

pressed distaste for Demuth's more overt works. In an art world characterized by increasing pluralism and an attitude that "anything goes," this lasting power to shock is an achievement.

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DENMARK

This small country, which occupies the Jutland peninsula and neighboring islands, is the home of a people who roamed far and wide in the medieval period. Denmark was converted to Latin Christianity just before the year 1000 and became Lutheran in the sixteenth century. Since World War II it has been both admired and excoriated for its liberal attitudes toward sex and pornography.

The Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Pagan Scandinavia knew no generalized taboo on homosexuality, certainly no laws against it, but there was a folk belief that the man who took the passive role with another in a sexual relationship had forfeited the respect owed his sex. Christianity at first brought only moral condemnation and religious penance. On February 2, 1227 pope Honorius III wrote a letter to the Danish archbishop in reply to his request for advice on how to deal with a number of individuals guilty of incest or homosexual sodomy. As they could not very well make the long trip to Rome, the pope gave the archbishop the authority to decide for himself on a penance which should be neither too hard nor too lenient.

With the influence of the Reformation and its revived interest in the Old Testament, the Danish Lawbook (*Danske Lov*) of King Christian V (1683) prescribed burning at the stake for sodomy. In point of fact, however, little is known of prosecutions for homosexual intercourse, and they were probably rare. An isolated case of pederasty is recorded in which a married weaver was in 1744 sentenced to two years'

hard labor followed by banishment from the province of Jutland for having had sexual connection with a boy. The attitude of that time was expressed by a professor at the University of Copenhagen, Ludvig Holberg, in his *Introduction to Natural and International Law* (1716). Admitting that "we must condemn the evil vice," he went to say that "the authorities cannot punish vices which are practiced by so many, and which are so firmly embedded that to eradicate the evil would be to cause the disintegration of the whole state. And if they are but works of darkness and are not generally noticed and of little consequence, why trouble the authorities by calling their attention to them?"

Toward the Present. This attitude, however, changed after 1866 when the death penalty was rescinded and replaced by imprisonment. After this time a considerable number of prosecutions and convictions occurred. It is likely also that the introduction of modern police methods of surveillance and entrapment contributed to the new situation. Just as in the penal code of the German empire, the provisions of the law applied only to male homosexuality.

The first Danish author to address the plight of the homosexual from the standpoint of the literature produced by the inchoate homophile movement and by responsive psychiatrists wrote under the pseudonym "Tandem." Himself a layman, he published in the medical journal *Bibliotek for Læger* (1892), an article of some fifty pages surveying everything that had been written in Western Europe and Scandinavia on the subject, concluding with a plea for toleration. This was not to come, however, until the sexual reform movement in Germany had placed the issue on the agenda. In 1928 the World League for Sexual Reform on a Scientific Basis held its second congress in Copenhagen, at which Magnus Hirschfeld read the text of an "Appeal on Behalf of an Oppressed Variety of Human Being"

composed by the activist Kurt Hiller. Two years later, in 1930, the Danish parliament did reform the law—the first country in Scandinavia to do so.

The Contemporary Situation. After World War I Denmark acquired a reputation as a country with unusually liberal attitudes toward sexuality, and Copenhagen became a mecca for the sex-starved tourist from the rest of the world. The Forbundet af 1948 was founded by Axel Axgil and Hjelmer Fogedgaard, and in 1949 it began a periodical, *Vennen* (Friends). The Forbundet stimulated similar organizations in Norway and Sweden. In Denmark it grew into the major national gay and lesbian organization and recognized by the authorities as such. Active today on many fronts, it not only counsels homosexuals on their personal problems in all spheres of life, but also conducts education and propaganda meant to enlighten the general public and undo the legacy of defamation from the past, and collaborates with foreign homophile organizations. All its activity is conducted by a staff of volunteers.

A particular notoriety accrued to the Danish capital as the venue of the male-to-female sex change operation performed on Christine Jorgensen (who died in 1989 after living as a woman for almost forty years). Gay tourists flocked to Copenhagen, though the city later lost its primacy in this regard to Amsterdam. The effect of Denmark's liberal laws on pornography has been disputed, some claiming that free availability reduced demand. Some of the pornography offered for sale in Denmark contains photographs of quite young children. In any event, Denmark and Sweden played major roles as laboratories for the sexual revolution of the 1970s, while the United States took the lead in the gay liberation movement.

In 1976 the legal age of consent to homosexual relations was reduced to 15; consensual sexual activity with a boy under 15 but not less than 12 years old is a misdemeanor. The sentence is usually—

but not always—suspended, but a foreigner found guilty is fined and immediately deported. The burden of proof in such cases rests with the police, who do not investigate on their own initiative but only in response to a complaint.

In 1989 the Danish parliament approved a far-reaching law granting legal sanction, except the right of adoption, to same-sex unions; however, its benefits are not extended to foreigners.

See also Andersen, Hans Christian; Bang, Herman.

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DETECTIVE STORIES

See *Mystery and Detective Fiction*.

DEVIANCE AND DEVIATION

Sociologists and criminologists have adopted the term deviance to refer to behavior that is prohibited, censured, stigmatized, or penalized by the normative structures of a society. The boundaries of the concept, and its appropriateness for homosexuality, have not been settled; it originated in the wish for a neutral term that would not imply approval or disapproval of the activity, whatever the attitude of the host society might be. Critics of the approach assert that it offers little more than a jumble of "nuts, sluts, and perverts." For the study of homosexuality, however, its value may lie in the fact that it does make one think of analogies (and differences) between homosexuals and other groups.

The words deviation and deviant, while designed to be neutral and statistical