

als could find support and friendship. Short-lived due to the harassment and arrest of all its members, the Society, however, managed to produce two issues of a magazine (*Friendship and Freedom*) of which no copies are now known to exist. The ideals of these early pioneers later served to inspire the post-war homophile and gay liberation movements.

Although perhaps not as conspicuous as its counterparts on either coast, Chicago's gay/lesbian community began to increase rapidly in the hectic days of World War II and even more so in the postwar prosperity of the following decades. By the early 1950s, the community began to assert a quiet, low-key presence, benefitting from the fact that Illinois became the first state to decriminalize homosexual conduct between consenting adults (1961). This continuing Midwestern approach to political activism has allowed a thriving, openly gay and lesbian community to make permanent inroads in changing the political and social atmosphere in one of the America's major cities. A sign that the gay community had reached political maturity came on December 22, 1988, when the Chicago City Council adopted a gay rights ordinance, 28 to 17, over the opposition of the Catholic archdiocese, after all the major candidates for mayor had endorsed the proposal. Two of them, incumbent Mayor Eugene Sawyer (who had voted against a gay rights bill in 1986), and Cook County State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, son of the legendary mayor "Boss" Daley and eventual winner of the election, vied with each other in lobbying for the ordinance.

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**CHILDREN**  
See Pedophilia.

## CHINA

The civilization of China emerged from prehistory during the first half of the second millennium B.C. in the valley of the Huang He (Yellow River), spreading gradually southwards. Over the centuries China has exercised extensive influence on Korea, Japan, and southeast Asia. Inasmuch as Chinese society has traditionally viewed male homosexuality and lesbianism as altogether different, their histories are separate and are consequently treated in sequence in this article.

*Zhou Dynasty.* As with many aspects of Chinese civilization, the origins of homosexuality are both ancient and obscure. The fragmentary nature of early sources, the bias of these records toward the experiences of a tiny social elite, and the lack of pronouns differentiated by gender in ancient Chinese all frustrate any attempt to recapture an accurate conception of homosexuality in China's earliest periods. Only with the Eastern Zhou dynasty (722-221 B.C.) do reliable sources become available.

During the latter part of the Zhou, homosexuality appears as a part of the sex lives of the rulers of many states of that era. Ancient records include homosexual relationships as unexceptional in nature and not needing justification or explanation. This tone of prosaic acceptance indicates that these authors considered homosexuality among the social elite to be fairly common and unremarkable. However, the political, ritual and social importance of the family unit made procreation a necessity. **Bisexuality** therefore became more accepted than exclusive homosexuality, a predominance continuing throughout Chinese history.

The Eastern Zhou produced several figures who became so associated with homosexuality that later generations invoked their names as symbols of homosexual love, much in the same way that Europeans looked to **Ganymede**, **Socrates**, and **Hadrian**. These famous men included Mizi Xia, who offered his royal lover a half-

eaten peach, and Long Yang, who compared the fickle lover to a fisherman who tosses back a small fish when he catches a larger one. Subsequent references to "sharing peaches" and "the passion of Lord Long Yang" became classical Chinese terms for homosexuality. Rather than adopt scientific terminology, with associations of sexual pathology, Chinese litterateurs preferred the aesthetic appeal of these literary tropes.

*Homosexual Emperors of the Han Dynasty.* Although the unification of China with the fall of the Zhou induced fundamental changes in China's political and social order, homosexuality seems to have continued in forms similar to those it took in the previous dynasty. In fact the Former Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 9) saw the highpoint of homosexual influence at the Chinese court. For 150 years, emperors who were bisexual or exclusively homosexual ruled China. The Han dynastic history discusses in detail the fabulous wealth and powerful influence of male favorites and their families, analogous to that of imperial consorts. The comprehensive Han history *Records of the Historian (Shi ji)* even includes a section of biographies of these favorites, the author noting that their sexual charms proved more effective than administrative talents in propelling them to the heights of power.

Several early Han emperors, such as Gaozu (r. 206–194 B.C.) and Wu (r. 140–86 B.C.) favored more than one man with their sexual attentions. This behavior paralleled the heterosexual polygamy popular at court and among wealthy families. Some of the imperial male favorites had special talents in fields such as astrology and medicine which originally brought them to the ruler's attention, while others obtained favor solely through their sexual charms. The desire to catch the emperor's eye at any cost, and thereby win substantial material rewards, fueled intense sartorial competition as courtiers vied with one another to dazzle the Son of Heaven with ornate clothing.

