GAMES, GAY

An international festival of athletic competitions and the arts, the Gay Games are held quadrennially as a celebration of the international gay community. The first and second Gay Games were held in San Francisco in August of 1982 and 1986. The third Games are scheduled for the summer of 1990 in Vancouver, Canada.

The Gay Games at San Francisco were founded by Tom Waddell and organized by San Francisco Arts and Athletics, Inc. The 1982 Games involved 1,300 male and female athletes in sixteen sports; four years later the games attracted 3,482 athletes with a ratio of men to women of 3:2 in a total of 17 sports. [This may be contrasted with the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles where the sex ratio was 4:1.] Among the events were basketball, soccer, bowling, cycling, diving, triathlon, softball, physique, track and field, marathon, power-lifting, volleyball, swimming, tennis and wrestling. The artistic festival, called “The Procession of the Arts,” featured over twenty events including dance, theatre and plastic art exhibits. Although athletes came from many parts of the world, the majority were from North America.

In her opening address at the 1986 Gay Games, novelist Rita Mae Brown highlighted the meaning of the games, “...these games are not just a celebration of skill, they’re a celebration of who we are and what we can become...a celebration of the best in us.”

Tom Waddell said that the Games were “conceived as a new idea in the meaning of sport based on inclusion rather than exclusion.” Anyone was allowed to compete regardless of race, sex, age, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, or athletic ability. In keeping with the Masters Movement in sports, athletes competed with others in their own age group. The track and field and swimming events were officially sanctioned by their respective national masters programs. Athletes participated, not as representatives of their respective countries, but as individuals on behalf of cities and towns. There were no minimum qualifying standards in any events.

The Games have been used by gay liberationists for ideological purposes. Historically, homosexuality has been associated with pathology, and the rise of AIDS in the homosexual community has reasserted that association. Many of those who spoke at the 1986 Games said that the Games emphasized a healthy image of gay men and lesbians. Brown also said in her opening address that the Games “show the world who we really are. We’re intelligent people, we’re attractive people, we’re caring people, we’re healthy people, and we’re proud of who we are.”

The organizers of the Gay Games have experienced considerable legal difficulties. Before the 1982 Gay Games, the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) filed a court action against the organizers of the Gay Games, which were going to be called the “Gay Olympic Games.” In 1978, the United States Congress passed the Amateur Sports Act which, among other things, granted the USOC exclusive use of the word “olympic.” Although the USOC had allowed the “Rat Olympics,” “Police Olympics,” and “Dog Olympics,” it took exception to the term “Gay Olympic Games.” Two years later, the USOC continued its
harassment of the Gay Games and filed suit to recover legal fees in the amount of $96,600. A lien was put on the house of Tom Waddell, a member of the 1968 United States Olympic Team.

Just as the Sacred Olympic Games and Pythian Games in ancient Greece were a celebration which gave expression to Hellenic values of the time, so, too, the Gay Games are a celebration and expression of the contemporary spirit of the gay community.

Brian Proner

GANYMEDe

In Greek mythology Ganymede was a beautiful Phrygian shepherd boy who attracted the attention of Zeus, the king of the gods. Unable to resist the boy, Zeus seized him and carried him aloft to be his cupbearer and bedmate on Mount Olympus. While the motif of flight through the heavens is probably of Near Eastern origin, the abduction recalls the Cretan custom of older men "kidnapping" their adolescent inamorati and living with them in the wild for a time. (Plato states that the myth of Ganymede originated in Crete.) In any event the story is part of a large set of stories of the Olympian gods falling in love with mortal boys.

In ancient art Zeus is sometimes depicted abducting the boy in mortal form and sometimes in the guise of an eagle, his attribute. Vasepaintings occasionally show the anthropomorphic Zeus pursuing Ganymede as an analogue to the wooing conducted by mortal pederasts. In later antiquity the motif of the beautiful youth being carried aloft by an eagle was given an allegorical significance, as the soul's flight away from earthly cares to the serenity of the empyrean.

In the medieval debate poem Altercatio Ganymedes et Helenae (twelfth century) Ganymede conducts an able defense of male homosexuality. The mythographers of the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance (above all Giovanni Boccaccio in his Genealogia Deorum of 1375) presented a number of examples of the male amours of the Greek gods, and these texts influenced artists. In 1532 Michelangelo created a drawing of Ganymede Abducted by the Eagle for presentation to a Roman nobleman, Tommaso de' Cavalieri, for whom he experienced a deep, though Platonic affection. Other images of Ganymede were produced by Correggio, Parmigianino, Giulio Romano, and Benvenuto Cellini.

In the French language, beginning in the sixteenth century, the divine youth's name became a common noun, with the sense of "passive homosexual" or bardache. Joachim du Bellay (1558) speaks of seeing in Rome "Un Ganymede avoir le rouge sur la tête" ["A Ganymede with red on his head," that is, a cardinal]. The Dictionnaire comique (1718) of P. J. Le Roux is explicit: "Ganymede: bardache, a young man who offers pleasure, permitting the act of sodomy to be committed on him."

In As You Like It (Act I) Shakespeare made the transvestite Rosalind assume the name of Ganymede, "Jove's own page." In 1611 the lexicographer Randle Cotgrave defined "Ganymede" as an ingle (passive homosexual or catamite). A pointed reference comes from Drummond of Hawthornden: "I crave thou wilt be pleased, great God, to save my sovereign from a Ganymede" (1649), referring to the tradition of royal minions at the Stuart court. Such associations notwithstanding, in the seventeenth century Simon Marius named Jupiter's largest moon after Ganymede, giving him preference over the god's female lovers who are commemorated in the names given to the smaller moons. Thus the way was paved for Ganymede to enter today's age of space exploration.

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**GAY**

This word is often taken as the contemporary or colloquial equivalent of *homosexual* without further distinction. But there are other nuances of meaning, especially as some activists vigorously disown the latter term which they falsely believe to be of medical origin and bear the stigma of the pathological, while others would see in *gay* the designation of the politically conscious and militant supporter of the homosexual liberation movement, as opposed to sexual orientation which is an artifact of personal history rather than a matter of deliberate choice. To some the word has proven troublesome, and for this reason it merits extended discussion.

The word *gay* (though not its three later slang meanings) stems from the Old Provençal *gai*, “high spirited, mirthful.” A derivation of this term in turn from the Old High German *gahi*, “impetuous” (cf. modern German *jäh*, “sudden”), though attractive at first sight, seems unlikely. *Gai* was a favorite expression among the troubadours, who came to speak of their intricate art of poetry as *gai saber*, “gay knowledge.” Despite assertions to the contrary, none of these uses reveals any particular sexual content. In so far as the word *gay* or *gai* has acquired a sexual meaning in Romance languages, as it has very recently, this connotation is entirely owing to the influence of the American homosexual liberation movement as a component of the American popular culture that has swamped the non-Communist world.

Beginning in the seventeenth century, the English word *gay* began to connote the conduct of a playboy or dash- ing man about town, whose behavior was not always strictly moral but not totally depraved either, hence the popularity of such expressions as “gay lothario,” “gay deceiver,” and “gay blade.” Applied to women in the nineteenth century (or perhaps somewhat before), it came to mean “of loose morals; a prostitute.” “As soon as a woman has ostensibly lost her reputation we, with grim inappropriateness, call her ‘gay’” (Sunday Times, London, 1868). Curiously the 1811 *Lexicon Balatonicum*, attributed to Captain F. Grose, defines *gaying instrument* as “penis.” Thus far, the development has an interesting forerunner in the Latin *lascivus*, which first meant “lively, frolicking,” and then “lewd, wanton.”

What was to come, however, has no independent parallel in any other language. The expansion of the term to mean homosexual man constitutes a tertiary stage of modification, the sequence being “lothario,” then “female prostitute,” then “homosexual man.” Viewed in the perspective of the saturation of nineteenth-century usage by the spectacle of the “gay woman” (= whore), this final application to homosexual men could not fail to bear overtones of promiscuity and “fallen” status. Despite ill-informed speculations, thus far not one unambiguous attestation of the word to refer specifically to homosexual men is known from the nineteenth century. The word (and its equivalents in other European languages) is attested in the sense of “belonging to the demi-monde” or “given to illicit sexual pleasures,” even specifically to prostitution, but nowhere with the special homosexual sense that is reinforced by the antonym *straight*, which in the sense of “heterosexual” was known exclusively in the gay subculture until quite recently. While the latter semantic innovation (straight) has been tacitly accepted by those to whom it applied, it has not spread to other languages, just as K. H. Ulrichs’ coinage *Dioning* (= heterosexual) never gained any cur-
rency with the general public, even if its synonym *Urmimg* (and the English counterpart *Uranian*) were used for some decades by German authors and their British imitators. The earliest appearance of the words *gay/straight* in tandem must therefore be the term of development of the whole semantic process.

Although it has not been found in print before 1933 (when it appears in Noel Erisse's *Dictionary of Underworld Slang* as *gay cat*, "a homosexual boy"), it is safe to assume that the usage must have been circulating orally in the United States for a decade or more. (As Jack London explains in *The Road* of 1907, *gay cat* originally meant—or so he thought—an apprentice hobo, without reference to sexual orientation.) In 1955 the English journalist Peter Wildblood defined *gay* as "an American euphemism for homosexual," at the same time conceding that it had made inroads in Britain. Grammatically, the word is an adjective, and there has been some resistance to the use of *gay, gays* as nouns, but this opposition seems to be fading.

In the light of the semantic history outlined above, a particularly ludicrous complaint is the notion, advanced by some heterosexual writers, that the "innocent" word *gay* has been "kidnapped" by homosexuals in their insouciant willingness to subvert the canons of language as well as morals. As we have seen, the sexual penumbras of meaning were originally introduced by the mainstream society (i.e., chiefly heterosexuals), first to designate their own rakes and ramblers, and then the women these men caused to "fall." Quite apart from the quaint charge of verbal kidnapping (which ignores the fact that many words in English are polysemous in that they have two or more distinct meanings), there does exist a legitimate concern among homosexuals themselves that the aura of frivolity and promiscuity adhering to the word has not been dissolved. In that sense the comparison of the substitution of *gay* for *homosexual* with black for Negro is not valid, though the two shifts were contemporary. To be sure gay has gained the allegiance of many well-meaning outsiders for the same reason as black, the assumption being that these terms are the ones preferred by the individuals they designate. Many lesbian organizations now reject the term *gay*, restricting it to men, hence the spread of such binary phrases as "gay and lesbian" and "lesbian and gay people." Such ukases notwithstanding, expressions such as "Is she gay?" are still common among lesbians.

Despite all the problems, brevity and convenience suggest that this three-letter word is here to stay. Significantly, in 1987, in the aftermath of negotiations with the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD), the *New York Times*, which had formerly banned the use of *gay* except in direct quotations, assented to its use.

Wayne R. Dynes

**GAY LIBERATION**

*See Liberation, Gay.*

**GAY RIGHTS**

*See Decriminalization; Movement, Gay.*

**GAY STUDIES**

Gay scholarship on the subject of homosexuality has been fostered by both political and personal motives. On the political plane, it has meant the search for other cultures and societies in which the homosexual was not a criminal and an outcast, in which homosexual love was not the object of opprobrium and disgust, but both were an accepted part of the social and sexual life of the age. Above all, the homoerotic component of the glorious civilizations of the past—ancient Greece and Rome, medieval Islam and Japan—was a stimulus and a challenge to homosexual researchers seeking the roots of their own situation. At the same time they were studying themselves through the
mirror of the gay personalities and literary monuments of the past—and even the clandestine literature of the present—that shed light on their own psychological states and life situations. By demonstrating that homosexual love had enriched the cultural heritage of mankind, that homosexual experience was attested universally, gay scholars were arguing for its legitimacy and acceptance at the present day.

*Mirror,* Heinrich Hoessli (1784–1864) was both the first homosexual rights advocate and the first gay scholar. His book *Eros: Die Männerliebe der Griechen* [Eros: The Male Love of the Greeks; 1836–38] was in large part an assemblage of literary materials from Ancient Greece and Medieval Islam that illustrated the phenomenon of love between males. Far more erudite than he was the jurist and polymath Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–1895) whose *Forschungen zur mann-männlichen Liebe* [Researches on Love between Males], published from 1864 to 1870, ranged in an encyclopedic manner over the history, literature, and ethnography of past and present.

Driven into exile in Italy at the end of his life, Ulrichs was the first of a series of investigators who lived and published abroad to escape the intolerance of the Germanic world; and down to the 1960s many works that could not see the light of print in the English-speaking countries were issued in France, where publishing houses such as those of Charles Carrington at the end of the nineteenth century and the Olympia Press after World War II produced books for British and American tourists—who now and then managed to slip them back into their native lands.

Far broader in scope was the activity of the Wissenschaftlich-humanitäre Komitee [Scientific-Humanitarian Committee] with its journal, the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* [Yearbook for Sexual Intergrades], whose 23 volumes, published between 1899 and 1923, cover almost every imaginable aspect of the subject, with major articles on the history, biography, and psychology of homosexuality, as well as precious bibliographical lists and surveys of the literature of past and present. For the collaborators of the Committee, working under the overall supervision of Magnus Hirschfeld, their scholarship was a tool for demonstrating the position that the homosexual personality was a constant and stable type throughout human history, that it was found in all strata of society, and was therefore a biological phenomenon which could not be suppressed, but was deserving of legal and social toleration. Such scholarship was all the more needed as university curricula and standard reference works alike dishonestly omitted all reference to homosexuality, even in the lives and works of individuals who were "notorious" in their lifetimes for their proclivity to their own sex.

In England John Addington Symonds may be considered the first gay scholar, since he composed two privately printed works, *A Problem in Greek Ethics* and *A Problem in Modern Ethics,* the latter of which introduced to the English-speaking world the recent findings of continental psychiatrists and the new vision of Ulrichs and Walt Whitman. Symonds was also a major contributor to the first edition of Havelock Ellis' *Sexual Inversion* (German 1896, English 1897). At the same time the American university president Andrew Dickson White quietly inserted into his two-volume *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (1896) a comprehensive analysis and demolition of the Sodom legend. In the same year Marc-André Raffalovich published his *Uranisme et unisexualité* [Uranism and Unisexuality], with copious bibliographical and literary material, some from German authors of the nineteenth century, which he supplemented at intervals in a series of articles in the *Archives d'anthropologie criminelle* down to World War I. In the Netherlands L.S.A.M. von Römer, besides contributing
several major articles to the *Jahrbuch*, also published a study entitled *Het uranisch gezin* (The Homosexual’s Family), which argued for the genetic determination of the condition on the basis of abnormalities in the ratio of the sexes among the siblings of male and female homosexuals. Edward Irenaeus Prime-Stevenson, writing under the pseudonym “Xavier Mayne,” published in Naples a major work *The Intersexes*, which roamed the historical and sociological scenes of past and present, collecting much of the folklore of the gay subculture of early twentieth-century Europe.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century heterosexuals began to study homosexual behavior, often from the biased standpoint of the clinician observing patients in psychiatric wards or the forensic psychiatrist examining individuals arrested for sexual offenses. The *writings of Kraft-Ebing*, notably his *Psychopathia sexualis* (first edition 1886) were of this sort, followed by those of Albert Moll and Albert Freiherr von Schrenck-Notzing, the last of whom did, however, achieve a good critical overview of the subject in an article published in *Zeitschrift für Hypnotismus* in 1898. In Italy Carlo Mantegazza had collected anthropological materials on the subject in *Gli amori degli uomini* (The Sexual Relations of Mankind; 1885). He was followed by Iwan Bloch, who early in his career as sexologist attacked the notion of innate homosexuality in his *Beiträge zur Ätiologie der Psychopathia sexualis* (Contributions to the Etiology of Psychopathia sexualis; 1902), which had the merit of giving the phenomenon an anthropological rather than a medical dimension, but later in *Das Sexualeben unserer Zeit in seinen Beziehungen zur modernen Kultur* (The Sexual Life of Our Times in its Relations to Modern Civilization; 1907) rallied to the standpoint of the Committee. Albert Moll provided homosexual apologetics with one of its favorite themes in a book entitled *Berühmte Homosexuelle* (Famous Homosexuals; 1910).

Assisted at first by John Addington Symonds, Havelock Ellis devoted the second volume of his monumental *Studies in the Psychology of Sex to Sexual Inversion* (third edition 1915). In the book he assembled case histories that he had collected, mainly by correspondence, and an assortment of ethnographic and historical materials from his own vast reading as well as the German literature that had accumulated since the founding of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee in 1896. The editions and translations of his work made the subject part of the body of scientific knowledge accessible to the rather small public that was willing to accept it in the first half of the century.

The psychoanalytic study of homosexuality began with *Freud’s Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie* (Three Contributions to the Theory of Sexuality; 1905), which rejected the static notion of innate homosexuality with the attendant therapeutic nihilism in favor of an approach that stressed the role of the dynamic unconscious in the formation of sexual orientation. Because this assumption played into the hands of the enemies of the homosexual emancipation movement, it has led to a good deal of intellectual dishonesty and hypocrisy, with even Catholic and Communist thinkers who reject *psychoanalysis* on philosophical grounds championing the views of depth psychologists whom they regarded as allies at least on this issue. A series of papers based mainly on psychoanalytic case histories appeared in the journals of the movement, sometimes growing into full-length books such as those of Wilhelm Stekel, who promoted the view that bisexuality was normal but that homosexuality was a “curable neurosis.” These papers could also take the form of psychoanalytic biographies of famous homosexuals, a genre initiated by Freud’s philologically rather weak *Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci* (A Childhood Reminiscence of Leonardo da Vinci; 1910).
This scholarship had to be conducted almost entirely outside the walls of the university—in physicians' consulting rooms or the private libraries of independent scholars—and published in specialized journals or in limited editions “for members of the medical and legal professions.” Hence an academic tradition could not be born, much less develop within the parameters of scholarly discipline, and the field continues to attract amateurs who pass off their journalistic compositions—often produced by exploiting the talent and industry of others—as works of genuine scholarship.

