

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.

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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 socie-

ties 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 boy-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 Sudanese 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 Hulstaert'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 voodoo(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 Mwangi'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 *nkhontshana* 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 Mombassa, 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.

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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