*Dong Xian.* The most famous favorite of the Han, Dong Xian, exemplifies the rewards and dangers which could come to one of these men. He became the beloved of Emperor Ai (r. 6 B.C.–A.D. 1), the last adult emperor of the Former Han, and rose to power with his lover. The Han dynastic history records that Emperor Ai presented him with an enormous fortune and lists an extensive array of offices he held. Since Emperor Ai lacked sons or a designated heir, he proposed during his reign to cede his title to Dong Xian. Although his councilors had firmly resisted the notion, nevertheless on his deathbed Ai handed over the imperial seals to his beloved. This unorthodox succession lacked the support of the most powerful court factions, and so Dong Xian found himself compelled into suicide. The resulting political vacuum left the kingmaker Wang Mang in control and after a short period of nominal regency through child emperors, Wang Mang declared the overthrow of the Han dynasty. Thus the homosexual favoritism which helped shape the political topography throughout the Former Han was also present in its destruction.

One incident in the life of Dong Xian became a timeless metaphor for homosexuality. A tersely worded account relates how Emperor Ai was sleeping with Dong Xian one afternoon when he was called to court. Rather than wake up his beloved, who was reclining across the emperor's sleeve, Ai took out a dagger and cut off the end of his garment. When courtiers inquired after the missing fabric, Emperor Ai, told them what had happened. This example of love moved his courtiers to cut off the ends of their own sleeves in imitation, beginning a new fashion trend. Ever since then, authors have used "cut sleeve" as a symbol of homosexuality.

The periods of disunity following the Han produced a wider range of source materials which reflect the presence of homosexuality in classes other than the uppermost elite. Famed literary figures

such as the "Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove" admired one another's good looks quite openly, and the contemporaneous accounts in *A New Account of Tales of the World* (*Shishuo xinyu*) substantiate the wide diffusion of homosexuality in post-Han society. The honored poet Pan Yue and the master calligrapher Wang Xizhi both fervently admired male beauty. And the greatest intellectual force of the third century, Xi Kang (223-262), had a male lover.

*Male Prostitution.* During this period male prostitution also becomes evident, and is both celebrated and denigrated in verse. The Jin dynasty (265-420) poet Zhang Hanbian wrote a glowing tribute to the fifteen-year-old boy prostitute Zhou Xiaoshi. In it he presents the boy's life as happy and carefree, "inclined toward extravagance and festiveness, gazing around at the leisurely and beautiful." A later poet, the Liang dynasty (502-557) figure Liu Zun, tried to present a more balanced view in a poem entitled "Many Blossoms." In this piece he shows the dangers and uncertainty associated with a boy prostitute's life. His Zhou Xiaoshi "knows both wounds and frivolity/ Withholding words, ashamed of communicating." Although these poems take opposite perspectives on homosexual prostitution, the appearance of this theme as an inspiration for poetry points to the presence of a significant homosexual world complete with male prostitutes catering to the wealthy.

Of course homosexuality also continued among the social elite. Emperors such as Wei Wen (r. 220-227), Jin Diyi (r. 336-371), Liang Jianwen (r. 550-551) and several Tang dynasty rulers all had male favorites. These powerful men often preferred boys or eunuchs, although they sometimes also favored grown men.

By the Song dynasty (960-1280) a broadening of literary accounts makes available detailed information beyond the lives of emperors and literary figures. One source estimates that at the beginning of

the dynasty in the Song capital alone there were more than ten thousand male prostitutes inhabiting a maze of brothels known as "mist and moon workshops." A love of sensuality continued throughout the dynasty. A source describing the fall of the Song notes "clothing, drink, and food were all that they desired. Boys and girls were all that they lived for."

The high profile of male prostitution led the Song rulers to take limited action against it. Many Confucian moralists objected to male prostitution because they saw the sexual passivity of a prostitute as extremely feminizing. In the early twelfth century, a law was codified which declared that male prostitutes would receive one hundred strokes of a bamboo rod and pay a fine of fifty thousand cash. Considering the harsh legal penalties of the period, which included mutilation and death by slicing, this punishment was actually quite lenient. And it appears that the law was rarely if ever enforced, so it soon became a dead letter.

The revival and transformation of Confucian doctrine in the movement now referred to as Neo-Confucianism had influence far beyond metaphysics. On a practical level the movement enforced a more rigid view of the status of women and of sexual morality. In general, Confucians became more intolerant of any form of sexuality taking place outside of marriage. This was all part of an attempt to strengthen the family, held by Confucians to be the basic unit of society. The Song law prohibiting male prostitution came as an early response to this new social ethos. Legal intervention peaked in the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) when the Kang Xi Emperor (r. 1662-1723) took steps against the sexual procurement of young boys, homosexual rape, and even consensual homosexual acts.