The interest of geneticists in twin studies led to some papers on the sexual orientation of monozygotic and dizygotic twins, a field pioneered by Franz Kallmann. While certain issues continue to be disputed, the study of monozygotic twin pairs has revealed concordances as marked as those for intelligence and other character traits, albeit with a complexity in the developmental aspect of the personality that earlier thinkers had not fully appreciated.

**Trends in the United States.** The survey method of investigating sexual behavior had been used sporadically in the 1920s and 1930s, but only in 1938 did Alfred C. Kinsey undertake the monumental series of interview studies that provided the material for *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953), which astounded the world by stating (perhaps overstating) the frequency of homosexual experience in the American population, and enraged the psychoanalysts by disclosing the biased and statistically unreliable character of the population on which they based their often fanciful interpretations. However, his work has lasting merit in demonstrating that the homosexual was not an exhibit in a pathological waxworks museum, but a stable minority within the entire population and within all the diverse segments of the American nation.

The homosexual movement in the United States was from its outset interested in promoting the study of the phenomenon in order to prove that its followers were “like other people” as opposed to the psychiatrists who were always ready to argue that homosexuals were at least neurotic and sometimes pre-psychotic. Hence groups like the early Mattachine Society furnished the subjects for the investigations of Evelyn Hooker and others whose clinical soundings showed that homosexuals could not be distinguished from heterosexuals on the basis of the Rorschach or other standard tests. The work of the German and other continental predecessors of the American movement was used fitfully at best, and has never been fully exploited by American investigators, in some instances because they cannot even read it. A certain amount of vulgarization occurred on the pages of *Mattachine Review, ONE, The Ladder* and their counterparts *Arcadie* and *Der Kreis/Le Cercle*, which fondly revived memories of past epochs of homosexual greatness.

The new phase in the history of the American movement that began with New York's Stonewall Rebellion of June 1969 did not at first find an echo in the halls of learning, besieged as the elite institutions were by students vociferously demonstrating for the privilege of not being drafted to serve in Vietnam. But in time the gay “counter-culture” coalesced in the Gay Academic Union, whose founding conference was held at John Jay College in New York City in November 1973. A journal named *Gai Saber* was created shortly thereafter, and went through a number of issues. Only a minority of the adherents of GAU had academic motives and goals; many more were interested only in “lifestyle politics” or in causes that began to fade from public attention once the Vietnam War ended in a stalemate in 1973. A few introductory courses made their way into college curricula, chiefly in
sociology and psychology, so that the gay undergraduate could confront his identity problems with a modicum of academic guidance; but no standard textbooks or syllabi were ever produced that would compare with the advances in women's studies in the same period. Even these conessions to the radical mood of the early 1970s began to vanish as the far more conservative trend of the following decade reached the campuses.

However, it became possible for the first time to utilize and to publish vast amounts of historical and biographical material that had simply been ignored or deliberately suppressed in previous centuries. The role of homosexual experience in the lives of the great and near-great, the meanings and innuendos of obscure passages in the classics of world literature, the paths and byways of the clandestine gay subculture in the cities of Modern Europe and the United States—all these matters could now be legitimate subjects of academic concern, to be discussed as calmly as any other facet of human life, not as a subject the very mention of which demanded a profuse apology and a disclaimer of the investigator's personal involvement.

Present Situation and Outlook. After World War II the accelerating pace of specialized knowledge fostered calls for synthetic perspectives in the form of "interdisciplinary" approaches. Although their existence is partly a response to political and social conditions, black studies and women's studies are by their very nature interdisciplinary. In 1976, for example, ONE institute, the independent Los Angeles homophile education foundation, articulated the subject in the following fields: anthropology, history, psychology, sociology, education, medicine and biology, psychiatry, law and its enforcement, military, religion and ethics, biography and autobiography, literature and the arts, the homophile movement, and transvestism and transsexualism (An Annotated Bibliography of Homosexuality, New York, 1976). Apart from the intrinsic unwieldiness of such a list, many scholars have clung to their own institutional bases, so that sociologists tend to see the matter chiefly in terms of contemporary social formation, literary critics are interested mainly in reflections in novels and poetry, and so forth.

It seems, however, that three main constellations or domains of research may be identified. [1] The empirical-synchronic domain studies the behavior and attitudes of living subjects, using primarily questionnaires and interviews. This great realm comprises sociology, social and individual psychology, public opinion research, medicine, and law enforcement (including police studies). The advantage inherent in this range of disciplines is direct access to the groups of human beings that are being studied. Yet problems arise from researcher bias, the difficulty of obtaining adequate samples from a still largely closeted population, and (in sociology) a neglect of the biological and historical substrates. [2] The historical-comparative domain includes history, biography, and anthropology, together with the historical aspects of the disciplines discussed in the first category. The advantage of this method is that it permits one to view present arrangements as but one set of possibilities in a larger conspectus of documented human behavior and attitudes. Dangers arise from an anachronistic project which elides differences, seeing "gay" people everywhere. Regrettably, the attempt of the social construction approach to correct such present-mindedness errs on the side of an overemphasis on difference and distinction, claiming (in a few extreme examples) that there were no homosexuals before 1869. In anthropology there is a continuing temptation to "ethnoromanticism," that is overidealizing the exotic culture one is studying, viewing it as "natural," "nonrepressive," "organic," and so forth. [3] The final domain is that of cultural representation, and it studies the appearance of homosexual themes and characters in novels, poetry, the visual arts, film,
and radio and television. Here one can see, in gay-authored works, the ways in which homosexuals have sought to image themselves, while in "straight" works the stereotypes, as well as the rare instances of honest effort toward understanding, are available for inspection. In researching this third domain one cannot neglect the constraints of publishers, producers and other cultural "gatekeepers" in shaping the material.

Apart from this suggested articulation of research in three main domains, some general desiderata should be mentioned. Narrow parochialism should yield to horizons that are as broad as the subject demands. For example, a study of the gay subculture in early twentieth-century New York City should show an awareness not only of other places in America, but also of the European setting, from which so many immigrants came. Moreover, a study of causal factors should be polythematic, considering a variety of conditioning factors, and not reducing them, say, to a mere matter of the socioeconomic base (historical materialism) or conversely the downward trickle of learned notions (the history of ideas approach). Researchers must be alert to lingering biases in their own makeup, as from Christianity or secular belief systems such as Marxism. Unexpected differentiations must always be watched for: for example with male transvestites there are at least three distinct varieties, none of which is assimilable to the model of the "gay person." Finally, there is an urgent need for the acquisition of auxiliary sciences, in this field that means first and foremost foreign languages—the standard academic languages of German and French to assimilate the older literature, plus Latin, Greek, Arabic, Persian, Chinese, Japanese, Russian, and the like according to one's particular research interest.

Having been relegated to the margin of academia for so long, it is perhaps understandable that the field developed somewhat idiosyncratic standards, not exempt from advocacy scholarship and apologetics. Now that these studies are receiving serious academic attention, it is essential that accepted canons of evidence and exposition be observed. In this way gay studies will not only find its proper place in the constellation of knowledge, but in so doing replace homosexual behavior in its proper context as part of the mainstream of history.


Wayne R. Dykes and Warren Johansson

GENDER

In current social science usage gender denotes consciousness of sexual dimorphism that may or may not be congruent with actual genital sex in human beings. The expression gender role was introduced by John Money in 1955, as a relatively new use of a term that has a long history in English in other senses. In a relatively short time, however, it found acceptance in both scientific and political usage as a needed complement to the older term sex.

Origins in Linguistics. The concept of gender originated in linguistics, where it designates a specific grammatical category of the noun that can find expression morphosyntactically. In this function it bonds with adjectives ("agreement") and verbs and with particular suffixes limited to a single gender. There is also a syntactic aspect, expressed through combination with appropriate forms of the article and the pronoun. For the speaker of English, in which these relationships have been lost, they may be somewhat hard to understand. And indeed gender based upon analogy with the natural sex of animate beings is not universal; it is limited to the Indo-European and Semito-Hamitic families. However, of the six classical languages of the world, five have the category of sex gender: Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit.
have the three-gender system of Indo-European—masculine, feminine, and neuter—and Hebrew and Arabic have the two-gender system (masculine and feminine) inherited from Common Semitic. Only Chinese operates with noun classes not based upon the real or ascribed sex of the person or object. But because of the cultural diffusion and influence of the first five literary languages, the intelligentsia of virtually all civilized peoples has some familiarity with the notion in its linguistic application.

**General Considerations.** In social psychology gender means one’s personal, social, and legal status as male or female, or mixed, on the basis of somatic and behavioral criteria more inclusive than the genital organs alone. That is to say, human beings possess a reflective consciousness that includes a perception of the masculinity or femininity of oneself and of others. Moreover, this perception is determined by a host of traits of the individual, some having to do with secondary sexual characteristics, others conditioned by the cultural typing of modes of thought and action as appropriate to one sex or the other.

Because it is impossible to know what another human being feels, personal gender identity can only be inferred from what the subject under observation expresses in speech, gesture, and movement. These sources of data constitute one’s gender behavior or gender role. Yet gender identity remains private and subjective; it is a dimension of the personality that has been scripted in the course of the individual’s lifetime in accordance with forces guiding his psychological development. Gender is more subtle and more inclusive than sex, as it embraces far more than the genitals and their functioning. But because homo sapiens is characterized by sexual dimorphism—the basic anatomical contrast—human societies have gender dimorphism as well: they operate with the dichotomy masculine/feminine in assigning behavioral traits to the phenomenon of gender.

This macroevolutionary fact—the sexual dimorphism of humanity and of its phylogenetic ancestors—predetermined the dimorphism in behavior that constitutes gender. Moreover, the accumulating evidence of animal sexology on the fetal influence of hormones on the governance of sexual behavior by way of the central nervous system precludes the ascription of gender differences to merely social and cultural determinants, even though the assignment of particular traits has an element of the arbitrary. Granted, the structure of gender in the culture of a particular society may virtually dictate what at first glance seems fortuitous; in this matter the binary logic of the differentiating process overrides the scattered distribution of a trait in real populations.

**Core Gender Identity.** Differentiation of a core gender identity probably follows the same principle as the morphological differentiation of the gonads and the internal organs of reproduction. Both systems are latent, but one alone finally becomes functional. In the case of gender identity, however, the nonfunctional schema does not become vestigial, in the true sense, but is negatively coded—marked as not to be manifested by oneself, but appropriate to members of the opposite sex and even to be demanded of them. The two-gender schema is encoded in the brain of the human subject, with one half suitable for one’s personal gender identity, and the other half for use in predicting and interpreting the gender role of the opposite sex.

In the customary nuclear family, the child identifies primarily with the parent of the opposite sex, though other members of the household may be surrogates or complements for the parents. As the child grows, the models for identification and complementation extend beyond the household to include older siblings, playmates, and figures of folklore, sports, politics, the media, and even the world of learning. The latter figures require no re-
sponsive reaction, except in the world of fantasy, but they may offer an ideal which the individual strives to realize—or even excel—in the course of his lifetime.

With the advent of hormonal puberty, a new milestone in psychosexual development is reached, namely the ability to fall in love. The onset of this capacity is not simultaneous with puberty, but is triggered by a mechanism whose site is still unknown. Falling in love resembles imprinting in that a releaser mechanism from within must encounter a stimulus from without before the event can occur. That event has remarkable longevity; its echoes can last a lifetime. The stimulus, normal or pathological, that will affect a given individual will have been written into his psychosexual program, so to speak, in the years before puberty and as far back as infancy.

**Broader Connotations.** Beyond the sphere of sexuality in the narrow sense, a vast amount of human behavior is gender-marked in that what men do one way, women do another way. Such gender-related behavior ranges from fashions in dress to conventions at work and earning a living, from rules of etiquette and ceremony to labor-sharing in the home. These stereotypes of what is masculine and what is feminine ultimately stem from such macroevolutionary differences as stature, weight, and muscle power, menstruation, childbearing, and lactation, but the conventions themselves are defined by custom—the accumulated residue of economic and cultural processes—which may resist change or conversely be subject to sudden shifts of taste and fashion. What matters is that they exist at any given time and place, that in all societies human beings are exquisitely sensitive to the signals and cues emanating from others, and that if a collective can adapt and change the signals over time, it cannot obliterate them altogether.

Cultural tradition determines not just the criteria of behavior related to sexual dimorphism, but also sundry criteria of sexual interaction. An age (such as our own) that has undergone tremendous cultural change has also seen the traditional norms of sexual behavior rejected and openly flouted. While there has been no change of tradition in respect to the pairing of couples similar in age—with its negative implications for the man-boy homosexual relationship—the sanctions against homosexuality are being reexamined and (with much ambivalence) eased in favor of consensual activity between adults. The trend is toward greater individual freedom, though not necessarily toward a greater social good. The leading pressure point of change in the area of gender is toward a greater diversity and plurality of roles, for males and for females, on a basis of interchange and reciprocity. Nature and nurture interact in the determination of gender; some gender traits are common to all members of the species, while others result from the unique life history of the individual.

The genetic code does not find expression in a vacuum, it requires a permissive environment. The limits of permissiveness are prescribed for each species and must be empirically defined for each variable, including gender identity. The bulk of the available evidence points to the early years of life as very important for gender-identity differentiation. There is a parallel here with the ability to use language: by the age of five a child has an effective grasp of the grammatical and syntactic principles of his native tongue, and his gender identity is firmly imbedded. As a system in the brain, the latter programs a boy’s masculine behavior and imagery while at the same time programming the feminine counterpart as the mirror image of the boy’s own reactions in relationships with the opposite sex. Gender identity is not simply the effect produced by an immanent (genetic) cause; the genetic endowment interacts with the environment to yield the final effect.

The only absolutes in male and female roles are those determined by the
genital apparatus: males ejaculate, females menstruate, gestate, and lactate. Other criteria of sexual dimorphism either derive from these irreducible four, or are functions of time and place—as can be learned from economic history and cultural anthropology. The optional (and optimal) content of male and female roles is changing and will change further with the evolution of technology and society. Ideally, both parents will agree on the role suitable for each child, even if the goal is not always easy to achieve. Also, the child’s family will ideally not be isolated and stigmatized for the role definition it has chosen, since this societal reaction would mark a child negatively among his agemates, and could force him to choose between his parents and his peer group.

_Ludic (Playful) Variations on Gender_. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, members of Europe’s aristocracy enjoyed dressing in the clothing of the opposite sex. From the Chevalier d’Eon (Charles d’Eon de Beaumont; 1728–1810), who adopted women’s dress during a diplomatic mission to Russia, stems the name that Havelock Ellis invented for _transvestism_: Eonism. In the nineteenth-century these practices trickled down to a larger public through the popular stage productions employing female and male impersonators. These performers in turn were imitated by people of working-class origin, giving rise to the modern drag queen and the mannish dyke. In the period after the Stonewall Rebellion (1969+), drag queens were prominent in activist circles, combining a defiance of society’s gender norms with opposition to sexual conformity. This old tradition in a new guise, sometimes known as _gender bending_ or _gender fuck_, is notable not only for its political awareness, but also for the fact that the illusion of assuming the opposite sex need not be convincing—indeed it is often deliberately not. Such behavior reflects an intuitive awareness of the sophisticated contemporary concept of gender. Social psychology and social activism meet._

_Gender Studies_. Along with women’s studies, gender studies have since the early 1970s become a focus of attention in the academic world. Articles, monographs, and books are devoted to the problem of gender, and so such questions as how it can be measured by standardized tests, how it is socially defined in different historical epochs, and how it affects the functionality and the psychic health of the individual in various occupations and life stages. Crossing as they do the boundaries of conventional disciplines, gender studies and women’s studies utilize a multidimensional approach to arrive at a deeper understanding of the forces that shape and maintain sexual identity in human beings. Gender studies also intersect with a reexamination of the legal status of men and women, and the effort to correct discrimination against women by legal enactments and their enforcement. In 1988 the University of Texas Press began to publish a journal, _Genders_, with a primarily cultural emphasis.


_Warren Johansson_

**GENDER DYSPHORIA**

_See Dysphoria, Gender._

**GENET, JEAN**

(1910–1986)

French poet, novelist, and playwright. The son of an unknown father, abandoned by his mother shortly after his birth, Genet was brought up by a country couple. At a very early age, Genet began to think that there was no clear-cut distinction between parent, master, and judge—a conflation that was to become the cornerstone of his philosophy. At the age of 16 he was convicted of theft and sent to a reform
school. Four years later he escaped and joined the Foreign Legion but deserted after a few days. Rebellling against society, he became a drifter who lived by begging, dealing in narcotics, and prostitution. Crime became for him a ritual with religious overtones, but he was unlucky enough to be caught and sentenced several times to prison, where he wrote poems, novels, and plays.

With the encouragement and financial support of friends, Genet wrote the novels that were to launch his fame, Notre-Dame des Fleurs (Our Lady of the Flowers; 1944) and Miracle de la rose (Miracle of the Rose; 1946). In 1948, on the verge of being sentenced to prison for life, he was pardoned by president Vincent Auriol at the behest of such influential literary figures as Jean Cocteau and Jean-Paul Sartre. (The latter was to devote a huge, but not always factually accurate book to the writer, Saint Genet, comédien et martyr [1952].) Set free, Genet concentrated on his literary work and soon became a writer of international renown, yet still without a fixed domicile and using his publisher's address for purposes of contact.

