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BROTHELS

Because of the clandestinity in which they have been shrouded, it is difficult to essay a history and typology of houses of male prostitution. Where demand was present, however, generally means would be found to satisfy it. Often male prostitutes would be included—as they are today in Mexico—as a sideline of the female brothel, men being the clients of both. Secular houses of prostitution must be distinguished from locales where sacred prostitutes were available.

Historical Perspectives. In fourth-century Athens houses existed in which attractive boys were readily available. There seems to have been no need for concealment, as their owners paid a special tax. Attractive slaves were freely traded for use in such establishments. Athenian law strictly insisted that only slaves or metics (foreigners resident in the city), not free-born citizens, could be inmates. Occasionally, as in the case of the handsome Phaedrus, a well-born war captive who became a member of Socrates' circle, a boy would catch the fancy of a client who would buy and free him.

While male prostitutes existed in medieval Europe, their situations are hard to assess, in part because the category of house of prostitution merged, as it had often done in the Roman Empire and still does in many countries, with that of the bathhouse (the "stews" or "bagnio"). The institution flourished in medieval and later Islam, though what connections it had with Europe is uncertain. In China boy brothels were known to exist in profusion from Sung (960–1279) times. In the late nineteenth century, European travelers report visiting a then-characteristic type of brothel situated on a junk.

Nineteenth-Century Paris. From early nineteenth-century Paris we have an exceptionally detailed report of a male brothel in the Rue du Doyenne, which even had its own resident physicians. This establishment was closed by the police in 1826. François-Eugène Vidocq, in his *Voileurs* (1837), mentions an establishment run by a certain Cottin for the benefit of pederasts in the Paris of the July Monarchy. The ex-police chief Louis Canler reported in his *Mémoires* that an individual nicknamed *la mère des tantes*, "the mother of the queans," kept a house of male prostitution that attracted a varied clientele. Under the Second Empire Paris had a world-renowned male brothel kept by an elderly proprietor who had been a hustler in his youth but was left destitute by the Revolution of 1848. Toward 1860 he organized his establishment in such a manner that clients of every social and economic class could frequent its premises. The room corresponded in price to the degree of luxury that it afforded, and could be rented by the hour or by the day, as well as reserved by correspondence in advance. Likewise a customer with a particular sexual preference could arrange to have his desires satisfied by an appropriate partner, and if he was not pressed for time, even without advance notice he could have a prompt search made for the hustler of his choice. The proprietor energetically managed the affairs of the brothel, aided by the pan-European notoriety which it enjoyed among both potential clients and aspiring employees. Thus modern capitalist methods of business administration filtered down to the market for illicit sexual pleasures in the prosperous France of Napoleon III.

The Cleveland Street Affair. Victorian London was to be scandalized by the discovery on July 4, 1889 of a male brothel at 19 Cleveland Street in the West End. This aspect of the sexual underworld of London had been familiar to Henry Spencer Ashbee, who had written that if discretion did not forbid it, "it would be easy to name

men of the very highest positions in diplomacy, literature and the army who at the present day indulge in these idiosyncrasies, and to point out the haunts they frequent." What particularly alarmed the British authorities was that messengers from the General Post Office were being recruited as hustlers for a brothel that catered to "the most abominable of all vices." For the British press of that day the sordid facts of the case were virtually unmentionable, even by way of euphemism, and only the peripheral aspects were publicized at the time, thanks to Henry Labouchere, who had also been responsible for the provisions on "gross indecency" in the **Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885**. The proprietor of the house from the latter part of that year until the scandal broke was Charles Hammond, who fled the country on July 6, 1889, and a few months later took up residence in Seattle, joining a long list of British exiles and émigrés. He had kept a roster of his clients that fell into the hands of the police when the premises were raided. The conduct of the case revealed the inequity of class justice in the prosecution of sexual offenses, as the wealthy and powerful figures compromised by the disclosures found underlings in the field of law enforcement who did their best to obstruct the investigation.

