**FAGGOT**

This contemptuous slang term for male homosexual carries overtones of effeminacy and cowardice. Inasmuch as its use is widespread and its origins usually misunderstood, it deserves careful consideration.

One of the most persistent myths that have gained a foothold in the gay movement is the belief that “faggot” derives from the basic meaning of “bundle of sticks used to light a fire,” with the historical commentary that when witches were burned at the stake, “only presumed male homosexuals were considered low enough to help kindle the fires.”

The English word has in fact three forms: faggot, attested by the Oxford English Dictionary from circa 1300; fadge, attested from 1588; and faggald, which the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* first records from 1375. The first and second forms have the additional meaning “fat, slovenly woman” which according to the *English Dialect Dictionary* survived into the nineteenth century in the folk speech of England.

The homosexual sense of the term, unknown in England itself, appears for the first time in America in a vocabulary of criminal slang printed in Portland, Oregon in 1914, with the example “All the fagots [sissies] will be dressed in drag at the ball tonight.” The apocopated (clipped) form *fag* then arose by virtue of the tendency of American colloquial speech to create words of one syllable; the first quotation is from the book by Nels Anderson, *The Hobo* (1923): “Fairies or Fags are men or boys who exploit sex for profit.” The short form thus also has no connection with British *fag* as attested from the nineteenth century (for example, in the novel *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*) in the sense of “public school boy who performs menial tasks for an upperclassman.”

In American slang *faggot/fag* usurped the semantic role of *bugger* in British usage, with its connotations of extreme hostility and contempt bordering on death wishes. In more recent decades it has become the term of abuse par excellence in the mouths of heterosexuals, often just as an insult aimed at another male’s alleged want of masculinity or courage, rather than implying a sexual role or orientation.

The ultimate origin of the word is a Germanic term represented by the Norwegian dialect words *fagg*, “bundle, heap,” alongside *bagge*, “obese, clumsy creature” (chiefly of animals). From the latter are derived such Romance words as French *bagasse* and Italian *bagascia*, “prostitute,” whence the parallel derivative *bagascione* whose meaning matches that of American English *faggot/fag*, while Catalan *bagassejar* signifies to *faggot*, “to frequent the company of loose women.”

The final proof that *faggot* cannot have originated in the burning of witches at the stake is that in English law both *witchcraft* and buggery were punishable by hanging, and that in the reign of the homosexual monarch James I the execution of heretics came to an end, so that by the time American English gave the word its new meaning there cannot have been in the popular mind even the faintest remnant of the complex of ideas credited to the term in the contemporary myth. It is purely and simply an Americanism of the twentieth century.
Given the fact that the term faggot cannot refer to burning at the stake, why does the myth continue to enjoy popularity in the gay movement? On the conscious level it serves as a device with which to attack the medieval church, by extension Christianity in toto, and finally all authority. On another level, it may linger as a “myth of origins,” a kind of collective masochistic ritual that willingly identifies the homosexual as victim. It should be evident that the word faggot and the ideas that have been mistakenly associated with it serve no useful function; the sooner both are abandoned, the better.


FAIRY
The word fairy, derived from the French féerie, the name of the mythical realm of these supernatural beings, was one of the commonest terms for the male homosexual in America in the 1925–1960 period. In an article published in American Journal of Psychology in 1896, “The Fairies” of New York are mentioned as a secret organization whose members attended coffee-klatsches; dressed in aprons and knitted, gossiped and crocheted; and held balls in which men adopted ladies’ evening dress. The spellings faery and fary also appear in the literature. The word designated the more stereotypical or “obvious” sort of street homosexual, with the semantic link supplied by the notion of the delicate and fastidious that had attached itself to the expression, so that it was transferred effortlessly to a dainty and effeminate type of male. The image of the “fairy” in book illustration as a winged creature flitting about the landscape probably contributed to the further evolution of flit as a slang term for homosexual. The semantic development of fairy in this sense began on the east coast and spread to the rest of the country, but not to other English-speaking areas of the world. In the 1960s the word yielded to gay as a positive term preferred by the movement, and to faggot or fag as the vulgar term of abuse.

In the late 1970s a quasi-religious movement began on the west coast of the United States under the rubric of fairy spirituality. Inspired by the ideas of gay pioneer Harry Hay, this trend emphasized the concept that male homosexuals who will acknowledge their difference (“fairies” or “faeries”) have special insights and gifts for interpersonal relations. It looked to the supposed homoerotic element in shamanism as a prehistoric archetype. Fairy retreats held at remote country sites, with neopagan rituals, serve to affirm solidarity among the fairies. This movement, combining counterculture survivals with elements of the hermetic tradition, is part of a larger complex of New Age religious phenomena that are characteristic of the western United States, though they also enjoy some following elsewhere.

FALLA, MANUEL DE (1876–1946)
Spanish composer. Falla ranks as a key figure in both the renovation of Spanish classical music and the flowering of Andalusian culture in the early twentieth century. His homosexuality is not known directly, but the circles in which he moved in both Paris and Granada, his friendships, style of life, and enthusiasm for the Andalusian past, enthusiasm which was frequently associated in Spain with homosexuality, permit it to be inferred.

Falla was born in the ancient Andalusian city of Cádiz. As his compositions were received with indifference in Madrid, in 1907 Falla moved to Paris, where he was successful. He left that city at the outbreak of World War I, and influenced by his librettist Gregorio Martínez Sierra, author of Granada, guía emocional (1911), made his home in Granada from 1919 to 1939.
Andalusian civilization was already of considerable interest to Falla; Granada was the setting of his opera \textit{La vida breve} (Life is Short; 1904–05), and his very successful \textit{Nights in the Gardens of Spain} (1916) is an evocation of the vanished sensual and erotic world of Islamic Spain. He was the key figure in the effort to conserve, through a festival and competition in 1922, the dying \textit{cante jondo} song of Andalusia’s past. The festival, for reasons which are not public, marks a turning point in Falla’s work, which became progressively less Andalusian and more Catholic in inspiration. His \textit{Retablo de maese Pedro} (Master Peter Puppet’s Show; 1923), based on an episode from \textit{Don Quixote}, and the \textit{Harpsichord Concerto} (1927), both masterpieces, were the last major compositions he would complete. He declined to set to music a one-act libretto, \textit{El calesero} (The Coachman), written for him by Federico García Lorca, although, strongly urged by friends, he did set Góngora’s “Sonnet to Córdoba”—Córdoba was the capital of Andalusia at its peak—to music for the tercentenary of that author in 1927.

In 1927 Falla began a composition ideologically opposed to his Andalusian-themed works, an operatic setting of Verdaguer’s epic poem \textit{L’Atlántida}. In it, Catalonia and Falla’s native Cádiz are fulfilled through the discovery of America by Columbus. Falla never completed his \textit{Atlántida}, which was completed after his death by his only student, Ernesto Halffter. It has been indifferently received.

Falla was disturbed and depressed by the anti-Catholic violence of Spain of the early 1930s. Isolated and silent during the Civil War, in 1939 he fled to Argentina, where he died.


\textbf{Daniel Eisenberg}

\textbf{FAMOUS HOMOSEXUALS, LISTS OF}

It seems that every disadvantaged social group has a need to find distinguished individuals of the past with whom it can identify. This need is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in the case of the homosexual minority in modern society. Even in the era when sexual activity between members of the same sex was branded as a “crime against nature,” their conduct was extenuated by the fact that figures celebrated in the annals of war, politics, and literature had loved their own sex.

In “L’Amournomme Socratique,” an article in his \textit{Dictionnaire philosophique} (1764), \textit{Voltaire} gives one of the earliest of such lists, based largely on his knowledge of Greco-Roman pederasty. The anonymous author of \textit{Don Leon} (ca. 1836) has the poet Byron say:

\begin{quote}
When young Alexis claimed a Virgil’s sigh, He told the world his choice; and may not I . . . Say, why, when great Epaminondas died, Was Cephidorus buried by his side? Or why should Plutarch with eulogiums cite That chieftain’s love for young catamite, And we be forced his doctrine to decry, Or drink the bitter cup of infamy? . . . Look, how infected with this rank disease Were those who held St. Peter’s holy keys, . . . How many captains, famed for deeds of arms, Have found their solace in a minion’s arms!
\end{quote}

The first serious attempt to draw up a list of notable homosexuals of past centuries was in the second volume of Heinrich Hoessli’s \textit{Eros: Die Männerliebe der Griechen} (1838). Later in the nine-
teenth century other lists were assembled by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and by the British writers Henry Spencer Ashbee, Sir Richard Burton, and Havelock Ellis. An entire volume entitled *Berühmte Homosexuelle* [Famous Homosexuals] was compiled in 1910 by the pioneer student of homosexuality, the Berlin physician Albert Moll. No fewer than 300 names appear in Magnus Hirschfeld's major work synthesizing almost two decades of research, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (1914). The early phase of the postwar homophile movement produced a 751-page roster in Noel I. Garde's *Jonathan to Gide* (1954), which is, however, the high-water mark for the uncritical use of sources (such as including Pontius Pilate, the Roman prefect of Judea, on the basis of a passing mention in a novel published in 1932!). The most recent specimen of this class of literature is Martin Greif's often fanciful *The Gay Book of Names* (1982).

The need for such writings is motivated by the insult and humiliation heaped upon the homosexual minority by those who defame it. The ability to identify with glorious and universally admired figures in history gives the member of the oppressed minority role models conveying a sense of inner worth. The homosexual attains the conviction that he belongs to a part of mankind with its own achievements, its own traditions, and its own right to a "place in the sun." The tendency can become so marked as to invite parody, as amusingly executed by James Joyce for the counterpart among the Irish in *Ulysses* (1922). Paradoxically, some homophobes still revere noted figures in the past of their own nation despite the unanimous testimony of impartial biographers to their homosexuality. The phenomenon is comparable to that of anti-Semites who admire Spinoza and Einstein.

Historians of homosexual behavior have found that the method of accumulating famous names has a number of inadequacies. It tends to assimilate different types—exclusive homosexuals and bisexuals, pederasts and androphiles—under one rubric, neglecting the historical ambiance of the individual's orientation. Rarely is there a concern with the nexus between homosexual behavior and interests, on the one hand, and creativity, on the other. Use of evidence is often slipshod, and famous persons are included whose homosexuality is doubtful—even unlikely. Finally, focusing on a small constellation of politicians, writers, and artists obscures the life experience of the great mass of ordinary homosexuals and lesbians. Because of these drawbacks, books containing such lists are now regarded as belonging to the realm of popular culture rather than to that of scholarship.

The term eponym refers to a person from whom something, as a tribe, place or activity, takes its name. In this way proper names become common nouns designating any practitioner of the activity in question, such as onanist (from the Biblical Onan), sapphist (from Sappho of Lesbos), sadist (from Donatien-Alphonse-François, Marquis de Sade), and masochist (from Leopold von Sacher-Masoch), along with such jocular expressions as a Tilden (from the tennis star) and Wildeman (from Oscar Wilde). Similarly, French has the verbs socratiser and engider, both meaning "to sodomize." The latter is a nonce coinage created by the novelist Louis-Ferdinand Céline from the name (André) Gide. One writer of the early twentieth century commented that to name sexual practices after living persons who embodied them was to invite actions for libel, but it constitutes a fascinating intersection between biography and social labeling.

*Warren Johansson*

**Fantasies**

Fantasies are mental scenes, produced by the imagination, distinct from the reality in which the person lives. This article concerns those of sexual content. Everyone fantasizes to a considerable extent; thinking and fantasy are
FASCISM

The term fascism derives from fases, the bundles of rods carried by the lictors of ancient Rome to symbolize the unity of classes in the Republic. Fascism is the authoritarian movement that arose in Italy in the wake of World War I. Although Hitler admired its founder Mussolini and imitated him at first—the term Führer is modeled on Duce—one cannot simply equate his more radical National Socialist movement with the Italian phenomenon, as writers of the left are prone to do. 

"Fascism" was also applied to related trends in eastern Europe, the Iberian peninsula, and Latin America. Some of these regimes (especially the Horthy dictatorship in Hungary and the Falange in Spain) had pronounced clerical-traditional overtones, which set them apart from the more secularist regimes of Italy and Germany. Whether all these political trends constitute so many variants of a single genus of fascism, or whether they are only loosely connected, is still earnestly debated by historians.

Italy. Not essentially racist like Nazism or anti-bourgeois like Marxism, Italian fascism, with its corporative binding of workers and employers, has been less consistently hostile to homosexuals. Attracting adherents from anarchism and syndicalism, both of which had been strong in Italy, Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) deserted pacifist, gradualist socialism to found fascism after his exhilarating wartime experience of violence. He henceforth extolled war as purifying, progressive, and evolutionary because the strong overcame the weak. He also argued in a discussion of a draft penal code in 1930 that because Italians, being virile, were not homosexuals, Italy needed no law
banning homosexual acts, which he believed only degenerate foreigners to practice. A ban would only frighten such tourists away, and Italy needed the money they spent to improve its balance of payments and shore up its sagging economy. Napoleon had promulgated his code, which did not penalize homosexual acts between consenting adults, in northern Italy in 1810, and thus decriminalized sodomy. It had already been decriminalized in Tuscany by Grand Duke Leopold, the enlightened brother of Joseph II. The Albertine Code of 1837 for Piedmont-Sardinia was extended to all its dominions after the House of Savoy created a united Kingdom of Italy, a task completed in 1870. Pervasive was the influence of the jurist Marquis Cesare Beccaria, who argued against cruel and unusual punishments and against all offenses motivated by religious superstition and fanaticism.

Thus Italy with its age-old "Mediterranean homosexuality" in which women were protected, almost secluded—upper-class girls at least in the South being accompanied in public by dueñas—had like other Latin countries allowed female prostitution and closed its eyes to homosexuality. As such it had become the playground par excellence during the "grand tour" of the English milords, and also the refuge of exiles and émigrés from the criminal sanctions of the Anglo-American common law and the Prussian code. The Prussian Code was extended in 1871-72 to the North and then South German territories incorporated in the Reich, including ones where the Code Napoléon had prevailed in the early part of the century. Byron and John Addington Symonds took refuge in Italy, as William Beckford did in Portugal and Oscar Wilde in Paris. Friedrich Alfred Krupp's playground was in Capri, Thomas Mann's in Venice, and Count Adelswärd Fersen's also in Capri.

Il Duce's rise to power did not end Italy's welcoming role. Although he emphasized the virility of Italians and the decadence of foreigners and decried homosexuality as a sign of weakness, Mussolini regarded homosexuals either in the old clerical fashion as sodomites given over to vice or in the ancient Roman fashion as effeminates—but not as a threat to the virility of the race. (Personally, Mussolini was somewhat of a sexual acrobat, in that he had a succession of mistresses and often took time out in the office to have sex with one or another of his secretaries.) Like Napoleon III under the French Second Empire, he preferred to leave same-sex conduct outside the criminal code in order to avoid sensational trials that would expose his nation to ridicule in the foreign press. Rather he decided to exile homosexuals to remote areas of Italy where they would provoke no scandal. Believing in military strength through numbers, Mussolini did more than Hitler to subsidize parents of numerous progeny, thus hoping to increase Italy's population from 40 to 60 million. Although local authorities occasionally conducted raids on gay cruising areas and the like, before 1938 he did not persecute homosexuals more than previous regimes had done.

However, after he formed the Rome-Berlin Axis with Hitler in 1936, Mussolini began, under Nazi influence, to persecute homosexuals and to promulgate anti-Semitic decrees in 1938 and 1939, though these were laxly enforced, and permitted exceptions, such as veterans of World War I. New laws were passed penalizing "offenses against race and the provisions for education of the youth of the Regime." After 1938 homosexuals thus were considered political offenders. Oppressing homosexuals more than Jews, Mussolini's regime rounded up and imprisoned a substantial number, a procedure poignantly depicted in Ettore Scola's excellent film A Special Day (1977). Fascists whose homosexual behavior embarrassed the regime were usually only dismissed from their posts. Notorious homosexuals without influence were
punished merely with short jail sentences. Political opponents received longer sentences. Following established Italian fascist practice, homosexuals were sent into exile (confino) in remote places (generally islands) where they eked out a meagre existence. The actual enforcement of the laws, and in particular mass roundups of suspected homosexuals, were left to local authorities. But the bulk of Italians in town and country continued under fascism, as they had previously, the occasional homosexual practices for which Italy had been so famed. Even exclusive homosexuals, if they were not unlucky, survived fascism unscathed.

Eastern Europe. In Eastern Europe "clerical fascism" overthrew all the democratic regimes established in the wake of the Allied victory and the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, as well as those carved from the territory of the Russian Empire. The only exception was Czechoslovakia. With the encouragement of the clergy and support from the peasantry, gentry, army, and professional and business classes, Admiral Horthy seized control of Hungary from the Communist Béla Kun in 1920 and as "Regent" unleashed a "White Terror" largely directed against Jews, two years before Mussolini marched on Rome with his blackshirts. One by one the other democracies fell. In Poland the tolerant Marshall Piłsudski, who dominated Poland after seizing Russian and Lithuanian territory, actually decriminalized sodomy when a uniform penal code (Kodeks karny) was adopted for the whole of Poland in 1932. (This perhaps hearkened back to the days of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw when Poles lived under the Code Napoléon, or perhaps to the thwarted project to introduce the Code into "Congress Poland" after 1815.)

By contrast, most of the dictators of East Central Europe simply perpetuated the old clerical strictures; by allying with the Catholic or Orthodox Church they stiffened reactionary opposition to liberalization, just as they encouraged traditional Christian hatred of Jews. In this unfavorable climate none of these countries could develop a sexual reform movement of any significance.

Naturally amid such ethnic diversity and various dates of introduction of the Code Napoléon, differences in sexual expression were vast, and even within one country no consistent pattern existed. Fascists were less consistent and more divided among themselves than even Communists or Nazis. After all, they had no sacred text like Das Kapital or Mein Kampf, and further were not ruling only a single powerful country. Many were nevertheless influenced by Hitler, himself perhaps in part inspired by his totalitarian rival Stalin's homophobic repression in Soviet Russia beginning in January 1934. Being hostile to classical liberalism with its emphasis on toleration and the rule of law, fascism made homosexuals uneasy. However, it may be doubted whether they suffered more during the 1920s and 1930s in the fascist countries (not counting Nazi Germany) than in France and the Anglo-Saxon democracies, where premature attempts to found gay movements were suppressed by police action with no outcry whatsoever from the defenders of civil liberties. Czechoslovakia, the only democracy in Central Europe to survive this period, simply continued the Austrian penal code of 1852 that penalized both male and female homosexuality.

Spain and the Falange. The middle-class, ascetic, deeply Catholic Franco, who overthrew the Spanish Republic in the Civil War of 1936-39, established one of the harshest of the fascist regimes, executing many of the defeated republicans and jailing others under brutal conditions. The great homosexual poet Federico García Lorca was shot by a death squad near Granada in 1936; it is said that they fired the bullets through his backside to "make the punishment fit the crime." On the other hand, the Falange theoretician José Antonio Primo de Rivera, who was killed by the left at the beginning of
the Civil War, was widely believed to be homosexual. Even Franco himself, rumor has alleged, had an occasional fling during his service in Morocco.

More than Mussolini, Franco resisted the theories and pressures of Hitler, whom he regarded as a despicable (and perhaps deranged) upstart. It has been argued that Franco was not a fascist at all and that he actually maintained a pro-Jewish policy, granting asylum to refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe and attempting to protect Sephardic Jews in the Balkan countries. In his last years he in fact liberalized Spain to a certain extent, allowing among other things a resurgence of gay bars, baths, and culture even before the accession of King Juan Carlos upon his death in 1975. Today Spain is one of the freest countries in Europe.

Latin America. Juan Perón in Argentina and other dictators in Latin America mouthed fascist doctrines without even the consistency of Mussolini’s Eastern European imitators. Naturally Latins, like Slavs, being considered inferior peoples by Hitler, did not in general espouse racism (Hitler had to make the Japanese honorary Aryans to ally with them in the Tripartite Pact of 1937), so they had no reason to think of homosexuals in his terms. Rather, they looked upon them with amused contempt, in the vein of Latin machismo. This machismo reinforced clerical prejudice to keep social intolerance the rule in Latin America. As Perón was gaining power in 1943–1944, there was some repression, perhaps instigated by the military, but after he consolidated his rule in 1947 there was little.

Conclusion. On the whole, fascism was too tradition-minded and lacking in innovative will to formulate a coherent policy regarding such a “modern” phenomenon as homosexuality. The twentieth-century demand of homosexuals for justice and equality, the homosexual emancipation movement, which was heralded in Germany as early as 1864, and was first organized by Magnus Hirschfeld in 1897, elicited a violent and reactionary response from National Socialism and to a lesser extent from the other great totalitarian movement, Stalin’s Communism. However, in countries where homosexual emancipation did not exist (and no need was felt for it in states that had adopted the Code Napoléon), a campaign of repression simply had no motive in the ideology of the rightist regimes that dominated much of the interwar period.

See also Holocaust; Nationalism.


William A. Percy

FASCIST PERVERSION,
BELIEF IN

Fascism and National Socialism (Nazism) were originally distinct political systems, but their eventual international ties (the “Rome–Berlin axis”) led to the use of “fascist” as an umbrella term by Communist writers anxious to avoid the implication that “National Socialism” was a type of socialism. Neither in Italy nor in Spain did the right-authoritarian political movements have a homosexual component. Rather it was in Weimar Germany that the right-wing paramilitary groups which constituted the nucleus of the later National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP) attracted a considerable number of homosexuals whose erotic leanings overlapped with the male bonding of the party. This strong male bonding, in the later judgment of their own leaders, gave the Nazis a crucial advantage in their vic-
tory over the rival Social Democratic and Communist formations in the early 1930s.

The most celebrated of the homosexuals in the Nazi Party of the 1920s was Ernst Röhm, whose sexual proclivities were openly denounced by left-wing propagandists, but this did not deprive him of Hitler’s confidence until the putsch of June 30, 1934, in which he and many of his homosexual comrades in arms were massacred. Ironically enough it was said that with Röhm the last socialist in the NSDAP died. For Communist writers as early as the mid-1920s homosexuality was an element of “bourgeois decadence,” or of le vice allemand (the German vice), and theorists such as Wilhelm Reich who were opposed to homosexuality could claim that the right-wing youth were “becoming more homosexual.” The victory of National Socialism at the beginning of 1933 then reinforced Communist and émigré propagandists in their resort to “fascist perversion” as a rhetorical device with which they could abuse and vilify the regime that had defeated and exiled them—and which they hoped would be transient and unstable.

In particular, the statute by which Stalin restored the criminal sanctions against homosexuality that had been omitted from the penal codes of 1922 and 1926 was officially titled the “Law of March 7, 1934”—a pointed allusion to the anniversary of the National Socialist consolidation of power one year earlier. Maxim Gorky is even supposed to have said “Destroy the homosexuals and with them destroy fascism!” During his exile in the Soviet Union, the leftist German director Gustav von Wangenheim (1895–1975) made a film entitled Bortsy (The Fighters; 1936), in which the Nazis are shown as homosexual. The reaction of the Hitler regime to all this was to enact a new and more stringent version of the notorious Paragraph 175 in the legal novella of June 28, 1935. Under its provisions the number of convictions for homosexual activity rose to many times what it had been at the end of the Weimar Republic.

While the subject of homosexuality was still largely taboo in the British and American press during World War II, allusions to the theme of “fascist perversion” are found in denunciations of Nazi Germany, and occasional echoes of the belief recur in left-wing propaganda of the recent decades. In the United States Maoists charged that the gay liberation movement of 1969 and the years following was an example of “bourgeois decadence” that would vanish once the triumph of socialism was achieved. Communist and Catholic organizations in coalitions of the American left have even formed ad hoc alliances for the purpose of excluding “gay rights” from the common program of the umbrella group or of keeping gay speakers off the platform at major rallies. The belief in homosexuality as a “fascist perversion” is one of the Stalinist myths of the 1930s that are belied by the historical facts but still kept alive by uncritical writings on the subject and by artistic treatments such as Luchino Visconti’s film The Damned (1970).


