

ual behavior with Marxist immanentism. See also Bert Hansen, "Historical Construction of Homosexuality." *ibid.*, 66-73.

425. PARKER, WILLIAM. "Homosexuality in History: An Annotated Bibliography," *JH*, 6:1/2 (Fall-Winter 1980-81), 191-210.

Classified selection of 123 items, all in the English language.

426. SPRAGUE, GREGORY A. "Male Homosexuality in Western Culture: The Dilemma of Identity and Subculture in Historical Research." *JH*, 10:3/4 (Winter 1984), 29-43.

Reviews recent scholarship on the emergence of homosexual identities and subcultures in Western societies.

427. STONE, LAWRENCE. "Sex in the West." *New Republic* (July 8, 1985), 25-37.

A noted historian's thoughtful synthesis for the lay reader of publications in the history of sexuality over the last decade.

428. TAYLOR, GORDON RATTRAY. *Sex in History*. New York: Vanguard, 1954. 336 pp.

Offers a dualistic scheme of history as a succession of "matrist" and "patrist" eras. Only in the former, in which women had high status, did homosexuality come to flourish openly. Willful.

429. USSEL, JOSEF MARIA WILLEM VAN. *Sexualunterdrückung*. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1970. 248 pp.

A Belgian scholar interprets the sexual history of Europe as a pattern of repression--a view that is probably overstated. This work, translated from a Dutch original (1968), derives from a thesis emphasizing the 18th century, which remains the most useful aspect of the book in its several published versions.

B. ANCIENT NEAR EAST AND EGYPT

The civilizations of the ancient Near East, here embracing an arc from Egypt to Iran, are difficult for the nonspecialist to penetrate. Because of the hermetic complexities of the written and archaeological evidence, progress in our knowledge is of necessity in the hands of trained specialists. In evaluating the citations listed below it is well to bear in mind that some are relatively specialized and technical, while others are addressed to the lay reader. In addition to their intrinsic importance, the civilizations of the ancient Near East are significant as a foundation for ancient Greece (see III.C) and a major influence on the Bible (see VII.B).

430. ALDRED, CYRIL. **Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt: a New Study.** New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968. 272 pp.
See Chapter 8, "The Pathology of Akhenaten" (pp. 133-39), advancing a dubious medical explanation for the heretical ruler's androgynous appearance, which has often been remarked.
431. BIGGS, ROBERT D. **ŠA.ZI.GA: Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations in Texts from Cuneiform Sources.** Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1967. 86 pp.
Texts shedding light on the attitudes toward sexuality in general, and about homosexuality, including anal intercourse. See also his: "Medicine in Ancient Mesopotamia," **History of Science**, 8 (1969), 94-105.
432. BOTTÉRO, JEAN, and H. PETSCHOW. "Homosexualität," **Reallexikon der Assyriologie**, 4 [1975], 459-68.
Well-documented survey in French of ancient Mesopotamian written and artistic evidence.
433. BULLOUGH, VERN. "Attitudes toward Deviant Sex in Ancient Mesopotamia," **Journal of Sex Research**, 7:3 (1971), 184-203.
Argues that there were fewer prohibitions against sex in these early societies than in our own time.
434. BULLOUGH, VERN. "Homosexuality as Submissive Behavior," **Journal of Sex Research**, 9:4 (1973), 283-88.
Argues, chiefly from mythological evidence, that the Egyptians used anal intercourse to symbolize dominance. For a broader perspective on ancient Egypt, see the author's **Sexual Variance in Society and History** (New York: Wiley, 1976), 58-73.
435. DEAKIN, TERENCE J. "Evidence for Homosexuality in Ancient Egypt," **International Journal of Greek Love**, 1:1 (1966), 31-38.
A useful survey, critical and well referenced.
436. DORNSEIFF, FRANZ. "Ägyptische Liebeslieder, Hoheslied, Sappho, Theokrit," **Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft**, 90 (1931), 588-601.
Detects an Egyptian model for Sappho's poetry.
437. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, JACQUES. **Symbols and Values in Zoroastrianism: Their Survival and Renewal.** New York: Harper and Row, 1966. 167 pp.
In Iran the procreative ethic of Zoroastrianism produced sometimes virulent condemnations of homosexuality, though Herodotus (1:135) mentions it as flourishing there (p. 149 ff.).
438. GOEDICKE, HANS. "Unrecognized Sportings," **Journal**

of the American Research Center in Egypt, 6 (1967), 97-102.

