

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 Sexualempfindung*)" [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

government of Alexander III in 1890, Chizh was named to the chair of nervous and mental diseases, a post he held to the end of his career. After attending the Fifth International Congress of Criminal Anthropology in Amsterdam in 1901, he wrote an unsympathetic account of Arnold Aletrino's paper on "The Social Situation of the Uranist" that was published in "Piatyĭ mezhdunarodnyĭ kongress kriminal'noĭ antropologii v Amsterdame 9-14 sentiabria 1901 g." in *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii* in 1902. His article reveals that the President of the Congress, Gerard Anton van Hamel (1842-1917), asked the representatives of the press not to print anything about the discussion of Aletrino's paper. This is an early example of how the psychiatric profession, when challenged by the homophile movement, took an overtly hostile stance in the hope of denying the public access to the new understanding of the subject which the experts who rallied to its support were promoting.

Warren Johansson

## CHRISTIANITY

The body of beliefs and practices characterizing Christianity, a religious tradition based on the life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth ("the Christ") (ca. 3 B.C.-A.D. 33), was defined by the Christian church as it took shape under the empire of Rome. Inasmuch as this consolidation was achieved gradually and obscurely, it is difficult to say when the church and its ideology crystalized. By about A.D. 200, however, the church had come to recognize the texts making up the **New Testament** as a single canon. After some hesitation, the Hebrew Bible, known to Christians as the **Old Testament**, was taken from Judaism and also accepted as divinely inspired. From this point onwards, Christian doctrines were elaborated by a group of intellectuals, known as the **Fathers of the Church** or the **Patristic writers**, beginning with such figures as Origen, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian.

It was these theologians who pieced together the often contradictory and ambiguous scriptural statements about sex and homosexuality into a consistent doctrine. Though they based their exegesis upon the Bible, they were inevitably influenced by philosophical and religious currents of their own time, especially **Greek Stoicism** and **Neo-Platonism** and by rival mystery cults such as **Manichaeism** and **Gnosticism**. Not all these interpreters of what the Christian message entailed agreed, and as a result there were competing Christian groups, most of which were eventually eliminated. Still today there are differences on such sexually related topics as divorce, celibacy, and so forth between Roman Catholics and members of various eastern branches of Christianity which date from the foundations of Christianity, including Coptic, Nestorian, and various Orthodox Churches. In practice, most of these churches have been more tolerant of homosexuality than the Roman Catholic Church and its Protestant offshoots.

**Augustinianism.** The dominant Christian attitude in the west has been what might be called the Augustinian one which essentially regarded celibacy as more desirable than marriage and only tolerated sexual activity within marriage for the purpose of procreation. St. **Augustine** (d. 430), one of the great scholars of the ancient world, had converted to the austere faith of Manichaeism after receiving a classical education. It seemed to his mind more suited to his Neo-Platonic and Stoic ideals than the Christianity of his mother. In Manichaean belief, which drew heavily from **Zoroastrianism**, intercourse leading to procreation was particularly evil because it caused other souls to be imprisoned in bodies, thus continuing the cycle of good versus evil.

Augustine was a member of the Manichaean religion for some eleven years but never reached the stage of the Elect in part because of his inability to control his sexual appetites. He kept a mistress, fa-