Warren Johansson

FASSBINDER, RAiNER WERNER (1945–1982)

West German filmmaker, author, director, and actor. With his “anti-theatre” troupe in Munich Fassbinder set out to redefine the aesthetic experience on stage. His search quickly brought him (along with the members of this troupe who would often serve as his actors) to film. From his first films in 1969 to his forty-third in 1982, he explored the intricate connections between love and ma-
Fassbinder, Rainer Werner

nipulation while also charting his vision of the path of German history (especially the periods of the Third Reich and the growth of a West German society he felt to be economically affluent but spiritually impoverished).

Often castigated as someone who expressed a solely subjective view, Fassbinder openly made use of a variety of sources—his own love affairs, Hollywood films, works from German literature—which he then filtered into his own entwinement of the personal and the public spheres. A relatively static camera (especially in his early films), mirrors and frames, layers of sound, a heightened sense of melodrama—these are all elements of a cinematic style which Fassbinder employs in order to speak for those who have been denied a voice.

Those films where homosexual relationships form the main theme clearly demonstrate Fassbinder’s concern and his techniques. The Bitter Tears of Petra von Kant (1972), Fox and His Friends (1975), and In a Year with Thirteen Moons (1978) all deal with same-sex relationships in which erotic desire becomes a function of the struggle for dominance of one partner over the other. His films of two literary masterpieces, Berlin Alexanderplatz (1980), a television mini-series, and Querelle (based on a novel of Jean Genet; 1982), explore intense homoerotic relationships between men as well as openly homosexual ones.

Yet Fassbinder, himself homosexual, shows that the failure of the relationships he depicts to survive or even to nurture does not stem from the nature of homosexuality itself. Rather, he makes evident that such love cannot succeed in this society under conditions where human beings have lost their ability to form any relationship except one based on objectification and exploitation.

In the end, though, what Fassbinder presented is not an analysis of the futility of love, be it homosexual or heterosexual in nature. By portraying the precarious existence of relationships between love and manipulation and by using the fates of individual characters to portray the path of German history and its influence in shaping everyday existences, Fassbinder’s films open the possibility for change.


James W. Jones

Fellatio
See Oral Sex.

Ferenczi, Sandor
(1873–1933)
Hungarian psychoanalyst. Born to a Jewish family in Miskolc in northeastern Hungary, he grew up in his father’s bookstore and lending library. He studied medicine at the University of Vienna, graduating in 1894. Ferenczi met Sigmund Freud for the first time in 1907. He underwent analysis with Freud, and the two passed many summers together. Ferenczi became a central figure in the psychoanalytic movement and the founder of psychoanalysis in Hungary, where he played much the same role as did Karl Abraham in Berlin. He translated many of Freud’s writings into Hungarian, and under the short-lived Communist regime of Béla Kun he was appointed professor of psychoanalysis at the University of Budapest.

Major Contributions. Ferenczi’s reputation was established by his Über die Entwicklungsstufen des Wirklichkeits-sinnes [On the Stages in the Development of the Sense of Reality], in which he described the feeling of infantile omnipotence. His second major book, Thalassa:
FERENCZI, SANDOR

Versuch einer Genitaltheorie [Thalassa, an Essay on the Theory of Genitality] he began to write in 1914 and published in 1924. In it he described the “Thalassal regression,” and for the first time used the word bioanalysis. During the same period Ferenczi developed a more active form of psychoanalytic technique, in which directives to the patient were used to provoke increasing tension that would mobilize unconscious material and overcome the patient’s resistances. He urged active interference, role playing, and free expression of love and affection for the patient. While critical of some of his innovations, Freud could later say that Ferenczi “has made us all his pupils.”

With Freud’s British disciple, Ernest Jones, Ferenczi had an unhappy and ambivalent relationship. Jones underwent a training analysis with Ferenczi in the summer and autumn of 1913, but later composed a negative account of his analyst’s last years, saying that an “unhappy deterioration of his mind” had set in and that he suffered from a “very deep layer of mental disturbance.” Those who knew Ferenczi at the close of life dismiss Jones’ allegations as mythical.

Publications on Homosexuality. Ferenczi’s contribution to the study of homosexuality took the form of two papers, an early one in Hungarian on “Homosexualitas feminina,” published in Gyógyszat in 1902, and a German article of 1914 entitled “Über die Nosologie der männlichen Homosexualität” [On the Nosology of Male Homosexuality], first delivered at a psychoanalytic congress in 1911. The first article described a lesbian transvestite named Roza K. who because of her sexual interests and manner of dressing had been rejected by her family and was in frequent conflict with the police. She led a pitiable existence of wandering between a charitable institution, a prison, a shelter for the homeless, and a psychiatric hospital. Ferenczi saw her as posing two problems: a clinical one and a political one; he proposed that “communal hos-
seeks analytic help for his problems, and also is promiscuous because of repeated disappointment with his love object. Subject and object homoeroticism, concluded Ferenczi, are different conditions; the former is a developmental anomaly, a true "sexual intermediate stage," while the second is suffering from an obsessional neurosis.

Besides these articles, in April 1906 Ferenczi presented to the Budapest Medical Association a paper entitled "Sexuales átmeneti fokozatokról" [On Sexual Intermediate Stages], which was his report, as a neuro-psychiatrist, on the 1905 volume of the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* which the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee in Berlin had sent to the Association, asking it to take a stand against the penal sanctions to which homosexuals were subjected. In the report, published in *Gyógyászat* the same year, Ferenczi fully endorsed the position of Hirschfeld and his supporters, saying: "I consider the repression of the homosexuals profoundly unjust and utterly useless, and I think that we should give our firm support to the petition drafted by the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee and signed, since the beginning of 1905, by some 2800 German physicians." Thus Ferenczi was one of those who even at the turn of the century spoke out against the archaic penal statutes and in favor of legal and social toleration.


**Warren Johansson**

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**FETISHISM**

A fetish is an object or, in fact, any focal point which has come to stir irrational reverence or obsessive devotion. A sexual fetish, unlike a mere preference, usually amounts to an exclusive demand, in that full arousal cannot occur in the absence of the fetish—be it a black shoe, a particular piece of underwear, or some partner-attribute such as perhaps broad shoulders, narrow or broad hips, large breasts in women or a large penis in men, an extreme presence or absence of fat, an abundance or absence of body hair, and the like.

Fetishistic demands usually stem from an early, particularly pleasurable experience, although it can perhaps never be precisely determined how one person's pleasurable experience is transformed into a lifelong fetishistic requirement, while a similar event for someone else may hardly stand out as exceptional, let alone as an ongoing fetish. And yet the basic mechanisms of strong preference-formations are known.

The pre-adolescent male's sexual response tends to be extremely diverse (polymorphous) and easily triggered by virtually any exciting event—anything from fast rides, big fires, and loud noises to being called on in class, seeing animals in coitus, or imagining close bodily contact with other children or adults. The onset of puberty quickly brings a narrowing down of sexual response to a much reduced number of specifically sexual items. The range is narrowed still further by the conditioning effects of a person's individual experience and basic disposition, until only a few strong preferences prevail—preferences that tend to become narrowed to ever fewer targets as a person builds up aversion reactions to "opposite" alternatives. At the extreme end of this whole conditioning process are the narrow, intense fetishistic preferences.

And yet all this work of conditioning applies almost exclusively to males. For reasons that are still not fully under-
stood, female sexual response is virtually non-conditionable (Kinsey, 1953, p. 642f.). Thus despite local, rewarding sex experiences of myriad kinds, women simply do not become “fixed” onto any one particular kind of sex practice or preference in the way that men do. (Nobody on record ever saw a female black-shoe fetishist and probably never will, although this and a host of equivalent male fetishes are commonplace.)

Male homosexuality affords uniquely useful insights into the whole problem of understanding fetishes. By its very nature, the male–male pairing affords a double chance of seeing a fetishistic demand revved up in intensity by being fed from both sides. By contrast, since fetishistic responses are very rare among women, they are virtually non-existent among lesbian couples.

In heterosexual couples the fetishistic male has to work out a compromise acceptable to his female partner; this may call for tact and other forms of inhibition on his part, and a degree of forbearance from her—a compromise on both sides that can greatly obscure the true reactions of each. However, there is no indication that heterosexual men, if given equally responsive partners, would be any less inclined toward fetishism than are homosexual men.


C. A. Tripp

FICHTE, HUBERT
(1935–1986)

German writer. One of the major (West) German authors of the postwar period, Fichte is rare among German authors in that he not only treated the subject of homosexuality openly but even made it his starting point and guiding force.

Born the illegitimate child of a mother who was unable to realize her longed-for career as an actress and a Jewish father who seems to have disappeared after emigrating to Sweden, Hubert Fichte grew up an “outsider.” After a career as a child actor in Hamburg theatres and in the movies (and an ambivalent relationship with Hans Henny Jahnn), Fichte set off for France with a traveling scholarship from the French government. In that country he served for a time as a leader in the camps of Abbé Pierre. Back in North Germany and in Sweden, Fichte devoted himself—and in a completely professional manner—to farming. At the same time he worked on translations (rendering Simplizius Simplizissimus into French, together with Jean Giono), and on his own writings.

His first publications (1959, 1961) brought him his first successes: writing fellowships and participation in the congresses of the influential Gruppe 47. From 1965 onward his strongly autobiographical novels, beginning with Das Waisenhaus, appeared. In the year in which the last novel in this series, Versuch über die Pubertät, was published (1974), Hubert Fichte began an ambitious project: “The History of Sensibility,” planned for 19 volumes, novels and books containing “glosses,” on which he labored almost obsessively until his death, and which is now being edited in a fragmentary form by the administrators of his literary heritage. Some of the volumes (so far as can be judged from the extant published work and the plans for publication) derive from the autobiographical world of the earlier novels; an additional section continues a project that Fichte had undertaken alongside his novels. Closely related to the novels is a “poetic anthropology/ethnology” that focuses not just on Afro-American religions—to which two large volumes of text
and parallel volumes of illustrations by the photographer Leonore Mau, who had been living and working with Fichte since 1963, are devoted (Xango: Die afroamerikanischen Religionen: Bahia, Haiti, Trinidad, 1978/84; Petersilie: Die afroamerikanischen Religionen: Santo Domingo, Venezuela, Miami, Grenada, 1980/84)—but also on traditions and phenomena of European culture with the same perspective of the ethnologist and anthropologist. In these works high culture (Sappho, Homer, August von Platen, Genet) is treated and depicted with the same attentiveness as the world of the Hamburg “Palais d’Amour.” After Fichte’s death there appeared Homosexualität und Literatur: Polemiken, vols. 1 and 2 (1987–88).

What is new, different, and rewarding in Hubert Fichte is more than his range. It is stimulating to observe how the new standpoint, which probably even without “gay consciousness,” leads to new forms of verbalization and to open forms (even the format of Fichte’s novels on the printed page—with much blank space—is open). His use of text collages at the macro and micro level can be read as the reflex of a process “of fragmentation and rebirth.” In this process Fichte brought together a broadly conceived interpretation of “puberty” and “religion.”


Marita Keilson-Lauritz

FICHTE, HUBERT

FICHTE, HUBERT

Italian philosopher and humanist. The son of a physician, he preferred to take up the study of philosophy rather than to follow in his father’s footsteps. The arrival in Italy of learned Byzantines fleeing Constantinople after it had fallen to the Turks in 1453 gave Italian humanists the opportunity of studying Greek works which had been previously unknown to them. In this way the young Ficino discovered Platonism, learning Greek in order to study its texts.

Having gained the favor of the Medici family in Florence, Ficino was protected by them for the rest of his life; they presented him with a precious gift of Greek manuscripts, which he translated. Ficino quickly became a respected personality, attracting various pupils in a kind of Platonic Academy. In 1473 he took priestly orders, while continuing his philosophical speculations and taking on the responsibility of showing that the philosophy of Plato was in accord with Christian doctrine, as St. Thomas Aquinas had done earlier with Aristotle.

Among his most important works is the Theologia platonica (published in 1482), to which must be added strictly religious works [e.g., his Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul], and philosophical disquisitions [e.g., his Commentary on Plato’s Symposium of 1469, in which he revived the form of the Platonic dialogue], as well as an impressive number of translations from the Greek of works of Plato and other ancient Greek thinkers. These translations made available to a scholarly public works that for the most part had been inaccessible up to that time in the West.

Marsilio Ficino is one of the most representative personalities of the Italian Renaissance. His fame is inseparable from his love and painstaking work of rediscovery, translation, commentary, and advocacy of the works of Plato.

Of special significance in this regard is his resurrection of the Platonic ideal of love, as it is known from the Phaedrus and the Symposium. In the sixteenth century Ficino’s version was elabo-
rated in countless treatises on love, becoming the prototype of a new concept of "courtly love."

Under the rubric of *amor socraticus* Ficino set forth a paradigm of a profound but highly spiritual love between two men, perhaps linked by their common devotion to the quest for knowledge. According to his statement in the above-mentioned Commentary on Plato's *Symposium*, this love is caused, following Plato's conception, by the vision of beauty vouchsafed by the soul of the other individual—a beauty that reflects the supernal beauty of God. Through the physical beauty of a young man—women were incapable of inciting this rapture, being more suited to stimulate copulation for the reproduction of the species—the prudent man ascends to the Beauty which is the archetypal Idea (in Plato's sense) on which the beauty he sees depends—hence to God himself. Thus contemplating the physical and spiritual beauty of a young man through love is a way of contemplating at least a fragment of Divine Beauty, the model of every individual terrestrial beauty.

Ficino practiced this love metaphysic with the young and handsome Giovanni Cavalcanti (ca. 1444–1509), whom he made the principal character in his commentary on the *Convivio*, and to whom he wrote ardent love letters in Latin, which were published in his *Epistulae* in 1492. It is an ironic fact that the object of his love always remained (as Ficino himself laments) in a state of embarrassment.

Apart from these letters there are numerous indications that Ficino's erotic impulses were directed toward men. After his death his biographers had a difficult task in trying to refute those who spoke of his homosexual tendencies.

Fortunately the universal respect enjoyed by Ficino, his sincere and deep faith, as well as his membership in the Catholic clergy, put him outside the reach of gossip and suspicions of sodomy—which, however, such followers as Benedetto Varchi were not spared.

After Ficino's death the ideal of "Socratic love" became a potent instrument to justify love between persons of the same sex; during the high Renaissance many persons were to make use of this protective shield. Yet this use served ultimately to discredit the ideal in the eyes of the public, and with the passage of the years it was regarded with increasing distrust, until—about 1550—it became simply identified with sodomy itself. Consequently, in order to save it, from the middle of the sixteenth century the ideal was heterosexualized, and in this guise it long survived in love treatises and in Italian and European love literature in general.


**Giovanni Dall'Orto**

**FICTION**

*See Novels and Short Fiction.*

**FIDENTIAN POETRY**

This minor genre of Italian poetry originated as a vehicle for homosexual themes that within the larger context of burlesque poetry have given rise to Burchiellesque and Bernesque poetry. The initiator of Fidentian poetry was Camillo Scroffa (1526–1565), a jurisconsult of Vicenza, in his *Cantici di Fidenzio* published in 1562 (but composed about 1545–50).

The *Cantici*, which probably come from Scroffa's student days at Padua, are supposed to have been written by an "amorous pedant," one Fidenzio Glottocrisio Ludomagistro, who is hopelessly in love with the handsome Camillo Strozzi. It is possible that the *Cantici* began as a student prank at the expense of a pedantic teacher at the University of Padua, Pietro Giunno Fidenzio da Montagnana.
FIDENTIAN POETRY

In fact the author seems to have forgotten this hoax of his youth; he decided to prepare an edition only after a series of unauthorized, and often enlarged, published collections had made the material popular.

The anthology amounts in the main to an anti-Petrarchan pamphlet, poking fun at well-worn conventions of love poetry, while at the same time it is a satire on the excessive preoccupation with classical antiquity into which the humanists had fallen, both from a linguistic standpoint and in view of their exaltation of the so-called Socratic love.

In fact not only is the fictitious author of the *Cantici* “Socratically” in love with his pupil “in the ancient manner,” but he composes love poetry in a language in which immoderate love for the Latin language produces a thoroughgoing bastardization of the Italian, which has to bear an endless assault of Latinisms. The effect is comically pompous.

Scrofa’s literary astuteness emerges in his having created a very human character, one who is pathetically caught up in the toils of an “impossible” love, set apart from the lives of normal people, and incapable of seeing anything wrong in the overwhelming sentiment he feels for “his” Camillo. The poems are tender and very candid, to the point that, the satire notwithstanding, the reader feels great sympathy for the hapless Fidenzio.

What came to be known as Fidentian poetry—which is technically the opposite of macaronic poetry, which mixes vernacular elements into Latin, instead of vice versa—was cultivated even before the first authorized edition of the *Cantici* in 1562, and lasted until the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Scrofa’s first imitators kept close to his homoerotic inspiration. The finest among them are probably the anonymous author of “Jano Argyroglotto” (who also translated an anacreontic poem) and Giambattista Liviera (1565–early seventeenth century).

With the spread of Counterreformation ideas, the tone of the compositions was prudently and prudishly changed from homoerotic to heterosexual. Incapable of maintaining the subtle balance between irony and transgression, which Scrofa had exemplified, later Fidentian poetry became a sterile and repetitive poetic exercise, the equivalent of the mannered poetry which was in fact the original target of the *Cantici di Fidenzio*.


*Giovanni Dall’Orto*

**FIEDLER THESIS**

In a 1948 essay widely circulated in the 1950s (“Come Back on the Raft Ag’in Honey”), the innovative literary critic Leslie Fiedler argued that interracial male homoerotic relationships (not necessarily genitally expressed) have occupied a central place in the American psyche. Citing works by Fenimore Cooper, Richard Henry Dana, Herman Melville, and Mark Twain, he even spoke of the “sacred marriage of males.”

Whatever the ultimate verdict on this thesis may be, it is probably true that male homosexuals—and lesbians—have for a long time been more open to interracial contact than the population at large. It has been suggested that racial complementation serves as a surrogate for the absent complementation of gender. Those who hold this view find a similar pattern in relationships that cross class lines. In the case of racial dyads, as seen typically in the “salt-and-pepper couple,” the greater frequency may also be facilitated by the fact that no children will be born from the union, a question that heterosexual couples—in view of the lingering racism of our society—cannot ignore. That interracial gay relationships have been accompanied by some self-consciousness (and hostility on the part of bigoted individuals)
transpires from such slang epithets as dingel/chocolate queen, snow queen, rice queen, and taco queen.

In the late 1970s the organization Black and White Men Together appeared in a number of American cities, attracting a good deal of support. In addition to offering social opportunities, the group has sought to explore the subtler aspects of the dynamics of such relationships, as well as to oppose racism. In some cities it is called Men of All Colors Together [MACT].

See also Black Gay Americans; Working Class, Eroticization of.


FILM

Movie making is both an art and an industry. It has drawn for inspiration on theatre, fiction, biography, history, current affairs, religion, folklore, and the visual and musical arts. Active in stimulating the fantasy lives of viewers, motion pictures also reflect, though in a highly selective and often distorted way, the texture of daily life.

History of Motion Pictures. Although the first crude efforts with a proto-movie camera were made in the 1880s, films did not begin to be shown in specially designed cinemas until the beginning of the present century. Widely regarded at the time as disreputable and not suitable for middle-class audiences, the silents were subject to pressure to make them more respectable.

By 1913 Hollywood had emerged as the center of America’s film industry, and by the end of the decade it was the world’s leader. This commercial success drew additional attention from the “guardians of morality” in the pulpits and the press. In 1922 Hollywood set up an office of self-censorship, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America [popularly known as the Hays Office], to head off efforts to install government censorship. However, the Motion Picture Production Code was not promulgated until 1930; four years later, at the behest of religious groups, it was strengthened. In 1927 sound dialogue was introduced [the “talkies”], making possible, inter alia, the inclusion of suggestive dialogue of the Mae West type, though a constant running battle with the guardians of the code was required to retain even the subtlest double entendres.

In its heydey [1930-60] the motion picture industry was dominated by a small number of powerful Hollywood studios cranking out seemingly endless cycles of films based on a few successful exemplars. The focus on the stars, which had begun in the silent era, was continued, some of them now becoming [for reasons that are not always clear] gay icons: Bette Davis, Judy Garland, and James Dean. Anything that did not conform to the code had to be shown in a few “art theatres” in the large cities or in semi-private film clubs such as Cinema 16 in New York; it could find no mass audience.

By the mid-sixties television had begun to call the tune, and some studio lots were given over to producing standard fare for the small screen. Yet motion pictures survived and the sixties saw the rise of independent producers, who broke the stranglehold of the big studios. The demographics of the motion picture audience also changed, becoming more segmented, younger and more sophisticated. In this new climate some offbeat themes became realizable, often in films for “special audiences” such as counterculture youth and blacks. Even the rise [in the eighties] of videos rented in stores and played on home VCRs did not kill the movie houses. Moreover, the videos proved a boon to film scholars, who were able to reexamine older statements and theories through minute study of the films themselves.
Although the naive observer regards movies as a direct transcription of reality, technical and aesthetic considerations require transformation of the basic material. Moreover, social pressures—and the basic need to make money that is affected by them—shape choices of what is to be excluded and included. Gay and lesbian scholars have argued that their communities have never been adequately represented in mainstream motion pictures, which have been content to serve up brief glimpses and easy stereotypes. Be this as it may, there is much to be learned from a careful study of filmic images—mainstream and experimental, amateur and pornographic—that relate to alternative sexuality.

**Beginnings.** The first serious homosexual film appears to be Mauritz Stiller’s *The Wings* (1916), based on the novel *Mikael* by the Danish gay author Herman Bang. This work is an early example of the perennial practice (not of course limited to homosexual movies) of basing the story line on a successful novel. In 1919 the German director Richard Oswald produced an educational film *Anders als die Andern* [Different from the Others] with the advice and participation of the great sex researcher Magnus Hirschfeld. The movie portrays the difficulty of establishing a homosexual identity in a hostile environment, the expectation of marriage imposed by relatives, coming out, the tensions within gay relationships, blackmail, and the tragedy of suicide. The stormy reception accorded public showings of *Anders als die Andern* tended to discourage the otherwise innovative film industry of Weimar Germany from venturing much further into the realm of homosexuality. Probably the first explicit lesbian in film, however, was featured in G. W. Pabst’s *Pandora’s Box* (1929), based on a play by Frank Wedekind. In 1931 Leontine Sagan’s *Mädchen in Uniform* appeared, based on a play by lesbian writer Christa Winsloe. The story, which concerns the love of a sensitive student for her teacher, serves a broader purpose of questioning social rigidity and authoritarianism. This film, whose intense performances held audiences from the beginning, is rightly designated a classic.

Constricted by the Hays office, America produced little that was comparable. An exception is the experimental *Lot in Sodom* (1933) of James Watson and Melville Webber, which however played upon lingering fin-de-siècle ideas of decadence. In France Jean Vigo’s *Zéro de Conduite* (1933), set in a boy’s school, has homoerotic overtones, but these are not explicit.