An autobiographical work, Le Journal du voleur (The Thief's Journal; 1949), gave an account of the writer's earlier vicissitudes in the purleus of the French criminal underworld and of prison. Genet also wrote a number of plays that—unlike the novels—have no overt homosexual theme. In the novels, the clarity and purity of the style contrasts with the sordidness of the content. It is the world of prisons and brothels that forms the backdrop to the plot. These settings are waiting rooms for violent death, either by assassination or by legal execution, and they provoke almost insufferable scenes of passionate hatred or love—often homosexual—among the inmates. In the microcosm inhabited by Genet's characters everything comes at a high price, either in money, or in loss of ideals, of liberty, or of life. The burdensome daily routine of the prison is metamorphosed into the ceremonies of a cathedral within whose walls miracles occur. The inmates deliberately flout the rules of a society that has rejected and condemned them, and within the walls of their jail they create a new hierarchy. The reader is made to sense that any concept can yield to its opposite, that if vice is not virtue, it may equal virtue.

In the last decades of his life Genet became involved in political causes, including the defense of the Black Panthers in the United States in the early 1970s. He declined any affiliation with the gay liberation movement that had emerged as part of the radical upheaval of the Vietnam War era, saying that he considered homosexuality a personal rather than a political matter. His own interpretation of the homosexual experience strayed far from the precepts of a movement that set its face against much of the role-playing prescribed by the criminal and inmate milieu that forms the background of his tales. For Genet the sexual relationship is always one of power asymmetry, yet the line between promiscuity and fidelity is also effaced. The novelist remained a rebel, not a revolutionary inspired by a dream of a new sexual morality.

The homosexuality of Genet's characters is explicit, and the scenes of lovemaking attain the limit of physical and psychological detail, recounted in the argot of the French criminal underworld (which largely defies English translation) and in a style once possible only in pornographic novels sold "under the counter." If the homosexuality of the heroes of Genet's novels has a strong sado-masochistic component, their love is depicted with honesty and tenderness. The plot construction borders on free association, while the sordid and brutal aspects of male love are not suppressed or denied. Criminality and homosexuality are two sides of the personality of Genet's heroes. The novels are suffused with a poetry studded with a striking imagery in which memories, desires, and fantasies are interwoven by a
creative writer who freely transmutes experience into art. The frankness of Genet's handling of the homoerotic caused no little embarrassment to the critics and literary scholars who even managed to write articles in which the homosexual component of his work went totally unmentioned. But the novels in their realism defied all conventions and shattered the last barriers against the treatment of homosexuality in literature. Since French writing shapes literary trends throughout the world, the influence of Genet on future depictions of homosexual experience is likely to mount.


Warren Johansson

GEOGRAPHY, SOCIAL
Geographical distribution of homosexuals in Western industrial societies is not random. Gay men and lesbians are more likely to live in urban areas than in the countryside, in large cities rather than towns, and (in the United States) on or near the two coasts rather than in the hinterland. In many countries, regions noted for their religious conservatism are not favored by homosexuals. In North America, where mobility is common, the single homosexual is more mobile than most, and will seek new locales based not only on the expectation of tolerance, but on climate and the availability of good cultural and recreational facilities. Many gay men and lesbians deliberately move far from their home areas to escape family constraints as well as peer pressure from people with whom they grew up.

The diminished visibility that most homosexuals find it expedient to adopt (and the absence of any usable census or survey statistics) hinder an accurate estimation of these clustering patterns. On the one hand, naive observers miss almost all the identifying signals; finding homosexuals nowhere, these people assume that they must be everywhere. Others, more alert to the gay presence, register it only in such areas of concentration as those mentioned, concluding that the concentration is absolute. It is not. There are many homosexuals living isolated lives in remote and unexpected places.

Just as there are village atheists, there are village gays—though most small-town homosexuals choose to maintain a low profile. In any event, this article is concerned with the concentrations, and with the social semiotic that allows the inhabitants therein to establish group identity and community.

High-Visibility Concentrations. In the United States media attention has spotlighted certain urban quarters in which homosexuals are highly visible, and even predominate, such as New York's Greenwich Village, San Francisco's Polk Street and Castro Street areas, and Houston's Montrose. These quarters are often termed "gay ghettos," a problematic expression, though one that would be difficult to eradicate. The word ghetto originally served to designate sections of Italian cities of the sixteenth century in which Jews were compelled to live under conditions of strict segregation. The ghettos were surrounded by walls behind which all Jews were required to withdraw at night—to prevent them from having sexual relations with Christians. In the 1920s the meaning of the term ghetto was significantly extended by sociologists of the Chicago School, who used it to refer not only to the urban enclaves favored by various immigrant groups—the Little Italys, Little Warsaws, and Chinatowns—but also to sections populated by bohemians, hobos, and prostitutes. Since the 1960s
it has been common to refer to black districts, such as New York's Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, as ghettos. Clearly, the expression "gay ghetto" stretches the definition, possibly misleadingly so. Since most gay men and lesbians are not stereotypically identifiable to outsiders, they cannot be forced into a strictly delimited geographical enclave; indeed in all cities a majority of homosexuals choose to live outside "their" quarter, though they will usually visit it for entertainment and commercial transactions. Moreover, the boundaries of the gay urban concentrations are porous, so that it is impossible to say that some particular street marks the dividing line. Traditionally, the denizens of the ethnic slums struggled to climb out of them; the fashionable gay person struggles to acquire enough income to move in. Finally, gay populations often overlap in a kind of patchwork with other group concentrations, such as intellectuals and drug users. In some cases the overlapping of groups is a direct descendent of the early twentieth-century bohemias. During this period homosexuals often lived in boarding houses and YMCAs, which were also favored by other single people who had come to the city in order to be free of restrictions. Significantly, only one gay enclave today, West Hollywood, CA, is incorporated as a city, and that is shared with other groups. Although lesbians are usually welcome, few choose to live in the enclaves, perhaps because many have small children who need appropriate space and schools. It may be, however, that we are witnessing the beginnings of specifically lesbian enclaves in such areas as New York's East Village and the zone north of the Castro in San Francisco.

Characteristic Features of the Enclaves. Typically, the enclave is located fairly centrally—not downtown, but close enough and reachable by public transportation for those who do not wish to use cars. In this way it stands at the opposite pole from the universal emporium of today's mainstream: the suburban mall.

Initially, the quarter was somewhat run down, but it contains solid residential structures with "character" so that homosexuals, using their stereotypical (but often real) interior-decorating skills, can restore the buildings to their original liveability and dignity. This process of urban reclamation and rehabilitation has sometimes been termed "gentrification." Because they lead to increases in rents, such improvements are often resented by older, more impoverished residents. Inasmuch as many of these are members of racial minorities, the refurbishment trend has caused intergroup tensions.

As the character of the newly settled urban enclave begins to emerge, a number of features become evident. There is a greater profusion of shops catering to the childless affluent: antique stores, delicatessens, ice cream parlors, and bookstores. Bars and restaurants increase in number and elegance as the old-fashioned dives are gradually forced out by rising rents. Many of these changes parallel those occurring in "yuppie" (young, upwardly mobile professional) districts, and indeed the relative affluence of both groups, and the general absence of children, creates a degree of superficial social symbiosis. In Madison Avenue jargon both are the home of SINCS (single income, no children) and DINCS (dual income, no children). To distinguish the gay enclaves one must develop a more subtle eye for social semiotic. The inhabitants themselves have little difficulty, and when gay and yuppie districts overlap as they do in San Francisco's Folsom Street, mutual hostility may occur. The dress and deportment of passersby provide good clues, as do the names of bars and other commercial establishments which reflect fashionable trends in the gay world. Cinemas are likely to favor camp classics or current films appealing to gay taste. Pedestrian traffic, interlaced with cruising, abounds at all hours, in contrast to most other neighborhoods, where traffic peaks only as residents are leaving for, or returning from,
work. These signs are not lost on interested outsiders. Insurance companies and other businesses are said to pinpoint enclave locations by their particular postal ZIP codes.

**Analogous Formations.** These enclaves just discussed are characterized by a combination of residential and commercial use. And in fact it is possible for some residents to pass virtually their whole lives within the enclave, working, shopping, banking, and cruising there. There are, however, other more limited zones of “gay space.” University districts often host a goodly share of homosexual residents, attracted by their relative tolerance and the cultural amenities. Some are simply students who stayed on, never having formed families which would require larger quarters. Old warehouses, in industrial zones where no one lives, may open at night as bars or discos that attract surprising numbers of people. These locales are chosen for their inconspicuousness, and may not even present a sign on the street, much as Christian churches in old Cairo have their entrances off obscure courtyards so as to maintain a low profile. City parks, which may lie at some distance from the residential-commercial gay enclave, are claimed after a certain hour at night as cruising grounds. In Europe a fragmentary history of such “zones of licence” may be pieced together from the late Middle Ages onwards. A church-sponsored inquiry undertaken in Cologne in 1484, for example, ascertained the presence of sodomites in several areas of the city, at least one of which corresponds to an area still frequented by homosexuals in the early years of the present century. To be sure, changes in favored spots occur for various reasons. Modern methods of transport made railroad depots and bus stations favorite places. Curiously, airport terminals do not seem to fulfill this function, in part because they are not easily reached on foot or by ordinary means of transportation and in part because security is omnipresent. Repeated raids or obtrusive surveillance may make some spots permanently unattractive. The need to use a car need not itself be a bar to the appropriation of “gay space,” and is a positive advantage during periods of police “heat.” Outside the cities certain commercial strips, highway reststops, and toilets are reachable only by automobile. All these public areas of encounter seem at first bewilderingly diverse, but reflection shows that a key common denominator is the cover rationale that they all provide for loitering. In Europe in former times, churchyards (where one could simulate contemplation of one’s sins) and bridges (where fishing served as an excuse) flourished as cruising spots for similar reasons. In traditional Spain ports (Seville, Valencia, Barcelona) were meeting places, as were (probably) inland establishments serving mule drivers.

Some city neighborhoods have bars that serve, say, construction workers during the day, but switch to a gay clientele at night, the daytime patrons being scarcely aware of the double hat that “their” bar is wearing. This time-sharing phenomenon is found in other spheres of urban life, as in the hotels that boast “110 percent occupancy,” because they rent rooms for sexual assignations for an hour or two in the middle of the day.

**Social Semiotics.** Although much attention has been given to the behavioral geography of cities, little work has been done on what might be termed their “gay semiotics.” What determines the appropriation and modification of the built environment by male homosexuals and lesbians? How do their kinetic patterns, those of movement and loitering, serve to “stake out” and structure the parts of the city they favor? And finally what mental maps do these individuals form of landmarks and pathways that are significant to them?

**Resorts.** Differing significantly from the urban gay enclaves and their satellites are what might be termed “exclaves”: the gay resorts. Some of these,
located like Key West and Palm Springs in tropical climes, function the year round. Here gay residents and retirees who live there share the towns with transients. In some places the influx of gay tourists, who in their holiday mood may behave more flamboyantly than at home, causes tension with straight “townies,” the regular residents; for those in business the influx of dollars is most welcome. On the East Coast, Provincetown, MA, and Fire Island near New York City are seasonal resorts, where the population shrinks to almost nothing in winter. Occupying an intermediate position with respect to seasonal use are the European islands of Ibiza and Mykonos, with their international clientele. Although Italian gay groups sponsor a summer camp each year in the south of their country, there seems as yet no homosexual equivalent of the Club Méditerranée.

**Rural Gays.** Far from American cities are small settlements, occasionally communes, but usually just farms run by one or two individuals. In some instances these establishments are owned by rural people on inherited family land; most, however, show the influence of the ecology and hippy movements and are worked by one-time urbanites who have fled the stress and pollution of the urban “rat race.” Although a slight preference for the western states may be detected (possibly reflecting the mystique of the cowboy as a rugged individualist), these farms and communes are usually geographically isolated; residents communicate with other sympathetic people by mail, telephone, and computer modem. They also have a periodical, *RFD: A Country Journal for Gay Men Everywhere* (Bakersville, NC).


*Wayne R. Dynes*

**GEORGE, STEFAN**

(1868–1933)

German lyric poet. A student of languages, George traveled widely, knew Mallarmé and Verlaine in Paris, and was profoundly influenced by Spain. His life and work have a strongly esoteric character, as despising the mass culture of the *fin-de-siècle*, he chose to live amidst a circle of admiring disciples, with and for whom he published the journal *Blätter für die Kunst* (1890–1919). Membership in the circle was conferred on an elite group of men qualified by their handsome and aristocratic bearing. Though certain themes in his work—noble youths, exalted leaders, and a “new Reich”—were interpreted by the National Socialists as akin to their cause, George spurned their advances, going into voluntary exile at the end of his life.

The homosexual aspect of George’s work is difficult to define: on the surface it is invisible, at deeper levels omnipresent. By the end of the 1890s he achieved a studied elegance, a perfection of form, a regularity of rhythm and purity of rhyme that remain the hallmarks of his best poetry. His later poems have a prophetic, quasi-mystical character, inspired by his worship of a “divine” youth, Maximin, and a longing to realize in life the vision of the ideal that permeates his poetry, together with a rapturous quality of love. The homosexual strain of the text is never expressed in conventional erotic topos; rather it is masked by various stratagems that escape the uninitiated reader: gender-neutral language, poems in the genderless second person “Du,” allusions to traditionally homosocial groupings such as military or athletic formations, setting the
poem in a historical period rich in homoerotic connotations (such as the credo: "Hellas eternally our love"), even using a female persona or pretending to demean or satirize homosexual attachments. Yet in his work the passion between males is always named "love," never disguised as mere "friendship," but at the same time discreetly merged with heterosexual "love," or with the asexual "love" of Christian theology. In some passages masculine and feminine signals alternate in an androgynous pattern, leaving the reader to divine what is intended.

The taboo on overt manifestation of homosexuality in late nineteenth-century Germany obliged George to devise for self-expression to a discerning minority a complicated code that utilizes masks and symbols inherited from previous literary epochs, while cherishing the dream of a "new world" of male beauty and comradeship. The very notion of the "secret" is tantamount to the forbidden, the homoerotic—as it was objectively in the culture of George's time—but it is the "secret" that perceptive critics recognize as the clue to all of George's life and work, however veiled these may be to the profane reader. George remains the outstanding representative of a literary school, forbidden to express homosexual feeling and experience openly, that conveyed its message by a complex linguistic code which united form and content with enduring aesthetic mastery.


Warren Johansson

**GERBER, HENRY**

(1892–1972)

American gay rights pioneer. Born in Bavaria, Gerber arrived in the United States only in 1914, and the following year joined the U.S. Army under a provision admitting aliens. From 1920 to 1923 he served in the American army of occupation in the Rhineland, where he discovered the German homosexual movement in full bloom. The upshot of this experience was that on his resettlement in Chicago Gerber founded the Society for Human Rights, inspired in name and purpose by the Liga für Menschenrechte. On December 10, 1924, the State of Illinois granted a charter to the society—the first documented homosexual rights organization in the United States. It saw as its task the combattting of the "almost wilful misunderstanding and ignorance on the part of the general public concerning the nature of homosexuality," and the forging of an organized, self-disciplined homosexual community. Like its German predecessors, it focused on the repeal of the laws—in this case those of Illinois—that penalized homosexual acts. It managed to issue two numbers (now lost) of a periodical named *Friendship and Freedom*, again after the German *Freundschaft und Freiheit*, before Gerber and several of his associates were arrested, and he lost his job and his savings. Although the members of the society were finally acquitted, Gerber remembered this failure with the bitterness of one who went unaided in his hour of trial.

Between 1928 and 1930 he contributed three articles to homosexual periodicals in Germany, and in 1932, under the pseudonym "Parisex," he published what was for the time a bold defense of homosexuality. In the same period he produced two mimeographed journals in which he printed several essays on homosexuality. Through an advertisement for pen-pals in one of these he began a correspondence with Manuel Boyfrank, who had ideas, impractical at the time, for a homosexual emancipation organization. Gerber conceived its structure and purposes in a manner that notably anticipated the Mattachine Society in the earliest phase of its existence. In the 1940s his activities took the form of correspondence and of translating into English several chapters
of Magnus Hirschfeld's *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (Male and Female Homosexuality), which were later published in ONE Institute Quarterly. After the founding of the Mattachine Society he joined its Washington chapter, but took no prominent role in its functions, fearing a repetition of the catastrophe that had befallen his first venture. Like Karl Heinrich Ulrichs in Germany, Henry Gerber was a lone pioneer—one of those who came before their time, but had the vision which others would later realize and bring to fulfillment.

*Warren Johansson*

**Géricault, Théodore (1791–1824)**

French romantic painter. Like most artists of his day, Géricault was trained in the Neo-Classic style with its didactic foundation in studies from the male nude. Unlike other artists who moved into a romantic style, Géricault never evinced a complementary interest in the sensuality of the female form. Indeed, some of his drawings and paintings show an almost torrential response to the virility and force of the male body, which in his military scenes extends to highly charged scenes of comradeship. In other works his response to the human body is more conflicted. His most important work, the vast canvas of *The Raft of the Medusa* (Louvre, 1819), shows a group of shipwrecked people in their last extremities before being rescued. Géricault had an affinity for grisly and harrowing subject matter, and toward the end his life, when he was suffering from the effects of a nervous breakdown, he painted a series of portraits of the insane, in which an element of self-identification is unmistakeable.

Speculation about his personal homosexuality has been fueled by the apparent absence of a romantic interest in the artist's life. Recently, however, it has been discovered that Géricault conducted a clandestine affair with a maternal aunt by marriage, Alexandrine-Modeste Caruel, who became the mother of his illegitimate son. For those given to simple either-or thinking, this would seem to settle the question. But as Edward Lucie-Smith has pointed out, the matter is more complex. The question of what is homosexual art is still in flux, but it seems clear that it cannot be resolved by a straightforward litmus test stemming from the known facts of the artist's life. The work tells its own story, and in the case of Géricault there are strong elements of homosexual sensibility, regardless of what he may have done in bed. Admittedly, it is different from the sensibility of twentieth-century gay artists, but has more in common with such Renaissance masters as Michelangelo and Cellini. As our studies of art as expression of the complexities of gender identity become more subtle, greater understanding of the riddle of Géricault's powerful oeuvre is likely to emerge.


*Wayne R. Dynes*

**GERMANIC LAW**

*See Law, Germanic.*

**GERMANY**

Since, historically speaking, there is no unambiguously defined territory named "Germany," the following article concentrates on the geographical area included in the present Federal Republic of Germany (Bundesrepublik Deutschland) and the German Democratic Republic (Deutsche Demokratische Republik).

The Middle Ages. In medieval German literature male homosexuality is seldom mentioned, lesbianism never. In the *Passion of Saint Pelagius* composed in Latin by Roswitha (Hrotswith) of Gandersheim, there is the story of the son of the king of Galicia in Spain who, captured by the Moslem invaders, was approached by Abderrahman with offers of the highest
honors if he would submit to his pederastic advances but violently refused—at the cost of his life. The Latin poem on Lantrid and Cobbo relates the love of two men, one homosexual, the other bisexual. A High German version of Solomon and Morolf composed about 1190 makes an allusion to sodomy, while the Eneid of Heinrich von Veldeke has the mother of Lavinia, the daughter of King Latinus of Italy accuse Aeneas of being a notorious sodomite to dissuade her from marrying him. Moritz von Craun, a verse narrative of ca. 1200, makes the emperor Nero the archetype of the mad sodomite, who even wishes to give birth to a child. In his rhymed Frauenbuch (1257), Ulrich von Lichtenstein presents a debate between a knight and a lady, in which the latter accuses men of preferring hunting, drinking, and boy love to the service of women. About the same time the Austrian poet Der Stricker used references to Sodom and Gomorrah in his negative condemnation.

Legal History. Down to the founding of the German Empire in 1871 there existed numerous smaller states whose penal codes had very different provisions regarding homosexuality. While in the Middle Ages there was no punishment at all for homosexual acts, in 1532 the death penalty for “Sodomiterey” [sodomy] was introduced throughout the Holy Roman Empire, as Charles V promulgated a uniform Constitutio Criminalis Carolina with a corresponding paragraph as part of the criminal law of his realm. The death penalty remained in force in individual German states, but was applied in a quite different manner that varied with time and place and on the whole rather inconsistently. Prussia was the first German state that in 1794 abolished the death penalty for sodomy and replaced it with imprisonment and flogging. After 1810 many states (including Bavaria, Württemberg, and Hannover) followed the model of the Code Napoléon in France and introduced complete impunity for homosexual acts, a policy reversed in 1871 in favor of the anti-homosexual Paragraph 175 of the uniform Imperial Penal Code.

From the Reformation to Romanticism. With commentaries on the relevant passages in the Bible as their starting point, Martin Luther (Warning to His Beloved Germans, 1531) began a tradition of reproaching the Catholic church by claiming that the clergy and especially the monks were homosexual. This polemic became a staple of Protestant–Catholic debate. As late as the Nazi period, the regime conducted a campaign against the Catholic church in which numerous priests were accused of homosexuality in show trials (1937–38).

The translation and reception of ancient texts since the eighteenth century offered frequent occasion for the treatment of homosexuality [a partial translation of Petronius’ Satyricon by Wilhelm Heinse in 1773, Vindications of Horace by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing in 1754, On the Male Love of the Greeks by Christoph Meiners in 1775 and others], as did likewise translations of Enlightenment texts from France and Italy (Pierre Bayle, Dictionnaire historique et critique, 1741–44, Cesare Beccaria, Dei delitti e delle pene, 1766).

In German poetry, however, the homosexual theme was rare before the nineteenth century. Friendship between men is, to be sure, a frequent subject of poetry (especially in Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim, Wilhelm Heinse, even in Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen and others), but the amicable feelings depicted in them are clearly demarcated from the longing of pederasts and sodomites, and the boundary between friendship and sexuality is seldom if ever crossed (though possibly in F. W. B. von Ramdohr, Venus Urania, 1798, Part 2, pp. 103ff.)

Homosexual Lifestyles and Their Conceptualization. All such texts, however, tell us scarcely anything of the everyday life of those who were actively involved in homosexuality. The first docu-
ment that shed light on this matter is Johann Friedel's *Letters on the Gallantries of Berlin* (1782), where what amounts to a homosexual subculture in a German city is described. It is quite possible that the conditions in Berlin that are described as "having become fashionable only since Voltaire's time" existed in a more or less pronounced form in other German capitals such as Dresden, Munich, or Hannover.

In the nineteenth century homosexual lifestyles developed parallel to the growth of the population and the expansion of the big cities in such a manner that one increasingly finds documents of homosexual self-depiction and reflection such as had not previously occurred, for example the diaries of the poet August von Platen and autobiographical accounts embedded in the works of physicians and forensic psychiatrists such as Johann Ludwig Casper, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, and Albert Moll. Apologetic theories of the naturalness of homosexuality (K. H. Ulrichs, K. M. Kertbeny, and perhaps the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer) were formulated, competing with a different conceptualization that was developed by the aforementioned medical authors, describing homosexuality as a congenital disease.

*The Rise of the German Homosexual Rights Movement.* The criminalization of male homosexuality in the German empire came about through the inclusion of a special article in the Imperial Penal Code of 1871: Paragraph 175. The article was the occasion and precondition for the emergence of a modern gay movement, the founding of the *Scientific Humanitarian Committee* (Wissenschaftlich-humanitäre Komitee) by Magnus Hirschfeld in 1897, which soon became active not just in Berlin, but also in other cities such as Leipzig, Munich, Hamburg, and Frankfurt am Main, as well as abroad in the Netherlands and in Austria, which had their own organizations. The flowering of a gay movement in the first third of the twentieth century was the outstanding feature that set the homosexuals in Germany apart from those in other countries.

The movement was accompanied by major scholarly efforts, augmenting the groundswell of studies in the field of sexuality that had appeared from the mid-1880s onward. The campaign for the abolition of Paragraph 175 provoked an enormous literature of books, pamphlets, and articles pro and con, so extensive that by 1914 the criminologist Hans Gross could write that everything that anyone could ever have to say on the subject had by then appeared in print. There was also a profusion of gay and lesbian poetry, short stories, and novels. Such mainstream authors as Hans Henny Jahnn, Klaus Mann, Thomas Mann, Anna Elisabet Weihrauch, and Christa Winstoe also discussed the theme. This cultural efflorescence lent substance to the claim of Weimar Germany to be a land of cultural innovation, though to be sure the Republic had its dark side as well.

*From the Thirties to the Present.* This gay movement developed in a relatively straightforward course—with interruptions caused by the Eulenburg affair and World War I. The era also saw the beginnings of a lesbian movement, and a full panoply of homosexual subculture unfolded down to the year 1933. If until then Germany was probably unique and unparalleled in the world in terms of governmental liberalism and of opportunities for homosexual life, then the same was true in reverse for the Nazi era from 1933 to 1945: at least 10,000 homosexual men, stigmatized with the pink triangle, were confined in German concentration camps under the Holocaust during those twelve years, and many of them were killed. Apart from this fact, for the vast majority of gay men the period of Hitlerism was a time of intensified peril, of persecution and punishment, since alongside the threat of internment in a concentration camp, Paragraph 175 was made even more punitive and applied with mounting frequency.
After the victory over the Nazis the situation of the homosexuals in the two newly emerging states was different. In West Germany after about 1948 conditions returned to what they had been before 1933. Although the Nazi version of Paragraph 175 remained on the books, homosexual organizations, bars, and gay magazines were tolerated in many West German cities and in West Berlin. In East Germany, to be sure, only the milder pre-1933 version of paragraph 175 was in force, but homosexual life was subject to restrictions on the part of the state and the police, so that gay men and lesbians had scarcely any opportunity to organize and express their views freely. After the liberalization of the penal laws against homosexuality in both German states (East Germany 1968, West Germany 1969), a gay movement of a new type arose in the Federal Republic under the influence of Anglo-American models. In East Germany the beginnings of an independent gay and lesbian organization tolerated by the state appeared only in the mid-1980s.

See also Austria.


Manfred Herzer

GESTURE AND BODY LANGUAGE

Gestures can have a specific import, as (in our culture) the forefinger laid vertically against the lips, which means "silence." Contrasting with such semiotic gestures are ones expressing more general states, as drumming of the fingers on a surface displaying nervousness. Gestures of the first type are culturally determined signs and vary enormously in meaning across the world, while the latter are more the product of somatic processes and tend to be relatively uniform, though vague in signification. The degree of acceptance of gesticulation varies from one culture to another, so that the peoples of northwestern Europe and North America are much more sparing in its use than, say, those of Sicily or Argentina. In our culture this restraint goes together with a general reduction of affect, and a consequent magnification of its significance when enacted, so that a touch or a kiss that would be a minor matter in another society may be taken as a sexual invitation and found offensive.

In ancient Greece, to judge from depictions in vase paintings, a man's courtship of a boy was conveyed by an eloquent gesture with one hand touching the youth's genitals while the other chuckled his chin in entreaty. In modern western culture, the best-known courtship gesture among gay men is less directly physical: the eye lock employed in cruising, or ambulatory sexual solicitation. This act constitutes a deliberate violation of the taboo on staring, and if the partner is uninterested or uncomprehending he will immediately break contact. A different eye gesture is reading, now less common than in the first half of the century, in which the gay person indicates by a knowing look that he is aware that the other individual is also homosexual. Seemingly recent is attitude, a bodily posture found in makeout bars conveying hauteur and disdain. The queen of former decades was inclined to adopt gestures associated with the gentility of upper-class drawing rooms and café society, as in the distension of the little finger when taking tea. Winks and eyebrow-raising may be common in some circles, though these are not specifically gay. In the world of entertainment, drag performers developed an elaborate repertoire of exaggerated gender-crossing gestures, which were
imitated by other members of the gay community only on occasion, as camp.

One would expect that during earlier times of clandestinity self-protection would have fostered a sophisticated language of gesture to signal the suspected presence of plainclothesmen, dangerous individuals and the like, but in fact such warnings seem to have been expressed mainly in verbal form ("tilly," "dirt"), using slang known to the adepts but not to outsiders. The comparative study of gesture is still in its infancy and future studies are likely to discover a richer heritage of gay and lesbian gestures worldwide than the few now known. In our culture, non-verbal communication also takes the form of tokens and regalia, such as lambda pins and pink triangle buttons, as well as keys worn externally and colored handkerchiefs dangling from a back pocket.

Deprecatory gestures signaling the presence of gay people occur among heterosexuals. Widespread is the limp wrist posture connoting sissihood and affectation: the arm is kept close to one’s side but bent sharply at the elbow, while the hand dangles helplessly aloft. Some gestures are quite culture-specific. In Latin America an "invert" may be signified by placing the arm along one’s side with the thumb and forefinger forming a circle just below the belt; the implication is that the other person possesses a vagina rather than a penis. Also in Latin America, the suspected presence of a lesbian may be signaled by slapping the hands together, alluding to the word tortillera, "tortilla maker, lesbian." As this example shows, some gestures are parasitic on verbal language, which must be known in order to decipher them. Other hostile gestures seek to convey the notion of effeminacy through disposition of other parts of the body, as through swaying hips and supercilious smiles. Male homosexuals are traditionally thought to have a "mincing" gait, a stereotype that is reflected in such slang labels as swish and flit. By contrast lesbians are caricatured through heavy gestures and a stomping walk. These devices of mimicry reflect the notion that homosexual persons are irresistibly drawn to adopt the conduct of the opposite sex.

Another aspect of body language studied by scholars is proxemics, the distance that people assume from one another. In social encounters Europeans prefer greater distance than Arabs and Brazilians. To come close makes the other individual feel uncomfortable, and may even be interpreted as a sexual "pass." In straight company, therefore, many homosexuals check themselves from approaching "too close" to their interlocutor—so that paradoxically the excessive distance which they maintain amounts to a giveaway.

See also Semiotics, Gay.

Wayne R. Dynes

GHETTOS, GAY

The term ghetto originated in Renaissance Italy, as the Venetian dialect form derived from Vulgar Latin ictus "foundry," the name of the enclosed area of Venice in which the Jews were not merely required to live, but even had to be after a certain hour in the evening, while conversely Christians were forbidden to enter the Jewish quarter after dark. The motive for the creation of the ghetto was to prevent sexual intercourse between Jews and Christians. In the nineteenth century the abolition of the ghetto was a significant part of the emancipation of the Jewish communities of Western and Central Europe.

In the 1960s, the survival of the word in English usage led to its being applied by analogy to areas in the inner cities of the United States in which racial minorities, especially blacks and Latinos, were concentrated by reason of poverty or of the collusion of real estate interests to prevent them from obtaining homes or apartments outside of designated neighborhoods. It also connoted the exclusion (or self-exclusion) of such minorities from the political and cultural life of the larger
society. As early as 1942, a survey of residential patterns in New York City had found similar clusters of homosexuals in three areas of Manhattan: Greenwich Village, the East Side in the 50s, and the neighborhood around 72nd Street and Broadway. Subsequently, other cities were noted to have sections largely populated by those practicing an evidently homosexual lifestyle. Along with the West Village and Chelsea in New York City, Chicago’s North Side and San Francisco’s Castro Valley have such an ambience.

Such concentrations probably stem from the bohemies of the late nineteenth century, in which the sexually unconventional mingled openly with artists, writers, and political radicals, among them advocates of what was then called “free love.” The gay ghettos of the present are often districts that have been reclaimed from previous decay, with newly refurbished apartments and brownstones alongside fashionable boutiques and exotic restaurants, as well as enterprises offering wares or services specifically for a homosexual clientele. The urban homosexual can be the spearhead of gentrification in that he frequently has considerable discretionary income, no wife or children who would suffer from the initially depressed environment, and a preference for the anonymity of the metropolis over the high social visibility of the upper-middle-class suburb with its basically heterosexual lifestyle. This tendency of gay ghettos to encroach upon former working-class minority neighborhoods as part of the gentrification (and Europeanization) of American cities has at times generated social friction between the two groups. However, while the ghettos in which other minorities find themselves confined are resented as symbols of discrimination and exclusion, the gay ghetto can be a haven of toleration whose denizens enjoy liberties seldom accorded to overt homosexuals residing elsewhere.

See also Geography, Social; Subculture.


Warren Johansson

GHULAMIYYA

This rare Arabic term (plural ghulamiyyat) alludes to a girl whose appearance is as boyish as possible, and who therefore possesses a kind of boyish sensuality. Especially prominent in the ninth and tenth centuries, this phenomenon seems to have originated in the court of the Abbasid caliph Al-Amin (809–13) in Baghdad. It is said that his mother arranged for a number of girls to be disguised as boys in order to combat the caliph’s preference for male eunuchs. The practice spread quickly, especially among the upper classes, where many female slaves and servants circulated dressed and coiffed as boys.

A ghulamiyya dressed in a short tunic with loose sleeves, her hair was worn long or short, with ornamental curls across the temples. Some girls even painted a mustache on their upper lips, using a colored perfume such as musk. (“Did you perhaps kiss the rainbow? It is just as if he is drawn on your red lips.”) Ghulamiyyat also tried, as much as possible, to act and speak like boys, often taking up sports or other masculine pastimes.

These girls were adept in two varieties of sexual intercourse, and therefore potentially attractive to both men who loved girls and those who loved boys. But true pederasts, naturally, would not be fooled: “But how could she, alas, plug up that deep and sombre pit, something that no boy possesses.” Abu Nuwas once made the mistake of being attracted to a ghulamiyya, “although the love of generous breasts is not my taste,” but regretted this when he nearly drowned: “And I swore that for as long as I lived I would never again choose the abundant froth, but would only travel by back.”

The short-lived popularity of the ghulamiyya may have derived from an-
drogynous ideals of beauty, which a boyish girl or a girlish boy can approximate more closely than a grown male or female. In the Middle East, male prostitutes often wear female clothing, possibly to appear more attractive. In ancient Greece, female prostitutes were obliged to wear male clothing, and in seventeenth-century Japan they dressed as boys, which made them popular with Buddhist monks, who were prohibited from being seen in the company of women.

The term ghulamiyya stems from an Arabic root, ghalaḥa, which means "to be excited by lust, be seized by sensuous desire." Derived terms are ghalaḥ, "excited by lust, lewd," ghulma, "lust, heat, rut," and ghulam, "boy, youth, lad; slave; servant, waiter." The two facets of meaning seem to be clearly pederastic in nature. Ghulamiyya in the present sense seems to be derived from ghulam, simply being the feminine form of the better-known word.

See also Mukhannah.


Maarten Schild

GIDE, ANDRÉ (1869–1951)

French novelist, diarist, and playwright. Born into a family that gave him a strict Calvinist and puritanical upbringing, Gide rebelled against his background, yet throughout his life joined a Protestant attachment to the Gospels with a profound admiration for the beauty and sensuality of the pagan classics. After his visits to North Africa between 1893 and 1896, he gave open expression to a pagan value system that was for him a self-liberation from the moral and sexual conventions of his upbringing. He became a controversial figure in the French intellectual world of the first half of the twentieth century, not least because of his public defense of homosexuality.

Life and Works. In 1891 Gide met Oscar Wilde, the flamboyant aesthete, who set about ridding him of his inhibitions—with seductive grace. Gide's first really striking work of moral "subversion" was Les Nourriures terrestres (The Fruits of the Earth; 1897), a set of lyrical exhortations to a fictional youth, Nathanaël, who is urged to free himself of the Christian sense of sin and cultivate the life of the senses with sincerity and independence. During the political turmoil of the 1930s Gide returned to the same themes and stylistic manners in Les nouvelles nourritures (1935).

In 1895 he married his cousin, Madeleine Rondeaux, and suffered an acute conflict between her strict Christian values and his own yearning for self-liberation, together with his awakening homosexual drives. The never-ending battle within himself between the puritan and the pagan, the Biblical and the Nietzschean, caused his intellect to oscillate between two poles that are reflected in his succeeding books. In Les Caves du Vatican (The Vatican Cellars; 1914), the hero, Lefcadio, "lives dangerously" according to the Gidean formula and commits a seemingly senseless murder as a psychologically liberating "gratuitous act." A further series of short novels have an ironic structure dominated by the viewpoint of a single character, while his major novel, Les Faux-monnayeurs (The Counterfeiters; 1926) has a Chinese-box like structure meant to reflect the disorder and complexity of real life.

In 1908 he was among the founders of the highly influential periodical Nouvelle Revue Française. After World War II he traveled widely, writing ever more on colonialism and communism. During the period of the popular front he joined other intellectuals in rallying to the left, but after visiting the Soviet Union in 1936, he wrote a book voicing his disillusionment with the workers' paradise, Retour de l'U.R.S.S. (Back from the USSR; 1936). While others were dazzled by what
their Soviet hosts chose to show them, or turned a blind eye to what they preferred not to see, Gide’s experience as a homosexual had taught him to look for the tell-tale signs of the disparity between the surface of society and the hidden reality—which he espied only too well.

His publications include an autobiography, *Si le grain ne meurt* [If It Die . . .; 1926] and his *Journal*, which ultimately covered the years 1885 to 1949. His ambivalent stand during the years of the German occupation cost him much of the influence which he had enjoyed during the height of his career, and even the Nobel Prize for literature awarded him in 1947 could not restore his prestige. He died in 1951 at a moment when his importance as a man of letters had largely waned and the homosexual liberation movement that was to vindicate a significant part of his life’s work was just beginning.

*Views on Homosexuality*. Gide’s major work on homosexuality was a set of four dialogues entitled *Corydon*. A short first version had been privately printed in 1911, the enlarged essay was issued privately in March 1920, and the public version was placed on sale in May 1924, creating a scandal in that it made a tabooed subject the talk of the literary salons of Paris. Limited in scope as they were, Gide’s four dialogues constituted a remarkable achievement for their time by blending personal experience, the French literary mode of detached presentation of abnormal behavior, the traditional appeal to ancient Greece, and the then quite young science of ethology—the comparative study of the behavior of species lower on the evolutionary scale.

The incidents that prompted the dialogues were the Harden–Eulenbug affair in Germany and a debate over Walt Whitman’s homosexuality on the pages of the journal *Mercure de France*. Their publication followed the appearance of *Proust’s Sodome et Gomorthe* [1921], with the explicit depiction of the homosexuality of the character Baron de Charlus. The essay is designed to oppose the medical point of view, as Gide thought physicians the social group most hostile to homosexuality in that era. Religion is ignored save for remarks in the fourth dialogue about the monastic suppression of the pederastic literature of antiquity and the Christian exaltation of chastity. The first two dialogues argue that homosexuality is natural because deriving from the structure of sexual polarity, the ratio between the sexes, and the independence of sexual pleasure from reproduction. The third and fourth dialogues then claim that homosexuality occurs naturally in human beings, and so far from being the unfortunate relic of an earlier stage of evolution, it is capable of inspiring a great and classic civilization.

Responding to the polemic literature of his time, Gide addressed two antithetical issues in the discussion of homosexuality. The first was the origin of homosexual response as a problem in human macroevolution; the second was the role of homosexuality as a factor in the erotic and cultural life of human society. Going against the temper of the age, he noted that the positive achievements of ancient civilization credited to the homoerotic impulse all belong to the institution of pederasty, not to the androphile homosexuality of modern times, and even less to “inversion,” the passive-effeminate male homosexuality which he spurned as diseased or “degenerate.” The problematic equation of the “natural” with the socially desirable he therefore left unresolved, even if his work answers some of the conventional objections to homosexuality on pseudo-biological grounds.

André Gide blazed a trail in making homosexuality a topic for literature and for literary criticism, and the capital fact of his own sexual orientation—including the narcissistic side of his personality—remains crucial to the understanding of his entire life’s work as a French prose writer.


Warren Johansson

**GILGAMESH**

This Mesopotamian figure ranks as the first tragic hero in world literature. The Epic of Gilgamesh has survived in Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hittite versions that go back to the third millennium before our era. Lost from sight until the decipherment of the cuneiform script retrieved the literatures of early Mesopotamia, the epic is a blend of pure adventure, morality, and tragedy. Only the final version, that of Assurbanipal’s library in Nineveh, has survived in virtually complete form, but all the episodes in the cycle existed as separate poems in Sumerian. The setting of the story is the third millennium, and the original language was Sumerian, the Paleoauranian speech of the first literate civilization of Mesopotamia, which continued like Latin to be copied as a dead language of past culture even after it was displaced by the Eastern Semitic Akkadian.

The epic opens with a brief résumé of the deeds and fortunes of the hero whose praises it sings. Two crucial themes are sounded: (1) that love is at the heart of the hero’s character, and (2) that love (or eros as the Greeks later called it) is the force that provokes the transformation and development of man’s nature. Gilgamesh is announced at the outset as a hero: two-thirds god and one-third man, endowed by the gods with strength, with beauty, with wisdom. His sexual demands upon the people of Uruk are insatiable: “No son is left with his father, for Gilgamesh takes them all. . . . His lust leaves no virgin to her lover, neither the warrior’s daughter nor the wife of the noble.” In reply to their complaints Aruru, the goddess of creation, forms Enkidu out of clay. “His body was rough, he had long hair like a woman’s. . . . He was innocent of mankind; he knew not the cultivated land.” To tame the wild man a harlot offers her services, “she made herself naked and welcomed his eagerness, she incited the savage to love and taught him the woman’s art.” At the conclusion, the transforming power of eros has humanized him; the wild animals flee from him, sensing that as a civilized man he is no longer one of them. The metamorphosis from the subhuman and savage to his new self proves strikingly how love is the force behind civilization.

Gilgamesh has two dreams with symbolism which presages the homoerotic relationship which the gods have planned for him and the challenger Enkidu. In the Akkadian text there are puns on the words kisru, “ball [of fire], meteorite,” and kezru, “male with curled hair,” the counterpart of the harlot, and on hassina, “axe,” and assina, “male prostitute.” Gilgamesh’s superior energy and wisdom set him apart from others and make him lonely; he needs a male companion who can be his intimate and his equal at the same time, while their male bond stimulates and inspires them to action. After a wrestling match between Enkidu and Gilgamesh in which the latter triumphs, the two become comrades. Their erotic drive is not lost, but rather transformed and directed to higher objects; it leads to a homoerotic relationship that entails the rejection of Ishtar, the goddess of love. A liaison of this kind is not contingent on the physical beauty of the lover, it endures until death. Gilgamesh himself abandons his earlier oppressive conduct toward Uruk and comes to behave like a virtuous ruler who pursues the noble goals of fame and immortality through great deeds. But a dream warns Gilgamesh: “The father of the gods has given you kingship” but “everlasting life is not your destiny. . . Do not abuse this power, deal justly with your servants in the palace.”

Because the pair have slain the Bull of Heaven and have slain the demon Humbaba, the council of the gods decrees that one of the two must die, and the choice falls on Enkidu, who succumbs to
illness. Gilgamesh grieves for him and orders a statue erected in his honor. To obtain the secret of everlasting life he journeys far across the sea to Utnapishtim, who tells him the Babylonian version of the story of the Deluge. On his return he carries with him a flower that has power of conferring eternal youth, but loses it to a serpent lying beside a pool and so reaches Uruk empty-handed, yet still able to engrave the tale of his journey in stone. Gilgamesh has been transformed by a love that makes him seek not the pleasures of the moment, but virtue, wisdom, and immortality, hence the motif of the epic is that male bonding is a positive ingredient of civilization itself.


Warren Johansson

GLOEDEN, WILHELM, BARON VON (1856–1931)

German photographer. Wilhelm von Gloeden was born near Wismar on the Baltic Sea. Though his stepfather was an advisor to the Kaiser, von Gloeden opted for the arts, and trained as a painter in the academic tradition. In his early twenties he showed signs of tuberculosis, and was advised to seek a warmer, drier climate. In 1878 he settled in Taormina, Sicily. More than just the weather there proved attractive, as he was also able to explore his homosexuality more freely. It was family money and not his painting that supported him, until 1888 when his stepfather defied the new Kaiser and his family estates were forfeited.

Through his cousin, Wilhelm von Plöschow, a professional photographer in Naples, von Gloeden had become interested in photography, and a new career was launched. Already in 1889 von Gloeden won a prize at an exhibition in Rome; other prizes followed in London, Cairo, Milan, and Paris. The male nudes for which he is best known today were not his only work; he also produced landscapes and studies of peasant life, and was perhaps the world’s best-selling photographer in the first decade of this century.

His life changed abruptly again in 1914, when he was repatriated to Germany upon the outbreak of World War I. His studio and home were left in the care of his assistant, Pancrazio Bucini, who had joined him as a model years before at the age of 14. Although von Gloeden returned in 1918, and continued to photograph until 1930, cultural trends had changed and he never regained his reputation. Upon his death he was buried in his adopted village.

Bucini inherited some 3000 glass plate negatives, but five years later was forced to defend von Gloeden’s work against obscenity charges brought by the fascist authorities. His defense was successful, but nearly two-thirds of the plates were destroyed during the proceedings or never returned.

Von Gloeden’s work must be seen in the light of the artistic concerns of the mid-nineteenth century, during which he was trained. On the one hand, his studies of peasant life reflect a concern for finding a source of artistic inspiration in common life; on the other, his famous male nudes work out in photography the concern for taking classical and academic forms and naturalizing and humanizing them.


Donald Mader
Gnosticism

Derived from the Greek word meaning "pertaining to knowledge," Gnosticism is a generic term mainly used of sects that broke with Christianity during the second and third centuries, though one can also speak of Jewish and other gnostics, some of whom were independent of the Jewish-Christian tradition and formed syncretistic movements in the Middle East. Simon Magus, Basilides, Valentinus, and Manichaean gnostics derived many of their doctrines from Christianity. Although gnostic groups differed more among themselves than did Christian groups because they had no "Book," most had certain beliefs in common:

(a) Rejection, as in Hellenized Zoroastrianism and late Jewish apocalyptic, of the material universe as an emanation of an evil spirit—darkness as opposed to light, which was identified with the good.

(b) A view of the universe as the creation not of the high god, but of an incompetent, perhaps even malign demiurge. Human beings ought not replicate his mischief by engaging in procreative sex; other forms might be acceptable, however.

(c) An assertion that souls in the elect are imprisoned temporarily in bodies, awaiting a redeemer to awaken them and help them to escape and ascend to heaven.

Gnostics held that all religions provided partially valid myths describing the human condition. Because the world, and not man, was evil, most sects advocated extreme asceticism. The Christian gnostic sect, the Carpocratians, however, advocated sexual licence based in part on an antinomian reading of Pauline predestination and antitheses between grace and law, between soul and body. Some groups incorporated Mithraism's ascent of the soul through seven planets, and angelology and demonology from such disparate sources as the Old Testament, noncanonical scriptures, Philo Judaeus, and the Pauline epistles. Anti-Judaism and antinomianism often occur, even when Old Testament myths and personages are utilized as the basis for Gnostic speculations.

The account of the Naassenes in Hippolytus' Refutation of All Heresies asserts that the serpent in Genesis (naas, from Hebrew nahas) was the first pederast, since he had homosexual intercourse with Adam and introduced depravity into the world. The passage further ascribes to the Naassenes a text incorporated in Romans 1:18-32 that blames idolatry for departure from the sexual order of nature that provoked the deluge and the destruction of Sodom. In Gnostic thinking, the primal man was androgynous, and the intercourse of woman with man wicked and forbidden, while the restoration of androgyny was tantamount to the abolition of sexuality. A profound malaise in regard to the origin of sexuality and the meaning of sexual dimorphism is evident in the Gnostic thinkers, who equated sexual reproduction with prolonging the soul's enslavement in the material universe of the body, taking as their point of departure Jewish (and ultimately Babylonian) anthropogenic and cosmogenic myths.

For centuries after the end of classical antiquity, knowledge of the Gnostic systems came almost exclusively from the writings of Christian heresiologists who opposed and condemned them. In 1945, however, a cache of Gnostic manuscripts in the Coptic language came to light at Nag Hammadi in Egypt. These, together with other writings such as those in the Hermetic tradition, the Manichaean literature in languages of Central Asia, and magical and astrological texts preserved in manuscript or on papyrus, have broadened the picture of the religious life of the late Roman Empire.

The Paraphrase of Shem, a Gnostic text from Nag Hammadi, even makes heroes of the Sodomites for having opposed the will of the Jewish creator God. "The Sodomites, according to the will of the Majesty, will bear witness to the uni-
versal testimony. They will rest with a pure conscience in the place of their repose, which is the unbegotten Spirit. And as these things happen, Sodom will be burned unjustly by a base nature. For the evil will not cease." Another such work, the Gospel of the Egyptians, declares: "The great Seth came and brought his seed. And it was sown in the aeons which had been brought forth, their number being the amount of Sodom. Some say that Sodom is the place of pasture of the great Seth, which is Gomorrah. But others say that the great Seth took his plant out of Gomorrah and planted it in the second place, to which he gave the name Sodom."

In the view of some scholars, Gnostic elements in Christianity helped to differentiate it from Rabbinic Judaism. Judaism developed in the following centuries, to a considerable degree, as a dialectical reaction to the spread of Pauline Christianity in the Roman Empire. What in Judaism had been concrete and national was in Gnosticism metamorphosed into the symbolic and cosmic. The legacy of Gnostic speculation framed the incarnation and death of Jesus as an event of universal import in which the whole of mankind was redeemed from the sin of Adam and offered the possibility of salvation; it also strengthened the ascetic, world-rejecting tendencies of primitive Christianity that led to a devaluation of sexuality and exaltation of virginity which remained foreign to Judaism in any form. In this way, Gnosticism reinforced ascetic Zoroastrian and Stoic motifs familiar to the Greco-Roman environment. As the upshot of this complex process, a radical denial of sexual expression which neither biblical Jewish law nor classical Greek philosophy had urged became for later Christian thinkers an ethical ideal, and one to which homosexual gratification was counterpoised as the ultimate moral evil.

William A. Percy

GOD, HOMOSEXUALITY AS A DENIAL OF

In the debates on the Wolfenden Report and later proposals for decriminalization, some Christian clergy asserted that "homosexuality is a denial of God" because it is "an affront to the Creator who made them male and female" (cf. Genesis 1:27). The underlying assumption is that since God divided the human race into opposite sexes, any sexual dalliance with one's own gender frustrates his express purpose and command.

The critique of this argument can take various lines. First, there is good evidence from the early text of the Septuagint (the Greek Old Testament) and its daughter versions, as well as from some passages in Rabbinic literature, that the original reading of Genesis 1:27 was "And God created man, in the image of God he created him male-and-female," which is to say androgynous, since the Semitic languages have no formal way of compound ing two nouns, and must express the relationship paratactically—by juxtaposing them. The verse in question would then be a mutilated fragment of an earlier Babylonian myth in which the future heterosexual pair is a male-female, an androgyynos. Modern evolutionary theory recognizes that man is sprung from phylogenetic ancestors who were hermaphroditic, and from them, even with the later sexual dimorphism, he has inherited the archaic capacity for erotic response to members of both sexes.

But a more fundamental objection to this line of thinking noted at the outset lies in the very notion of purpose (or teleology). Economy and purpose itself are functions of a reflective consciousness that is aware of the scarcity of the resources at its disposal. An intelligence that had at its command infinite time, infinite space, infinite matter, and infinite energy could have no notion of economy, or even of purpose, because anything and everything would be possible, anywhere and anytime. Man is forced to organize his activity on
economic principles because he lives in a world whose every resource is finite, and he must constantly reflect on how best to deploy his limited means to attain his desired ends.

The conventional Christian reply amounts to claiming that because homosexuality does not lead to reproduction, if tolerated it would lead to the biological death of mankind and thus frustrate the will of the Creator. Hence the positive injunction: “Be fruitful and multiply” [Genesis 1:28] which the homosexual implicitly violates by “wasting his semen,” which is the formal evil represented by sodomy.

The rejoinder to this claim is that the finite character of the economic means at man’s disposal—land, natural resources, capital and industrial plant, social and cultural infrastructure—itself imposes a limit upon his numbers, if distributive justice is to accord each member of the human family the irreducible minimum of worldly goods necessary for his existence. If one admits for the sake of argument that God created the planet Earth as a habitat for man, then by making its land mass and resources finite he has also implicitly set limits on the numbers which the human species could attain. Furthermore, macroevolution has severely limited the reproductive potential of heterosexuality by excluding superfetation. That is to say, once the human female has been impregnated she cannot conceive again until the end of the nine-month gestation period. Male and female have been allotted quite different roles in the reproductive process; theoretically the male can have hundreds or even thousands of offspring, the female can have only a handful, even if impregnated again and again during her child-bearing years. The principle holds true for the thoroughbred stallion and mare as much as it does for man and woman. Even the economic interest of the breeder cannot offset this reproductive disparity attendant upon sexual dimorphism.

The occurrence of homosexual activity in homo sapiens, therefore, implies nothing with reference to God or his supposed purposes. The 3 percent or so of the population that is exclusively homosexual insignificantly diminishes the birth rate of the nation—which is only one factor in the demographic picture. Even if a tenth of human sexual activity is homosexual, the other nine-tenths more than suffices to maintain any population in equilibrium with the economic resources at its command. Indeed, the task of the modern state is to synchronize its demographic movement with the evolution of its economy, so that not just a privileged few, but all its citizens can enjoy a rising standard of living. Family planning services will in the future have the role of guiding the citizenry in this direction.

Warren Johansson

GOETHE, JOHANN WOLFGANG VON
(1749–1832)

Greatest German writer. Born in Frankfurt am Main, he studied arts at Leipzig and law at Strasbourg. His tragedy Götz von Berlichingen (1773) and Romantic short novel The Sorrows of Young Werther (1774) began the literary movement known as Sturm und Drang, often said to be the start of Romanticism. Settling at Weimar under the patronage of the ducal heir and elected to the Privy Council, he became leader in that intellectual center, associating with Wieland, Herder, and later Schiller. His visit to Italy recorded in Italienische Reise and probably involving pederastic adventures inspired him anew as did his intimate friendship with Schiller. Even after he married in 1806 he continued his frequent love affairs with women. His autobiographical Wilhelm Meister, a Bildungsroman or novel of character formation, and the second part of Faust [in 1832], exalted his reputation further, although he was already first in German literature. The nonexhaustive Weimar
edition of his works extends to over 130 volumes.

Goethe often hinted at his own sympathy for bisexuality. It is perhaps in the nature of Germans to seek something that they do not have—a basic Romantic yearning. And this striving and seeking, extending to sexuality outside the bourgeois norm—not a crass sexuality but a refined sensitivity—goes into homoeroticism and at times even into homosexuality. An epigram of his reads:

Knaben liebt ich wohl auch, doch
dieber sind mir die Mädchen,
Hab ich als Mädchen sie sätt, dient
sie als Knabe mir noch.

[i loved boys too, but i prefer the

girls,
If I have had enough of one as a girl,
she still serves me as a boy.]

In the play Egmont (1788) the hero’s enemy Alba is embarrassed by his son’s intense emotional bonding with Egmont. The figure of Mignon, the wail girl in Wilhelm Meister, could be androgynous. In his Travels in Switzerland he waxed rapturous over the sight of a nude comrade bathing in the lake, and in the West Eastern Divan (1819; enlarged edition, 1827), he used the pretext of being inspired by Persian poetry to allude to the “pure” love which a handsome cupbearer evokes from his master (section nine). In the last act of Faust, Part II, Mephistopheles freely admits the attraction that he feels for “handsome boys,” so pretty that he “could kiss them on the mouth.” These and other passages demonstrate that Goethe, though he may not have practiced it, had a clear and remarkably unprejudiced understanding of homosexuality in several of its forms.

In German literature Goethe’s name will always be linked with that of his close friend Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1805), who left at his death the unfinished manuscript of a homophile drama, Die Malteser.


William A. Percy

GOODMAN, PAUL (1911–1972)

American novelist, short story writer, playwright, psychologist, and social critic. Born in New York City, Goodman was too poor to obtain a regular college education during the Depression, but he managed to combine auditing of college courses with a program of self-education that continued throughout his life. His continuing production of fiction, though it did not result in any masterpieces, showed his tenacity and seriousness of purpose. In 1947 he coauthored, with his brother the architect Percival Goodman, the book Communitas, which is concerned with city planning and which foreshadowed the critical social utopianism of his later work. In an attempt to deal with his own personal conflicts he developed, together with F. S. Perls and Ralph Hefferline, Gestalt Therapy, an invention that did not prove to be very durable.

Goodman finally gained public attention in Growing Up Absurd (1960), a study of youth and delinquency which captured the mood of a country attempting to extricate itself from the conformity of the Eisenhower years. A copious flow of other writings explored alternative possibilities for American society. Not surprisingly, in view of his unswerving philosophical anarchism, Goodman emerged as one of the major gurus of the Counterculture movement of the late 1960s. Yet his insistence on the need for competence, carefully acquired through study and contemplation, alienated him from some younger, would-be supporters.

Goodman never hid his homosexuality, and his open propositioning of students tended to make his appointments at the various colleges where he taught controversial and shortlived. A lonely man,
Goodman never seemed to achieve in life the balance and harmony that he seemed to be seeking for society. In his work he aspired to be a Renaissance man, but his own temperament, and perhaps the times as well, worked against his realizing this ambition. He nonetheless remains a worthy exemplar of the independent gay scholar, doggedly marching to the beat of his own "different drummer," and unperturbed by changes in fortune.

GORDON, CHARLES GEORGE (1838–1885)

English general, surnamed "Chinese Gordon." In 1852 he entered the engineer corps and took part in the Crimean War and then in the war against China. After peace was concluded he traveled in China and in 1863 entered Chinese service to suppress the Taiping rebellion. In February 1874 the Viceroy of Egypt summoned him to continue the campaign to subdue the upper Nile as far as the equatorial lakes. After his success, in 1877 he was named Pasha and Governor General of the Sudan. Resigning this post in 1879, he was for a brief time Military Secretary of the Viceroy of India and then adviser to the Chinese government. In January 1884 he was dispatched to Khartoum by the British government to assert Egyptian rule in the Sudan against the Mahdi. Furnished as he was with insufficient means, he took up a military position in the city and was vigorous in pursuing his assignment; but as the Mahdi's supporters grew in number, while the Gladstone cabinet failed to send relief forces, after a ten-month siege Khartoum was captured and Gordon himself was transfixed by a spear (January 26, 1885). He was immediately recognized and honored as a national hero whose legend remains to this day.

The homosexual aspect of Gordon's personality remains obscure and disputed. From his early twenties, when he left to fight in the Crimean War, he was possessed by a longing for martyrdom, and his actions fully confirmed the desire which he repeatedly expressed in words to those closest to him. On Russian soil and in the savage hand-to-hand fighting against the Taiping rebels in China, he invited death at every step, exposing himself to wholly needless risks and unarmed except for a rattan cane. Again in the Sudan, whether tracking down slavers or suppressing a tribal rebellion, he would delight in outpacing his military escort in order to arrive alone in the enemy's lair. And in the final year of his life, in complete disregard of official instructions, he courted and met death at the hands of the Mahdi's warriors. Gordon never married and his relationships with women seem all to have been platonic. While living at Gravesend in the mid-1860s, he took a remarkable interest in the ragged urchins of the neighborhood, "scuttlers" or "kings," as he called them. He fed them and taught them, and when they were filthy, he would wash them himself in the horse trough. He preached to them, though not very well, gave them talks on current affairs, and most important, he found them jobs—in the army, in barges and warehouses, and at sea.

It seems probable that coming from a strict military family he was tormented with guilt over his homosexual impulses, and that repressing his urges was so painful to him that he sought death as a release from unbearable inner anguish. In his personality he was both conformist and rebel, one who could never reconcile his inner nature with the obligations that tradition and discipline imposed upon him. His life was one continuous conflict, and he resolved it only by service to the point of self-sacrifice and a hero's death at Khartoum.

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Warren Johansson
Government

This subject has two main aspects: homosexuals in government and the actions of government with respect to homosexuality. The coming of modern regimes based on “the consent of the governed” would have seemed to promise improvement in this often adversarial relationship but, as the contemporary struggle for gay rights shows, this is far from the case. Insofar as the residual ignorance and hatred of homosexuality among the masses offer a tempting opportunity for reactionary propagandists and demagogues, rational arguments that can sway the educated go unheard. Conversely, earlier authoritarian regimes often allowed some room for aristocratic homosexuality that was subsequently lost; such “zones of licence” were particularly fostered when the rulers themselves were prone to take same-sex favorites.

Historical Perspectives. The first indication comes from a surprisingly early source. The last great pharaoh of the Old Kingdom in Egypt, Pepy II (2355–2261 B.C.), conducted an affair with his general Sisine. Much later the controversial pharaoh Akhnaten (reigned ca. 1372–1354 B.C.) has been held by some to have combined sexual variation with his better-known innovations in religion and art. Beginning in ancient Sumeria Mesopotamia saw the emergence of institutions of state-supported cult prostitution, male and female, attached to the temples. In some instances the inmates received a regular salary. This institution became controversial in ancient Israel, and the suppression of the male cult prostitutes (ḵēḏēšīm; sing. kāḏēš) may be said to constitute the first state interference in homosexuality.

In ancient Greece the pederastic institution played an important role in state building, and not a few of the boys whose names appear on vases followed by kalos (“handsome”) later became generals, admirals, and statesmen of the Athenian polis. Some Roman emperors were noted for their minions. Alongside such notorious pairs as Nero and Sporus, Heliodorus and Hierocles, stands the noble relationship of Hadrian and Antinous.

The minion habit recurred in medieval and early modern Europe with Edward II and James I of England, Henri III and Louis XIII of France. More influential than royal minions were powerful politicians who used their office for their own purposes, including Lord John Hervey (1896–1743), who was Vice-Chamberlain to the household of George II for ten years, and Jean-Jacques Régis de Cambacérès (1758–1824), archchancellor under the First Empire who was responsible for the creation of the Napoleonic code.

Traditionally homosexuals in government service have had an affinity with the diplomatic corps, perhaps because the practice in masking their feelings to conceal their sexual orientation is good preparation for diplomatic discretion. In any event it is interesting that nineteenth-century British history provides information on two foreign secretaries. Robert Stewart, Lord Castlereagh (1769–1822), committed suicide after confessing his homosexuality to George IV. Archibald Philip Primrose, Lord Rosebery (1847–1929), who himself had a homosexual secretary, was rumored to have been involved with Lord Alfred Douglas.

Modern Times. Modern nations, where rumor and the media can conspire to spread sexual innuendo, have whispering campaigns to discredit politicians who are claimed to be sexually deviant. Until recent decades the favorite accusation was adultery, homosexuality apparently having been believed either unlikely in holders of high office or statistically quite rare. As homosexuality has come to be more discussed and familiar, such diverse figures as Hitler, Stalin, and Adlai Stevenson have been accused of having homosexual affairs. In the absence of evidence such claims must be dismissed as the product of smear campaigns.
In the United States, Walt Whitman was discharged on June 30, 1865, from a job in Washington after his supervisor discovered a book of immoral poems in his desk (Leaves of Grass). The ensuing gilded age is largely an era of silence, though there are reports of cruising grounds in Washington, D.C. In 1918–21 the United States Navy was involved in the suppression of a complex scandal at Newport, Rhode Island. The New Deal saw such individuals as Sumner Welles, under secretary of state, and Senator David Walsh of Massachusetts implicated. Persistent rumors have circulated about the person of J. Edgar Hoover, who was the immensely powerful director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1924 to 1972. Although Hoover never married and had a life-long buddy relationship with his subordinate Clyde Tolson, it has not been possible to learn the true nature of his sexuality, and probably it never will be.

In 1950 Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin began a vociferous and unprincipled campaign against communists and homosexuals in government. A spurious legitimacy was lent to this by such cases as the Austrian double agent Alfred Redl before World War I and the recent Burgess-McLean-Blunt scandal in Britain. It was rarely pointed out—except by homophile activists—that the only reason that gay people in government service are subject to blackmail is the existence of archaic laws. In most advanced countries these laws have been eliminated, while (perhaps not coincidentally) the leading sex scandals in the diplomatic corps have been heterosexual. After McCarthyism had died down, another case made the headlines, that of an aide to President Johnson, Walter Jenkins, who had been arrested in a public restroom. No one knows how many civil servants accepted discharge in silence. However, Frank Kameny, a government astronomer, decided to fight back after his dismissal in 1957. Although Kameny never was reinstated, his experiences made him a gay activist, one of the most vocal and vigorous of those prominent in the 1960s.

Openly Gay Office Holders. The more militant phase of the gay movement (after 1969) with its demand "Out of the closets!" made possible the first openly lesbian and gay elected officials, Elaine Noble and Alan Spear, state representatives in Massachusetts and Minnesota, respectively. Somewhat later Wisconsin representative David Clarenbach was able to achieve both decriminalization and a gay rights bill in his state.

In San Francisco the 1978 homophobic murder of openly gay elected supervisor Harvey Milk, and Mayor George Moscone, together with the judicial treatment of their murderer, produced local riots and nationwide outrage. From this time forward, however, gay politics have been a central and irrepressible feature of the Bay City. In Southern California a newly incorporated City of West Hollywood seems to be largely, though not completely, gay.

In the 1980s a new frankness in the media regarding the sexual behavior of politicians has sometimes had unfortunate results, witness the 1987 Gary Hart affair. In the U.S. House of Representatives a closeted conservative Republican, Robert Bauman, was hounded out of office, but openly gay Democrats Gerry Studs and Barney Frank of Massachusetts seem secure in their districts.

In the British House of Commons Maureen Colquhoun and Chris Smith have both been open about their sexual orientation. In Norway the Conservative lawmaker Wenche Lowzow is lesbian. For understandable reasons, given the pressures of public office, most gay and lesbian lawmakers chose to remain in the closet everywhere, but anecdotal evidence suggests that they are numerous.

Wayne R. Dynes

GRAFFITI

Since classical antiquity, the art of writing has afforded the opportunity to
record one's sexual feelings, interests, desires, and experiences in the form of inscriptions, for the most part anonymous, that were left for all and sundry to read. A few of these have survived over many centuries to be recorded by modern archaeologists. The oldest known texts of a pederastic character are from the Dorian island of Thera; stemming from the sixth century B.C. and later, they seem a record of homosexual acts performed as rites of initiation. The ruins of Pompeii and the remains of ancient Rome furnish a considerable number of erotic graffiti duly recorded in the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum; some relate sexual adventures, others are insults directed at the hapless passersby.

The word graffiti made its appearance in Italian toward the end of the sixteenth century. The study of homosexual graffiti in modern times began shortly after the beginning of this century. The first articles in which homosexual urinal inscriptions were published appeared in 1911 in Anthropoieteia, the journal of sexual folklore edited by Friedrich S. Krauss. More recently whole volumes have been devoted to collections made in men's rooms from different parts of the world. Some of these locales were in effect homosexual rendezvous where the writer could expect an attentive—and responsive—public.

The graffiti may take either verbal or pictorial form, or both. The pictures are frequently obscene, often of the erect virile member or of two or more persons engaged in homosexual intercourse. Exceptionally, the texts may be narratives—diary entries as it were—of sexual encounter or experience, liberally embellished by the writer's fantasy. Others are advertisements that until quite recently could not be published in any periodical and so had to be inscribed on the wall. These are requests for partners for sexual encounters, with the desired physical attributes, age and the like specified in detail, followed by instructions for making contact—time and place, telephone number, and the like. Presumably such texts were originally inspired by the more conventional personal advertisements that were printed in nineteenth-century newspapers. Then there are general comments on sexual mores, expressions of ridicule or hostility directed against classes of individuals disliked by the writer, or rhymes and sayings of an erotic nature. The significance of such graffiti is that they express notions that are taboo in the conventional media which, until quite recently, had to conform to all the restrictions imposed by society, attest the occurrence of socially condemned forms of sexual expression, and record non-literary and obscene words and phrases excluded from polite speech.

Sometimes, as during the 1968 uprising in Paris, graffiti emerge from their accustomed haunts in toilets and underpasses and appear prominently on the streets, where they make some political point. The prominence of graffiti—usually neither sexual or political—in New York City subways has prompted an effort to interpret them as an art form. However this may be, the gay artist Keith Haring, now internationally known, first attracted attention through his subway drawings, which were executed clandestinely in a deliberately simplified style.

The analysis of graffiti can yield evidence for linguistic forms unattested elsewhere, for sexual behavior not usually recorded by the participants, and for the attitudes not just of those engaging in such behavior but also of outsiders. Thus homosexual graffiti may provoke dialogues with others so inclined, or abusive and hostile comments by heterosexuals, even threats of violence to the author of the homoerotic inscription. In the 1980s the spread of AIDS in the gay community became a frequent topic of comment. Clever puns, rhymes, word plays and the like may reflect a moment of lewd inspiration on the part of the author. Others are banal pieces of doggerel. Within the walls of an institu-
tion graffiti may contain bits of malicious gossip about the sexual identity or the sexual life of a well-known individual, who cannot retaliate because of the anonymity of the writers. This function of giving vent to repressed feelings recalls the grotesque marginalia of medieval manuscripts that spill over into the crudely obscene. Political opinions and attitudes, especially ones excluded from the media by contemporary unofficial censorship, can find vivid expression in erotic graffiti that blend anger and satire, insult and defiance, reality and fantasy. Nearly all homosexual graffiti are by men; lesbian inscriptions are so far the rare exception.

Graffiti are thus in modern times, even with the freeing of the media from long-standing taboos, a precious document of the attitudes and mores of the culture that produces them and of the evolution of both homosexuals’ own behavior and the attitudes of heterosexuals toward homosexual expression.


Warren Johanson

GRANADA

Granada is a small city, until 1492 capital of the last Islamic kingdom in Spain. Blessed by climate and geography, it is a striking example of the incorporation of running water into architecture and urban design. Much of the Moorish city has been lost, and visitors should be aware that for many present-day granadinos its Moorish heritage is only a source of tourist income. However, there remains the superlative palace the Alhambra, with a unique esthetic which has suggested homosexuality or androgyny to many, although the topic has yet to be given proper examination in print. There is also the most important survivor of the many pleasure-gardens of Andalucía, the Generalife. The city of Fez (Morocco) is said to resemble Moorish Granada.

When the Castilian armies conquered Córdoba and Seville in the thirteenth century, Granada, with its natural defenses, reached new prominence as a center for refugees. There are great gaps in our knowledge of Granadine culture, and basic source works, such as Ibn al-Khatib’s _Encyclopedia of Granadine History_, remain untranslated. The last major poets whose works survive are the fourteenth-century Ibn al-Khatib, his disciple Ibn Zamrak, whose verses adorn the walls of the Alhambra, and the king Yusuf III. Five thousand manuscripts, which would presumably have much illuminated the fifteenth century, were publicly burned by Cardenal Cisneros shortly after the conquest of the city. The best-known and most-translated Spanish source is Gines Perez de Hita’s _Granada Civil Wars_, and other sixteenth-century presentations of former Granadan life include much that is deliberate falsification.

What information we have suggests that homosexuality was widely practiced in Granada, as part of a broad tapestry of hedonistic indulgence. (Wine and hashish were also widely used.) As preserver of the spirit of Islam in Spain, anything else would be very surprising. Granada was “an example of worldly wisdom” in which “their quest in life was to impart beauty to every object, and joy to every hour.” All the major Granadan poets are linked to homosexuality to a greater or lesser extent. Various of its rulers, apparently including the last king Boabdil, openly indulged. Castilian monarchs who were sympathetic to homosexuality (Juan II, Enrique IV) lived in relative peace with Granada. Isabella’s expensive campaign against Granada was partly motivated by fear of a Granadine alliance with Turkey, which had recently conquered Constantinople; it may well have had as another motive the suppression of homosexuality in Castile.
At the time of its conquest Granada was the most prosperous, cultured, and densely-populated part of Spain; its population and economy declined sharply after its conquest and did not recover. Contrary to misconception, its Moorish inhabitants were not expelled in 1492 (it was the Jews who were expelled that year); Islam was permitted in Granada until 1499 and Arabic language and dress until the 1560s, when their prohibition brought civil war, ending with the forced resettlement of the Moorish inhabitants elsewhere in Spain. They were finally expelled in 1609.

Into the seventeenth century, however, and from the mid-nineteenth century until the Spanish Civil War, the Alhambra and the legend of Moorish Granada it preserved have been an inspiration to dissidents and reformers. St. John of the Cross wrote some of his most famous works, taking the female role in a mystical union with God, in Granada. Poets of withdrawal, such as Espinosa and Soto de Rojas, dealt with Granada’s gardens and rivers. In the nineteenth century Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Valera, Canivet, and Salmerón (president of the first Spanish republic), are all associated with Granada. More important, the great Institución Libre de Enseñanza is also so linked, as Sanz del Río and Giner de los Ríos studied in Granada, and Giner’s disciple and nephew Fernando de los Ríos made Granada his home in 1915 and was elected to represent it in the Republican legislature. Américo Castro, whose identifying the Semitic and especially Jewish elements in the Spanish nationality marks a watershed in Spanish intellectual history, was a graduate of the University of Granada. Both the influential Residencia de Estudiantes (Madrid), a descendent of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza, and the Centro Artístico y Literario (Granada), opened buildings in the Alhambra style in 1915.

In the early twentieth century Granada had the most important homosexual subculture in Spain. One of the first gay guidebooks in any language, Martínez Sierra’s Granada: Guía emocional, with photos by “Garzón” (“an ephebe”), was published in 1911. With Manuel de Falla’s relocation to Granada in 1919, the city reached international status. Falla said that he felt in Granada as if he were in Paris, “at the center of everything.” In Granada homophiles had a sympathetic newspaper, El defensor de Granada (the name suggests sympathy with the Moorish heritage), a bar, El Polinario, built on the site of a former Moorish bath, and in the Centro Artístico a sympathetic organization. The peak was the internationally famous festival of Cante Jondo in 1922, whose program appeared under the imprint of the Uranian Press. Subsequently the leading figure was Delos Ríos’ protégé, Federico García Lorca, executed along with many others in 1936. What homosexual life remained in Granada after the Civil War went underground.

See also Jews, Sephardic.


Daniel Eisenberg

GRANT, DUNCAN (1885–1978)

English painter. In his youth Grant was the lover first of Lytton Strachey and then of John Maynard Keynes; all three were members of the Bloomsbury group of writers, artists, and intellectuals. After study in Italy and France, Grant participated in several English group exhibitions
in the heady days before World War I, when the continental avant-garde was beginning to shake up Britain's relatively stodgy art scene. Together with Vanessa Bell, he headed the Omega Workshops, a modernist design studio (1913–19), where he created pottery, textiles, interior decoration, and stage flats. In 1916 Duncan Grant established a ménage à trois at the country house of Charleston in Sussex with David Garnett and Bell. Although Bell bore him a daughter, Angelica, in 1918, Grant's later sexual career seems to have been exclusively homosexual.

Despite much sophisticated proselytizing by the critic Roger Fry and others, the artistic achievements of Bloomsbury never attained the success of its literary productions. Grant tended to be dismissed as a tepid follower of Matisse, and his name scarcely figures in the standard histories of modern art. As in the case of such American artists as Charles Demuth and Marsden Hartley, his homosexuality may have hindered recognition. Despite neglect, Grant continued painting almost until the end of his life, accumulating an extensive oeuvre. Since his death, however, a more pluralistic approach to twentieth-century art has facilitated reevaluation of his work, and it can be seen that his best paintings are valid works in their own right.


Wayne R. Dynes

GREECE, ANCIENT

Beginning with the Romans, every succeeding people in Western civilization has felt the attraction of ancient Greece. The adulation of Greece peaked in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ironically, just at this time the industrial revolution and the Enlightenment were working profound changes in the character of Western civilization; in the new context the values of Hellenic culture no longer seemed the eternal truths that the world had only to accept and revere. But in no aspect of its social order was the nineteenth century in Europe and the United States farther from the value system of the Greeks than in the matter of homosexuality. Accordingly, the study of same-sex behavior in ancient Greece is valuable not only for its own sake but for the contrast it points with our own society.

Basic Features. Although homosexual behavior was ubiquitous in ancient Greece, had an extensive literature, and was never seriously threatened either in practice or as an ideal (as it was to be in later times), it is not easy to appreciate just how the Greeks themselves conceptualized it. The specific function of homosexuality in their civilization was one which the modern world rejects, and which the homophile movement of the twentieth century has regarded as marginal at best to its own goals and aspirations. Paiderasteia, or the love of an adult male for an adolescent boy, was invested with a particular aura of idealism and integrated firmly into the social fabric. The erastes or lover was a free male citizen, often a member of the upper social strata, and the eromenos or beloved was a youth between 12 and 17, occasionally somewhat older. Pedophilia, in the sense of erotic interest in young children, was unknown to the Greeks and the practice never approved by them. An interesting question, however, is what was the average age of puberty for ancient Greek boys? For some men (the philobupais type), the boy remained attractive after the growth of the first beard, for most he was not—exactly as with the modern pederast. The insistence upon the adolescent anthos [bloom] and the negative symbolism of body hair that occur repeatedly in the classical texts leave no doubt that modern androphile (adult–adult) homosexuality was foreign to the Greek
mentality, both in aesthetic theory and in the practice of male courtship.

When it emerges into the light of history in the archaic period, pederasty is the specific Greek form of a relationship that may have been institutionalized among some Indo-European peoples in prehistoric times. It formed part of the process of initiation of the adolescent into the society of adult males, of his apprenticeship in the arts of the hunter and warrior. The attachment of the lover to his boy eroticized the process of learning, making it less arduous and more pleasurable, while reinforcing the bond between the mentor and his pupil.

The homoerotic ties between the older male and the youth were, it is true, grounded in a biological universal—the physical beauty and grace of the adolescent that invest him with an androgynous quality soon lost when he reaches adulthood. The Greek form of pederasty institutionalized that bond of affection in a form that varied from one city-state to another, because Greece never had a unitary, homogeneous civilization. Each polis (city-state) preserved and used its own local dialect; each had its own constitution and laws. If periodic festivals such as the Olympic games were pan-Hellenic, they bore witness only to the sense that all Hellenes shared certain values in common which set them apart from the other peoples of the eastern Mediterranean.

The Greeks were at first barbarians invading a realm whose civilizations—Babylonian, Phoenician, Egyptian—were already old at the moment when the art of alphabetic writing reached the mainland (ca. 720 B.C.). The achievements of their own history necessarily rested upon the legacy of three thousand years of cultural evolution in the Semitic and Hamitic nations. In technology and material culture they—and their successor peoples—never went far beyond the accomplishments of the non-Indo-European civilizations of the East. It was in the realm of theory and philosophy that the Greeks innovated—and created a new model of the state and society, a new conception of truth and justice that were the foundations of Western civilization. Sir Francis Galton calculated in the late nineteenth century that in the space of two hundred years the population of Athens—a mere 45,000 adult male citizens—had produced 14 of the hundred greatest men of all time. This legacy—the "Greek miracle"—owed no small part of its splendor to the pederastic ethos that underlay its educational system and its civic ideal.

Pederasty was in each of the city-states a channel of transmission of its specific traditions and values from the older generation to the younger. In many states, it was virtually inseparable from preparation for the rights and duties of citizenship. The emphasis on outdoor athletic training and practice in the nude, and the concomitant eroticization and glorification of the adolescent male body, strongly reinforced the pederastic spirit.

Homoerotic behavior in either the active or passive roles in no way disqualified one for heterosexual activity. Marriage and fatherhood were part of the life cycle of duties for which the initiation and training prepared the eromenos. Needless to say, family life did not hinder a male from pursuing boys or frequenting the geisha-like hetairai. Down to the fourth century B.C., however, the really intense and reciprocal passion that the modern world calls romantic love was reserved for relationships between males. Only in the Hellenistic period (after 323 B.C.) was the additional possibility of love between man and wife recognized.

**Misinterpretations.** Some authors—including Christian apologists and historians influenced by them—have tried to maintain that while pederastic liaisons were intense enough, they rarely descended to the level of physical union and sexual release. This nonsense stems from a misinterpretation of the "double standard" that prescribed a modest and coy demeanor for the boy, who was to yield his person only
to a worthy suitor and—above all—could never offer his body for money. Such mercenary conduct was unworthy of a free citizen and could incur the penalty of *atimia*, civic degradation. The misinterpretations have been reinforced by the strictures of the elderly Plato in the *Laws*, where an element of resentment toward the young and of embitterment at his own failures and disappointments as a teacher seems to have been at work. This text, however, it may anticipate later Judeo-Christian attitudes and practices, was never typical of Greek thought on the subject. The evidence of the classical authors shows that as late as the early third century of our era the Greeks accepted pederasty nonchalantly as part of the sexual order, without condemnation or apprehension.

The greatest error of which modern commentators have been guilty has been to take the strictures of the Mosaic Code as if they were moral truths that had been decreed at the beginning of time, when in fact they are part of a text that was compiled by the Jewish priests living under Persian rule in the fifth century before our era. The Greeks knew nothing of the Book of Leviticus, cared nothing for the injunctions it contained, and scarcely ever heard of the religious community for which it was meant down to the beginning of the Hellenistic era, when Judea was incorporated into the empire of Alexander the Great. On the other hand, there is evidence that in the Zoroastrian religion pederasty was ascribed to a demonic inventor and regarded as an inexpiable sin, as a vice of the Georgians, the Caucasian neighbors of the Persians—just as the Israelites identified homosexual practices with the religion of the heathen Canaanites whose land they coveted and invaded. However, the antagonism between the Greeks and the Persians precluded any adoption of the beliefs and customs of the "evil empire"—against which they won their legendary victories. The Greek spirit—of which pederasty was a vital component—stood guard over the cradle of Western civilization against the encroachments of Persian despotism. Only on the eastern periphery of the Hellenic world—where Greeks lived as subject peoples under Persian rule—could the Zoroastrian beliefs gain a foothold.

*Sexual Mores.* The bulk of the available evidence—and the universal grounding of male physiology and psychology—support the view that Greek pederasty was carnal in expression, and not restricted to intercrural intercourse but often involved complete penetration. Oral-genital sexuality seems not to have been popular, but this was probably for hygienic reasons specific to the ancient world. But again, it is a profound error to project modern attitudes shaped by Christian theology and the definitions of sodomy or ages of consent upheld by Anglo-American courts onto the social or legal setting of ancient Greece. It is important to bear in mind, however, that [1] the active—passive dichotomy was crucial for the ancient mind, rather than the heterosexual—homosexual one, [2] norms of sexual behavior were not uniform, but varied for different social classes, and [3] that while men and women could have sexual relations for procreation within marriage, men alone were allowed to pursue sexual pleasure outside of marriage. That is to say, some forms of homosexual behavior were proscribed for certain individuals on the basis of sex and social status, but there was no general taboo such as Christianity later formulated for its whole community of believers.

The career of Sappho suggests that lesbian relations in ancient Greece took the same pattern, that is to say, they were corophile—between adult women and adolescent girls who were receiving their own initiation into the arts of womanhood. But the paucity of evidence makes it difficult to assay the incidence of the phenomenon, especially as Greek sexual mores were entirely androcentric—everything was seen from the standpoint of the adult male and free citizen. The subordi-
nate status of women and children was taken for granted, and the effeminate man was the object of ridicule if not contempt, as can be seen in the plays of Aristophanes and his older contemporary Cratinus. Such individuals were a liability in a society in which each city-state had constantly to field armies that would fight for its independence and hegemony.

The central opposition in the Greek mind was between the active (ho poion) and the passive (ho paschon) partner in the sexual encounter. The Greeks were concerned not with the act as a violation of a religious taboo [as in the Christian Middle Ages] or with the orientation as psychological substratum [the legacy of forensic psychiatry], but with the role as becoming or unbecoming particular actors. A man behaves appropriately when he penetrates boys or women (or even other men whom he has vanquished and captured on the battlefield). From this perspective, the dichotomous classification of men as heterosexual or homosexual makes no sense, although the ancient sources sporadically mention an idiosyncrasy of character that particular historical figures loved only women or only boys. Disapproval—which could be intense, though it never took the form of imprisonment or death—was reserved for males who took the passive-effeminate role and for women who played the active-aggressive part in relations with men.

These two phenomena, then—the idealization of pederasty and the primacy of the active-passive dichotomy—made Greek homosexuality radically different from what the homophile apologists and forensic psychiatrists of the late nineteenth century defined by that name, leaving aside the evaluation of sexual contacts between members of the same sex in Judeo-Christian moral theology. It is true that the more abstract thinking of the Greeks ultimately recognized the parallel between male and female homosexuality, beginning with a passage in Plato’s Laws (636b-c) in which both are stigmatized as “against nature”—a concept which the Semitic mind, incidentally, lacked until it was adopted from the Greek authors translated in the Middle Ages.

In Hellenistic and Roman times a genre of contest literature emerged that debated the merits of boys versus those of women as sexual partners for men. The option falls to the adult male: adolescent boys or adult women, although there was usually an age disparity between husband and wife that was greater than customary in modern times. Plutarch was even willing to entertain the idea that an older woman might legitimately aspire to marry a teenaged boy. So in terms of age marked asymmetry is commonplace.

Greek attitudes toward homosexuality reflected the allocation of status and power in Greek society, and the goals which Greek education pursued. They were, furthermore, embedded firmly in the context of Greek religion and mythology, in which pederastic loves were ascribed to gods and heroes who in a sense furnished the sublime models which their admirers could follow and imitate. If the Greeks were less psychologically introspective than the heirs of their civilization have become, it was because they stood at an earlier stage of cultural development; they cannot be blamed for failing to anticipate what came only millennia later—often in a context of guilt and self-exculpation.

**Historical Evidence.** Modern archeology has determined that proto-Greek dialects were spoken in the southern area of the Balkan peninsula that later was called Hellas from about 2000 b.c., that is, during the whole of the Mycenaean period. While material evidence has given scholars more information about this period than the Greeks themselves possessed, scarcely anything can be said with certainty about the sexual life of this prehistoric age. There is no basis whatever for the currently popular assumption that this was a matriarchal period. Toward the end of the second millennium the Mycenaean
era closed with a series of disasters, both natural catastrophes and wars—of which the Trojan war sung by Homer was an episode. During this period the Dorians invaded Greece, blending with the older stocks. One landmark paper on Greek pederasty, Erich Bethe’s article of 1907, ascribed pederasty to the military culture of the Dorian conquerors, an innovation ostensibly reflected in the greater prominence of the institution among the Dorian city-states of history. More recently, however, Sir Kenneth Dover has shown that the evidence for specific links with the Dorian areas of Greece is weak. What may be worth exploring is the notion, stressed by Bethe, that the essence of the lover passes into the soul of the beloved through sexual union—a survival of archaic beliefs on the function of sexuality in initiatory rites.

As Greece emerged from the dark age of the heroic period into the light of history, one of the salient features is the relative insignificance of the priestly caste as compared with its predominance in the cultures of Egypt and Mesopotamia. This entailed the absence of sacral prostitution of members of both sexes as was found, for example, in the Ishtar worship of Western Asia. The sexual lives of the Greeks were free of ritualistic taboos, but enacted in a context of comradeship in arms, the union exemplified in the devotion of Achilles and Patroclus, which foreshadowed the pederastic ideal of the Golden Age. The lyric poetry composed in the dawn of Greek literature was rich in allusions to male love, between gods and between mortals. In the art of this period the male nude—as seen especially in the monumental kouros figures of young men—was cultivated and perfected. The classic age (480–323 B.C.) produced the great dramatists and philosophers, and saw the rise of Greek science and medicine.

At the conclusion of this phase of tremendous creativity, the armies of Alexander the Great conquered the whole of the eastern Mediterranean littoral and the western Asia hinterland. In a mere four centuries Greek civilization had matured into a force that intellectually and militarily dominated the world—and laid the foundations not just for Western culture, but for the entire global metasystem of today. What followed was the Hellenistic era, in which Greek thought confronted the traditions of the peoples of the east with whom the colonists in the new cities founded in Egypt and Syria mingled. The emergence of huge bureaucratic monarchies effectively crushed the independence of the city states, eroding the base of the pederastic institution with its emphasis on civic initiative. The outcome of this period, once Rome had begun its eastward expansion, was Roman civilization as a derivative culture that blended Greek and indigenous elements. Even under Roman rule the position of the Greek language was maintained, and the literary heritage of previous centuries was codified in the form in which, by and large, it has been transmitted to modern scholars and admirers.

Authors and Problems: The Early Epic. For nearly two hundred years scholars have argued the Homeric question: Did one, two, or many authors create the two great epic poems known as the Iliad and the Odyssey? What were the sources and techniques of composition of the author (or authors)? The current consensus favors a single author utilizing a traditional stock of legends and myths; the final redaction may have taken place as late as 640 B.C. A second question arises in connection with these epic poems: Did they recognize homoerotic passion as a theme, or was this an accretion of later times?

