

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 homosexuality of Melanesia.

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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 ephube 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

Hadrian's Memoirs (New York, 1954). The great Portuguese writer Fernando Pessoa published an English poem on the theme in 1918. Antinous remains synonymous with the beauty of late adolescence, forever preserved from decay by premature death.

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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 exorcise 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 antihomosexuality. 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-