**Drag Films and Scenes.** From the nineteenth-century tradition of theatrical transvestism—male and female impersonation—the movies inherited a minor but surprisingly persistent motif. Julian Eltinge, a renowned female impersonator from the vaudeville circuit, was brought to films by Adolph Zukor in 1917. The plots of his popular films generally offered some pretext for his making a transition from male to female attire. Brandon Thomas’s theatre staple *Charley’s Aunt* was first filmed as a silent in 1925, to be followed eventually by four sound versions. The plot concerns a young aristocrat at Oxford who comes to the rescue of two fellow students by disguising himself as the Brazilian aunt of one of them. In the German musical comedy *Viktor und Viktoria* (1933; remade in England in 1935), an aspiring actress gets her chance to replace a major male star by doing his role first as a man and then as a woman—a double disguise. In 1982 Blake Edwards remade this comedy to great effect starring Julie Andrews. Beginning with *Morocco* in 1930 Marlene Dietrich essayed a series of male impersonations—a device which became virtually her trademark. In the historical drama *Queen Christina* (1933), rich in homosexual and lesbian innuendo, Greta Garbo made a stunning appearance as the monarch disguised as a boy. Billy Wilder’s *Some Like It Hot* (1959) featured Jack Lemmon and Tony Curtis as musicians compelled...
to disguise themselves as women because they inadvertently witnessed a gangster shootout. Although this film has remained a great favorite among gay men, only the last scene, in which Joe E. Brown insists that he still wants to marry Lemmon even though he is a man, is truly homosexual. The grossly obese transvestite Divine (who died in 1988) appeared in a number of deliberately tacky John Waters films in the 1970s and 80s. After an initially tepid audience response, the musical The Rocky Horror Picture Show (1976) became the focus of a cult of remarkable longevity in which members of the audience dress up as the characters, doubling the action as the film unfolds. Tim Curry plays a “sweet transvestite,” Dr. Frank-N-Furter, who creates a muscle-bound monster for his own delectation. Then the French weighed in with La Cage aux Folles (1979), about two older gay men on the Riviera. This list could be extended for many pages. The point of the drag films is not so much whether they are explicitly homosexual, but their capacity to challenge gender role conventions. Yet the genre is so well entrenched that, unless specially charged, it has lost most of its power to shock, and thus change thinking.

The Sissy Motif. While contempt for effeminacy is deeply rooted in Western culture (it is already found among the ancient Greeks), the motif took on special coloration in America, where the sissy was identified with effete European culture as contrasted with the frontier-bred he-man. Thus in the film Mollycoddle Douglas Fairbanks is a foppish expatriate living in Europe who must win his way back to his rugged, masculine American heritage. In the comedies of Harold Lloyd, the bespectacled weakling is made to prove his masculinity over and over again.

In the 1930s, as the Hays Office code tightened its stifling hold, the sissy became a camouflage for the male homosexual, who could not be presented directly. In Lewis Milestone’s 1931 version of The Front Page, a milktoast poet–reporter, played by Edward Everett Horton, is a foil for the tough-guy reporters. During the 1930s Ernest Truex and Franklin Pangborn made the character virtually their own. With the collapse of censorship in the late 1960s, this subterfuge became less common, but it is still resorted to occasionally when the filmmakers wish to blur the image of a homosexual character.

Buddy Films. The drag and sissy films featured individuals who were generally isolated and risible, and hence could scarcely be regarded as role models by the general public. It was quite different with the buddy films—a classic example is Beau Geste (1926)—which generally presented dashing specimens of manhood who bonded with others of their ilk. For this reason homoerotic overtones generally had to be more subtle than in the other two genres. Many of these films raise problems of interpretation, in that the homoerotic elements that are detected by gay viewers (and a few homophobes) are often ignored by general audiences. Is it a case of projection (on the one hand) or obtuseness (on the other)? Recent literary criticism has emphasized that each work lends itself to a multiplicity of interpretations as the reader recreates the work. Regardless of whether this principle applies to films in general, it does seem helpful in understanding the divergent interpretations of buddy films.

An early landmark of the genre is William Wellman’s Wings (1928), not to be confused with Stiller’s earlier work. As one of the two flyer heroes is dying in the arms of the other, the survivor epitomizes: “There is nothing in the world that means more to me than your friendship.” A sinister example is Alfred Hitchcock’s Strangers on a Train (1951), based on a novel by Patricia Highsmith, where two men make a double murder pact. Adolescent alienation was the theme of Rebel without a Cause (1955), in which, however, the delicate Sal Mineo character dies so that James Dean can be united with Natalie Wood. In
1964 Becket provided a medieval setting, while the popular Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid (1974) updated the long tradition of Westerns featuring male heroes and their "sidekicks" by making Paul Newman and Robert Redford equal partners.

The seventies provided a few opportunities for a franker divulgence of the subtext. In the French Going Places (Les valseuses, 1974) Gérard Depardieu and Patrick Dewaere even have sex in one scene, the next day Dewaere is remorseful and ashamed, but Depardieu tells him to forget it: it's OK among friends.

Transfers. Novels having gay and lesbian characters have received a variety of treatments. Early on, the gay character is either written out or made straight (Young Man with a Horn, 1950) or the gender is changed (as in Serenade [1956], after James M. Cain's novel, the gay-male impresario is turned into a femme fatale agent, played by Joan Fontaine). Cabaret (1972) made the Isherwood character bisexual, but the earlier I am a Camera passed him off as straight. Inside Daisy Clover made the gay movie star (Robert Redford) only bisexual, and then only through the dialogue of other people. In the book Midnight Express the hero admitted to a gay love affair in prison, but in the movie version (1978) he rejects a handsome fellow inmate's advances. Although William Hurt received an Academy Award in 1986 for his portrayal of a fem prisoner in Kiss of the Spider Woman, many gay viewers—including the book's author, Manuel Puig—found him unconvincing.

In screened plays, especially those of Tennessee Williams, the crucial bits of dialogue are omitted, so that one wonders what the fuss is about with Blanche and her dead friend in Streetcar Named Desire [1951] or the problem that keeps Brick and Maggie apart in Cat on a Hot Tin Roof [1958]. Yet the English Taste of Honey (1961) retained the honesty of Shelagh Delaney's play, providing a rare instance of a sympathetic effeminate gay man.

Screen biographies of gay people have had similar fates. Michelangelo and Cole Porter appear as joyful heterosexuals; Oscar Wilde could not be sanitized, to be sure, but he was presented in a "tasteful" manner [three British versions, two in 1960, one in 1984]. Recent screen biographies have been better; the documentary on the painter Paul Cadmus (1980) is open without being sensational; Prick Up Your Ears, on the life of Joe Orton, is as frank as one can wish, though it somehow misses the core of his personality. Nik and Murray, while not properly speaking a biography, told the story of dance-world luminaries Alwin Nikolais and Murray Louis, treating their long-term relationship simply as a matter of fact. Unanswered Prayers: The Life and Times of Truman Capote (1987) pulled few punches, and Gian-Carlo Menotti: The Musical Magician (1986), though it provided no intimate details, did not gloss over the relationship with Samuel Barber.

The European "Art Film." After World War II, as Europe emerged from the stultifying restraints of the Occupation, a greater freedom was sought in many areas, including the erotic. Moral guardians were still very much on the scene, however, and homosexuality had to be presented in aestheticized, "tasteful" guise. Clearly ahead of its time was Jean Genet's Un Chant d'Amour, about prison homoeroticism and its repression. In The Third Sex (West Germany, 1959) a sophisticated older man has an entourage of teen-aged boys. Although this film purveys dated ideas of homosexuality, it went farther in explicitness than anything that Hollywood was able to do for over a decade. Federico Fellini's celebrated La Dolce Vita (1960) is a multifaceted portrait of eternal decadence in chic circles in Rome. The English Victim (1961), which concerns the blackmailing of a young homosexual, is clearly a plea for law reform in the wake of the 1957 Wolfenden Report. Sidney J. Furie's The Leather Boys (1964) portrays a buddy relationship between two motorcyclists,
one gay, one straight. In the same year a French director Jean Delannoy even showed (though in highly aestheticized form) love between two schoolboys in Les Amitiés particulières, based on the 1945 novel of Roger Peyrefitte.

_The Sixties Thaw in America._

The early years of the sixties saw the start of the civil rights movement in the United States, while at the same time a series of court decisions struck down literary censorship, signaling that restriction on films would be relaxed as well. Otto Preminger's _Advise and Consent_ (1962) even brought homosexuality to the hallowed halls of the United States Senate, but presented it as a seamy reality far from the conventional life of an upright American politician, even though it was based on the suicide of Senator Lester Hunt of Wyoming in 1954. This film presented audiences with their first glimpse of a gay bar. One breakthrough came in 1967 when the legendary Marlon Brando portrayed a closeted homosexual army officer in John Huston's _Reflections in a Golden Eye_, a film which drew a "Condemned" rating from the Catholic Church. In _The Sergeant_ (1968) and _Suddenly Last Summer_ (1969) both protagonists meet death as the wages of their perversion. The lesbian relationship in 1968's _The Fox_ is also ended through the death of Sandy Dennis. Although it was essentially a buddy movie, _Midnight Cowboy_ (1969), with Jon Voight and Dustin Hoffman, offered some revealing glimpses of the Times Square hustling scene, with Voight sympathetically playing a "straight trade" type; one scene has him experiencing oral sex in an all-night movie theater.

_The Underground Cinema._ In 1947 Kenneth Anger, then still a southern California high school student, made _Fireworks_, a symbol-laden, quasi-surrealist portrayal of a gay sex encounter. Although his career never really took off in the commercial sense, Anger made another innovative film _Scorpio Rising_ in 1963, which foretold counterculture sexual freedom and the interest in the occult. Some-what similar was Jack Smith's _Flaming Creatures_ (1963), while Gregory Markopoulos achieved a more aestheticized and abstract version of the mode. These developments have been termed the "Baudelairean cinema," since they depend on some aspects of the French nineteenth-century decadent sensibility. Their immediate heir, however, was Andy Warhol, who branched out from painting in such deliberately crude films as _Blow Job_ (1963) and _My Hustler_ (1965). Neither was really pornographic but their acceptance helped speed the fall of censorship barriers.

_Breakthrough._ Only with William Friedkin's _Boys in the Band_ (1970) were audiences confronted with a Hollywood film in which all the characters are stereotypical homosexuals. The tone remained mocking and hostile, reassuring straight audiences that such people were doomed to unhappiness in "the wasteland of homosexual existence."

Also in 1970 came Michael York's portrayal of a scheming, murderous bisexual in _Something for Everyone_. York again played a bisexual as the male lead Brian in the film version of _Cabaret_ (1972), based on Christopher Isherwood's _Berlin Stories_. The early seventies were also notable for two films which dealt with male rape, in each case of a heterosexual by a heterosexual. The 1971 Canadian film version of John Herbert's play _Fortune and Men's Eyes_ dealt with a prison setting, and included some rather explicit footage as well as a drag-queen who turns out to be the strongest of the main characters. Burt Reynolds starred in _Deliverance_ (1972), in which a white-water macho buddy trip is disrupted by some hillbillies who take advantage of an opportunity to sodomize one of the buddies at gunpoint.

Against this background, Christopher Larkin's _A Very Natural Thing_ (1973) came as a wholly positive portrait of gay relationships. Sidney Lumet's _Dog Day Afternoon_ (1975) followed with the real story of a bisexual bankrobber, played by
Al Pacino, and his would-be transsexual lover, sympathetically told.

Europe continued to be important with the emergence of openly gay directors. As early as 1968 Pier Paolo Pasolini had made Teorema, about the visit of a pansexual angel to the household of a Milan industrialist. Not to be outdone, his older colleague Luchino Visconti made The Damned (1969), a somewhat fanciful recreation of the massacre of Captain Röhm and his Nazi storm trooper comrades in the 1934 "night of the long knives," depicted as a wild orgy of blond German youths suddenly interrupted by submachine guns from the rival Nazis of the S.S. Bernardo Bertolucci's The Conformist (1970) made a questionable equation between childhood homosexual experience and Italian fascism. A year later Visconti brought out a more lyrical and successful film, a rendering of Thomas Mann's novella Death in Venice. Britain's John Schlesinger depicted a triad of two men and a woman in which one of the men was involved with the other two in 1971's Sunday Bloody Sunday; this film was notable for the shock experienced by straight audiences at a kissing scene between Peter Finch and Murray Head. Perhaps the most notorious of the gay directors was Rainer Werner Fassbinder, whose Fox and His Friends (1975) deals with homosexuality and class struggle. Fassbinder's last film was his controversial version of a Genet novel, Querelle (1982). The death of Franco created the possibility of a new openness in Spanish culture, including a number of gay films. Influenced by Luis Buñuel, Law of Desire (1986) by Pedro Almodóvar is surely a masterpiece of comic surrealism.

The Positive Eighties. Homophobia in movie-making became a major issue in 1980, when street demonstrations called to protest and disrupt the filming of Cruising proved effective and the movie's showings were often targeted for further protests. As the controversial film failed to score big at the box office, Hollywood drew the lesson that blatant homophobia was no longer good business.

In 1982 Hollywood came back with Making Love, a high budget soap opera about two yuppie lovers, in an attempt to lure a new market; as the attempt failed, no further such excursions appeared. Also in 1982 came Personal Best, with Mariel Hemingway as a lesbian athlete, and in 1986, the independently produced Desert Hearts, after the novel Desert of the Heart by Jane Rule, but both films showed disappointing box-office receipts. Bill Sherwood's Parting Glances (1986), a sensitive story of two men, one with AIDS, the other not, was not intended to make money. Modest expectations also attended the British My Beautiful Laundrette (1985), featuring an unselfconscious love affair between two teenage boys, one white, the other Pakistani; yet it enjoyed surprisingly long runs. In 1987, however, Maurice, a beautifully detailed recreation of the E. M. Forster novel by the Merchant–Ivory team, showed that excellence, high budget commercial standards, and honesty about homosexuality could be successfully combined.

Gay and Lesbian Personalities. While actors are often thought of as homosexual or bisexual—and many are—the real gay side of Hollywood is probably to be found in those who do not appear on the screen—agents, costume designers, choreographers, and makeup artists. Already in the 1920s some major directors were known to be gay, including the German Friedrich W. Murnau and the Russian Sergei Eisenstein. Dorothy Arzner certainly projected a mannish appearance, whatever her sex life was. The English James Whale went to Hollywood, where he achieved success in directing horror movies. Pasolini, Visconti, and Fassbinder have been mentioned above; the multitalented Franco Zeffirelli (also active in the field of opera) should also be noted.

From an early date Hollywood had promoted the cult of the stars, with their images carefully shaped by studio
public relations departments. A curious aspect of star adulation is the preoccupation, amounting almost to identification, of gay men with such heterosexual divas as Joan Crawford and Judy Garland. Of course the gossip mills turned endlessly. While Rudolph Valentino had to undergo (still unsubstantiated) gossip about his homosexuality, his successor Ramon Novarro really did it, as his tragic murder by two hustlers in 1968 finally attested. The screenwriter Mercedes de Acosta claimed to have had affairs with both Garbo and Dietrich. During their lifetimes Charles Laughton and Montgomery Clift had to suffer fag-baiting taunts from colleagues, while Rock Hudson remained largely untouched by public scandal until his death from AIDS in 1985. Tyrone Power and Cary Grant were decloseted after their deaths. The sexuality of others, such as Errol Flynn and James Dean, remains the subject of argument. In Germany the stage actor and film director Gustav Gründgens managed to work through the Nazi period, even though his homosexuality was known to the regime. In the 1970s, the English actor Dirk Bogarde, in a rare and courageous act of candor, went public about his homosexuality.

Gay-Male Porno Films. The origins of this genre are obscure, but one source is the "blue movies" made for stag parties and sold under the counter even before World War II. Another source is the nonexplicit genre of "muscle films" showing buddy relationships and wrestling, which were purchased by gay men. In the late 1960s Pat Rocco produced a series of romantic soft-core (not showing acts of sexual penetration) films of virile men in love with one another. In 1969, however, hard-core porno arrived, apparently to stay. Some fifty theatres across the United States specialized in the genre, and where the authorities were willing to turn a blind eye, sexual acts took place there, stimulated by the films.

Much of the early production was forgettable, but in 1971, in Boys in the Sand starring Casey Donovan (Cal Culver), the director—producer Wakefield Poole achieved a rare blend of sexual explicitness and cinematographic values. For a while New York and Los Angeles vied for supremacy, the eastern city specializing in the seamy side of gay life, whereas the California city featured wholesome west coast boys. Among those who achieved some distinction (or at least commercial success) as directors in Los Angeles are J. Brian, Fred Halsted (1940–1989), and William Higgins. Other notable American directors include Arch Brown, Jack Deveau, Francis Ellie, Joe Gage, Dave Nesor, and Christopher Rage. The French Jean-Daniel Cadinot showed that one could combine porno with convincing setting and characterization. Although they are not strictly porno, much the same can be said for the films of the late Arthur J. Bresson, who even dared to deal with boy love.

In the later eighties AIDS began to devastate porno-industry workers, gay and straight, and safe sex procedures became more rigorous on the set (it should be noted, however, that long before AIDS, by strict convention pornographic film ejaculations were always conducted outside the body, so as to be graphically visible; hence film sex was always basically "safe sex"). Video rentals for home use competed with cinema showings, and some of the sleazier houses closed.

Lesbian porno exists only as scenes within films addressed to heterosexual males, their being, thus far, no market for full-length lesbian films of this nature. A number of independent lesbian filmmakers have made candid motion pictures about lesbian life, but they are not pornographic.

Documentaries. Perhaps the first is a chapter in the life of openly gay artist David Hockney, A Bigger Splash (1974). Word is Out was a 1977 composite set of interviews providing a remarkable panorama of gay and lesbian reality. In 1978 Rosa von Praunheim, a militant German
gay director, brought out *An Army of Lovers*, a record of his visits to American gay liberation leaders. *Improper Conduct* (1984) by Néstor Almendros and Orlando Jiménez featured interviews with gay exiles from Castro’s Cuba. *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1985), concerning San Francisco’s slain political leader, received an Academy Award in 1986. The availability of cheaper equipment has made documentaries of important events, such as the 1987 march on Washington, easier, and the video rental system has made them available to those who cannot attend the often brief theatrical engagements. Major cities, such as Amsterdam, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York, now have annual film festivals in which gay and lesbian motion pictures of all sorts are showcased.


**Wayne R. Dynes**

**FIRBANK, RONALD**  
(1886–1926)

English novelist and playwright. Firbank, an aesthete and a dandy, was the grandson of a Durham miner, whose Victorian rags-to-riches ascent provided the income for his grandson to live independently and to publish most of his books privately. A delicate child, he was educated mainly by private tutors. He attended Trinity College, Cambridge, during the height of the university’s homoerotic period, but never took a degree. In 1907 he was converted to the Roman Catholic church by R. H. Benson, a closeted homosexual who had been a patron of Frederick Rolfe (“Baron Corvo”). Shy and retiring, Firbank spent much of his life traveling, writing his novels on the backs of large postcards. He seems to have had no long-term homosexual affairs; as he remarked with resignation, “I can buy companionship.”

Characteristically, the plot of his first novel, *Vainglory* (1915), which concerns the quest of a society woman to have herself memorialized in a stained-glass window, is a slight affair. The interest lies in the social color as expressed in the dialogue, where Firbank leaves out many of the usual narrative markers, including the identity of the speakers, so that the reader is left to construct much of the background for himself. *Valmouth* (1919) concerns a nursing home for centenarians, while *Prancing Nigger* (1919) is set on a Caribbean island. In the latter novel, he introduces his own name as that of an orchid: “a dingy lilac blossom of rarity untold.” His last novel, *Concerning the Eccentricities of Cardinal Pirelli*, in which the eponymous cleric chases but never quite succeeds in catching choir boys, was published just after his death in Rome from a pulmonary infection (1926).

Seemingly spun from the stuff of trivial social comedy, Firbank’s novels made a significant contribution to literary modernism through their original use of the device of the “reader’s share,” whereby he left unstated the details of plot and characterization. Firbank’s popularity waxes and wanes, but he had a major influence on such younger contemporaries as Evelyn Waugh and Muriel Spark.
FLAUBERT, GUSTAVE (1821-1880)
French novelist. The son of a surgeon, Flaubert grew up in a medical milieu preoccupied with the progress of a science to which he felt himself unequal. From his early years at the lycée onward, he preferred the pen to his father's scalpel, and singlehandedly edited a minor journal, the Colibri, that clumsily but clearly foretold his future talent. In Paris he read law but never took the degree for reasons of health, and there met Maxime Du Camp, with whom he formed a close friendship. Together they traveled through Brittany and Normandy in 1847, bringing back a volume of reminiscences that was to be published only after Flaubert's death (Par les champs et par les grèves, 1885). Between October of 1849 and May of 1851 the two traveled in Egypt and Turkey, and there Flaubert had a number of pederastic experiences which he related in his letters to Louis Bouilhet.

On his return to France Flaubert shut himself up in his country house at Croisset, near Rouen. Instead of aspiring to self-discovery in the manner of the

ideological loyalties as responsible for many difficulties that could have been avoided. Much of their correspondence focuses on their friends: Margaret Anderson, Kay Boyle, Nancy Cunard, Ernest Hemingway, Carson McCullers, Anna Magnani, and Tennessee Williams. Because some aspects of the exchange do not accord with today's social conscience, it attracted mixed reviews in the 1980s. Yet the letters are an invaluable record of over thirty years of a passionate, yet honest relationship of two intensely active women.


FLAUBERT, GUSTAVE

Romanticists, Flaubert sought to bury his own personality by striving for the goal of art in itself, and he devoted his entire life to the quest for its secrets. His ferocious will to be in his works “like God,” everywhere and nowhere, explains the nerve-wracking effort that went into each of his novels, in which nothing is left to the free flow of inspiration, nothing is asserted without being verified, nothing is described that has not been seen. This explains the multiple versions that are periodically uncovered of almost every one of his works, with the sole exception of Madame Bovary (1857), which led to his being tried for offending public decency. At the trial he won acquittal but was denied the costs of the proceedings. The novel gains its power from the careful picture of the Norman town and countryside he knew so well, while the lovers with whom Emma Bovary seeks to realize her dreams are as petty as the leaders of the provincial society in which she is trapped.

In 1857 he traveled to Tunisia to collect material for a historical novel set in Carthage after the First Punic War. Salammbô (1862), abundantly documented, is so rich in sadistic scenes, including one of a mass child-sacrifice, that it horrified some contemporary readers. It was followed in 1869 by L’éducation sentimentale, which relates the life and the education in love of Frederic Moreau, and although an uneventful tale, perfectly captures a certain period and stratum of French society. In 1874 he published La tentation de saint Antoine, a prose poem of great power and imagination. His last work, Bouvard et Pécuchet (issued posthumously in 1881), is an unfinished study in male bonding.

Flaubert had an interest in homosexuality that went beyond mere voyeurism. Among his mementoes was the autograph confession of a pederast who had killed his lover out of jealousy and was eventually guillotined after confessing every detail of his passion and crime. He was also delighted by the story of a group of men surprised in a homosexual encounter in a pissoir in the Champs-Élysées, among them the son of a former Governor of the Bank of France. But it was in Cairo, in the winter of 1849–50, that Flaubert experienced homosexuality in its Oriental guise. A letter to Bouilhet mentions the bardaches (passive homosexuals): “Sodomy is a subject of conversation at table. You can deny it at times, but everyone starts ribbing you and you end up spilling the beans. Traveling for our own information and entrusted with a mission by the government, we regarded it as our duty to abandon ourselves to this manner of ejaculation. The occasion has not yet presented itself, but we are looking for one. The Turkish baths are where it is practiced. One rents the bath for 5 fr., including the masseurs, pipe, coffee, and linen, and takes one’s urchin into one of the rooms.—You should know that all the bath attendants are bardaches.” Then he relates his disappointment at not obtaining the masseur of his choice. In another letter he writes in Greek characters that “Maxime [Du Camp] tried to sodomize a bardache in Jeremiah’s cave.—It’s untrue!” Then he adds: “No! No! It’s true.” The experiences of the two travelers parallel in a way Sir Richard Burton’s adventures while on government service in India; in the exotic setting they felt free to experiment with pleasures tabooed in their home countries. Although the major themes of Flaubert’s work would always be heterosexual, it is interesting that he was not repelled by “the other love,” but pursued it with nonchalance and with some evident curiosity.


Warren Johansson

FLORENCE
This city in central Italy, the capital of Tuscany, is famous as the native or adoptive home of many of the chief
artistic and cultural figures of the Italian Renaissance, and for its art treasures.

**Historical Background.** Of Etruscan origins, it was a Roman town, but declined with the barbarian invasions until the Carolingian period (eighth century). An economic renewal took place in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, causing the city gradually to detach itself from its feudal overlords, while adding to its own territory. A merchant and manufacturing city-state, it underwent a complex political development, punctuated by internecine strife. The continuing turbulence gave the commercial Medici family the opportunity gradually to impose its domination (from 1434). Under Lorenzo de' Medici, known as "the Magnificent" (1448–1492) Florence reached the zenith of its artistic, cultural, and political development—though not in the economic realm, which had its apogee in the previous century.

After various conflicts—which saw the Medici twice expelled—the family prevailed in 1530, and in 1569 Pope Pius V named them grand-dukes of Tuscany, a title reflecting the extension of their rule over most of the province. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were centuries of decline. Only with the reign of Peter Leopold of Habsburg-Lorraine (1765–1790) did Florence begin to recover culturally and economically.

Having revolted in 1859, in the following year Florence joined the new Kingdom of Italy, serving as capital from 1865 to 1871. Through the nineteenth and a large part of the twentieth century Florence was one of Italy's most important cultural centers, dense in literary, artistic, and publishing activities. Industrial development was centered in nearby Prato, permitting the historic center of Florence to be preserved.

**Homosexuality in Repute and in Law.** More than Venice, which has attracted many historians today, it was Florence that enjoyed the reputation, both in Italy and abroad, of being excessively "tolerant" of homosexual conduct. This renown is attested by the Middle High German verb *frenzen*, "to sodomize," and St. Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444), preaching on May 23, 1425 against sodomy, lamented that "You cannot leave Tuscany without being reproached twelve times a day that here we never punish such a vice."

In reality Florentine laws (beginning with that of 1325) severely punished sodomy, but in practice the authorities imposed the death penalty reluctantly, preferring fines or corporal punishments of other types (including castration). Capital punishment, as far as present knowledge goes, was reserved for cases of special gravity, such as rape, seduction of a small child, or public scandal.

How much the death penalty was viewed as excessive by the Florentines can be seen in a proposal advanced in a pamphlet of 1496 of Domenico Cecchi (ca. 1445–after 1514), who says that to make harsher the penalty against sodomites one should amputate one testicle for each of the first two offenses; on the third occasion the culprit should be locked up in a madhouse.

Nonetheless, Florence had a special court, that of the Uffiziali di Notte (the "Officers of the Night"), which was charged with the task of monitoring and punishing homosexual acts. Exploration of the enormous quantity of material contained in the Florentine state archives has only just begun. Nonetheless, some of the documents of the Uffiziali di Notte have been studied by the American scholar Michael Rocke. This research shows that most of the penalties exacted were fines. The relative mildness of Florentine justice helped to assure the denunciation of notorious sodomites, since the accuser knew that he was unlikely to cause a person's death.

In this way one can see how in "tolerant" Florence the accusations amounted to several thousand. Thanks to this option of mild, but systematic repression (instead of severe, but sporadic), Florentine society succeeded in keeping homo-
sexual behavior under control, despite the existence of a popular culture that regarded it indulgently, especially if the culprits were adolescents. Among the names of famous persons accused of sodomy under this system were Leonardo da Vinci, Sandro Botticelli, and Benvenuto Cellini (who was twice condemned).

The Homosexual Subculture of the Renaissance. The existence of a real subculture, and not simply of isolated acts, is confirmed by numerous sermons preached by the above-mentioned Bernardino of Siena in the years 1424–27. In these texts Bernardino mentions various privileged places where sodomites met, especially taverns and pastry shops, noting the hours of the night preferred by the sodomites, those “wild pigs,” in their search for sexual partners.

Niccolò Machiavelli, in a letter of February 25, 1514, to his friend Francesco Vettori, amused himself by recalling street by street the path of a common friend in nocturnal quest of a boy. Among the locales noted are Borgo Santo Apostolo, Calimala Francesca, and Il Tetto de’ Pisani.

The prevailing pattern of this subculture is the same as that known for other Italian cities of the period: the sodomite couple consists of an adult, who takes the role of the insertor, and an adolescent, who is the insertee. The availability of adolescents for prostitution was decisive for maintaining the subculture; Rocke has calculated that in the period ca. 1478–83 ten percent of all Florentine boys had to appear before the authorities charged with sodomy. The same author notes also that those accused of sodomy included a conspicuous number of bachelors and recidivists, whom it is probably correct to describe as having a “deviant lifestyle.”

This phase of relative tolerance saw also the flowering of a notable amount of literature on the homosexual theme, authored by both homosexuals and heterosexuals, and written either in standard Italian or in Burchielliesque jargon. With Marsilio Ficino there was also an idealized, socially acceptable (though chaste) version of the love between two men.

Post-Renaissance Developments. The period following the Renaissance, in which Florence fell into decline, has not yet been the object of special study. Certainly the Counter-Reformation and the definitive return to power of the Medici dynasty fostered an atmosphere of gloomy moralism and puritanism, which discouraged writing about homosexuality so that there is a “blackout” in the written records of almost two centuries.

Still, indirect light is shed on this period by biographical gossip concerning the last two rulers of the Medici house compiled by Luca Ombrosi in the eighteenth century and published under the title of Vita dei Medici sodomiti. Grand-Duke Gian Gastone (1671–1737) was a notorious homosexual and he died without issue, ending the Medici line. There is also the semiserious invective, Della Vita e costumi de’ fiorentini, of Francesco Moneti (1635–1712), who accused his fellow citizens of being too much given to unnatural love. These texts document the persistence of widespread male prostitution and a degree of tolerance for homosexual conduct.

In the eighteenth century Ferdinand III, of the new ruling house of Habsburg-Lorraine, was one of the first European sovereigns to accept the Enlightenment ideas concerning the crime of sodomy; in 1795 he abolished the death penalty.

In the nineteenth century Florence became part of the grand tour of homosexual travelers from northern Europe, though it was less popular than such cities as Venice, Naples, and Rome. Still by the end of the century a small colony of foreign gay and lesbian residents, mainly English speaking, had formed. The persisting tolerance is shown by the indulgence always enjoyed by the noted Florentine versifier Tommaso Sgricci (1786–1836), of whom Byron remarked in 1820: “He is also a celebrated Sodomite, a character by no
means so much respected in Italy as it should be; but they laugh instead of burning, and the women talk of it as a pity in a man of talent."

In the twentieth century Florence saw a fervent cultural flowering, to which such homosexuals as the writers Carlo Emilio Gadda (1893–1973), Piero Santi (1912– ), Aldo Palazzeschi (1885–1974), and the painter Ottone Rosai (1893–1957) contributed. The present scene in Florence is characterized by a special concentration of leather locales, which attract homosexuals from other northern Italian cities, as well as foreigners.


Giovanni Dall’Orto

FLOWER SYMBOLISM

In classical antiquity the theme of picking flowers represented enjoyment of life’s transient pleasures, which must be gathered before they fade: the carpe diem motif. For many cultures the budding of plant life in spring represents nature’s resplendent, but ever temporary self-renewal. Ancient pederasts wrote poignantly of the anthos, or “bloom” of the adolescent sex object destined to fade all too soon.

The idea that specific flowers have meanings, that there is a “language of flowers,” seems to derive from Turkish eighteenth-century practice, when flowers served to make up a secret code for love messages in the harem. This concept of the selam, a flower code able to express a range of meanings, spread to western Europe, so that by 1820 Victor Hugo spoke of “doux messages où l’amour parle avec des fleurs!” In 1884 Kate Greenaway summed up Victorian lore on the subject in her book The Language of Flowers. One dialect she did not present was the homosexual one, which was then known to a very small group. In 1894 Robert Hichens’ novel, The Green Carnation, popularized that flower as the distinguishing mark of the aesthete, though the Wilde scandals in the following year led quickly to the abandonment of that particular badge. Of course flowers featured prominently in the interior-decoration schemes of the Arts and Crafts Movement and they were central to the fin-de-siécle imagery of the Art Nouveau in design and the minor arts.

The association of pansies with male homosexuals is documented in America as early as 1903. Dressing up in overelegant fashion may be called pansying up, while an effeminate boy may be called pansified. Other flowers that have been associated with male homosexuality are lilies and daffodils (the latter is jocular). The use of violets as a gift in Edouard Bourdet’s play The Captive, a major event of the 1926 Broadway season, caused an association of this flower with lesbianism that lasted several decades.

The slang term for the act of several persons having sexual intercourse with each other simultaneously is a daisy chain. While such a gathering might be heterosexual, the usual interpretation is that of a male-homosexual orgy.

The reasons for the floral metaphor are various. Botanically, flowers have both male and female organs of reproduction. In the early nineteenth century the study of this phenomenon led to the creation of the term bisexuality, though it is doubtful whether this recognition had much direct impact on the popular imagination. Flowers assume complex shapes and colors as a means of passive sexual attraction, since they lure insects who will bear their pollen to their partners. Then too they often have a scent, something to which homosexuals are allegedly addicted.
FLOWER SYMBOLISM

In Greek mythology the death of heroes could give rise to flowers and other plants. Especially touching is the story of the lovers Calamus and Carpus. When the latter was accidentally drowned, Calamus, inconsolable in his grief, found solace in being changed to a reed. Then the beautiful youth Narcissus, having spurned the love of a nymph, was caused by the goddess Aphrodite to feel unquenchable love for himself. At length he gained relief by being turned into the flower that still bears his name. As noted, the ancient Greeks described the bloom of a teenaged boy as the anthos, “blossom, flower,” a term which captures not only the rosy glow of youthful beauty but its transience.

In our society flowers, because of their delicacy and beauty, are most often given by a man to a woman. Flower names, such as Blossom, Camille, Daisy, Lily, and Petunia, are given only to women (though at one time they were assumed by gay men as “camp names”). The adjective florid means ornate and excessive; it can also describe an advanced stage of disease. Finally, flowers can be raised in hothouses to assume striking, even bizarre shapes and colors. They represent the triumph of culture over nature, a principle that also serves to buttress our society’s stereotype of the homosexual.

See also Color Symbolism.


Wayne R. Dynes

FOLKLORE, GAY MALE

Traditional aspects of culture—learned behavior—that are generally passed on orally or by example instead of through writing are usually classified as folklore. All people, regardless of education and social status, have many types of folklore. Often this is divided into such broad categories as oral tradition, nonverbal communication, and material culture. Each of these concepts can be further broken down into genres—specific types of folklore.

Homosexual men have developed a large number of traditions, including an argot (a form of language used by people who wish not to be understood by outsiders), jokes, legends, personal experience narratives, clothing and jewelry used as symbols, and a type of behavior known as “camp.”

*Language and Humor.* The language used by some homosexual men is quite developed, and it is much more enduring than slang. The words and phrases cover a range of subjects; the largest group is made up of words used to describe various types of people. For example, *queen* is a standard term some homosexual men use to refer to themselves and others; it can be used derogatorily or as a term of endearment, a sort of affectionate insult. This term is frequently used in compounds, like “flaming queen”; “flaming” means “carrying on in a blatantly effeminate manner” and is probably derived from “flamboyant.” Some gay expressions have entered the general vocabulary, most notably “to come out of the closet” and the word gay itself, as referring to sexual orientation. Such a colorful language commonly results in puns and other types of word play.

*Humor* is one of the hallmarks of the folklore of homosexual men. The most familiar genre of humor is the joke. The following riddling question shows how jokes can carry messages: “How many psychiatrists does it take to change a light bulb?—Only one, but the light bulb has to really want to change.” The joke is based on the stereotype that homosexual people are mentally ill and in need of professional help, and that psychiatrists can “change” them, making them heterosexual. But the punch line carries the subject further, making the point that homosexual people are in control of their lives, and psychiatrists cannot “change” them. By implying that gays do not want to change, this joke offers a psychological victory over oppression.
*Legends and Personal Narratives.* Homosexual men also tell legends—stories that are told as actual events; sometimes the tellers believe the stories, and in fact the event described in a legend may have taken place. After countless retellings, however, the legend has been associated with so many people, places, and times that any facts it may contain cannot be verified. Often the story is told as something that happened to a friend of a friend of the teller. A common legend told by homosexual men is the following:

“This really happened to a friend of a friend of mine in Chicago. He went into a tearoom [public rest room] and stuck his dick through the glory hole [a hole cut through the partition between two stalls]. The guy on the other side stuck a hatpin through it so he couldn’t get out.”

This legend is a cautionary tale, warning against anonymous and semipublic sexual acts. It is ironic that this story reveals a substantial amount of internalized homophobia; the theme of punishment for homosexual activity is quite clear.

Another type of story people tell is the personal experience narrative. Stories of this sort are not traditional in themselves, but the narrators have told them so often that they have taken on a traditional structure. The most familiar type of personal experience narrative among homosexual men is the coming-out story, in which a man describes revealing his homosexuality to someone (usually friends or family). Most gay men have more than one coming-out story, since one comes out to different people at different times.

*Nonverbal Expressiveness.* Nonverbal communication involves the use of gestures, clothing, symbols, jewelry, and the like to convey messages about oneself. For example, some homosexual men wear black leather to indicate an interest in sadomasochism; others may wear the same type of outfit to project a macho image. A gay man might wear a necklace with a pendant in the shape of the lower case Greek letter lambda, a symbol of gay liberation. Another might wear a badge in the form of an inverted pink triangle as a symbol of the oppression to which homosexual men and women are subjected. [During the Holocaust the Nazis forced homosexual prisoners to wear inverted pink triangles. Many thousands of these men, like millions of Jews, ultimately died in the camps.]

*Drag and Camp.* Two types of gay men’s folklore, drag and camp, combine verbal and nonverbal behavior. Drag, or female impersonation, although not practiced by most homosexual men, is widely associated with gays, and drag shows are a common form of entertainment in some gay bars.

Camp is widespread and widely misunderstood. Camp is an attitude, a style of humor, an approach to situations, people, and things. The camp point of view is assertively expressed through exaggeration and inversion, stressing form over content, deflating pomposity, mocking pretension, and subverting values. Sometimes (but certainly not always) camp behavior is effeminate. Like much gay humor, camp plays with stereotypes, carrying them to extremes, flouting heterosexual values. Camp can be solely playful, but often it is a serious medium, providing a weapon against oppression.

Camp is best understood through examples. In the spring of 1987, someone stomped several goslings to death in an Indianapolis neighborhood that has a large number of resident ducks and geese. Shortly thereafter, someone planted a small cross beside the canal where the goslings had been killed. Reminiscent of the crosses placed at the sites of fatal automobile accidents, the memorial in this case implied—contrary to most Christian theologies—that animals have souls and that the deaths of the goslings were the equivalent of human deaths.

*Strategic Deployment of Folklore.* Homosexual men demonstrate a variety of
strategies in their use of folklore. Humor is pervasive. Ambiguity is also common, allowing covert messages to be conveyed through the use of double meanings. If someone receiving a message takes offense, the sender can protest innocence by insisting that the receiver misunderstood. Since gay men were brought up in the heterosexual culture, they have a background from which they can draw double meanings.

In the following double entendre, the ambiguity is rather obvious. Feeling his attempt at finding a sexual partner for the evening to be futile, one man said, "Well, I guess I'll go home and do something constructive, like knit." Another man responded, "But you only have one needle." The first replied, "So I'll crochet." The exchange was spontaneous and the reactions were quick; nothing was laboriously thought out. The humor goes a bit deeper than it first appears, for it plays upon the stereotype of the effeminate homosexual male: both knitting and crocheting are associated with women. A man with only one needle (or penis) cannot engage in a cooperative endeavor like knitting, which requires two needles working together. Thus he must make do with the equipment at hand: having but one needle, he must crochet (masturbate). Since this encounter took place between two men, each of whom knew the other was homosexual, and because it occurred within a gay context, both intended meanings were clear to those who heard the exchange. The two men were simply engaging in a bit of word play. Had the men continued the conversation along similar lines, the double entendres could have been used to lay the basis for a sexual proposition.

Inversion is a third strategem used by homosexual men. In taking words like faggot that heterosexual people have used as tools of oppression and turning them into statements of pride and defiance, gay men state their refusal to be labeled as sick, immoral, and evil.

**Conclusion.** The folklore of homosexual men functions in many ways—as a means by which gays can identify and communicate with one another without other people's awareness, as a tool to help create a sense of "group" and belonging, and as a way of coping with and expressing conflict. Most of all, folklore helps homosexual men gain cultural competence, that is, to function as gay men with other gay men. As long as schools, families, churches, and other institutions fail to fulfill this role, folklore will continue to meet such needs.


Joseph P. Goodwin
tured community networks that the majority of lesbian folklore exists. That folklore can be classified into three categories: verbal folklore (oral), customary folklore (verbal and non-verbal), and material folklore (artifacts).

**Verbal Folklore.** One particularly fertile area in this realm is folk speech, including a specialized vocabulary and expressions which are circulated by word of mouth within the folk group. Folk terminology utilized by lesbians is vast. "Dyke," formerly a derogatory term, is now a reclaimed term of pride. Numerous derivations of dyke exist: "baby dyke," "blazer dyke," "psychodyke" (in therapy), "execudyke" (yuppie), "softball dyke," "back-to-the-land-dyke," and "the dyke of life" (stereotypical lesbian). Formalized phrases also make liberal use of the word dyke: "it was dykes for days" means seeing a lot of dykes, especially in unexpected places such as the grocery store. "Dyke detector" means picking out another lesbian. Another example is the term "queer," which can be comfortably spoken in a group of lesbians, thus serving as a camaraderie word. The traditional toast "cheers for queers" shows the friendly way queer can be used in an in-group context.

The lesbian lexicon contains a wealth of other folk speech items: initial-ized terms such as "p.i." (politically incorrect), "d.p." (dyke potential), and "p.h.d." (pretty heavy dyke); expressions to refer to outsiders (heterosexuals) such as "hets" and "breeders"; and word play such as "no homo" (when someone is not home when the phone rings), "forward gaily" (when giving directions), and "straightening up" (the house). One fascinating area of folk speech concerns coding or the way one lesbian communicates information when lesbian identity is concealed. "She goes to my church" (she's a lesbian) is a phrase of black lesbians. Folk speech demarcates the lesbian community's uniqueness and separateness. Use of folk speech helps maintain group solidarity.

Personal experience narratives are a significant part of many lesbians' repertoire. These stories are about an experience in the narrator's own life that one recounts frequently. Two types of personal experience narratives in the Bloomington lesbian community are "coming out" stories and humorous tales of lesbian life. Coming-out stories are the best known of all lesbian narratives and are so firmly ingrained into lesbian culture that a lesbian may request another lesbian to share her coming-out story. Coming-out stories are now available in printed form. Two collections are *The Coming Out Stories* edited by Julia Stanley and Susan Wolfe and *Testimonies: A Collection of Coming Out Stories*, edited by Sarah Holmes. Each lesbian's story is unique and chronicles the transitional stage of a lesbian's life when she solidifies her lesbian identity to herself and to others. Since coming-out is a process, many lesbians have several coming-out stories. Telling and retelling one's coming-out story or stories serves to reinforce one's lesbian identity.

Humorous tales of lesbian life are experiences after one has established her identity. Common themes in these humorous tales are: visiting parents, especially during holidays; asking another woman for a date; detailing of a situation where the lesbian is for the first time being open with non-lesbians failing to understand; situations in the workplace and ironic situations (e.g., a lesbian teacher of sex education meeting a lesbian worker at Planned Parenthood). More often than not the core of these humorous narratives points to the painful aspects of living day-to-day as a lesbian in a homophobic world. Telling these tales provides an avenue for the narrator and her audience to laugh at herself and lesbian life.

**Customary Folklore.** This area encompasses both verbal and non-verbal traditions. Customary folklore can be found within celebrations and festivals. Within the lesbian community, relationships
provide a framework for the creation and perpetuation of celebratory customs. One celebration frequently observed is the anniversary, acknowledging the day a couple made love for the first time; the celebration serves as a marker for the longevity of the relationship. Anniversary celebrations are private, quiet times. Many couples go out to dinner or make a special dinner at home and exchange gifts. When a major relationship landmark has been reached, such as the fifth anniversary, a couple may have a big party.

Joinings or bondings are another relationship celebration with traditional customs which, although not legally recognized, acknowledge the couple’s pairing. A local park or other natural setting is a frequently chosen site for a bonding. A couple write their own vows and may exchange rings. Following the ceremony food (including vegetarian selections), music (women’s), and games (volleyball is a favorite) may complete the celebration.

Festival season (summer) is many a lesbian’s favorite time of year. Strength and energy gained during “festi’s” helps one get through the rest of the year. In the Midwest, two festivals are frequented: The National Women’s Music Festival and the Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival. Festivals bring together diverse groups of lesbians as well as a few heterosexual women. When in progress, festivals become temporal lesbian communities. Over the years (both mentioned festivals are now in their teens) a variety of customs have developed. It is customary, for example, to make sure that the festivals are accessible to women with disabilities. Sign-language interpreters for women who are deaf or hearing impaired are provided for major concerts and for other activities upon request. At the concerts it is becoming customary for performers to recognize interpreters in a lovingly humorous way, behavior which brings loud applause from the audience. These annual music festivals with their attending customs hold special significance for lesbians as times to escape the daily oppression of a homophobic culture and as times to celebrate one’s lesbianism communally.

Material Culture. Among the tangible objects of material culture are items of folk costume. In pre-feminist days describing a lesbian folk costume was a relatively simple matter, as several older Bloomington lesbians recalled. Plaid flannel shirts or work shirts, bib overalls or jeans, and heavy work boots were standard pieces of apparel. A lesbian might wear a pinky ring (a symbol of one’s lesbian identity recognized by other lesbians) and cut her hair short (Ann Bannon’s novels about Beebo Brinker and Lee Lynch’s novel Swashbuckler are excellent sources for learning about clothing styles in the 1950s and 60s). With the advent of feminism in the 1970s folk costume became more diversified. Shirts are cotton or other natural fibers commonly worn open at the neck to show off one’s woman-identified jewelry (especially at lesbian community events). A more tailored style—not a lot of frills—is appropriate for shirts. T-shirts often display sayings. Lesbian sayings such as “I got this way from kissing girls” may be worn at lesbian events. For everyday wear good ‘lefty’ sayings are usual choices. Most selected color choices are lavender, purple, or bright colors, not pastels. Pants can be jeans, tailored slacks, or baggy pants. Again, natural fibers and no pastel colors are the rule.

Shoes should be flat and comfortable, made of good quality material, especially leather. Tennis shoes, especially high-tops, are popular style choices. One comic note which points to the prevalence of comfortable shoe use can be gleaned from Robin Williams’ movie Good Morning, Vietnam. At one point during one of

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his A.M. radio broadcasts he says: "We can't even use the word dyke, you can't even say the word lesbian. It's women in comfortable shoes." Much lore surrounds Birkenstocks, including the belief that there is a good chance that a woman who wears Birkenstocks is a lesbian.

Favorite jewelry choices are crystals (unpolished) and woman-identified jewelry such as a labrys (double ax) or a double women's symbol. Cowrie shells woven into the hair are favored by many black lesbians. The primary lesbian community value expressed in how and what clothing and adornments are worn is comfort.

Conclusion. There are also other forms of lesbian folklore: legends, jokes, arts, crafts, and the like. Other regions of the United States would provide additions to and variations of the examples given. Imbedded within lesbian books are wonderful samples of lesbian folklore. The grassroots newsletter Lesbian Connection is another rich source of lesbian folklore. On the academic side several ethnographies give descriptions of lesbian communities. Lesbian archives located throughout the United States house primary data collections (letters, diaries, photographs, and the like) which contain folkloric information. Lesbians should be encouraged to preserve their heritage by donating documents to archives and by interviewing friends and donating tapes.

Aside from a few papers read at the American Folklore Society's annual meetings in the 1980s, folkloristic analysis of lesbian material is non-existent. By not including data about lesbians within folklore scholarship, a heterocentric bias has been allowed to permeate the scholarship. When lesbian data are part of folkloric definitions and theories, they will add to a better understanding of America, its folklore, and American lesbian culture.


Jan Laude


English novelist, short story writer, and essayist. Forster's father died less than two years after his birth, and he was raised by a group of female relatives, who were connected with a stern evangelical sect. When he was ten, a great-aunt left him a legacy, which permitted him to obtain a good private education and to attempt a career as a writer. Forster detested public school, but found King's College, Cambridge, by contrast almost a paradise. Among students and faculty the atmosphere was strongly homoerotic, and Forster developed an intense Platonic relationship with another undergraduate, H. O. Meredith, whom he later was to depict as "Clive" in Maurice. Forster's sensibility took shape under the guidance of teachers of Hellenist bent, especially Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, and under the influence of the ethics of personal integrity that stemmed from the philosopher G. E. Moore. In 1901 Forster was elected to the elite secret society at Cambridge, The Apostles, leading to close ties with such other members as John Maynard Keynes and Lytton Strachey.

Uncertain what course to follow after graduation, he sojourned for a year in Italy with his mother. Not only did he find his vocation as a writer there, but he came to cherish to the end of his life a somewhat idealized concept of Mediterranean tolerance and "earthiness" in contradistinction to the Protestant uprightness and commercialism of his native England.
Returning to London in 1902 he affirmed his belief in reducing class barriers by teaching a course at the Working Men's College, a part-time commitment he would retain for over twenty years. Four novels followed in quick succession: *Where Angels Feared to Tread* (1905), *The Longest Journey* (1907), *A Room with a View* (1908), and *Howards End* (1910). This brilliant debut secured him fame and membership in the exclusive Bloomsbury group. Critical of Edwardian pieties, the novels adhere to an individualistic ethics of psychic integration and fulfilment through interpersonal relationships. Although in retrospect elements of male-bonding are evident, all these novels deal with heterosexuality.

In July 1914 Forster completed the first draft of a homosexual novel, *Maurice*. Realizing that it was not publishable in the England that had persecuted Oscar Wilde, he shared the manuscript only with a few friends, including D. H. Lawrence, who chose it as the model for his heterosexual *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Forster last revised *Maurice* in 1960, but it was not published until after his death, in 1971. After completing *Maurice* Forster felt that his novel writing was over, as he had exhausted his insights into heterosexual relationships and would not be allowed to publish about those that affected him most deeply.

In 1915 he went to Alexandria in Egypt with the Red Cross. There he came to know the great modern Greek poet Constantine Cavafy, whose work he helped to publicize. He also met a young tram conductor, Mohammed el Adl, with whom he enjoyed his first satisfactory sexual relationship. After Forster returned to England, El Adl died (1922).

Forster's connection with India began earlier, in 1906, when he met a handsome young Indian in England, Syed Ross Masood. Forster then visited the subcontinent in 1912–13 in the company of G. Lowes Dickinson. In 1921–22 he served as private secretary to the Maharaja of Dewas State Senior. During this period he gathered the material for his novel, *A Passage to India*, which on publication in 1924 was acclaimed his masterpiece. Offering a sharp critique of British imperialism, the novel nonetheless portrays human connections as possible even across national and class lines.

Having resettled in England for good, in 1927 he gave the Clark Lectures at Trinity College, Cambridge, which were published as *Aspects of the Novel*. He became concerned with civil liberties, and in the following year he rallied public opinion to protest the suppression of the lesbian novel of Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*. The most significant personal event of this period was Forster's friendship with the heterosexual police constable, Bob Buckingham, which lasted for the rest of his life.

In 1946, forced to leave his ancestral home at Abinger, he accepted an offer to become an honorary fellow at King's College Cambridge, where he lived for the rest of his life. After 1924 he wrote no further novels, just reviews and essays, but the five that he had published in the first quarter of the century sufficed to secure his reputation as a novelist. As he had feared, however, the posthumous appearance of *Maurice* (1971), even in the liberal climate of the "sexual revolution," caused a furor. Several critics who had formerly admired his work now began to speak of "homosexual bias," and the novel was generally relegated to an inferior place outside the canon of his major works.

These criticisms are unjustified. While *Maurice* is not flawless, it is certainly as good as his first four novels. Forster's homosexual novel falls into two parts. In the first, the impressionable hero is under the domination of the highminded, but insubstantial Platonism of his Cambridge friend, Clive; in the second, he comes to find his true destiny with a working-class boy, the gamekeeper at Clive's estate with whom he then elopes "into the greenwood." Although this ending has struck
some readers as romantic and unlikely, it is modeled on the successful life of Edward Carpenter, who ran a farm together with his proletarian lover, George Merrill. With minimal changes, the film version released by the Ivory-Merchant-Jhabvala team in 1987 emerged as fully credible.

In his novels Forster was a conservative modernist, with roots in the social comedy of Victorian times, but also showing affinities with the work of his friends D. H. Lawrence and Virginia Woolf. Although the revelation of Forster's homosexuality diminished him in the eyes of some critics, his familiarity with the ideas of the early homosexual rights movement was actually a source of strength. He succeeded in translating the insights of Carpenter, John Addington Symonds, and others into universal terms, and for this all his readers should be grateful.


Wayne R. Dynes

FOUCAULT, MICHEL (1926–1984)

French historian and social philosopher. After completing his university work, Foucault was active in the French cultural services in a number of European cities. His first major book was Folie et déraison: histoire de la folie à l'âge classique (Paris, 1964; translated only in an abbreviated version: Madness and Civilization, New York, 1967). This monograph shows Foucault's characteristic ability to frame bold historical hypotheses and to give them literary form in gripping set pieces. As the audience for his work grew, however, more conventional historians began to flag gaps between evidence and inference.

Developing his ideas further, Foucault advanced the guiding concept of "archeology," the notion that western civilization had seen a succession of distinct eras, each characterized by its particular "episteme," or style of thinking. He then extended the scope of his investigation into clinics and prisons; as "total institutions" these sites display in concentrated form the strategies of social surveillance and subjugation that regulated the whole society. Foucault's work in the 1960s was often viewed as structuralist, but he denied this affiliation. Although he was out of France at the time, he was deeply marked by the Paris uprising of May 1968, which created a general climate of activism; in Foucault's case this commitment found expression in concern for prisoners, mental patients, the Afghan rebels, and human rights generally.

The 1970s saw him increasingly involved with the problem of power, which he perceived as universally diffused though not in very different measures. The modern state in particular has learned to harness to its purposes such bodies of knowledge as medicine and the social sciences, which serve to colonize and subjugate the individual. The individual can confront this phalanx of domination with only a stubborn recalcitrance. At this time the concept of archaeology yielded to the more corrosive and dynamic "genealogy," derived from Friedrich Nietzsche, probably the most important influence on Foucault's later thought. His increasing iconoclasm and skepticism led him to deny that historical record yields any evidence of a stable human subject, of a human "condition," or of human "nature."

In the mid-70s he turned to the matter of sexuality, issuing a programmatic statement in 1976 (La Volonté de savoir, Paris, 1976; translated as The History of Sexuality, vol. I, New York, 1978). The five volumes that were to succeed this little book, treating the early modern period and the recent past, never appeared. Yet at the end of his life he surprised the world with two successor volumes with a different subject matter: the management of sexuality in ancient Greece and Rome.
While completing these books he was already gravely ill, a fact that may account for their turgid, sometimes repetitive presentation. In June 1984 Michel Foucault died in Paris of complications resulting from AIDS.

In some ways a quintessential Parisian intellectual, Foucault obtained remarkable success also in the English-speaking world. On several occasions he taught at the University of California at Berkeley. Although he was wary of being identified as a homosexual thinker tout court, he made no bones about his orientation, and could sometimes be found in the leather bars south of Market Street in San Francisco.

It is not surprising that scholars of homosexuality should be attracted to Foucault's work, since apart from its (nonexclusive) focus on sexuality it accorded with several aspects of the spirit of the times. Discontent with the systems of Marx and Freud and their contentious followers had nonetheless left an appetite for new "megatheories," which the Anglo-Saxon pragmatic tradition was unable to satisfy. Foucault's thought was both ambitious and critical. Moreover, he attacked the oppression model, which saw the shaping of sexual minorities as merely a function of negative social pressures, while at the same time he denied that there was such a thing as a transhistorical homosexual, an invariant building block of social typology. In particular Foucault was influential among a group of gay and lesbian historians who rallied to a program called Social Construction. This approach sees human beings and their sexuality as artefacts of the spirit of the age in which they live. Social Construction also detects sharp breaks, "ruptures," from one era to another. This concept of discontinuity was all the more welcome as the ground had been prepared by an influential American philosopher of science, Thomas Kuhn, whose concept of radical shifts in paradigm had been widely adopted. In vain did Foucault protest toward the end of his life that he was not the philosopher of discontinuity; he is now generally taken to be such.

As has been noted, the influence of Foucault has been complex and ramifying. Not since Jean-Paul Sartre had France given the world a thinker of such resonance. Yet Foucault's work shows a number of key weaknesses. Not gifted with the patience for accumulating detail that since Aristotle has been taken to be a hallmark of the historian's craft, he often spun elaborate theories from scanty empirical evidence. He also showed a predilection for scatter-gun concepts such as episteme, discourse, difference, and power; in seeking to explain much, these talismans make for fuzziness. Foucauldian language has had a seductive appeal for his followers, but repetition dulls the magic and banalization looms. More generally, Foucault found it hard to resist an anarchistic, "anything goes" vision of historical change, which leaves unanswered the question of why we are embedded in a temporal-cultural process from which it is useless to try to escape. Methodologically, his relativism permits no secure place from which to evaluate conflicting truth claims. Despite these criticisms, there can be no doubt of Foucault's personal sincerity, and his generosity toward those who sought to consult him. Refusing to be bound by the somewhat rigid and old-fashioned training he had received in France, he boldly sought to open new vistas of enquiry. The lesson of Foucault then is his quest, rather than the particular points at which he arrived in his relatively short creative life.


Wayne R. Dynes

FOURIER, CHARLES
(1772–1837)
French utopian philosopher and sexual radical. Fourier spent much of his
life in Lyon, trapped in a business world which he hated with a passion. Disillusioned in childhood by the dishonesty and hypocrisy of the people around him, he gradually formulated an elaborate theory of how totally to transform society in a utopian world of the future known as Harmony, in which mankind would live in large communes called Phalansteries.

Fourier hid his sexual beliefs from his contemporaries, and it was more than a century after his death before his main erotic work, Le nouveau monde amoureux, was first published. He was "modern" in many of his sexual attitudes, believing in the overthrow of traditional morality and universal replacement of this morality with a restrained and elegant promiscuity for everyone over the age of sixteen. He did not believe that anyone under sixteen had any sexual feelings, nor did he understand the psychology of sadism, pedophilia, or rape, so that his sexual theories are not entirely suitable for modern experimentation. Moreover, he had a bizarre belief that planets were androgynous beings that could and did copulate. He was attracted heterosexually to lesbians, and although he called pederasty "a depraved taste," he was tolerant of male homosexuals and ephebophiles. He recognized male homosexuals and lesbians as biological categories long before Krafft-Ebing created the modern concept of immutable sexual "perversions."

Fourier called for a "sexual minimum," the right of everyone to constant sexual gratification by means of teaching young people of both sexes to commit the "saintly" act of sexually sacrificing themselves to older people, rather like Lars Ullerstam's modern call for providing the poor with free prostitutes at the taxpayers' expense.

Fourier, however, had no sympathy for "gutter" sex or for promiscuity in the face of the threat of venereal diseases. He wanted these diseases to be done away with before sexual liberation would be allowed. He wrote some fictional episodes in the vein of William Beckford, one of which describes the seduction of a beautiful youth by an older man.


Stephen Wayne Foster

FRANCE

In its present basic form ("the hexagon") France emerged from the territory of the early Gauls and Franks during the central Middle Ages (1000-1270). Waves of repression of homosexuality by church and state have never succeeded in uprooting the homophile subculture, stifling the writing of erotic literature, or preventing homosexuals from occupying high positions. French politics and literature have exercised an incalculable influence on other countries, from England to Quebec, from Senegal to Vietnam. Whether justified or not, a reputation for libertine hedonism clings to the country, and especially to its capital, Paris—by far the largest city of northern Europe from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries [when London surpassed it], making France a barometer of changing sexual mores.

The Middle Ages. Little of the exuberant homosexuality for which the ancient Celts, including the Gauls, were famed in antiquity seems to have survived the Roman occupation, Christian conversion, barbarian invasions, and finally the Frankish conquerors' adoption of Catholicism with its moral theology that pilloried as the "crime against nature" all nonreproductive forms of sexual expression. The heavy-drinking later Merovingians, descendants of the Frankish king Merovech and his grandson Clovis, who conquered all Gaul, were barbarians who indulged their sensual appetites freely. Lack of control allowed considerable sexual license to continue into the more Christianized Carolingian period [late eighth-ninth centuries], and probably to increase during
the feudal anarchy that followed the Viking invasions of the ninth and tenth, but in the eleventh century the church moved to regulate private conduct according to its own strict canons.

The term *sodomia*, which appears in the last decades of the twelfth century, covered bestiality, homosexual practices, and "unnatural" heterosexual relations of all kinds. As early as the late eleventh century theologians associated what came to be called sodomy with heresy and magic. Commentators on the Scriptures grouped around Anselm of Laon, the most influential teacher of his day, linked heresy and sodomy as forms of sacrilege both punishable by death.

Before 1200 Southern France became a stronghold of heretical sects known as Cathars or Albigensians. Because of their similarity to the Bogomils of Bulgaria they came to be stigmatized as bougres, a term that meant first "heretic" and then "sodomite." Charges of sexual heterodoxy were brought against them by the Catholic authorities, who claimed that unrestrained sexual hedonism was part of their cult. Popes organized the Inquisition against them and invoked the bloody Albigensian Crusade which devastated much of Languedoc, homeland of a sensual culture tinged by Moslem influences from the south. The word itself survives to this day as English bugger, which in Great Britain, apart from legal usage, remains a coarse and virtually obscene expression.

Paris, already the center of French academic and political life, had its trouvères who like the troubadours of Languedoc sang of love—and its clandestine homoerotic subculture. About 1230 Jacques de Vitry denounced the students at the Sorbonne for practicing sodomy, and in 1270 the poet Guillet in his *Dit des rues de Paris* cited the rue Beaubourg as a favorite cruising area for sodomites. Again in the fifteenth century the poet Antonio Becadelli alluded to the continued homosexual practices of the intellectual community in Paris and the still-obscurc jargon poems of François Villon (b. 1431) have also been cited as evidence for that Parisian subculture.

Some feudal customaries and municipal ordinances punished sodomy. Politics have occasioned accusations of sodomy in many epochs, none ever more notorious than the trial of the entire order of Knights Templars, who were blamed for the fall to the Moslems of Acre (1291), the last remnant of the crusader state in Palestine and Syria. The first charges of sexual heterodoxy against the Templars date from 1304 or 1305 in the Agen region of France. Many witnesses—some of whose testimony is suspect because they had been expelled from the order for misconduct or subjected to torture under examination—claimed that the order tolerated as sinless "acts against nature" between members. Philip IV of France pressured Pope Clement V to take action against the Templars, and by October 13, 1307, the arrest of all Templars throughout France was ordered. For the next several years, despite some conflict between secular and ecclesiastical authority, hundreds of episcopal and royal tribunals tallied the wealth of the order, gathered witnesses, heard testimony, and passed judgment. By 1314 the dignitaries of the order were placed in perpetual imprisonment by the church and executed by royal edict. The guilt of the Templars remains moot to this day; while some may have been involved in homosexual liaisons, the political atmosphere surrounding the investigation and the later controversy made impartial judgment impossible.

A persistent fear of sexuality and a pathetic inability to stamp out its proscribed manifestations, even with periodic burning of offenders at the stake and strict regulations within the cloister, plagued medieval society to the end. However, the medieval state was unable to concert the mass arrests and judicial murders of homosexuals that were to occur in the eighteenth-century Netherlands.
The Renaissance. If the Italy of the quattrocento saw the revival of the culture of classical antiquity—including its open avowal of pederasty—in France homosexuality was long deemed a caprice reserved to the nobility, the intellectual and artistic elite, and the princes of the Church. To be sure, other classes are known to have been involved, but their activity tended to be severely repressed. The notion of homosexuality as the aristocratic vice took root and thrived into modern times, though even this privileged minority did not enjoy absolute immunity from prosecution.

At the court both male and female homosexuality could at times flourish. The “flying squadron” of Catherine de’ Medici was accused of lesbianism by such contemporaries as Brantôme. Henri III was celebrated for his mignons, the favorites drawn from the ranks of the petty nobility—handsome, gorgeously attired and adorned adolescents and magnificent swordsmen ready to sacrifice their lives for their sovereign. Although the king had exhibited homosexual tendencies earlier in life, these became more marked after a stay in Venice in 1574. Yet neither he nor the mignons scorned the opposite sex in their pursuit of pleasure, and there is no absolute proof that any of this circle expressed their desires genitally. Yet a whole literature of pamphlets and lampoons by Protestants and by Catholic extremists, both of whom disapproved of the king’s moderate policy, was inspired by the life of the court of Henri III until his assassination in 1589.

The intellectual nonconformity of the last centuries of the Old Regime was accompanied, or perhaps motivated, by a sexual nonconformity that found expression in different modes. The amalgam of free thought and sodomy precisely mirrored the medieval association of heresy and sodomy. The circle of “libertine” poets whose work launched the great tradition of French erotic verse included Denis Sanguin de Saint-Pavin, who so openly proclaimed his fondness for Greek love that he earned the nickname “the King of Sodom.” For centuries his poems could circulate only in manuscript, where many of them still await publication. Saint-Pavin’s friend and fellow poet Théophile de Viau was also gay in his life and writings.

Even the entourage of Cardinal Richelieu included the Abbé Boisrobert, patron of the theatre and the arts, and founder of the French Academy, the summit of French intellectual life. His proclivities were so well known that he was nicknamed “the mayor of Sodom,” while the king who occupied the throne, Louis XIII, was surnamed “the chaste” because of his absolute indifference to the fair sex and to his wife Marie de’ Medici.

Under Louis XIV, who himself was strongly averse to homosexuality, the court nevertheless had its little clique of homosexuals led by the king’s brother “Monsieur” (Philippe of Orléans), who may have inherited the tendency from their father Louis XIII, if indeed he was their biological father. Despite France’s long history of homoeroticism, the king and his associates affected to believe that the practice had been recently introduced from Italy. About 1678 the court homosexuals formed a secret fraternity whose statutes provided for total abstinence from women other than for the purpose of obtaining offspring and whose insignia depicted a man trampling a woman underfoot in the manner of Saint Michael and the devil. In 1681 the young Count de Vermandois, the son of Louis by Louise de La Vallière, applied for admission, but so indiscreetly that the king learned of the order in 1682 and broke it up with great severity. He sent for his prodigal son, had him whipped in his presence, and then exiled him. The other members of the fraternity were in their turn disgraced and driven from the court.

The Enlightenment. In the eighteenth century France became the center of the intellectual movement that was to
challenge the beliefs of the Old Regime and overthrow it. Critique of the morality and criminal legislation of the past could not fail to include the medieval attitude toward "sodomy." The very word sodomite faded from the usual vocabulary to be replaced by pédéraste or infâme, the latter being the designation preferred by the police. On the other hand, the Enlightenment philosophes could never break fully with the earlier beliefs, in part because they had no alternative sexual morality, and in part because they were aware of the large number of homosexuals in the church, which they hated as the source of the superstition and intolerance they opposed. In fact, a monastic setting characterizes one of the best erotic novels of the eighteenth century, Gervaise de Latouche's L'Histoire de Dom Bougre, portier des chartreux (The History of Dom Bougre, the Porter of the Carthusian Monks; 1742). In his posthumously published novel La religieuse, Denis Diderot indicted convents as hothouses of lesbianism.

Despite the link between theological and sexual non-conformity, the Enlightenment thinkers never perceived individuals with homosexual inclinations as their allies. When they wrote on the subject of homosexual activity and the attitude which the state should adopt toward it, it was either in terms of condemnation as "unnatural," "infamous vice," "turfitude," "filthiness," or else as a peccadillo that had lost the aura of the mephitic and diabolical in which medieval fantasy had enveloped it. At times they could treat homosexual inclinations as the result of a "bad habit" encouraged by the rigid segregation of the sexes in the educational establishments of the Old Regime, or advocate a more rigorous "police des mœurs" that would maintain the moral purity of the large cities. The practice of keeping a list of known pederasts already existed; in Paris in 1725 it had 20,000 names, in 1783 40,000. However, with the Italian Cesare Beccaria the task of reforming the criminal law of the Old Regime began, to be pursued by Voltaire and others who upheld the general principle that crimes against religion and morality, when they violated the rights of no third parties or the interests of society but were penalized solely out of superstition and fanaticism, did not fall within the purview of civil law, until the French Revolution created a new code of laws in which sodomy had no place.

This innovation, it is true, was effected quietly and almost without attracting anyone's attention; it was an act of omission rather than of commission. But the criminal code enacted by the Constituent Assembly in September-October 1791 for the first time in modern history contained no penalties for homosexual activity that did not entail the use of force or the violation of public decency; and incorporated into the Code Napoléon of 1810, it became the model for repeal of the medieval laws throughout the civilized world.

During the Revolution an anonymous pamphlet appeared entitled Les Enfants de Sodome à l'Assemblée Nationale (The Children of Sodom at the National Assembly), proposing to ameliorate the lot of the homosexuals in the name of the rights of man, and offering a Constitution in seven articles which asserted that one could be both bougre et citoyen, "bugger and citizen." It contained a list of all the members of the National Assembly who were accused or suspected of belonging to the special interest group to which the title of the pamphlet refers. The Revolution secured the release (though only for a time) of the imprisoned pansexual writer and thinker, the Marquis D. A. F. de Sade, who carried the transgressive strain in the Enlightenment to the ultimate limits of the imagination.

From the Restoration to World War I. While French homosexuals were freed from the legal burdens of outlawry and infamy which had been theirs under the Old Regime, society still forced them
to lead a clandestine existence, with cruising areas known only to the initiated, secret gatherings and clubs—in short, they constituted in the nineteenth century a "freemasonry of pleasure" that unobtrusively pursued its goals but did not as yet claim to be a distinct sub-species of mankind. While conditions were scarcely ideal, in the absence of a criminal code that made their activities illegal the French homosexual subculture felt no need of a movement that would assert its rights. France became a haven for Englishmen seeking refuge from the far more intolerant law and public opinion of their own country. Also, Paris was a publishing center where books banned in England could be published and sold to British and American tourists.

Nineteenth-century France did see significant treatments of the homosexual theme in literature, from the pornographic novella *Gamiani* (1833) by Alfred de Musset to the realism of Balzac who included several gay characters in his panorama of the France of the July monarchy, followed by Paul Verlaine, the lover of Arthur Rimbaud and author of a number of classic poems on homosexual love and Joris-Karl Huysmans, whose 1884 novel *A rebours* [Against the Grain] depicts the decadent sensuality of the fin-de-siècle. Joséphin Péladan celebrated androgyny in a series of works under the general title *La décadence latine*. It is to France that modern art and literature owe the whole "decadent" trend that often included a display of overt homosexuality among the more bohemian-inclined sectors of the artistic elite. To the theme of lesbianism Pierre Louÿs devoted his *Chansons de Bilitis* (1894), while Paris under the Third Republic became the residence of little coteries of French and foreign intellectuals, including Oscar Wilde, Natalie Barney, Djuna Barnes, Robert McAlmon, and Gertrude Stein, and patrons of the arts who expressed their homosexuality in literature. This foreign colony was to play a significant role in spreading a more open discussion of the matter to the cultural life of other nations. But a political movement aimed at "emancipation" of the homosexual did not develop.

The homosexual emancipation movement that began on the other side of the Rhine, in Germany, after 1864 barely reached France, where after 1871 everything German became suspect. In 1909 Jacques d'Adelswärd Fersen published a few issues of a journal entitled *Akademos* in Paris. The erotic literature that flourished in France in the early years of the century abounded in lesbian themes, but only rarely treated male homosexuality. Also, the psychiatric study of homosexuality that began in the German-speaking countries reached France only in the 1880s, when Julien Chevalier published first a dissertation and then (1893) a book entitled *Une maladie de la personnalité* [A Disease of the Personality]. Several other French psychiatrists wrote on the subject, at times in connection with other sexual "perversions," but two foreigners, Marc-André Raffalovich, a Polish Jew resident in England, and Arnold Aletrino, a Dutch Jew, were responsible for the most important writings in French. The pages of the Lyon periodical *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle* from the years before the First World War contain numerous contributions on the subject, among them Raffalovich's eyewitness accounts of the trial of Oscar Wilde in London and the Harden-Eulenburg affair in Berlin and Munich.

From the Interwar Period to the Present. Not until after World War I did the public become aware of the extent of homosexuality in French life. The work that "broke the ice," the first part of Marcel Proust's *Sodome et Gomorrhe* (1921), featured the homosexual Baron de Charlus as a member of the French aristocracy in the early years of the Third Republic. Then André Gide, by publishing the set of essays entitled *Corydon* (1924), made homosexuality a literary and political question that the salons could no longer ignore. Yet the
attempt to create a homosexual journal *Inversions* in 1924–25 ended when the publisher was prosecuted and convicted. In the literary avant-garde Jean Cocteau devoted *Le Livre blanc* (1929) to an autobiographical treatment of homosexuality, albeit anonymously, and contributed poetry, plays, diaries, and drawings to the subject, beginning with *Le Sang d’un poète* (1930) he added films to his repertoire. The surrealist movement proved hostile to homosexuality, except for René Crevel, who was openly gay. Interwar Paris saw the number of resident foreigners multiply, and a colony of expatriates, exiles and émigrés, escaping the provincialism and puritanism of normalcy on the other side of the Atlantic established itself. A few minor non-fiction works on homosexuality were published, never approaching in volume the material issued in Germany under the Weimar Republic.

The fall of the Third Republic and the imposition of the Vichy regime saw a change in the laws that had scarcely been altered since 1810. A new law of 1942, promulgated by Pétain at the instigation of Admiral Darlan, made homosexual acts with an individual under the age of 21 criminal—a parallel to similar legislation elsewhere. On the other hand, in occupied France Roger Peyrefitte completed the writing of *Les Amitiés particulières* (1943), a classic novel of homosexual attachment between two boys at an exclusive Catholic boarding school that was later filmed (1959). Peyrefitte’s friendship—based on their joint quest of teen-aged boys—with the closeted novelist Henry de Montherlant was only revealed after the latter’s suicide (1971). The postwar period, in which French law retained Pétain’s innovation, did not alter the general atmosphere, but witnessed significant developments.

Under the editorship of André Baudry, the homosexual monthly *Arcadie* was for many years after 1954 the most intellectual among the journals that promoted the gay cause. In the face of the hostility of the De Gaulle regime the publication stood firm and survived beyond his fall until the beginning of the 1980s. The novels of Jean Genet, a former professional thief, treated male homosexuality with a pornographic frankness and style rich in imagery unparalleled in world literature. Genet enjoyed the patronage of the dominant intellectual of the time, the heterosexual Jean-Paul Sartre, who also wrote about homosexuality in other contexts. Heartened by his example, other writers in the 1950s and 1960s broached the matter as public hostility diminished.

The sudden efflorescence of the gay movement in the United States after 1969 could not fail to affect France, which had already felt the impact of American popular culture. A whole subculture inspired by the example of San Francisco and New York sprang up, with bars, baths, political organizations, and a pictorial magazine entitled *Gai Pied* (first issue: April 1979) that outdid the Los Angeles Advocate in splashing homoerotic sensuality across its pages. The arrival in power of a socialist regime at the end of the 1970s spelled the end of many of the barriers which the Gaullist Fifth Republic had erected against the intrusion of such a minority as the homosexual, and soon even a gay radio station, Fréquence Gaïe (subsequently renamed Future Génération), was broadcasting around the clock. In 1981 the socialist government repealed the discriminatory law that had been enacted by the Vichy regime, and the existence of a homosexual minority was accepted as an unalterable fact by even the conservative parties which regained much of their strength in the mid-1980s, if not by the church. Innovations such as a computerized gay bulletin board—the Minitel—reached France, but also the tragic incursion of AIDS (in French SIDA), spread in no small part from Haiti and the United States. A flood of new publications ranging from trivial and movement literature to serious
investigations of the homosexual aspects of France's own past showed that the Gallic spirit had its own inimitable contribution to the homoerotic culture of the late twentieth century. Even the provincial cities began to boast their own organizations, periodicals, and rendezvous for the gay public. All are recorded in the *Gai Pied Hebdo Guide*, published annually since 1983.

The political battles that had to be waged before courts and legislatures in other countries to gain the minimum of legal toleration were spared the French movement; its principal foe was the unenlightened public opinion surviving from the recent past, but receding as the subject of homosexuality became an everyday matter in the mass media. So France joined the ranks of those nations with a politically conscious and culturally enterprising gay community.


*Warren Johansson and William A. Percy*

**FREDERICK II**

(1197–1250)

Hohenstaufen king of Sicily and Holy Roman emperor (1212–1250). Called *Stupor mundi* (Wonder of the World) by contemporaries, he was designated the "first modern man" by the Swiss historian Jakob Burckhardt in his *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860). Son of the German Emperor Henry IV and Constance, the Norman heiress of the Kingdom of Sicily, as well as grandson of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, he was born in the square in a small town in Southern Italy, in full public view so that no one could doubt that his mother, old in the estimation of contemporaries for a first conception, produced him. Orphaned at the age of one and entrusted to the guardianship of Innocent III (1198–1216), the most powerful of medieval popes, he actually grew up on the streets of Palermo in Sicily, where he received a most unorthodox education, learning Arabic and Greek as well as German, French, and Latin in that melting pot of cultures.

When Frederick attained his majority he broke his promises to his now dead guardian by failing to surrender the Sicilian crown, which included all of Southern Italy up to the border of the Papal States, when he received the crowns of Germany (1215) and of the Holy Roman Empire (1220), which included all of Northern Italy down to the Papal States. Innocent's successors excommunicated him when he also delayed his promised crusade. Frederick was the only leader to crusade while excommunicated, but he recovered Jerusalem, which Saladin had recaptured from the Christians, by negotiating with Saladin's sophisticated nephew al-Kamil. When he returned he completed the reorganization of Sicily, making it the first autocratic European monarchy, basing it on Arab, Byzantine, and Norman models and Roman law precedents. He issued at Melfi in 1231 the constitution known as the *Liber Augustalis*, which remained in effect until 1860. He was then drawn into the disastrous second Lombard war by the papacy that feared renewed imperial domination more than before, now that Frederick's lands surrounded the papal states. The struggle renewed the War of the First Lombard League (1162–1183) that the popes had waged against his grandfather Barbarossa and the earlier war of the Investiture Controversy (1076–1122) that Pope Gregory VII had launched against
another of Frederick's relatives, Emperor Henry IV (1050–1106), who has frequently been considered bisexual.

The Guelph allies of the Papacy captured one of Frederick's sons, Enzio, and held him captive in a cage in Bologna for years, breaking the emperor's heart. Later popes ordered the extermination of "that breed of vipers." Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis of France, dutifully beheaded the last of the line, Frederick's grandson Conradin and his noble Austrian companion in the marketplace of Naples in 1268. Here to this date German tourists weep for the fate of these royal youths, who were still adolescents and probably lovers.

Propagandists accused Frederick of keeping a harem and also of homosexual sodomy—both Moslem practices. He supposedly blasphemed "Mankind has had three great deceivers: Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed," a legend that underlay the belief in the apocryphal Liber de tribus impostoribus. At his court in Sicily Frederick encouraged the beginning of Italian literature in the form of troubadours, poets who copied the Provençal lyrics and inspired the Tuscans and Dante. He himself composed outstanding love poems as well as what became the standard text on falconry. Many medieval poets were homoerotic and some modern scholars believe that courtly love with its unattainable ladies spurred homosexual instincts and even acts among knights and squires.


William A. Percy

FREDERICK II (THE GREAT) OF PRUSSIA (1712–1786)

Prussian general and enlightened ruler of the eighteenth century. The son of the brutal, anti-intellectual, homophobic, and fanatical Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, Frederick was in his adolescence small and pretty, loved French literature and art, wore French clothes and curled his hair. His relationship with his father was hideous; almost every day of his life until he was eighteen Frederick was beaten and verbally abused. At that time he decided to run away from home with his dearest friend, Lieutenant Hans Hermann von Katte, who was eight years older than Frederick, well-educated, a lover of the arts, and a freethinker. Just what their sexual relationship was remains unknown, as Frederick took care to destroy the evidence. The father discovered their plot and had them both arrested; then, overruling the decision of the court-martial that had sentenced Katte to life imprisonment, he ordered him beheaded and forced Frederick to watch the execution. At the moment the sword fell on Katte's neck Frederick fainted, and after regaining consciousness he hallucinated for a day and a half.

Upon ascending to the throne of Prussia in 1740, he immediately displayed the qualities of leadership and military skill that characterized his reign, during which Prussia expanded territorially and gained the basis for its later role as cornerstone of the German empire. Frederick's officials, confidants and friends never doubted that he was homosexually oriented. Ecclesiastical Councilor Busching declared that "Frederick forewent a good deal of 'sensual pleasure' because of his aversion to women, but he made amends for it by his intercourse with men, recalling from the history of philosophy that Socrates had a great fondness for Alcibiades." Hard put to account for Frederick's unorthodox social life, historians ascribed it to misogyny, but this assumption has no other ground than his separation from his wife and the general absence of women from his court. He did have female friends and correspondents with whom he had an intellectual affinity, but his courtiers in residence were all male, and Prussian
society in general had a high degree of sex segregation.

Frederick’s separation from his wife is quite understandable. His father had forced him to marry her as a sign of his obedience, to produce an heir to the throne, and possibly to prove his heterosexuality. The bride, Elizabeth Christine of Brunswick, had been chosen by the Holy Roman emperor in the hope that she would influence Frederick to follow Austrian policies, but Frederick had no intention of being dominated by a woman. The wife, moreover, was a dull German hausfrau, submissive, unsophisticated, and nowhere near as intellectual as he, so that the absence of a sexual interest precluded any human relationship between them. The minute his father died, Frederick separated from his wife but never divorced her, and as compensation he gave her the palace of Schönhausen, apartments in the palace in Berlin and an income suitable for the queen of Prussia.

Frederick’s brother Henry of Prussia, who was fourteen years younger and also homosexual, but far more open and undisguised in his erotic preferences, chose the officers in his regiment for their handsomeness rather than for their military competence. Frederick did, however, force his younger brother to marry “to save appearances.”

There are allusions to homosexuality in a mock-epic which Frederick composed in French, Le Palladion, and in a victory poem commemorating the defeat of the French at Rossbach on November 5, 1757. Some of his poetic references to Greek love were negative on the surface, but this may have been mere literary camouflage. The male friends whom he loved deeply nearly all died of disease or in battle and left him lonely in his old age. He carefully kept his male intimates separate from the affairs of state, never allowing them to exert an undesirable influence on his regime. His relationship with the French writer and philosopher Voltaire was fraught with ambivalence—including the homoerotic overtones, and the exasperated Frenchman went so far as to publish an anonymous book entitled The Private Life of the King of Prussia which amounted to an exposé of Frederick’s homosexuality, yet in the end each acknowledged the other’s greatness.

Frederick was a crowned homosexual who loved other men passionately—and sometimes suffered terribly as a result. He exercised his royal prerogative to pardon those convicted of sodomy, and never let his personal feelings override his duties as a ruler. If his life experiences made him bitter, they never robbed him of the capacity for male love.


Warren Johansson

FREEDOM, SEXUAL

See Liberation, Gay; Sexual Liberty and the Law.

FREEMASONRY

The fraternal order of Free and Accepted Masons is a male secret society having adherents throughout the world. The order is claimed to have arisen from the English and Scottish fraternities of stonemasons and cathedral builders in the late Middle Ages. The formation of a grand lodge in London in 1717 marked the beginning of the spread of freemasonry on the continent as far east as Poland and Russia. From its obscure origins freemasonry gradually evolved into a political and benevolent society that vigorously promoted the ideology of the Enlightenment, and thus came into sharp and lasting antagonism with the defenders of the Old Regime. The slogan “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity” immortalized by the French Revolution is said to have begun in the lodges of the Martinist affiliate. The Catholic church became and remained an impla-
able foe of freemasonry and of liberalism, so that the political history of not a few countries is the chronicle of the struggle between them.

The significance of freemasonry for homosexuality is complex. By actively furthering the downfall of the Old Regime, freemasonry contributed to the massive reform of the penal codes of Europe, including the abolition of the crime of sodomy. And the clandestine nature of the freemasonic lodges, with their degrees of initiation, suggested to the participants in the erotic subculture of nineteenth-century Europe that they belonged to "love's freemasonry" as the unknown author of the Leon to Annabella, attributed to Lord Byron, expressed it. The great French literary critic Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve (1804–1869) later spoke of a "freemasonry of pleasure" whose adepts recognize one another everywhere at a glance. Down to the beginning of the modern homosexual liberation movement, this was probably how most homosexuals defined themselves—not as members of a psychological or ethnic "minority." Not surprisingly, the conservative and clerical forces in retreat sought to defame the masonic lodges by claiming that their members were "vile pederasts," so that the issue of homosexuality has largely been avoided within masonic circles. A book such as Hans Blüher's Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft (The Role of the Erotic in Male Society; 1917–18), which emphasized the homoerotic component of male bonding and organization-building, could create only embarrassment in masonic circles, even if the lodges practiced a considerable toleration in regard to the sexual lives of their members.

Harry Hay's original design for the Mattachine Society was modeled in part on the well-established hierarchical orders of freemasonry, as well as on the clandestine, anonymity-protecting structure of the American Communist Party in the 1930s and 1940s. Such a scheme risked rousing fears of an international "homin-
concept for modern neurology. In 1882, however, his teacher Ernst Brücke advised him to abandon research and to practice medicine; and since Freud wished to marry and start a family, he took this advice. There followed three years as a resident at the Vienna General Hospital, with five months in the psychiatric division. In 1885 the University awarded him a traveling fellowship that enabled him to study in Paris under Jean-Martin Charcot, the famous neurologist who had demonstrated the value of hypnosis; this contact awakened Freud's interest in hysteria and psychopathology. In 1886 Freud began his practice as a specialist in nervous diseases, and a few months later, after a long engagement, he married Martha Bernays.

The role played by sexuality in Freud's writings has given his own sex life a certain interest for the investigator. The available evidence suggests that Martha Bernays was the only love of his life, that he had no extramarital affairs and no homosexual activity, and that he ceased having sexual relations with his wife at the age of 42, in 1898, on the pretext that he wanted no more children and that contraceptive devices were aesthetically unsatisfactory. Thus he was a preeminently Victorian figure in his private life, even if his theories helped to foster the demand for sexual liberation from the bind of Christian asceticism.

The Emergence of Freud's Distinctive Ideas. In the 1880s most of the patients referred to a specialist in nervous diseases were neurotics with no physical illness of any kind, while the emphasis in psychiatry on hereditary degeneration and on lesions in the central nervous system left the practitioner helpless, fostering an attitude of therapeutic nihilism. The x-ray had not yet been discovered, operations on the brain were exceedingly dangerous and usually ended in the death of the patient, and diagnostic brain imaging techniques lay many decades in the future. Freud exhibited moral courage when he adopted the hypnotic technique in 1887 and a reversion to scientific respectability when he replaced hypnosis with "free association," advising the patient to utter whatever came into his head in the hope that such undirected thought would revive the repressed traumatic event that had caused the illness. The underlying theoretical assumption was that neurotic symptoms are physical expressions of repressed emotion that will vanish if the painful experience is recalled and the emotion belatedly expressed. Examples of this were given in the book by Freud and Josef Breuer, Studies über Hysterie (Studies on Hysteria; 1895), which is usually regarded as the first psychoanalytic work, since it introduced into psychiatry the concepts of trauma, the unconscious, repression, conversion, and abreaction. It should be noted, however, that the concept of the unconscious had been for some decades a commonplace of German romantic literature and philosophy.

Breuer recoiled, however, from certain of the corollaries of the technique, in that patients who benefited from this form of therapy became passionately attached to the therapist, and the pathogenetic, traumatic experience often seemed to be sexual. Freud was undeterred and went on to formulate the concept of transference to explain the first phenomenon and his theory of infantile sexuality to explain the second. Breuer's withdrawal from the scene left Freud alone, and so psychoanalysis proper was his individual creation, not that of a group of collaborators. Also, in the years 1894–1902 Freud was undergoing a period of self-analysis that was in fact a creative mental illness. During this time Freud was obsessed by his own dreams and suffered from feelings of total isolation alleviated only by correspondence and occasional meetings with the Berlin physician Wilhelm Fliess, in whose eccentric numerological fantasies he was absorbed for years. He only gradually emancipated himself from them.

At the close of this ordeal he emerged with the conviction that he had
discovered three great truths: that dreams are the disguised fulfillment of unconscious, mainly infantile wishes; that all human beings have an Oedipus complex in which they wish to kill the parent of the same sex and possess the parent of the opposite one; and that children have sexual feelings. At the same time Freud felt himself despised, rejected, and misunderstood. This last attitude became part of a myth which held that Freud was universally ignored and even persecuted by his psychiatric colleagues, although it is true that the lay reception of Freud's work was often far more sympathetic and positive than theirs.

*Maturity.* Freud's first notable publication concerning bisexuality and homosexuality was the *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie* (Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality) of 1905. During the following decade Freud made other significant observations on sexuality. In 1902 he had founded the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, to be followed, in 1910, by the International Psychoanalytic Society. Promoted by an increasing number of disciples, Freud's thought was on the way to becoming institutionalized.

In the 1920s he added two ideas to his original corpus: the tripartition of the human mind into superego, ego, and id; and the concept of the death instinct (*thanatos*). As the founder of psychoanalysis Freud attracted the rich and famous to his couch in Vienna, while a cancer of the upper jaw induced by cigar smoking undermined his health. His rise to world renown during this period was clouded by the threat of National Socialism, which finally forced him to leave Austria. Just after the outbreak of the World War II, he died in London on September 23, 1939. At this point the turmoil of world events precluded any full assessment of the value of his work.

After World War II appraisals in the English-speaking world inclined to the laudatory, following paths laid down by the psychoanalytic establishment itself; Ernest Jones' three-volume biography is the best example of this tendency. Those who criticized Freud and his ideas were commonly accused of clinging fearfully to traditional morality and of willful resistance to his insights, while the foes of psychoanalysis branded it a mystical and dogmatic belief system that merely perpetuated in a new guise notions inherited from the idealistic thinkers of antiquity. In the 1970s and 1980s, however, more fundamental criticisms were heard, and the psychoanalytic establishment was forced on the defensive, while new therapeutic techniques took the place of prolonged and costly analyses with doubtful outcomes.


*Warren Johansson*

**Freudian Concepts**

The following discussion reviews a number of Sigmund Freud's published writings on sexuality and homosexuality, in an attempt to isolate elements of enduring value within them. Five aspects of Freud's psychoanalytic work are relevant to homosexuality, though by no means have all of them been fully appreciated in the discussion of the legal and social aspects of the subject. These include: (1) the psychology of sex; (2) the etiology of paranoia; (3) psychoanalytic anthropology; (4) the psychology of religion; and (5) the origins of Judaism and Christianity. In regard to the last two the psychoanalytic profession in the United States has notably shied away from the implications of the founder's ideas, in no small part because of its accommodation to the norms of American culture, including popular Protestant religiosity.
Psychology of Sex. This realm was treated in a classic manner in *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie* (Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality; 1905), in which Freud polemicized against Magnus Hirschfeld's theory of homosexuality as constitutionally determined, in-born, and unmodifiable. He pointed out that these characteristics could only be ascribed to exclusive inverters, as he designated them; but to accept such an explanation would be tantamount to renouncing an understanding of homosexual attraction in its totality. He stressed the continuum that extends from the exclusive homosexual to the individual who has only fleeting experiences or merely feelings in the course of adolescence. In a footnote (conveniently overlooked by many psychoanalysts since then) Freud mentioned that in the understanding of inversion the pathological viewpoints have been replaced (abgelöst) by anthropological ones, and that this shift was the merit of Iwan Bloch in his *Beiträge zur Ätiologie der Psychopathia sexualis* (Contributions to the Etiology of Psychopathia sexualis; 1902–03), which laid particular emphasis on homosexuality among the civilized peoples of antiquity.

In this study Freud also recognized that deviations of the secondary and tertiary sexual characters in the direction of the norm for the opposite sex are independent of the homosexual orientation itself. He examined the theories that related homosexuality to a primitive or constitutional bisexuality, and pointed out that the pederast is attracted only to the male youth who has not yet lost his androgynous quality, so that it is the blend of masculine and feminine traits in the boy that arouses and attracts the adult male; and the male prostitutes of Freud's time seem to have affected a particularly effeminate guise to lure their customers. The disturbance in the orientation of the sexual impulse, he held, must be related to its development. In all the cases that he had analyzed he found that in the early years of their childhood future inverters had an intense but short-lived phase of intense fixation on a woman (usually the mother), which after overcoming, they identify with the woman and take themselves as sexual object. So that with a narcissistic starting point they seek youthful sexual partners resembling themselves, whom they then love as the mother loved them. He also determined that alleged inverters were not indifferent to female stimuli, but transferred their arousal to male objects. This mechanism continues to function throughout their entire lives: their compulsive quest of the male is caused by their restless flight from the female.

Freud later (1915) added to these remarks the assertion that psychoanalysis is decisively opposed to any effort at separating homosexuals from the rest of mankind as a special class. If anything, psychoanalytic study has found that all human beings are capable of a homosexual object choice and have in fact made one in the unconscious. Libidinous feelings for persons of the same sex play no less a role in normal mental life, and a greater one in the pathological, than do those for the opposite sex. Independence of the object choice from the sex of the object, the freedom to pursue male and female objects that is observed in childhood, among primitive peoples, and in early historic times, is the primitive state from which both heterosexuality and homosexuality derive through a process of restriction. Thus Freud adopted the notion of universal primary bisexuality, which had earlier been pronounced by Wilhelm Fliess, and made it a cornerstone of his thinking on all aspects of human sexuality.

Not long after the publication of the *Drei Abhandlungen*, Freud gave an interview to the editor of the Vienna newspaper *Die Zeit* (who as it chanced lived in the same apartment house at 19 Berggasse, although the two men were not acquainted socially) in connection with the trial of Professor Theodor Beer, accused of homosexual relations with two
boys whom he had used as photographic models. In a statement printed in the issue of October 27, 1905, he asserted that “like many experts, I uphold the view that the homosexual does not belong before the bar of a court of justice. I am even of the firm conviction that the homosexual cannot be regarded as sick, because the individual of an abnormal sexual orientation is for just that reason far from being sick. Should we not then have to classify many great thinkers and scholars of all ages, whose sound minds it is precisely that we admire, as sick men? Homosexual persons are not sick, but neither do they belong before the bar of a court of justice. Here in Austria, and to a greater extent in Germany, a powerful movement is on foot to abrogate the paragraph of the penal code that is directed against those of an abnormal sexual disposition. This movement will gather ever more support until it attains final success.” Long ignored by orthodox psychoanalysts (though noted by Hirschfeld's committee and reprinted in several publications), this opinion reflects not just Freud's judgment as the founder of psychoanalysis, but also his political liberalism as a follower of John Stuart Mill, whose essays he had translated into German early in his career.

Etiology of Paranoia. In explaining the genesis of paranoia, Freud purloined from Wilhelm Fliess the notion that it was dependent on repressed homosexuality, but only in 1915 did he formulate this interpretation as a general rule. He believed that the paranoid withdrawal of love from its former object is always accompanied by a regression from previously sublimated homosexuality to narcissism, omitting the half-way stage of overt homosexuality. Recent investigations have sought to confirm this insight for paranoia in male subjects only, and in all likelihood it is related not just to the phenomenon of homosexual panic but to the generally higher level of societal anxiety and legal intolerance in regard to male as opposed to female homosexuality. This would also explain why lesbianism is invisible to the unconscious: the collective male psyche experiences no threat from female homosexuality.

Psychoanalytic Anthropology. Reading in manuscript the first part of Jung's Transforms and Symbols of the Libido, Freud became increasingly unhappy with the latter's tendency to derive conclusions from mythology and comparative religion and transfer them to clinical data, while his own method was to start with his analytic experience and to apply the conclusions to the beliefs and customs of man's early history. The outcome of Freud's explorations in this direction was Totem and Taboo (1913), which despite the break with his Swiss colleague in that year is the most Jungian of all his works.

The first section, on “The Horror of Incest,” deals with the extraordinarily ramified precautions primitive tribes take to avoid the remotest possibility of incest, or even a relationship that might distantly resemble it. They are far more sensitive on the matter than civilized peoples, and infringement of the taboo is often punished with instant death. This observation is pertinent to the problem of intergenerational homosexuality, above all to the intense condemnation that Western society still attaches to pederasty—which ironically enough is the normative type of homosexuality in many other cultures. While Hellenic civilization could distinguish between father-son and erastes-eromenos relationships, Biblical Judaism could not, and expanded its earlier prohibition of homosexual acts with a father or uncle to a generalized taboo. It is perhaps pertinent that pedophilia (sex with prepubertal children), as distinct from pederasty, usually involves members of the same family, not total strangers. Also, extending this mode of thinking, the fascination which some homosexual men have for partners of other races may be owing to the unconscious guilt that still adheres to a sexual relationship with anyone who could
be even remotely related to them, which is to say a member of the same ethnic or racial group.

The second section is entitled "Taboo and the Ambivalence of Feelings," whose relevance to homosexuality lies in the survival of the medieval taboo in its most irrational forms down to the last third of the twentieth century. To the believer the taboo has no reason or explanation beyond itself. It is autonomous, and the fatal consequences of violating it are equally spontaneous. Its nearest parallel in modern times is the conscience, which Freud defined as that part of oneself which one knows with the most unquestioning certainty. The tabooed person is charged with prodigious powers for good or evil; anyone coming in contact with him, even accidentally, is similarly laden. These notions are relevant for the understanding of the ostracism which Christian society has traditionally inflicted upon individuals known to have had homosexual experience, and of the belief that the homosexual constantly seeks to initiate others into his own practices—for which they then ostensibly experience an irrepressible craving.

The fourth section, the most important of all, was called "The Infantile Return of Totemism." Totems were originally animals from a particular species of which the clan traced its descent, and which the clan members were strictly forbidden to kill. From studying the attitude of young children to animals Freud had found that the feared animal was an unconscious symbol of the father who was both loved and hated. Exogamy was nothing but a complicated guarantee against the possibility of incest. Totemism and exogamy are hence the two halves of the familiar Oedipus complex, the attraction to the mother and the death wishes against the rival father.

Following a suggestion of Darwin's that early man must have lived in primal hordes consisting of one powerful male, several females, and their immate offspring, Freud postulated that on the one hand the dominant male would drive away, castrate, or kill his younger challengers, on the other the growing sons would periodically band together to kill, slay, and devour the father. The clan of brothers that would be left would be ambivalent toward the slain father and prone to quarrel among themselves; this situation would lead to remorse and an internalized incest taboo. Freud then appealed to Robertson Smith's writings on sacrifice and sacrificial feasts in which the totem is ceremonially slain and eaten, thus reenacting the original deed. The rite is followed by mourning and then by triumphant rejoicing and wild excesses; the events serve to perpetuate the community and its identity with the ancestor. After thousands of years of religious evolution the totem became a god, and the complicated story of the various religions begins. This work of Freud's has been condemned by anthropologists and other specialists, yet it may throw considerable light on aspects of Judeo-Christian myth and legend that cluster around the rivalry of the father and his adolescent son—in which the homosexual aggressor is, ostensibly, seeking to destroy the masculinity of his rival by "using him as a woman."

Psychology of Religion. In the tradition of the Enlightenment Freud approached religion from the standpoint of a dogmatic atheism. As early as 1907 he published an essay on "Obsessive Acts and Religious Practices," showing that in both there is a sense of inner compulsion and a more or less vague apprehension of misfortune [= punishment] if the ceremonies are omitted. In obsessional neurosis the repressed impulses that have to be kept at bay are typically sexual ones; in religion they may extend to selfish and aggressive desires as well. Obsessional neurosis is thus a pathological counterpart of religion, while religion may be styled a collective obsessional neurosis.

Twenty years later, in Die Zukunft einer Illusion (The Future of an
Illusion], Freud returned to the problem of religion and its survival, albeit in attenuated forms, in modern society. He pursued the line of scientific criticism of religion which concluded that religion is the collective neurosis which, like inoculation against disease, saves the individual from his individual neurosis. Then in Das Unbehagen in der Kultur (Civilization and Its Discontents; 1929), Freud approached the problem of the conflict between instinctual drives and the demands of civilization, in particular the restrictions imposed on sexual life, which exact a heavy toll in the form of widespread neuroses with the suffering and loss of cultural energy which they entail. These writings are pertinent to the conflict experienced by many homosexuals between their religious identity acquired in childhood and the needs of the erotic side of their personality which the Judeo-Christian moral code forbids them to satisfy.

The Origins of Judaism and Christianity. The fullest treatment of this subject Freud reserved for his last major work, Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion (Moses and Monotheism; 1938). The book has two main themes: a study of the beginnings of Judaism, and secondarily of Christianity, followed by a consideration of the significance of religion in general. From the secondary sources that he had read, Freud surmised that the lawgiver Moses was an Egyptian who had opted for exile after religious counter-revolution had undone the reforms of the first monotheist, Akhenaten. His Egyptian retinue became the Levites, the elite of the new religious community which received its law code, not from him, but from the Midianite priest of a volcanic deity, Jahweh, at the shrine of Kadesh Bamea. This last site, amusingly enough, presumably took its name from the bevy of male and female cult prostitutes who ministered at its shrine. The Biblical Moses is a fusion of the two historic figures.

Freud also, on the basis of a book published by the German Semiticist Ernst Sellin, posited the death of Moses in an uprising caused by his autocratic rule and apodictic pronouncements. The whole notion was based upon a reinterpretation of some passages in the book of Hosea, which because of its early and poetic character, not to speak of the problems of textual transmission, poses enormous difficulties even for the expert.

The last part of the study treats the role of Oedipal rivalry and conflict in the myths and rites of Judaism and Christianity. Judaism is a religion of the father, Christianity a religion of the son, whose death on the cross and the institution of the eucharist are the last stage in the evolution that began with the slaying and eating of the totem animal by the primal horde. However fanciful some of Freud's interpretations may have been, given that he was a layman speculating on secondary sources, in opening the supposed Judeo-Christian revelation to the scrutiny of depth psychology, he stood squarely in favor of a critical examination of the myths and the taboos of Judaism and Christianity.

Legacy and Influence. The half-century following Freud's death in exile in London in 1939 saw the controversy over the merits of his theories continue unabated. The exodus of the German and Austrian psychoanalysts to the English-speaking world greatly enhanced their influence on the culture of the countries in which they settled. At the same time, a body of experience with psychoanalytic practice and a critical literature on Freud's life and work arose that make it possible to evaluate his contribution to the problems posed by homosexuality and the Judeo-Christian attitude toward it.

In retrospect it is clear that Freud's own strictures in regard to homosexuality have been disregarded by the psychoanalytic profession, particularly in the United States, where many analysts have been almost fanatical in their insistence that "homosexuality is a disease." The particular emphasis with which Freud contra-
dicted Magnus Hirschfeld's notion that homosexuals were a biological third sex—combined with a tendency (not confined to psychoanalysis) to deny the constitutional bases of behavior—to the assertion that homosexuality was purely the result of "fixation" in an infantile stage of sexual development provoked by the action or inaction of the parents. The corollary was that individuals with varying degrees of homosexuality were forced into prolonged therapeutic sessions, or even subjected to cruel applications of electric shock—invented only in 1938 by Ugo Cerletti—and other measures designed to "cure" them. In the popular mind the belief that homosexuality is somehow a failure of psychological development has its underpinning in the Freudian concepts.

Freud's contribution to the psychology of the intolerance of homosexuality has, on the contrary, never been fully appreciated and utilized by the psychoanalytic profession. Yet by freeing the thinking of the educated classes from the taboos that enveloped sexuality in the Victorian era, Freud strongly promoted the demystification of the whole subject and made possible a gradual onset of rationality in place of the horror, disgust, and condemnation that had been the norm until recent times. Although seldom quoted in the continuing legal debate over gay rights, his legacy has quietly worked in favor of toleration—as Freud himself would have wished.

On his eightieth birthday Freud was honored with an address composed by Thomas Mann and signed by some two hundred European intellectuals which congratulated "the pioneer of a new and deeper knowledge of man." It went on to say that "even should the future remould and modify one result or another of his researches, never again will the questions be stilled which Sigmund Freud put to mankind; his gains for knowledge cannot be permanently denied or obscured." The weaknesses and shortcomings of Freud's legacy were in no small part failings of the science of his own day. He had to study the final product of conscious and unconscious mental activity, future generations, thanks to new devices for sounding the brain and the central nervous system, will be able to correlate these with the underlying physiological processes. Pioneer that he was, he ventured at times into fields that were beyond his own command, but left footsteps which others, endowed with a surer perspective, would follow into the heart of the matter. To homosexuals he bore no ill-will, to religion he had no commitment, to intolerance of sexual expression he gave no sanction, and by tearing away the curtain of irrationality and superstitious fear that had for so long enveloped sexuality in general he set the stage for the forces of reason that must someday overcome the misunderstanding and injustice that homosexuals have endured in Western civilization.


Warren Johansson

FRIEDLAENDER, BENEDICT (1866–1908)

German natural scientist, thinker, and leader in the homosexual emancipation movement. In 1903, he cofounded the "Gemeinschaft der Eigenen" ("The Community of the Exceptional," but "eigene" also means "self," "same" [sex], and, in reference to Max Stirner's anarchist philosophy, "self-owner"), along with Wilhelm Jansen and Adolf Brand. Although also a member of Magnus Hirschfeld's Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, he did not agree with the Committee's exclusive emphasis on explaining homosexuals as a third sex who by their nature were creatures that exhibited the external attributes of one gender while possessing the
“soul” (character, emotions) of the opposite gender. Friedlaender led a move to split the Committee in 1907, but it failed in part due to his death in 1908 and to Hirschfeld’s successful outmaneuvering of the “secessionists.”

These men desired a renaissance of the male–male bonds which had formed so important a part of culture in ancient Greece. Their ideal would be realized in a homoerotic relationship, usually between an adult man and an adolescent boy. The base, animal desires were reserved strictly for procreative purposes; thus, woman’s role in their utopia was strictly subordinated to that of the male. His notion of “physiological friendship” did, however, lead to the assumption that male bonding would find expression in physical acts. To be sure, several of the Community’s members, including Friedlaender and Brand, were married. Friedlaender expounded this philosophy at length in his treatise Die Renaissance des Eros Uranios (1904). This work greatly influenced the theories of Hans Blüher as to the cohesive and driving forces of homosexuality within society (see esp. Blüher’s Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft, 1917-19).

The Community’s defense of male–male “love” (i.e., friendship) evinced an elitist character which looked longingly toward the past. It demonstrated a decidedly hostile attitude toward the modern era with its supposed evils of urbanization, socialism, and women’s liberation, all of which made more difficult, if not impossible, the unity of body and soul because they dragged all men down to the basest level.

James W. Jones

Friendship, Female Romantic

The Renaissance interest in Platonism encouraged a revival of passionate friendships between men, reflected in works such as Montaigne’s “On Friendship,” Castiglione’s The Book of the Courtier, Timothé Kendall’s “To a Frende,” William Painter’s Palace of Pleasure, and Thomas Lodge’s Euphues Shadowe. Literary examples of such relationships between women are less numerous in the Renaissance, but they may be found in work such as Thomas Lodge’s Rosalynde, and later, in the seventeenth century, in many of the poems by Katharine Philips. It is in the eighteenth century that such relationships, which came to be called “romantic friendships,” became common. Romantic friendship between women was socially condoned, originally because it was not believed to violate the platonist ideal, and later for more complex reasons. But while it is true that love between women was “in style,” women’s experiences of that love were no less intense or real for their social acceptability.

The Ladies of Llangollen. Such passion in the eighteenth century was not believed seriously to violate any code of behavior, even when it was taken to such extremes that women eloped with each other, as did the Ladies of Llangollen—Eleanor Butler and Sarah Ponsonby—in 1778. When Sarah’s family discovered that she had run off with a woman instead of a man, they were relieved—her reputation would not suffer any irreparable harm (as it would have had her accomplice been male). Her relative Mrs. Tighe observed, “[Sarah’s] conduct, though it has an appearance of imprudence, is I am sure void of serious impropriety. There were no gentlemen concerned, nor does it appear to be anything more than a scheme of Romantic Friendship.”

The English, during the second half of the eighteenth century, prized sensibility, faithfulness, and devotion in a woman, but forbade her significant contact with the opposite sex before she was betrothed. It was reasoned, apparently, that young women could practice these sentiments on each other so that when they were ready for marriage they would have perfected themselves in those areas. It is
doubtful that women viewed their own romantic friendships in such a way, but—if we can place any credence in eighteenth century English fiction as a true reflection of that society—men did. Because romantic friendship between women served men's self-interest in their view, it was permitted and even socially encouraged. The attitude of Charlotte Lennox's hero in *Euphemia* (1790) is typical. Maria Harley's uncle chides her for her great love for Euphemia and her obstinate grief when Euphemia leaves for America, and he points out that her fiancé "has reason to be jealous of a friendship that leaves him but second place in [Maria's] affection"; but the fiancé responds, "Miss Harley's sensibility on this occasion is the foundation of all my hopes. From a heart so capable of a sincere attachment, the man who is so happy as to be her choice may expect all the refinements of a delicate passion, with all the permanence of a generous friendship."

**Eighteenth-Century Fiction.** The novels of the period show how women perceived these relationships and what ideals they envisioned for love between women. Those ideals generally could not be realized in life because most women did not have the wherewithal to be independent. In fiction, however, romantic friends (having achieved economic security as a part of the plot, which also furnishes them with good reasons for not having a husband around) could retire together, away from the corruption of the man-ruled "great world"; they could devote their lives to cultivating themselves and their gardens, and to living generously and productively, too; they could share perfect intimacy in perfect equality. The most complete fictional blueprint for conducting a romantic friendship is Sarah Scott's *A Description of Millennium Hall* (1762), a novel which went through four editions by 1778.

Even the mention of such a relationship in the title of a work must have promoted its sales—which would explain why a 1770 novel that uses friendship between women as nothing more than an epistolary device was entitled *Female Friendship.* Women readers could identify with the female characters' involvement with each other, since most of them had experienced romantic friendship in their youth at least. Mrs. Delany's description of her own first love (in *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mrs. Delany*, ed. Sara L. Woolsey) is typical of what numerous autobiographies, diaries, letters, and novels of the period contained. As a young woman, she formed a passionate attachment to a clergyman's daughter, whom she admired for her "uncommon genius ... intrepid spirit ... extraordinary understanding, lively imagination, and humane disposition." They shared "secret talk" and "whispers" together; they wrote to one another every day, and met in the fields between their fathers' houses at every opportunity. "We thought that day tedious," Mrs. Delany wrote years later, "that we did not meet, and had many stolen interviews." Typical of many youthful romantic friendships, it did not last long (at the age of 17, Mrs. Delany was given in marriage to an old man), but it provided fuel for the imagination which idealized the possibilities of what such a relationship might be like without the impingement of cold marital reality. Because of such girlhood intimacies (which were often cut off in an untimely manner), most women would have understood when those attachments were compared with heterosexual love by the female characters in eighteenth-century novels, and were considered, as Lucy says in William Hayley's *The Young Widow*, "infinitely more valuable." They would have had their own frame of reference when in those novels, women adopted the David and Jonathan story for themselves and swore that they felt for each other (again as Lucy says) "a love passing the Love of Men," or proclaimed as does Anne Hughes, the author of *Henry and Isabella* (1788), that such friendships are "more sweet, interesting, and to complete all, lasting, than any other
which we can ever hope to possess; and were a just account of anxiety and satisfaction to be made out, would, it is possible, in the eye of rational estimation, far exceed the so-much boasted pleasure of love."

American Aspects. By the mid-eighteenth century, romantic friendship was a recognized institution in America, too. In the eyes of an observer such as Moreau de St. Méry, who had just recently left Revolutionary France for America and must have been familiar with the accusations of lesbianism lodged against Marie Antoinette, the women of her court, and most of the French actresses of the day, women’s effusive display of affection for each other seemed sexual. Saint Méry, who recorded his observations of his 1793–1798 journey, was shocked by the “unlimited liberty” which American young ladies seemed to enjoy, and by their ostensible lack of passion toward men. The combination of their independence, heterosexual passiveness, and intimacy with each other could have meant only one thing to a Frenchman in the 1790s: that “they are not at all strangers to being willing to seek unnatural pleasures with persons of their own sex.” It is as doubtful that great masses of middle- and upper-class young ladies gave themselves up to homosexuality as it is that they gave themselves up to heterosexual intercourse before marriage. But the fiction of the period corroborates that St. Méry saw American women behaving openly as though they were in love with each other. Charles Brockden Brown’s Ormand, for example, suggests that American romantic friends were very much like their English counterparts.

The Female Island. So many of these fictional works were written by women, and they provide a picture of female intimacy very different from the usual depictions by men. The extreme masculine view, which is epitomized in Casanova’s Memoirs, reduced female love to the genital, and as such it could be called “trifling.” But love between women, at least as it was lived in women’s fantasies, was far more consuming than the likes of Casanova could believe.

Women dreamed not of erotic escapades but of a blissful life together. In such a life a woman would have choices; she would be in command of her own destiny; she would be an adult relating to another adult in a way that a heterosexual relationship with a virtual stranger (often an old or at least a much older man), arranged by a parent for consideration totally divorced from affection, would not allow her to be. Samuel Richardson permitted Miss Howe to express the yearnings of many a frustrated romantic friend when she remarked to Clarissa, “How charmingly might you and I live together and despise them all.”

Throughout much of the nineteenth century, women moved still farther from men as both continued to develop their own even more distinct sets of values. Men tried to claim exclusively for themselves the capacity of action and thought, and relegated women to the realm of sensibility alone. Women made the best of it: they internalized the only values they were permitted to have, and they developed what has been called the Cult of True Womanhood. The spiritual life, moral purity, and sentiment grew in importance. But with whom could they share these values?

Female Bonding Strengthens. In America and England during the second half of the nineteenth century, as more women began to claim more of the world, the reasons for bonding together against men who wished to deny them a broader sphere became greater. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg has amply demonstrated that deeply felt friendships between women were casually accepted in American society, primarily because women saw themselves, and were seen as, kindred spirits who inhabited a world of interests and sensibilities alien to men. During the second half of the nineteenth century, when women slowly began to enter the world
that men had built, their ties to each other became even more important. Particularly when they engaged in reform and betterment work, they were confirmed in their belief that women were spiritually superior to men, their moral perceptions were more highly developed, and their sensibilities were more refined. Thus if they needed emotional understanding and support, they turned to other women. New England reform movements often were fueled by the sisterhood or kindred spirits who were righting a world men had wronged. In nineteenth-century America close bonds between women were essential both as an outlet for the individual female’s sensibilities and as a crucial prop for women’s work toward social and personal betterment in man’s sullied and insensitive world.

What was the nature of these same-sex bonds? Margaret Fuller, an early feminist, saw same-sex love as far superior to heterosexuality. She wrote in her journal in the 1840s, “It is so true that a woman may be in love with a woman, and a man with a man.” Such love, she says, is regulated by the same law that governs love between the sexes, “only it is purely intellectual and spiritual, unprofaned by any mixture of lower instincts, undisturbed by any need of consulting temporal interests.”

William Alger in The Friendships of Women (1868) cites one historical example after another of love between women. Typically the women wrote each other, “I feel so deeply the happiness of being loved by you, that you can never cease to love me,” “I need to know all your thoughts, to follow all your motions, and can find no other occupation so sweet and so dear,” “My heart is so full of you, that, since we parted I have though of nothing but writing to you,” “I see in your soul as if it were my own.”

The Twentieth Century. In 1908 it was still possible for an American children’s magazine to carry a story in which a teenage girl writes a love poem in honor of her female schoolmate, declaring:

My love has a forehead broad and fair,
And the breeze-blown curls of her chestnut hair
Fall over it softly, the gold and the red
A shining aureole round her head.
Her clear eyes gleam with an amber light
For sunbeams dance in them swift and bright
And over those eyes so golden brown,
Long, shadowy lashes droop gently down . . .
Oh, pale with envy the rose doth grow
That my lady lifts to her cheeks’ warm glow!
But for joy its blushes would come again
If my lady to kiss the rose should deign.

If the above poem had been written by one female character to another in magazine fiction after 1920, the poetess of the story would no doubt have been rushed off to a psychoanalyst to undergo treatment of her mental malady, or she would have ended her fictional existence broken in half by a tree, justly punished by nature (with a little help from a right-thinking heterosexual) for her transgression, as in D. H. Lawrence’s The Fox. Much more likely, such a poem would not have been written by a fictional female to another after the first two decades of the twentieth century, because the explicit discussion of same-sex love in most popular American magazines by that time was considered taboo. In the early twentieth century, however, popular stories in magazines such as Ladies Home Journal and Harpers often treated the subject totally without self-consciousness or awareness that such relationships were “unhealthy” or “immoral,” even for several years after French
novelists and German sexologists started writing voluminously about lesbianism and were published in America.

America may have been slower than Europe to be impressed by the taboos against same-sex love for several reasons: [1] Without a predominant Catholic mentality the country was less fascinated with "sin" and therefore less obsessed with the potential of sex between women; [2] by virtue of distance, America was not so influenced by the German medical establishment as other countries were, such as France and Italy and, to a lesser extent, England; [3] there was not so much clear hostility, or rather there was more ambivalence to, women's freedom in a land which in principle was dedicated to tolerance of individual freedom. Therefore, romantic friendship was possible in America well into the second decade of the twentieth century, and, for those women who were born and raised Victorians and remained impervious to the new attitudes, even beyond it.

However, that view did not continue for long in this century. A 1973 experiment conducted by two Palo Alto, California, high school girls for a family-life course illustrates the point. For three weeks the girls behaved on campus as all romantic friends did in the previous century: they held hands often on campus walks, they sat with their arms around each other, and they exchanged kisses on the cheek when classes ended. They did not intend to give the impression that their feelings were sexual. They touched each other as close, affectionate friends would. But despite their intentions, their peers interpreted their relationship as lesbian and ostracized them. Interestingly, the boys limited their hostility to calling them names. The girls, who perhaps felt more anxiety and guilt about what such behavior reflected on their own impulses, threatened to beat them up.


Lillian Faderman

FRIENDSHIP, MALE

Friendship has been a basic theme in Western civilization, one which has interacted with other social and intellectual currents. As the definition of homosexuality has changed over time, so has the way of conceiving its relationship with friendship.