A law codified in 1690 specifically prohibits consensual homosexuality as part of an overall series of laws designed to strengthen the family. Although laws against rape of males were actively enforced, as demonstrated in a substantial

body of Qing case law, it seems that the traditional government laissez-faire attitude toward male sexuality prevented enforcement of the law against consensual homosexual acts. After 1690 homosexuality continued as an open and prominent sexual force in Chinese society.

*Flowering of the Ming Period.* By the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) homosexuality had attained a high degree of representation in literature, erotic art, scholarship, and society as a whole. The rise of literacy and inexpensive printing generated demand for popular literature such as *Golden Lotus (Jin ping mei)*, depicting in colloquial language all forms of sexual conduct, and for erotic prints which presented homosexuality visually. A thirst for knowledge of homosexual history led to the compilation of the anonymous Ming collection *Records of the Cut Sleeve (Duan xiu pian)* which contains vignettes of homosexual encounters culled from nearly two millennia of sources. This anthology is the first history of Chinese homosexuality, perhaps the first comprehensive homosexual history in any culture, and still serves as our primary guide to China's male homosexual past.

In Fujian province on the South China coast, a form of male marriage developed during the Ming. Two men were united, the older referred to as an "adoptive older brother" (*qixiong*) and the younger as "adoptive younger brother" (*qidi*). The younger *qidi* would move into the *qixiong*'s household, where he would be treated as a son-in-law by his husband's parents. Throughout the marriage, which often lasted for twenty years, the *qixiong* was completely responsible for his younger husband's upkeep. Wealthy *qixiong* even adopted young boys who were raised as sons by the couple. At the end of each marriage, which was usually terminated because of the familial responsibilities of procreation, the older husband paid the necessary price to acquire a suitable bride for his beloved *qidi*.

As China entered the Qing era, homosexuality continued to maintain a high profile. Besides several prominent Ming and Qing emperors who kept male favorites, a flourishing network of male brothels, and a popular class of male actor-prostitutes dominating the stage, Qing popular literature expanded on the homosexual themes explored during the Ming. The famous seventeenth century author Li Yu wrote several works featuring male homosexuality and lesbianism. The greatest Chinese work of prose fiction, *Dream of the Red Chamber (Honglou meng)*, features a bisexual protagonist and many homosexual interludes. And the mid-nineteenth century saw the creation of *A Mirror Ranking Precious Flowers (Pinhua baojian)*, a literary masterpiece detailing the romances of male actors and their scholar patrons.

*Western Influences.* The twentieth century ushered in a new age for all aspects of Chinese society; homosexuality was no exception. Within a few generations, China shifted from a relative tolerance of homosexuality to open hostility. The reasons for this change are complex and not yet completely understood. First, the creation of colloquial *baihua* literary language removed many potential readers from the difficult classical Chinese works which contained the native homosexual tradition. Also, the Chinese reformers early in the century began to see any divergence between their own society and that of the West as a sign of backwardness. This led to a restructuring of Chinese marriage and sexuality along more Western lines. The uncritical acceptance of Western science, which regarded homosexuality as pathological, added to the Chinese rejection of same-sex love. The end result is a contemporary China in which the native homosexual tradition has been virtually forgotten and homosexuality is ironically seen as a recent importation from the decadent West.

*Communist China.* In the People's Republic of China, homosexual-

ity is taken as a sign of bourgeois immorality and punished by "reeducation" in labor camps. Officially the incidence of homosexuality is quite low. Western psychologists, however, have noted that the official reporting of impotence is much higher in mainland China than in the West. It seems that many Chinese men, unfamiliar with homosexual role models, interpret their sexuality solely according to their attraction to women. Nevertheless, a small gay subculture has begun to develop in the major cities since the end of the Maoist era. Fear of discovery and lack of privacy tend to limit the quality and duration of homosexual relationships. And for the vast majority of Chinese living in the conservative countryside, homosexual contacts are much more difficult to come by.

*Hong Kong.* Modern Hong Kong has adopted many aspects of British law, including the criminalization of homosexuality. Until recently, the Hong Kong police were extremely active in searching out and prosecuting homosexuals. With the 1997 return of Hong Kong to China approaching, British liberals have supported a last minute repeal of the sodomy law. This reform effort has been vigorously resisted by the colony's Chinese population. Despite official disapproval, the cosmopolitan sophistication of Hong Kong has guaranteed a relative toleration of the gay community. Gay bars and private parties provide an extensive social network for Hong Kong's homosexuals.