Maxim 32 of the Instructions to Ptahhotep (Papyrus Prisse 14.4-6) is interpreted (uncertainly) as an admonition to refrain from pederastic assault after meeting objections to advances.

439. GRIFFITHS, JOHN GWYN. **The Conflict of Horus and Seth.** Chicago: Argonaut, 1969. 182 pp.
Interpretation of key Egyptian mythological texts with salient homoerotic features. See also his: **The Origins of Osiris and His Cult** (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980; 287 pp.), p. 15.
440. HELD, GEORGE F. "Parallels between The Gilgamesh Epic and Plato's Symposium," **Journal of Near Eastern Studies**, 42 (1983), 133-41.
Close reading of the language of Gilgamesh's dream reveals its homoerotic character. Translations of the epic tend to be bowdlerized in this and other regards. Note also an earlier article by Thorkild Jacobsen, "How Did Gilgamesh Oppress Uruk?" **Acta Orientalia**, 8 (1930), 70 ff.; as well as Giuseppe Furlani, "L'epopea di Gilgamesh come inno all'amicizia," **Belfagor**, 1 (1946), 577-89. See also: A. D. Kilmer; and B. Thorbjornsrud, below.
441. HILLERS, DELBERT R. "The Bow of Aqhat: The Meaning of a Mythological Theme," in: Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. (ed.), **Orient and Occident.** Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon und Bercker, 1973, pp. 70-80.
Transvestism, eunuchism, and male cult prostitution in the ancient Near East.
442. HOFFMAN, RICHARD J. "Vices, Gods, and Virtues: Cosmology as a Mediating Factor in Attitudes toward Male Homosexuality," **JH**, 9:2/3 (1983-84), 27-44.
Using historical and anthropological evidence, argues a contrast between monotheism and polytheism with regard to male homosexuality. Speculative.
443. HOFFNER, HARRY A., JR. "Incest, Sodomy and Bestiality in the Ancient Near East," in: Hoffner (ed.), **Orient and Occident.** Kevalaer: Verlag Butzon und Bercker, 1973, pp. 81-90.
Comparative study of texts from different regions of the ancient Near East.
444. KILMER, ANNE DRAFFKORN. "A Note on an Overlooked Word Play in the Akkadian Gilgamesh," in: G. Van Driel et al. (eds.), **Zikir Šumim: Assyriological Studies Presented to F. R. Kraus on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday.** Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982, pp. 128-32.
On homosexual puns in the Gilgamesh epic.
445. LAMBERT, W. G. "Morals in Ancient Mesopotamia," **Ex**

- orientale lux**, 15 (1957-58), 184-96.
Reveals some striking contrasts with our own attitudes.
446. LECLANT, JEAN. "Les textes de la Pyramide de Pépi I (Saqqara)," **Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Comptes-Rendus**, 1977, pp. 269-290.
For an Old Kingdom text from Saqqara on the relation between Osiris and Seth, see pp. 278-79.
447. MANNICHE, LISE. "Some Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Sexual Life," **Acta Orientalia**, 38 (1977), 11-23.
See pp. 14-15 for brief comments on male homosexuality and lesbianism.
448. MONTET, PIERRE. "Le fruit défendu," **Kémi: Revue de Philologie et d'Archéologie Egyptiennes et Coptes**, 11 (1950), 85-116.
Discusses problems of translating early Egyptian texts that seem to forbid homosexuality.
449. MORAN, W. L. "New Evidence from Mari on the History of Prophecy," **Biblica**, 50 (1969), 15-56.
Possible citations from Mesopotamian palace correspondence to homosexual favorites of the king, and to homosexual cult officials.
450. MORET, ALEXANDRE. **Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique**. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902. (Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Etudes, 15).
For symbolic divine homosexual embraces in the coronation rites of Ramses II and II, see pp. 45-48, 100-01, 106-08. See also his: **Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte**. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902; Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Etudes, 14), pp. 22-24, 99-101.
451. NIBLEY, HUGH. **The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment**. Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1976. 305 pp.
For description of the ritual coronation embraces of the Egyptian king, see pp. 241-66.
452. POSENER, GEORGES. "Le conte de Neferkaré et du général Sisiné," **Revue d'Égyptologie**, 11 (1957), 119-37.
Text, translation and commentary and of Middle Kingdom Egyptian story of King Pepy II's (2355-2261 B.C.) amorous trysts with his general. See also his: "Sur l'emploi euphématisé de hftj(w) 'ennemi(s)," **Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache**, 96 (1969), 30-35.
453. PRITCHARD, JAMES B. (ed.). **Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament**. Third ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969. 710 pp.
In this standard collection of translations, see pp. 34-35

(Egyptian Protestation of Guiltlessness), p. 181 (Middle Assyrian Laws), and p. 196 (Hittite Laws: father-son incest is a capital offense).

