

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

was never criminalized in England, is not included in this list. Curiously, after homosexual offenses between consenting adults were decriminalized in 1967 in England and Wales, a few cases were still prosecuted subsequently for male-female buggery.

Although the legal definition is broad, attention tends to focus on anal relations, as shown by the verb "to bugger," which almost always refers to anal penetration. Once invested with an aura of taboo—the word bugger was considered unprintable outside of legal statutes and commentaries—it has undergone considerable banalization in popular speech, as seen in such expressions as "the old bugger" = "the old guy." Note also "bugger up" (mess up) "buggered out" (tired), and "bugger-all" (nothing). All these expressions are much more common in Great Britain than in North America, where the word family is obsolescent. There is no etymological link with "bug" or "bogeyman," though these words may enter into the outer zones of the term's semantic penumbra.

*Historical Background.* The history of the word bugger displays a number of revealing bypaths of popular prejudice. Ultimately it stems from the Old Bulgarian *bŭlgarinŭ*, the ethnic name of the Slavic people inhabiting the southeastern part of the Balkan peninsula. Although the Bogomil and Paulician (dualist) heresies emerge in Bulgaria—on the periphery of the Byzantine empire—as early as the tenth century, it was only in the wake of the Fourth Crusade (1204) that medieval Latin *bulgarus* (and its vernacular congeners) came to be associated with these heresies. In the West the principal reflex of the dualist systems was the Cathar or Albigensian heresy in southern France.

And so in the thirteenth century *bougre* appeared in Old French with two meanings: (1) Albigensian heretic; (2) sodomite. Sexual depravity had, in fact, been charged to certain Gnostic sects as early as the time of Irenaeus of Lyon (late second

century). In the Middle Ages heresy and "unnatural" sexual activity were both traced to the instigation of the Devil, since neither could presumably have occurred to anyone spontaneously. At all events the ascription of sexual irregularity to the Albigensians seems wholly unfounded, albeit the *perfecti*—the inner circle of rigorists—did abstain from all types of intercourse. Thus what might at most be termed a case of sexual exceptionalism, chastity, was slanderously converted into its opposite, sexual licence. Such accusations no doubt helped to rationalize the bloody suppression of the Albigensian heretics.

The English derivative of *bougre* is *bugger*, which in the medieval texts has the sole meaning of "heretic." The first occurrence of "buggery" in the legal sense of "sodomy" is in the fateful law of 1533 (25 Henry VIII c. 6). In his commentaries on the laws of England, Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634) defined buggery as "a detestable and abominable sin amongst Christians not to be named, committed by carnal knowledge against the ordinance of the creator and order of nature by mankind with mankind or with brute beasts, or by womankind with brute beast" (*Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England*, 1644, pp. 58–59). All that is lacking in this catalogue of **capital crimes** (for which the penalty specified was execution by hanging or drowning) is heterosexual buggery. That is supplied in the comprehensive definition found in G. Jacob's *Law Dictionary* of 1729: "Buggery . . . is defined to be *carnalis copula contra Naturam et hoc vel per confusionem Specierum, sc. a Man or Woman with a brute Beast, vel sexuum, a Man with a Man, or Man with a Woman.*"

An additional factor is the Old French use of *bougre* to mean "usurer," a moneylender who profits from interest. This association (heretic = sodomite = usurer) derives from the ancient notion that interest is "unnatural" because money, unlike land, is intrinsically sterile, just as homosexual activity is doomed to sterility. Lexicographers have noted the

curious fact that the three areas of human experience that generate the greatest amount of slang are money, sex, and inebriation. Though it is now obsolete, the sodomite—usurer link united the first two.

In France the word *bougrerie* never gained status as a term of art in law codes, though it sometimes makes its way into reports of executions ("sin of buggery"). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a contrast developed between *bougre* for the active homosexual partner as against *bardache* for the passive one. Modern French retains the old word, together with the female counterpart *bougresse*, mainly as a jocular term of pity or mild abuse; the sexual content has almost entirely faded away. As has been noted, the English enshrined the term buggery in the statute books and legal commentaries, tying the meaning to the sexual aspect, but broadening it to include a whole spectrum of carnal offenses (excepting only lesbianism and masturbation).

In southern Europe forms prevailed in which the second consonant is soft; hence Spanish *bujarrón* and Italian *buggerone* (cf. the French variant *bougeron*). At the end of the fifteenth century the Italian word was carried northwards to German-speaking countries by travelers and mercenaries in the adapted form *puseran(t)*, with devoicing of initial 'b.' Thus Albrecht Dürer labels his 1504 drawing of the Death of Orpheus "Der erst puserant" (the first bugger). Although the word has disappeared in modern German, variants linger as loan words in several neighboring Slavic tongues. Thus when the American gay poet Allen Ginsberg visited Prague in 1965 his popularity among Czech students provoked the ire of the Communist authorities and he was roughed up by a plainclothesman who yelled the epithet *buzerant* at him (see "Kral Majales," *Collected Poems*, 1947–1980, 1984, p. 353).

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## BURCHIELLESQUE POETRY

This term denotes a type of Italian poetry (*alla burchia*; "haphazardly") utilizing "Aesopic" or coded language, and bristling with obscene double meanings which offer a certain parallel to the famous poems in *jargon* of François Villon (1431–ca. 1463). Burchiellesque poetry flourished from the early years of the fifteenth century through the sixteenth. The leading practitioner of the mode was Domenico di Giovanni, known, because of his facility, as "Il Burchiello" (1404–1449).

Among the followers and successors of Il Burchiello, one should note Antonio Cammelli (1436–1502) and Bernardo Bellincioni (1452–1492), who wrote many compositions on homosexual themes. Various other writers also wrote *alla burchia*, notably Domenico di Prato (ca. 1370–ca. 1432), Rosello Roselli (1399–1451), and the great architects Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446) and Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472).

Burchiellesque language also appeared in prose: for Tuscan Renaissance writers it was standard practice—when they wrote euphemistically on sex (as in private correspondence, for example)—to have recourse to Burchiellesque "cypher," as did Niccolò Machiavelli and Francesco Berni.

Burchiellesque poetry faded away in the sixteenth century, giving life to the less exuberant variant of burlesque known as *Bernesque*. Yet elements of Burchiellesque language lingered for a long time, for example in the Roman pasquinades satirizing the popes.

Often innocent nonsense, foreshadowing the later limericks, Burchiellesque language consists entirely in double meanings, which usually stem from riddles or puns; these are almost always obscene, and often homoerotic. To the uninitiated burchiellesque poems can seem complete in themselves in terms of their surface meaning, so that they seem harm-