

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 Chinchá (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 [H]acari valley (south of Nazca), threatening to burn down whole towns if anyone else engaged in sodomy. Again in Chinchá, 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, archeological 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 Atacameno, 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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Stephen O. Murray

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