg