

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-

tions, under the influence of Victorian missionaries who did the early translations, this has been rendered, however, as "sexual misconduct."

The lay moral code (*Pañcasīla*) leaves it up to the individual to interpret what such misconduct might be, but the supplementary texts spell out such offenses as adultery, rape, and taking advantage of those over whom one exercises authority. What is *not* included even in the supplementary canonical texts is any condemnation of pre-marital sex or of homosexuality as such. In short, the unmarried Buddhist layperson is free to engage in consensual homosexual acts. This had led to a great deal of tolerance of homosexuality in modern Buddhist countries.

The monastic code of discipline or *vinaya*, however, is aimed at curtailing all passions, including sexual ones. "Is not the Law taught by me for the allaying of the fever of pleasures of the senses?" explains the Buddha in a canonical *vinaya* text. Thus all acts involving the intentional emission of his semen are prohibited for the monk; the insertion of the penis into a female or male is grounds for automatic expulsion from the *Sangha*, while even masturbation is a (lesser) offense. On the other hand, the *vinaya* is silent on matters which presumably were not thought to arouse the sense-pleasures; thus there is no law against a monk receiving a penis into his own body. While a monk is prohibited by lesser rules from even touching the body of a female (even a female animal), no such rule pertains to other males, and the physical expression of affection is very common among the Buddhist monks.

The full rules of the *vinaya* are not applied to the *sāmanera* or novice monk, who may be taken into the *Sangha* as early as seven years old and who is generally expected though not obligated to take the Higher Ordination by the age of 21. In this way the more intense sexual drive of the male teenager is tacitly al-

lowed for. A *sāmanera* may masturbate without committing an offense. Interestingly, while a novice commits a grave offense if he engages in coitus with a female, requiring him to leave the *Sangha*, should he instead have sex with a male he is only guilty of a lesser offense requiring that he reaffirm his *samanera* vows and perform such penance as is directed by his teacher. This may be the only instance of a world religion treating homosexual acts more favorably than heterosexual ones.

While there is very little secondary Theravada literature (at least in English) pertaining to homosexuality, it has been speculated that homosexual orientation may arise from the residual karma of a previous life spent in the opposite gender from that of the body currently occupied by the life-continuum. This explanation contains no element of negativity but rather posits homosexuality as a "natural" result of the rebirth cycle.

*The Mahayana and Japanese Buddhism.* The form of Buddhism which spread northward into Tibet, China, Japan, Korea, and Mongolia from its Indian heartland came to be known as the *Mahayana*. It de-emphasized the dichotomy between monk and layperson and relaxed the strict *vinaya* codes, even permitting monks to marry (in Japan). The *Mahayana* doctrinally sought to obliterate categorical thinking in general and resolutely fought against conceptual dualism. These tendencies favored the development of positive attitudes toward homosexual practices, most notably in Japan.

Homoeroticism was introduced to Japan, legend has it, by the Buddhist monk Kukai, also known as Kobo Daishi, in 806 upon his return from studying with a spiritual master in China. According to Noguchi Takenori and Paul Schalow, while "homosexuality surely existed in Japan before then . . . the traditional account of its origins helps explain why homosexuality became a preferred form of sexual expression among the Buddhist priesthood."

When Father Francis Xavier arrived in Japan in the mid-sixteenth century with the hope of converting the Japanese to Christianity, he was horrified upon encountering many Buddhist monks involved in same-sex relationships; indeed, he soon began referring to homoeroticism as the "Japanese vice." Although some Buddhist monks condemned such relationships, notably the monk Genshin, many others either accepted or participated in same-sex relationships. Among Japanese Buddhist sects in which such relationships have been documented are the Ji-shu, Hokke-shu, Shingon, and Zen.

Practitioners of Ji-shu revered Amida, the "Buddha of the Pure Land" or of "the Western Paradise." Many of its devotees were warriors, and Father Xavier reported that Ji-shu monks acted as teachers, spiritual masters, and lovers to the sons of samurai. Practitioners of Hokke-shu (or Nichiren) Buddhism, the "black" or "lotus" sect, revered Shakyamuni (Siddhartha Gautama). They were well known for their sacred mantra, *Nam-myohorengekyo*, "homage to the lotus of the good law." While Hokke-shu monks officially disapproved of all forms of sexual intercourse, relationships between monks and novices often appear to have been both pedagogic and amatory. According to Xavier, despite their official disapproval of intercourse, the monks "openly admitted" their sexual preference for other males; moreover, Xavier reports that "the vice was so general and so deeply rooted that the bonzes [monks] were not reproached for it."

Shingon Buddhism is traditionally linked to homoeroticism by way of its founder, Kukai (mentioned above). The Japanese manifestation of Tantric Buddhism, Shingon may also have included homoerotic sex-magical practices which are now lost to us.

Zen, that form of Buddhism perhaps most familiar to Westerners, emerged during the ninth century. In the Zen monasteries of medieval Japan, same-sex

relations, both between monks and between monks and novices (known as *kasshiki* and *shami*), appear to have been so commonplace that the shogun Hojo Sadatoki (whom we might now refer to as "homophobic") initiated an unsuccessful campaign in 1303 to rid the monasteries of same-sex love. Homoerotic relationships occurring within a Zen Buddhist context have been documented in such literary works as the *Gozan Bungaku*, *Iwatsutsuji*, and *Comrade Loves of the Samurai*.

The blending of Buddhism and homoeroticism has continued to figure prominently in the works of contemporary Japanese writers, notably Yukio Mishima and Mutsuo Takahashi.

Although not specifically linked to homoeroticism, at least one Japanese response to AIDS should be noted. In 1987, Wahei Sakurai reported that at a fertility shrine in Kawasaki City where elements of Shinto and Buddhism are blended, a local priest, Hirohiko Nakamura, displayed two paintings, one of a samurai, the other of a deity in meditation, both in the process of destroying AIDS, in the hope that these paintings, when combined with prayers, would protect practitioners from the disease.

*Tibet.* Although four major traditions of Buddhism emerged in Tibet, only one, the Gelug or d Ge.lugs.pa sect, has been traditionally associated with same-sex love. The Gelug, or "yellow hat," tradition was founded in the early fifteenth century by Tsongkhapa Lozang, and it is to this tradition that the Dalai Lama (spiritual head of Tibetan Buddhism) belongs. "Among the Gelugpas," Lama Anagarika Govinda explains, "intellectual knowledge . . . including history, logic, philosophy, poetry . . . medicine and astrology, was given particular prominence . . . the Gelugpas had to qualify themselves through a long course of studies in one of the monastic communities (like Drepung, Ganden, or Sera)."

It is most probably in its adoption of the strictest *vinaya* rules regarding

females that the Gelug tradition has become linked to homoeroticism. According to these rules, no woman may stay overnight within the monastery walls. Moreover, the Geluggas (at least in the past) condemned heterosexual intercourse for monks, believing that the mere odor resulting from heterosexual copulation could provoke the rage of certain deities. Such misogynistic and anti-heterosexual notions may have encouraged same-sex bonding. A number of writers have suggested that homoerotic relationships were until recently quite commonplace in Gelug monasteries, especially those relationships between so-called "scholar" and "warrior" monks. In the early twentieth century, E. Kawaguchi, describing the monks of the monastery at Sera as "descendents of the men of Sodom," reported that the monks "scarcely fight for a pecuniary matter, but the beauty of young boys presents an exciting cause, and the theft of a boy will often lead to a duel. Once challenged, no priest can honorably avoid the duel, for to shun it would instantly excommunicate him from among his fellow-priests and he would be driven out of the temple."

*Buddhism in America.* Among those who may be credited with introducing the West to Buddhism are Walt Whitman and Henry David Thoreau, both of whom are thought to have loved members of the same sex and both of whom blended elements of Buddhism with elements of other spiritual traditions in their work. In the latter half of the twentieth century, many American gays are practitioners of Buddhism, and the blending of homoeroticism and Buddhism may be found in the work of a number of gay American writers and musicians including Allen Ginsberg, Harold Norse, Richard Ronan, Franklin Abbott, and Lou Harrison. Of these, Ginsberg has perhaps been the most vocal in terms of claiming Buddhism, especially in its Tibetan manifestation as taught by the late Chögyam Trungpa Rimpoche, as a source of inspiration. A number of Buddhist organizations

have also begun to focus on the specific concerns of gay people, as, for example, the Hartford Street Zen Center of San Francisco, whose co-founder, Issan Dorsey, is a gay Zen monk. Other organizations, like the Buddhist AIDS Project of Los Angeles, while not addressing the specific concerns of gays, have been established to provide services for persons with AIDS.

While some practitioners of Buddhism maintain that the practice of same-sex love runs counter to the moral precepts set down long ago by Buddhist monks, many others, both gay and non-gay, maintain that if one accepts one's gayness and attempts to dwell in harmony with and to care for one's fellow creatures, then one is indeed following in the steps of the Buddha.

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## BUGGERY

By the early eighteenth century buggery had become the universal signifier in English law for intercourse regarded as criminally unnatural, whether man with man, man with woman, or man or woman with beast. That is to say, it had come to encompass male homosexuality (anal and oral), deviant heterosexual conduct (anal and oral), and bestiality. Lesbianism, which