The Contemporary Scene. The male house of prostitution continues to exist at the present day. Its raison d'être is the same as that of a legitimate enterprise, that is, to make a profit by satisfying the demands of customers who will patronize the establishment again and again. The brothel offers the client the assurance of full protection against being cheated, robbed, assaulted, or blackmailed during or after the sexual encounter; furthermore, the client, who may be socially prominent or in a sensitive position in political life or in the diplomatic or intelligence community, is shielded from public exposure of his homosexuality, which would make his existence impossible. In one typical estab-

lishment, the brothel owner carefully screens applicants to exclude those with criminal records or a history of hepatitis or venereal disease. The would-be male prostitute is usually a model, sometimes an aspiring actor, who takes on the trade to supplement his income. The owner interviews the candidate to determine the character of his own preferences; to have qualms is perfectly acceptable, as he is not disqualified for not desiring a partner of another race or refusing to participate in sadomasochistic activities. The versatile applicant is preferred, but one who is extremely attractive will be accepted even if he takes the active role only. The owner asks the candidate whether he objects to having nude photographs of himself appear in magazines or motion pictures; such exposure usually precludes a further career as a commercial model. The applicant is finally required to perform in a situation approximating one with a client; if he proves impotent under these conditions he is disqualified. If he passes the test he is photographed in the nude with his penis both relaxed and erect. The owner carefully records the exact dimensions of the virile member. The photographic and other data are, with additional vital statistics, then entered in a book which is shown to prospective clients. The owner warns his new employee not to have sexual contact with others in the house, as this causes conflicts and undesirable attachments among the staff.

The financial arrangement consists of a fixed fee for a stated period of time, which in certain establishments is split on a prescribed basis between the management and the prostitute, who retains any tips that he receives from the client. Minimum fees for first-class establishments have risen with inflation, and may be as high as \$225 for a single encounter. Prostitution is characterized by the commercialization of the entire relationship: emotional indifference to the customer, barter, and promiscuity. The employees of the brothel rarely use their real

names, only assumed ones; they are cautioned not to become emotionally involved with their clients or to see them outside the business context, and also not to give customers their real names, addresses, or telephone numbers. For economic reasons, the house seeks to control the channels of contact between the client and the prostitute.

The prostitute is expected to maintain a youthful and attractive exterior. The hair must be carefully groomed and not too long, while body hair is shaved off or removed with depilatory creams. The clothing worn by the male prostitute must correspond to the image that he desires to project, whether as an escort for dinner in an exclusive restaurant or as an habitue of leather bars. At the outset the employment can be financially rewarding and emotionally gratifying, but as time goes by it looms more and more as a dead end, financially and emotionally, as age and the strain of the sexual routine take their toll. The prostitute often needs drugs or alcohol or both in order to perform on demand, and these stimulants are ruinous to the peak of physical attractiveness that the successful provider of sexual services must maintain. The time span of a career in this field is seldom more than three years, but as the house has a steady supply of new applicants, it can always find replacements for those who retire.

See also *Kadesh; Prostitution.*

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BUDDHISM

A spiritual tradition founded in northern India in the sixth to fifth century B.C. by Siddhartha Gautama (known as "the Buddha," or "Awakened One"), Buddhism places emphasis on practicing meditation and following a spiritual path that leads from a state of suffering, viewed as the result of attachment, to a state of enlightenment, transcendence and bliss called nirvana. This path is seen as extend-

ing over many lifetimes. Buddhism has exerted a major influence on the cultures of India, Nepal, China, Japan, Tibet, Korea, Mongolia, Thailand, Burma, Sri Lanka, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam, and in the current century has gained a foothold in Western countries as well. Among world religions, Buddhism has been notable for the absence of condemnation of homosexuality as such.

Early and Theravada Buddhism.

For an account of the earliest form of Buddhism, scholars look to the canonical texts of the *Tipitaka* preserved in the Pali language and transmitted orally until committed to writing in the second century B.C. These scriptures remain authoritative for the Theravada or Hinayana school of Buddhism, now dominant in Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka.

The Pali Canon draws a sharp distinction between the path of the layperson and that of the *bhikkhu* (mendicant monk, an ordained member of the Buddhist *Sangha* or Order). The former is expected primarily to support the *Sangha* and to improve his karmic standing through the performance of meritorious deeds so that his future lives will be more fortunate than his present one. The *bhikkhu*, in contrast, is expected to devote all his energies to self-liberation, the struggle to cast off the attachments which prevent him from attaining the goal of nirvana in the present lifetime.

The layperson's moral code pertaining to sexuality consists of the resolution to avoid *kāmesu micchacāra*. As a "training rule" or resolution it does not have the absolute prohibitive nature of Western religious codes (e.g., the Ten Commandments), and is promulgated not as the desire of a God but as a practical guide toward improving one's karma and so (eventually) attaining nirvana. The Pali phrase cited is literally translated as "wrongdoing in the sense-desires," and thus is thought originally to have covered misuse of all the senses (for example, gluttony). In most current English transla-