454. REEDER, GREG. "Journey to the Past: Egypt and a Gay Tomb?" **Advocate** (May 12, 1983), 25ff.

Finds homosexuality in an Old Kingdom tomb's frescos. The tomb is published in Ahmed M. Moussa and Hartwig Altenmüller, **Das Grab des Nianchnun und Chnumhotep**. (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1977; 180 pp. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, 21).

455. RIEFSTAHL, ELIZABETH. "An Enigmatic Faience Figure," in: **Miscellanea Wilbouriana** (Brooklyn Museum), vol. 1, p. 137ff.

An ithyphallic figurine found in a tomb at Lisht is cautiously interpreted as a catamite for the enjoyment of the deceased.

456. THORBJORNSRUD, BERIT. "What Can the Gilgamesh Myth Tell Us about Religion and the View of Humanity in Mesopotamia?" **Temenos**, 19 (1983), 112-37.

Interprets the relationship of Gilgamesh and Enkidu as a homosexual friendship that entails the rejection of Ishtar, the female principle. Much later, the Assyrians prohibited male homosexuality and abolished the cult prostitution connected with the shrines of Ishtar.

457. VELDE, H. TE. **Seth, God of Confusion**. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967. 183 pp.

This standard work on the somewhat sinister Egyptian God Seth includes discussion of his homoerotic relation with Horus.

458. WESTENDORF, WOLFHART. "Homosexualität," **Lexikon der Ägyptologie**, 2 (1977), cols. 1272-74.

Concise summary of current knowledge about ancient Egyptian homosexuality, with references.

C. GREECE AND ROME

Interest in Greek and Roman homosexuality as a subject begins with the Renaissance, as part of the learned enterprise of humanistic philology, which provided "cover" for the exploration of pederastic themes. In the 18th century, neoclassicism sparked a new wave of interest, as seen in the career of J. J. Winckelmann, who is often regarded as the first modern art historian. With new critical methods and the beginnings of field archaeology, the 19th century revolutionized the study of the ancient past. Classical philology played an important part in the

formation of the ideas of such homosexual scholars as J. A. Symonds and K. H. Ulrichs. Since about 1965 there has been a fresh wave of classical scholarship throwing light on (homo)sexuality by profiting from the removal of taboos. See also Ancient Art (VI.B), for the important subject of vase painting, a medium that also yields social and historical data. For ancient medicine, see XXIII.D. The classical sources themselves, which exist in many editions, are not listed here as such; see the bibliographies in the monographs of K. J. Dover (491), F. Buffière (477), and S. Lilja (536), as well as the Personal Names Index.

459. AFRICA, THOMAS. "Homosexuals in Greek History," *Journal of Psychohistory*, 9:4 (1982), 401-20. Focusing largely on the relatively neglected Hellenistic period, the author attempts a biographical approach, which is marred by anachronistic psychoanalytic assumptions. For a critique, suggesting homophobia on Africa's part, see Fernando Gonzalez-Reigosa and Angel Velez-Diaz, *ibid.*, 10:4 (1983), 511-19; followed by Africa's intemperate response, *ibid.*, 11:1 (1983), 129-32.
460. ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, HENRI D.' *La famille celtique*. Paris: Bouillon, 1905. 221 pp. The appendix (pp. 187-199) treats the question: were the ancient Celts homosexual?
461. BABUT, DANIEL. "Les Stoiciens et l'amour," *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, 76 (1963), 55-63. Refutes Flaceliere's claim that the later Stoic thinkers condemned homosexual love. See also J. M. Rist, *Stoic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 56-69.
462. BAIRD, LORRAYNE Y. "Priapus gallinaceus: The Role of the Cock in Fertility and Eroticism in Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages," *Studies in Iconography*, 7-8 (1981-82), 81-111. Extensively documented study on the erotic connotations of the rooster. "In ancient Greece and surrounding areas, the most common erotic association of the cock ... seems to have been with homosexual affairs."
463. BALSDON, J. P. V. D. *Romans and Aliens*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979. 310 pp. This encyclopedic work helps to situate Roman concepts of pederasty in the framework of their attitudes toward foreigners. See pp. 225-27.
464. BERNAY, JÉRÔME. "Folies romaines: les homosexuels dans l'oeuvre de Juvénal," *Arcadie*, no. 259-60 (July-August 1975), 356-64. Characters in the poet's satires. See also his: "La