*Taiwan.* The situation for Chinese gays on Taiwan is improving. Since 1949, when Nationalist soldiers frequenting Taipei's New Park provided the nucleus of a gay community, this subculture has gradually expanded. Now it includes several bars and discos. The AIDS crisis has recently focused public attention on gay life, resulting in general public awareness of homosexuals. One of Taiwan's most well-known novelists, Pai Hsien-yung, has also raised general awareness with his successful novel about Taiwan

gay life entitled *The Outsiders (Niezi)*, which served as the basis for a 1986 film by the same title. There is no sodomy law in Taiwan, but gays still face intense social and family pressure against openly expressing their sexuality. As a result, as in Hong Kong and the mainland, Taiwan's homosexuals almost always follow the traditional Chinese custom of entering into heterosexual marriage so as to raise a family.

*Lesbianism.* Traditionally, Chinese people have viewed male homosexuality and lesbianism as unrelated. Consequently, much of the information we have on male homosexuality in China does not apply to the female experience. Piecing together the Chinese lesbian past is frustrated by the relative lack of source material. Since literature and scholarship were usually written by men and for men, aspects of female sexuality unrelated to male concerns were almost always ignored.

Reliable accounts of lesbianism in China only date back as far as the Ming dynasty. Sex manuals of the period include instructions integrating lesbian acts with heterosexual intercourse as a way of varying the sex lives of men with multiple concubines. And Ming erotic prints pictorially represent lesbian intercourse. Artificial devices for stimulating the vagina and clitoris also survive.

Most of our information about lesbianism comes from popular literature. Li Yu's first play, *Pitying the Fragrant Companion* ("Lian xiangban"), describes a young married woman's love for a younger unmarried woman. The married woman convinces her husband to take her talented beloved as a concubine. The three then live as a happy *ménage-à-trois* free from jealousy. A more conventional lesbian love affair is detailed in *Dream of the Red Chamber*, in which a former actress regularly offers incense to the memory of her deceased beloved.

*Lesbian Marriages.* The most highly developed form of female relationship was the lesbian marriages formed by

the exclusively female membership of "Golden Orchid Associations." A lesbian couple within this group could choose to undergo a marriage ceremony in which one partner was designated "husband" and the other "wife." After an exchange of ritual gifts, a wedding feast attended by female friends served to witness the marriage. These married lesbian couples could even adopt young girls, who in turn could inherit family property from the couple's parents. This ritual was not uncommon in nineteenth-century Guangzhou province. Prior to this, the only other honorable way for a woman to remain unmarried was to enter a Buddhist nunnery.

In modern China, lesbian contacts are severely limited by social pressures as well as by economic dependence on family and husband. The existence of Golden Orchid Associations became possible only by the rise of a textile industry in south China which enabled women to become economically independent. The traditional social and economic attachment of women to the home has so far prevented the emergence in modern China of a lesbian community on even so limited a scale as that of male homosexuals.

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Bret Hinsch

**CHIZH, VLADIMIR  
FIODOROVICH (1855-19?)**

Russian psychiatrist. From a noble family from the government of Smolensk, in 1878 Chizh was graduated with distinc-

tion from the Medico-Chirurgical Academy in Saint Petersburg and entered naval service. In 1880 he was appointed resident physician in the psychiatric division of the hospital on Kronstadt and, in the following year to the Primary Asylum for the Mentally Ill and resident physician at the prison hospital in the Imperial capital. This position brought him into contact with a lesbian patient whom he described in a paper read in Saint Petersburg on February 1, 1882 and published under the title "K ucheniiu ob 'izvrashchenii polovogo chuvstva' (*Die conträre Sexualalempfindung*)" [On the Doctrine of "Perversion of Sexual Feeling"] in the *Meditsinskie pribavleniia k Morskomu sborniku* [Medical Supplements to the Naval Magazine] of the same year. The 26-year-old Russian author realized what the German and Austrian psychiatrists who wrote the first clinical papers on sexual inversion had missed: that so far from being a rare phenomenon, an isolated "freak of nature," homosexuality was the explanation of many of the cases of sodomy that came before the courts every day. As late as 1886, in the first edition of *Psychopathia Sexualis*, Richard von Krafft-Ebing painstakingly enumerated all the individual case studies (35 in all) that had appeared in the psychiatric literature as if each one were some extraordinary discovery.

Meanwhile, Veniamin Mikhaïlovich Tarnovskii (1837-1906) had published a longer work entitled "Izvrashchenie polovogo chuvstva" [Perversion of Sexual Feeling] in the *Vestnik klinicheskoi i sudebnoi psikhiiatrii i nevropatologii* [Herald of Clinical and Forensic Psychiatry and Neuropathology] in 1884. Two years later a German version of his work appeared as *Die krankhaften Erscheinungen des Geschlechtssinnes* [The Morbid Manifestations of the Sexual Instinct], through which Chizh's insight reached the learned public of Central and Western Europe.

Following the Russification of the University of Iur'ev (now Tartu) by the