Themes of the Classic Texts. When the Greeks first learned to write they wrote about friendship. For more than two millennia the discussion they began continued with undiminished enthusiasm, across Imperial Rome, the Christian Middle Ages and the philosophers, poets, and dramatists of the Renaissance.

The essential texts on which this discussion depends are very few. One is Cicero's essay De Amicitia. The second is Aristotle's discussion of friendship in Books VIII and IX of the Nicomachean Ethics and Book VII of the Eudemian Ethics. The third is Plato's Symposium, both in his own version and in the influential commentary written by Marsilio Ficino in the fifteenth century. These three texts dominated the discussion of friendship until well into the seventeenth century and one finds them woven together time and again with the supple ease of ideas which have long been companions.

One might well wonder why. For all that they appear together so frequently, these are very diverse texts. Cicero's essay breathes the clear air of humanism. For him, friendship is personal and its basis is virtue. It is thus a harmony between two people in everything, multiplying joys and
FRIENDSHIP, MALE

dividing griefs. Such a friendship necessarily requires an equality and if it is lacking it must, Cicero tells us, be made. For Plato friendship is rather part of the philosopher's quest: a link between the world of the senses in which we live and the eternal world. In Ficino's commentary, however, there is a subtle shift from the philosopher to the lover of God. The sparks of God's glory scattered throughout the world, if the haunted lover but knew it, are what attract him in the beauty of his beloved and the love they inspire are what binds the universe together in all its myriad forms. But something which is the very knot of the universe is as likely to bind the high and the low as much as it does men of equal degree, if all these are but the shadow of the bond that binds in one the Creator and His creation. Somewhere along the way, equality has been forgotten.

But friendship is disinterested, both Ficino and Cicero agree on that: it is content to be its own reward. It is here, though, that we hear the questioning voice of Aristotle. Such friendship, he tells us, is of course the best, but it is not the most common. Why do most men love one another, he asks? They do so, he tells us, because of their usefulness to each other.

These writers had by no means the same ideas about friendship, and the lack of embarrassment with which they were later combined needs some explanation. It is odd to see the humanism of Cicero intertwined with the religious rapture of Ficino; but we do, frequently. It is also odd to find a critical comment reminiscent of Aristotle within a text which otherwise draws on either of these two; but the assiduous researcher will also find that. This ease in combining the uncombinable tells us something we ought perhaps in any case to have guessed for ourselves. It is that when medieval or Renaissance writers wrote of friendship, they were not writing of something they had discovered in the pages of Cicero or Plato. It was something that already existed in their society, and what they were doing was presenting it in its very best clothes.

Subsequent Reflections. In the more mundane documents of their time—in the writings of a medieval chronicler or the letters of a man of affairs—there is a tacit but salutary commentary on such material. There one will frequently find "friend" or "friendship," but the kind of relationship characterized by these words is altogether more practical. It is quite likely to be the relationship a patron had with his client or a lord with his tenants: the relationship, to put it at its broadest and most characteristic, between those men who possessed power and those with whom they were willing to share it.

"Friendship" in this sense casts a revealing light on the more literary descriptions of friendship. Typical of many is John Lyly's (ca. 1554–1606) description of Euphues' friendship with his friend Philautus, written in the England of Elizabeth I:

But after many embracings and protestations one to another they walked to dinner, where they wanted neither meat, neither music, neither any other pastime; and having banqueted, to digest their sweet confections they danced all that afternoon. They used not only one board but one bed, one book (if so be it they thought not one too many). Their friendship augmented every day, insomuch that the one could not refrain the company of the other one minute. All things went in common between them, which all men accounted commendable.

The description is engagingly ideal and it was meant to be, but the idealization does not lie in its details; all had their ready parallels in the England in which John Lyly was writing. Similar protestations of affection could be found in the correspondence of the hardworking secretaries of the Earl of Essex or Lord Burghley. Edmund Spenser (1552–1599),
the hopeful poet of *The Shepheardes Calender*, also looked forward, as many of his contemporaries did, to the kisses and embraces of other men that would mark his success. And as Euphues slept with Philautus, so Archbishop Laud dreamt of sharing his bed, in the eyes of all the court, with the great Duke of Buckingham: in a society where most people slept with someone else in conditions which lacked privacy, with whom a powerful man shared his bed was a public fact and a meaningful one. The idealization lies rather in what John Lyly misses out: that material interest between men of which such signs were the public symbols, and the stream of coin, of New Year’s gifts and ready credit that these marks of influence could produce from those who sought to make use of them.

It is such things that were apt to find themselves dressed in elegant garments drawn from Cicero’s *De Amicitia* or Ficino’s commentary, without, it has to be said, a very close reading of either; and one will very probably find that the immediate source is not these writings but one of those numerous treatises of love which were as common in the sixteenth century as popular Freudianism is today.

Between such friendship and homosexuality there appears at first sight a towering divide. Elsewhere John Lyly speaks of homosexuality with the same terms of fear and loathing Elizabethan writers usually used when mentioning “unnatural vice,” and to some extent there had always been anxiety about it. How could the masculinity of a youth be preserved in a homosexual relationship with an older man? That was the kernel of the problem for the Greeks. For the Romans it was the perennial anxiety that a free citizen might take a passive role in a sexual relationship with a slave. Homosexuality in itself was not the problem for either: it was in the forms that homosexuality might take that the difficulty lay.

**Distinctions.** In the late Middle Ages the absolute abhorrence of homosexuality took full shape, and it was a fear the Renaissance inherited in full measure. It was characteristically among the fears and anxieties of the thirteenth century that the fearful link was first made between the sodomite and the heretic and, by a transition natural to a society where state and church lay so close together, between these figures and the traitor; the polemics of the Reformation only sharpened that deadly association. Now more than ever the distinction between friendship and homosexuality had to be securely defined.

It was not, though, an easy distinction to make. A description like that of John Lyly makes that very clear. Each involved an emotional bond, each required a physical intimacy and the signs of the one were dangerously close to the signs of the other. Yet the distinction was all the more important and no light matter in a society where “friendship” in the forms of its daily use played the role it did.

In time the problem would lessen, and it is not one that the modern world has inherited. With the coming of the eighteenth century, friendship was well on the way to becoming a more individual and personal relationship. Homosexuality, too, was putting on a different mask, for it was from about this point that the sodomite began to be conceived as part of a minority of human beings for whom homosexual desire alone was a possibility. The change has meant that the tension between friendship and homosexuality which was alive for so long is apt now to elude one.

But if it does, one will have difficulty in fully understanding the history of either homosexuality or friendship before the eighteenth century, for it is here that one inevitably finds the larger world of relations between men in which homosexuality found expression; and time and again in the courts of medieval and Renaissance Europe the accusations of sodomy occur in social relations which at other times a contemporary might have called “friendship.”
But there is another reason also why the historian needs to be alive to this tension. Is one so sure that on occasion some did not indeed call the one the other? The two also lay at the boundaries of each other's meaning and to see that is also to ask inescapably a more critical question about who it was that had the power to define that the one was the one and the other was the other. Here is an illustration: In 1368 a boy called Antonio appears among the court records of Renaissance Venice in a trial for sodomy along with a man called Benedicto, who was teaching him to be a herald. During the proceedings, the judges turned to the boy and asked him what he made of this crime. It was, the boy replied, "friendship" because Benedicto was "teaching him like a master." His judges had not asked their question out of curiosity. They had elicited his answer all the more effectively to replace it with their own. They had decided that their account should prevail, not his. But why, one is forced still to ask, should the modern investigator?

Homosexuality and friendship: they may well appear at first as two discrete histories, one of society and the other of sexuality. But if one tries to follow their subterranean currents in the Europe of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, one will end by finding oneself drawn into writing about something larger. One will find oneself writing about power and the power not only of judges but of words.

Alan Bray and Michel Rey

Post-Renaissance Developments. Since the Renaissance the relationship between friendship and homosexuality has seen a contrast between those who sought to define friendship in a manner that would exclude the homoerotic element, and those who preferred, often for covert reasons, to make friendship encompass the phenomenon of homosexuality and serve as a code name for it. Did homosociality, a major aspect of modern social relations, include or exclude homoerotic feelings and relations? The distinction between friendship and love that denied the erotic component of the former and legitimized eroticism solely between men and women redrew the boundary between them in a manner which the defenders of homosexuality tended not to contest directly, but rather to modify by placing their own markers.

Marriage itself was redefined, with implicit consequences for friendship. A society that had observed the tradition of arranged marriages between unequal partners was confronted with a need for change. Under the influence of the middle-class ideology of the eighteenth century, society now accepted the principle of a marriage founded upon the affinity of equals, upon love rather than family interest. In this sense husband and wife could now be friends, and friendship was no longer invested with an exclusively homosocial character. The decisive shift in this direction occurred in England, where the Industrial Revolution and the ideology of classical liberalism went hand in hand.

In Germany political and social relations were more backward, and the period between 1750 and 1850 is often called the "century of friendship" because friendship was held in such high esteem as a bond of intimate feeling in circles where conversely, the intimacy and self-revelation of friendship were opposed to the mask that one had to wear in order to play one's role in society. That this notion corresponded to the antithesis between the homosexual's true self and the socially prescribed mask of obligatory heterosexuality subtly reinforced the fusion of friendship with homoeroticism. This type of friendship was grounded in a bond between kindred spirits, but also was an expression of social virtue that promoted the general well-being. However, because true friendship excluded the erotic, it could not exist between men and women, in whose lives it would be only the antechamber leading to a sexual relationship. Friendship with its higher and nobler ends could thus be seen as superior to the
emotionally stormy and unpredictable relationship between a man and a woman. So Romanticism revived the classical model of friendship for which Hellenic antecedents could always be held up as an ideal by such homosexual admirers of antiquity as Johann Joachim Winckelmann, a thinker who in Goethe’s words “felt himself born for a friendship of this kind” and “became conscious of his true self only under this form of friendship.”

Ambiguities of the Modern Situation. The ambivalence which the Christian attitude toward male homoeroticism introduced into the equation always made for mixed feelings on the subject. (As late as the 1930s German legal authors seeking to justify the Nazi laws against homosexuality claimed that their purpose was to keep relations between men—but not women—free of the sexual element.)

It was in this context that the first psychiatric writers on homosexuality formulated their definitions, taking as their point of departure the notion that in “normal” subjects sexual contact with members of the same sex caused aversion and disgust, while in pathological subjects it was a source of pleasure. Friendship was healthy because it remained asexual, homosexuality was diseased because it did not. This view was clearly not acceptable to defenders of homophile affection. Their rejoinder took either the form of (1) treating homosexuality as “Freundschaftseros,” or (2) of openly asserting the homoerotic element in male bonding and its institutional expression. The first course was followed by Elisä von Kupffer in his anthology Lieblingsminne und Freundesliebe in der Weltliteratur (1900), which inspired Edward Carpenter’s Ioläus: An Anthology of Friendship (1902)—two collections of texts in which the homosexual content was scarcely veiled. The second, more insightful claim was put forth by Hans Blüher, first in Die Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen (The German Boy Scout Movement as an Erotic Phenomenon; 1912) and then in Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Kultur (The Role of the Erotic in Male Culture; 1917–19). In these works Blüher revived the Platonic opposition between the eros pandemos, the lower form of erotic attraction that united man and woman and served as the basis of the family, and the eros uranios, the higher form that underlay male bonding and was the psychological underpinning of the state.

Controversial as this idea had to be, it has been revived in recent times by such authors as Lionel Tiger, who have analyzed at length male bonding and the advantage it gives the male sex in political and economic competition, as well as in shaping the ethos of teamwork which, even in an individualistic society, is necessary for the effective functioning of organizations. Viewed in this perspective, the inability of women either to internalize this ethos or to participate in male bonding with its ever-present, but highly subdued eroticism handicaps them in two crucial respects.

At the same time, sociologists such as Georg Simmel denied that the old forms of friendship were appropriate to modern society. In particular, the tradition of pairs of warriors fighting and dying together on the battlefield had been replaced by an ethos of the group, the military unit. It was this feeling that lingered after World War I, with its experience of comradeship in the trenches, and carried over into the paramilitary groups that fought in the streets of German cities under the Weimar Republic. But the old ambivalence remained, again finding oblique expression on both sides of the fence dividing homosexual from heterosexual. While Ernst Röhm could boast, late in 1933, that the homoerotic component in the SA and SS had given the Nazis the crucial edge in their struggle against the Weimar system, homophobic writers could call for the suppression of all forms of overt male homosexuality and the enactment of even more punitive laws—which were in fact adopted in 1935.
Contemporary America. The lingering distinction between friendship and love based upon the absence or presence of the overt erotic component also affects relations between homosexual men and heterosexual women. Certain women feel more comfortable in their dealings with gay men, just because they know that they do not have to be constantly on guard against sexual aggression, but can have close relationships, both social and professional, that attain high levels of creativity and imagination. Particularly in professions where homosexuality is no handicap, there can be friendships between gay men and women who take no offense at the male's lack of physical desire for them.

The use of "friend" or "friendship" as a euphemism for the homosexual partner (lover) and the liaison itself persists. Recently the compilers of newspaper obituary columns have taken to describing the lifelong companion of a deceased homosexual as his "friend," in contexts where a heterosexual would be survived by the spouse and children. And the author of a bibliography of Freundschaftseros published in West Germany in 1964 stoutly upheld not only the distinction between classical pederasty and modern homosexuality, but also the existence of a form of male bonding from which the erotic element is absent.

Conclusion. The overlap since time immemorial between friendship and eroticism persists in the ongoing debate over the place of homosexual feeling and homosexual activity in modern society. The advent of the gay rights movement has helped some individuals become more accepting of the erotic nature of their attachments to friends of the same sex—though some others have become more self-conscious and defensive. The lines of demarcation are being continually renegotiated as part of the revolution in moral values that has undermined many of the old norms without as yet formulating new ones. It will be the task of the future to resolve the antagonism rooted in the en-counter of classical and Judeo-Christian attitudes toward homoeroticism/homosociality.


Warren Johansson

FRUIT

In general English usage, this noun designates the edible reproductive body of a seed plant, particularly one having a sweet pulp. In North American slang, especially in the second and third quarter of the twentieth century, it has been a disparaging epithet for a male homosexual—sometimes used in the vocative: "Hey, fruit!"

Unlikely as it may seem, the term belongs to that significant class of words in which a pejorative appellation at one time given to women shifted to male homosexuals (compare gay and faggot). The explanation of this transfer is as follows. At the end of the nineteenth century, fruit meant an easy mark, a naive person susceptible to influence, reflecting the notion that in nature fruits are "easy pickings." From this sense it came to mean "a girl or woman easy to oblige." The transfer and specialization to gay men was probably assisted by the stereotypes that homosexuals are soft and use scent. In the 1940s, the heterosexual counterpart was the more specific "tomato," an available woman.

In England the expression "old fruit" is a mild term of affection [compare "old bean"]). The word may also be a clipped form of "fruitcake"—from "nutty as a fruitcake."
The disparaging use of the term in reference to male homosexuals is now less common, and a Los Angeles gay radio program is called (with a quaint air) "Fruit Punch."

Wholly unrelated is the "Sodom apple," a name given to a mythical fruit that is fair to the eye but, once touched, turns to ashes—hence recalling the conflagration of Sodom in Genesis 19. The transformation could be glossed metaphorically as the outcome of vain or illicit conduct. "Through life we chase, with fond pursuit,/ What mocks our hope like Sodom's fruit" [J. Bancks, Young's Last Day, 1736]. See also Flower Symbolism.

Wayne R. Dynes

FULLER, HENRY BLAKE (1857–1929)
American novelist. Scion of an eminent Chicago family, he gradually slid into genteel poverty and literary obscurity after enjoying early wealth and critical esteem. He used to be remembered as the author of novels which attacked the corrupt plutocrats of Chicago, and it is only in the last few years that attention has been turned to his literary treatment of homosexuality, in which he was a pioneer. Little is known about his private life. His journals from his teenage days make it clear that he was in love with some dormitory roommates at Allison Classical Academy (1873–74). At the age of 19 he wrote an imaginary personal advertisement in which he says, "I would pass by twenty beautiful women to look upon a handsome man."

The years pass without further evidence until, at the age of 34, Fuller admits to being in love with a 15-year-old boy whose initials are "C.N.,” and who had blue eyes and strawberry-blonde hair. Five years later, Fuller wrote and managed to publish a very short play, At Saint Judas's, about a homosexual who commits suicide at the wedding of his former lover. This was strong stuff for the period, but today this poorly-written play would be laughed at for its melodramatic absurdities. Nevertheless, it deserves credit as the first American play to deal explicitly with homosexuality.

Fuller did not return to this theme until 1919, when he published at his own expense Bertram Cope’s Year, a novel about a homosexual love affair between Bertram Cope and Arthur Lemoyne, which ends with Cope turning heterosexual. Critics agree that Fuller lost his nerve while writing this novel and spoiled it by having his hero end up as a conformist. Four years later, the elderly Fuller began an affair with a college student named William Shepherd, with whom he went to Europe. A few years later, Fuller died after Carl Van Vechten had made an attempt to revive interest in his writings. Mention should also be made of the letters that Fuller received in 1897 and 1898 from a homosexual Canadian named Harold Curtis, which reveal the homosexual subculture of Toronto. Fuller saved these letters for future historians.


Stephen Wayne Foster

FUNCTIONING
Down to the 1950s, psychiatric and psychological opinion held that homosexual behavior in an adult was symptomatic of severe emotional disorder. A detached evaluation of the homosexual personality was rendered even more difficult by the anger, revulsion, and distaste with which many clinicians reacted. The central difficulty, however, stemmed from the fact that for decades the clinical picture of homosexuality had been formed by the observation of subjects found in consulting offices, mental hospitals, or prisons. These groups did not constitute a valid sample of the homosexual population as a whole.
The Hooker Study. In the mid-1950s, recognizing this bias, Evelyn Hooker of the University of California at Los Angeles set out to investigate the adjustment of the overt homosexual. She judged it important to obtain a sample that did not derive from skewed sources. Thus there was a chance of finding individuals with an average psychological adjustment. She also believed it important to obtain a comparable control group of heterosexuals that would not only provide a standard of comparison but also assist the clinician in suspending theoretical preconceptions. Securing both was a difficult undertaking, but in the end she procured two samples of thirty individuals each who were paired for age, education, and intelligence quotient. No assumptions were made about the random selection of either group. The materials used for the comparative study of personality structure and adjustment of these two groups of men consisted of a battery of projective techniques, attitude scales and intensive life history interviews—the standard paraphernalia of the American depth psychologist of the 1950s. Experts in the assessment of personality structure were called in to evaluate the 60 sets of records. The judges knew that some of the subjects were homosexual and some heterosexual, but did not know which; their task was merely to tell as much as the data revealed about the personality structure and adjustment of each subject.

The finding of the study—epoch-making for its time—was that there were no significant differences between the number of homosexuals having a rating of average or better for each judge; two-thirds of each group of subjects received an adjustment rating of average or better. In 42 out of the 60 cases the judges agreed exactly or differed by only one step. The judges themselves commented that the records which they thought to be homosexual were unlike the ones familiar to them from clinical experience. Hooker concluded that healthy skepticism was justified in regard to many of the so-called homosexual-content signs on the Rorschach test. Moreover, no single pattern of homosexual adjustment emerged; the richness and variety of ways in which homosexuals adjust could not be reduced to a formula. Some homosexuals proved to be quite ordinary individuals, indistinguishable except in their sexual orientation and behavior from other ordinary individuals who were heterosexual. Some were even quite superior individuals, not only devoid of pathology, but capable of functioning at a superior level.

Hooker concluded that (1) homosexuality as a clinical entity did not exist, that its forms were as varied as those of heterosexuality, (2) homosexuality may be a deviation in sexual orientation that is within the normal psychological range, and (3) the role of particular forms of sexual desire and expression in personality structure and development might be less important than hitherto assumed. Even if homosexuality represents a form of maladjustment to a society that condemns it, this fact does not imply that the homosexual subject is severely maladjusted in other areas of his behavior.

Freedman and Others. This study was replicated in 1967 by Mark Freedman with lesbian subjects in a doctoral dissertation in clinical psychology at Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio. He even found that the lesbians functioned better than the control group of heterosexual women; they scored higher on autonomy, spontaneity, orientation toward the present (as opposed to being obsessed with the past or anticipating the future), and sensitivity to their own needs and feelings. An earlier study using Raymond B. Cattell’s 16 Personality Factor test showed the lesbian subjects as independent, resilient, self-sufficient, and “bohemian,” while a third investigator, again using a control group, found the lesbians scoring higher on both goal-direction and self-acceptance.

Freedman made the further point that homosexuals and lesbians, marginalized as they are by conventional society,
do not reject all its standards and mores, but choose among them and so develop new, stable patterns of behavior. The consciousness of alienation can lead to a creative adaptation within a hostile environment, even if not to it. At the same time sexual roles may be more egalitarian and sexuality more expressive than in contemporary heterosexual milieux. There is more freedom to experiment in both couple and group sexual activity. Even the need to hide one's true sexual identity may render the homosexual subject quite sophisticated about the persona of others—the tension between role-playing and covert identity. The range of self-disclosure can also be controlled, and in a friendly setting the homosexual can be more truthful and candid than his heterosexual counterpart. Others pragmatically hide their sexual orientation, adapting as best they can to the social dangers of life as a homosexual, while benefiting from the survival skills that they have internalized.

More recent studies done in a number of countries have confirmed the aforementioned findings. Not only are homosexuals no less psychologically adjusted than heterosexuals, the homosexual identity may be positively correlated with (1) psychological adjustment and (2) support of “significant others.” It cannot be judged a psychopathological phenomenon, and such differences as can be demonstrated to exist are those directly related to the sexual orientation itself. The differences in mental functioning for which evidence has been found—higher verbal ability in females, higher mathematical and scientific ability in males—are not disabilities, but correlate with a different locus on the androgyny scale. They correspond to the evolutionary continuum between the sexes that Magnus Hirschfeld stressed in his magisterial work on grades of intersexuality, not a dichotomy divinely ordained for all time.

Anticipations. This recent work on the psychological functioning of the homosexual was anticipated by what had been learned at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. The first homosexual subjects examined by psychiatrists were seen in the setting of the mental hospital or the prison; usually they were severely disturbed and individuals in conflict with society and with themselves. But when sympathetic psychiatrists were enabled to make contact with homosexuals in everyday life, in their homes and places of work, under conditions that favored a relaxed confidentiality, they reversed their earlier judgment. At a meeting of the Berlin Psychiatric Society on June 8, 1891, the discussion following a paper concluded that homosexuality in and of itself is no mental illness for the following reasons:

1. there is no clouding of consciousness or disturbance of the rational mind;
2. there is no irresistible impulse;
3. the subject has no delusion as to the character of his own sexual organs or those of the partner;
4. the subject is aware that his sexual orientation differs from that of the majority of the population.

Papers written later in the decade, when such writers as Moll, Chevalier, and Raffalovich had published their monographs on the subject, argued that an individual who successfully deceives his surroundings as to his true sexual orientation and activity quite as well as does the undercover agent in a hostile milieu cannot be judged mentally ill or lacking in responsibility. The homosexual subject is as responsible, legally and morally, for his sexual conduct as is the heterosexual one. The condemnation of homosexual behavior on religious grounds does not alter the personality functioning of the homosexual in any objective manner. Whether the sexual activity of the population should be exclusively with members of the opposite sex is an issue of sexual politics that falls outside the empirical question of whether or not the homosexual functions efficiently and purposefully in his milieu and in the
face of the obstacles that an intolerant society poses to his quest for sexual gratification.

**Conclusion.** Beginning with the pioneer study by Evelyn Hooker, modern investigators have overturned the assumption that homosexuals are less able to cope with their life tasks than are heterosexuals, or that homosexuality is in and of itself a pathological entity. The research of the future should address the question of the manner of their adjustment and the subtleties of the interaction between society and the homosexual as a paradigm of survival in a hostile environment.


*Warren Johansson*

**FUNDAMENTALISM**

*See Protestantism.*