The central issue is the relationship of Achilles and Patroclus in the Iliad, which forms the real subject of the poem. Later Greek opinion in general judged their friendship to have been an erotic one (Aeschylus, Plato, Lucian), a judgment reversed by many modern scholars who would like to imagine the heroic age as free of the “decadence” of later periods, and
point to the absence of explicit passages. Recently, however, opinion has veered about, identifying subleties of the Homeric text that support the contention that Achilles and Patroclus were male lovers. This recognition makes still other verses in Homer even clearer: Telemachus’ male bedmate in Pylos (Odyssey, 3, 397); Hermes’ ephebic attractiveness to Odysseus (Odyssey, 10, 277); and the Ganymede story (Iliad, 5, 266; 20, 282: “godlike Ganymede that was born the fairest of mortal men”). Homer may not have judged the details of their intimacy suitable for epic recitation, but he was not oblivious to a form of affection common to all the warrior societies of the Eastern Mediterranean in antiquity. The peculiar resonance of the Achilles–Patroclus bond probably is rooted in far older Near Eastern epic traditions, such as the liaison between Gilgamesh and Enkidu in the Mesopotamian texts.

Hesiod, the other great epic poet of early Greece, left a much smaller body of work, but the Shield of Heracles, a work of his school, if not actually by him, depicts a pederastic relationship between the hero and his page Iolaus. Later poems in the epic genre devoted far more attention to mythological and legendary tales of homoeroticism.

The Archaic Lyric. Paiderasteia may not yet have become self-conscious, but in the seventh century a new lyric genre arose that marked an advance over the epic in that it recorded vivid fragments of experience tinged with personal emotion. The subjectivity of Greek lyric poetry is saturated with the vicissitudes of homosexual passion. Though none of these early writers is preserved in entirety, they come from the whole far-flung Hellenic world.

Archilochus of Paros, writing perhaps about 650 B.C., is generally recognized as the earliest major figure of the group. His sense of personal ambivalence strikes an almost modern chord. In admitting contradictory, unheroic, and at times irrational feelings he invites comparison with the Roman Catullus. In fragment 85 he concedes to a male that “desire that loosens our limbs overpowers me.” The famous Athenian lawgiver Solon was also a poet, and in two surviving fragments (13 and 14) he speaks of pederasty as absolutely normal (see also Plutarch’s Life of Solon).

The isle of Lesbos, off the coast of Asia Minor, was the home of a school that brought Greek lyric poetry to its peak. Alcaeus is in fact the first poet whose surviving corpus takes pederasty as its major theme. Despite the mutilated and fragmentary state in which Sappho’s poetry has been transmitted, she was hailed in antiquity as the “tenth Muse,” and her poetry remains one of the high points of lyric intensity in world literature. In the nineteenth century philologists tried to reconcile her with the Judeo-Christian tradition by dismissing the lesbian interpretation of her poems as libelous, and misinterpreting or misusing bits of biographical data to make her nothing but the strait-laced mistress of a girls’ finishing school. The homoerotic intensity and candor of her poems has been vindicated by modern critics, who locate her entire career in the setting of the eros paidagogikos, the affection between teacher and pupil that was integral to Greek education. Again, not surprisingly the last book of her collected poems contained the epithalamia she had written for the weddings of the alumnæ of her school. The corephile lesbianism of Sappho was part of the training that prepared a girl for her duties as mistress of a household, just as the boy’s education prepared him for service to the polis. Over the centuries, her name has become a byword for the love of woman for woman, hence the earlier term “sapphist” and the modern “lesbian.”

Anacreon of Teos, who flourished in the mid-sixth century, owes his fame to his drinking songs, texts composed for performance at the symposia, which inspired an entire genre of poetry: anacreon-
tic. Though bisexual like most of the poets, he clearly preferred boys. Theognis of Megara is more serious and moralizing, and the second book ascribed to him (with less certainty than the first) presents pederasty in its ideal form, as it flourished for only some two centuries, from 600 to 400 B.C. Ibycus of Rhegium composed poems at the court of the tyrant Polycrates, where among other subjects he explored love in old age.

Pindar of Thebes (518–438) composed magnificent odes fusing the intensity of the new lyric trend with the monumental style of the earlier epic tradition, so joining the personal with the public. His poems celebrate youths of the aristocracy, above all the victors in the athletic contests that played a major role in Hellenic life. Changes in cultural expectations and assumptions have made his poetry more remote than that of other classical authors, but he still represents one of the giants of world literature, and he deals with themes integral to pederasty in its noblest form.

Athenian Politics and Art. Archaic Greece had many political and cultural centers, but among those of the mainland Athens emerged in the late sixth century as the dominant force in its culture—"the school of Hellas." A political power as well, Athens witnessed a shift from tyranny to democracy, a revolution in which homoerotic bonding played a catalytic role. In 514 B.C. Harmodius and Aristogiton, angered by the sexual harassment of one of the Peisistratid tyrants, slew him and opened the way for the family's downfall. Although they perished in the attempt, the heroes were thenceforth honored as major benefactors of the polis, honored by annual sacrifices and the performance of odes. Two statuary groups were successively commissioned to preserve their likenesses, the second of which (477 B.C.) is one of the first landmarks of the emerging classic style in art. Other civic leaders were renowned for their homoerotic attachments: Solon, THEMISTOCLES, Xenophon, and ALCIBIADES.

Toward the end of the sixth century Athens took the lead in the style of vase painting with red figures, replacing the older black-figure style. Many of these ceramic works were inscribed with the names of the male beauties who enjoyed the favor of the Athenian (male) public and the word kalo: Alkibiades kalo: meant "Alcibiades [is] handsome." These pederastic "calendar boys" were thus celebrated throughout the Hellenic world. Although some girls' names appear with the inscription kale, it is revealing that they are outnumbered by boys' names almost 20 to 1. In the field of sculpture the strapping kouros type of youth yielded to the more supple and graceful ideal of the classic type, beginning with the so-called Critian Youth (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

Drama and History. The fifth century saw Athenian drama reach its apogee in the work of the three great tragedians who all composed plays that dealt with one homoerotic aspect or another of Greek mythology: AESCHYLUS wrote The Myrmidons and Laius; SOPHOCLES The Lovers of Achilles; and EURIPIDES Chrysippus, all unfortunately lost save for a few surviving quotations. In comedy as well, lost plays of CRATINUS, EUPOLIS, TIMOCLES, and MENANDER, and the surviving masterpieces of Aristophanes dealt with the subject, often in subtle double entendre and other satiric word plays that the modern philologist must struggle to retrieve from the text.

In a different genre, HERODOTUS, the "Father of History," used the data that he gathered on his extensive travels to point up the relativism of moral norms. Among the phenomena that he reported was the Scythian institution of the Enarees, a shift in gender that puzzled the Greeks, who called it the nousos theleia or "feminine disease," but can now be identified as akin to the shaman and the berdache of the
sub-Arctic and New World cultures. Profiting from the insights of the pre-Socratic thinkers, Herodotus anticipated the findings of modern anthropology in regard to the role of culture in shaping social norms. The consequence of his relativistic standpoint was to discredit absolutist concepts of "revealed" or "natural" morality and to allow for a pluralist approach to sexual ethics.

Law. The legal institutions of the Greeks were highly diverse owing to the particularism of the regions and city-states, and comparatively few of the laws and analyses of the political structure of the polis have survived. Thanks to a surviving oration of Aeschines, the Contra Timarchum of 346 B.C., we know of the restrictions that Athenian law placed on the homosexual activity of male citizens: the male who put his body in the power of another by prostituting himself incurred atimia or infamy, the gymnasias and those who had authority over youth were subject to legal control, and a slave could not be the lover of a free youth. There is no evidence for parallel statutes elsewhere, and certainly no indication that homosexual behavior per se was ever the object of legal prohibition, or more stringently regulated than heterosexual, which had its own juridical norms.

Philosophy. Socrates (469–399 B.C.) wrote nothing, but left disciples who have transmitted his teaching to later ages. He was undeniably a pivotal figure in the evolution of Greek philosophy, the one who reoriented it from the preoccupation of the Ionians with the physical cosmos to questions of ultimate human concern, such as the nature of knowledge and the critical scrutiny of ethical norms. In the writings of Plato and Xenophon, Socrates basks in a strongly homophile ambience, as his auditors are exclusively male, even if he was no stranger to heterosexuality and had a wife named Xanthippe who has come down in history as the type of the shrewish wife.

His chief disciple, Plato (ca. 429–347 B.C.), whose thought cannot eas-
constant and unrelenting defamation, likening this procedure to the incest taboo. The designation of homosexual acts as "contrary to nature" found its way into the New Testament in a text that intertwined Judaic myth with Hellenic reasoning, Romans 1:18–32. This passage argues that "the wrath of God is revealed from heaven" in the form of the rain of water that drowned the Watchers and their human paramours and the rain of fire that obliterated the homosexual denizens of Sodom and Gomorrah. Later Christian thinkers were to insist that the morality of sexual acts was coterminous with procreation, and that any non-procreative gratification was "contrary to nature," but this view never held sway in pagan antiquity, so that Plato himself cannot be charged with the tragic aftermath of this belief and the attempt to impose it upon the entire population by penal sanctions and by ostracism. The attempt of modern Christian historians to prove that Plato’s idiosyncratic later attitude corresponded to the mores of Athenian society, or of Greece as a whole, is unfounded.

Plato was succeeded by the almost equally influential Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), who sought to correct some of the imbalances in his teacher’s work and bring it more in line with experience. Aristotle was more concerned with the empirical sciences and the match between theory and objective, multifaceted reality. Though known to have had male lovers, he also expressed some reservations about homosexual relations, but his work evaluating the Cretan form of pederasty has not survived. In the Nicomachean Ethics (1148b) he undertook to differentiate two types of homosexual inclination, one innate or constitutionally determined ("by nature") and one acquired from having been sexually abused ("by habit"). He stated categorically that no fault attached to behavior that flowed from the nature of the subject [thereby contradicting Plato’s assertion that homosexuality per se was unnatural], while in the second type some moral fault could be imputed. In the thirteenth century Thomas Aquinas utilized this passage in arguing that sodomy was unnatural in general, but connotative in some human beings; yet in quoting Aristotle he suppressed the mention of homosexual urges as determined "by nature," so that Christian theology has never been able to accept the claims of gay activists that their behavior had innate causes. At all events, Aristotle can be cited in favor of the belief that in some forms, at least, homosexuality is inborn and unmodifiable.

The successors of Plato and Aristotle, the Stoics, are sometimes regarded as condemnatory of pederasty, but a closer examination of their texts shows that they approved of boy-love and engaged in it, but counseled their followers to practice it in moderation and with ethical concern for the interests of the younger partner. However, they lived in an age when the pederastic ideal was more and more fading into the past, as the aristocratic way of life of the ruling class in the Greek city-states gave way to a more sensual, more oriental type of pederasty in the Hellenistic world ruled by the successors of Alexander the Great.

Medicine. Greek medicine stands at the beginning of the Western tradition of the art of healing, both in theory and practice. Medical theory accomplished far less than other branches of Greek thought because of the limitations of technique and the restriction that Greek religion imposed on such practices as dissection. However, the Hippocratic corpus knew the term physis [nature] in the sense of “constitution, inborn trait,” and recognized that there were innate differences in sexual orientation correlated with the secondary sexual characters. The ethical corollary of this distinction is that the individual is obliged only to act in accord with his own nature, not with any hypothetical unitary "human nature."

Also, the Greek physicians evolved a number of fanciful notions in regard to human physiology which, though
now discarded by science, influenced later civilization. For example, the pseudo-Aristotelian Problemata [IV, 26] claims that the propensity to take the passive role in anal intercourse is caused by an accumulation of semen in the rectum that stimulates activity to relieve the tension. Another notion was pangenesis—the belief that the semen incorporated major parts of the body in microscopic form; yet another the belief that the male seed alone determines the formation of the embryo (only in the nineteenth century was the actual process of fertilization of the ovum observed and analyzed). Another major belief system was the theory of the four humors, which became the basis of four temperaments associated with the characterological ideas embraced by Simonides, Theophrastus, and the comic playwrights.

The Hippocratic treatise On Airs, Waters, and Places touched upon the effeminacy of the Scythians, the so-called nusos theleia, which it ascribed to climate—a view that was to recur in later centuries. The Greek adaptation of late Babylonian astrology created the individual horoscope—which included the factors determining sexual character. Such authors as Teucer of Babylon and Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria named the planets whose conjunctions foretold that an individual would prefer his or her own sex or would be effeminate or virginal. Because Greek religion and law did not condemn homosexual behavior, it fell into the category of an idiosyncrasy of temperament which the heavenly bodies had ordained, not of a pathological condition that entitled the bearer to reprieve from the severity of the law. Ptolemy taught, for example, that if the influence of Venus is joined to that of Mercury, the individuals affected "become restrained in their relations with women but more passionate for boys" (Tetrabiblos, III, 13). The astrological texts make it abundantly clear that the ancients were familiar with the whole range of sexual preferences—a knowledge that psychiatry was to recoup only in modern times.

The Hellenistic Age. Beginning with the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., the Hellenistic period saw many profound changes in Greek institutions such as had to attend the formation of a far more cosmopolitan culture shared by subject peoples of different races for whom the Greek language was a binding force. The instrument for its cultivation was the system known as paideia, or humanistic training grounded in the mastery of the classics. This new emphasis on teaching worked to promote a fusion between the person of the paidagogos, the instructor, and the ideals of paiderasteia bequeathed by the earlier part of the Golden Age of Hellenic civilization. Alexandria in Egypt, the capital of the kingdom of the Ptolemies, emerged as the intellectual center of the Hellenistic age. Two poets, both associated with the great library in that city, composed works that dealt with aspects of boy-love. Callistratus exhibits the Hellenistic penchant for recondite allusions to and quotations from older literature; a number of his surviving epigrams are pederastic in theme. Theocritus created the poetic convention later known as Arcadian pastoral that served as a model for much of later Western poetry. His idylls are tinged with homoerotic sentiment in a rustic setting.

However, the greatest single collection of the pederastic poetry of the Hellenistic period is the twelfth book of the Greek Anthology, the core of which was assembled by Meleager of Cadara about 80 B.C. The collection was several times enlarged, notably by Strato of Sardis in the middle of the second century. His anthology bore the name Musa paidike or Boyish Muse; its sparkling epigrams sound the whole diapason of emotions felt by the Greek lover of male youth: the fleeting radiance of his anthos doomed to perish as adulthood encroaches upon his charms; unresponsive or avaricious boys, the dis-
appointment that awaits the boy himself when age overtakes him; and fear of the loss of the boy's affection, expressed in the mythological guise of Zeus' abduction of Ganymede.

Another literary innovation of the Hellenistic period was the romance of adventure or Milesian tale. Though most of the extant examples tell of the vicissitudes of heterosexual lovers, homoerotic episodes and characters often figure as secondary motifs. A good instance is *The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon* by Achilles Tatius (probably of the Roman period that followed the Hellenistic one). The chief homosexual component is a debate on the respective merits of love for women and love for boys—a subject that was to reappear in later centuries. Essays on pederasty were also written, the most notable being those ascribed to Lucian and to Plutarch. The latter composed the *Parallel Lives* in which the homosexual proclivities of Greco-Roman statesmen are frankly discussed, but also a humorous piece entitled *Gryllus* in which a talking pig argues that pederasty is unnatural because it is unknown among animals—an assertion that contradicted the observation of ancient naturalists. (*See Animal Homosexuality.*)

Perhaps the last major work in the Hellenistic tradition that deals extensively with pederasty is *Deipnosophistae* or *Banquet of the Learned* by Athenaeus, composed about A.D. 200. It treats the subject of love for boys with utter nonchalance, and preserves quotations from earlier works that have not survived in their entirety. The pagan culture of the Greco-Roman world accepted homosexual interests and relationships as a matter of everyday life, with no scorn or condescension. It was the growing influence of Christianity, and its adoption as the state religion of the Roman Empire, that sounded the death knell of this major era in the annals of homosexuality.

*Conclusion.* If we include its prolongation into the Roman period, the world of ancient Greece offers almost a millennium of evidence for homosexual behavior from poems, prose, inscriptions, and works of art. Many of these are not only documents of the occurrence of homosexual relations, but vivid capsules of personal feeling. The historian must, of course, be wary of anachronism—of the temptation to project back our own same-sex customs and judgments onto a very different era. Every allowance made, however, there remain notable similarities; the differences themselves set in relief the spectrum of homosexual expression of which human beings are capable.


*Wayne R. Dynes and Warren Johansson*

**GREECE, MODERN**

A republic of ten million occupying the southern extremity of the Balkan peninsula and the adjacent islands, Greece today has a strong sense of national identity. Each year it is the goal of millions of tourists, some of them in quest of sexual experience.

*History.* The modern Greeks derived their sexual mores, like their music, cuisine, and dress, from their overlords the Turks rather than from ancient Greece. During the long Ottoman domination from the fall of Byzantium in 1453 to 1821 and in Macedonia and Crete until 1911, and in Anatolia and Cyprus even today, the descendants of the Byzantines who did not convert to Islam preserved their language and religion. Orthodox bishops were given
wide political authority over their flocks whom they helped the Turks fleece. The black (monastic) clergy were forbidden to marry, and they were often inclined to homosexuality. Greeks, like Armenians, often rose in the hierarchy at the Sublime Porte, sometimes as eunuchs. Also they served as Janissaries in the Ottoman regiments which were taught to revere the Sultan as their father, the regiment as their family, and the barracks as their home. Forbidden to marry, they engaged in sodomy, particularly pederasty, and in such Ottoman vices as opium and bribery. Along with the Armenians, Greeks became the chief merchants of the Empire, especially dominating the relatively backward Balkan provinces where they congregated in the cities and towns as Jews did in the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth.

After being inspired by the French Revolution and Napoleon, Greek nationalists sought to revive their ancient traditions. The war for independence, in which Lord Byron died fighting, began in 1821 and triumphed in 1828 with much support from Hellenophiles in Western Europe inspired originally by J. J. Winckelmann. The German art historian was murdered in Trieste while waiting for a ship to carry him to Venice on his return to Rome; he never reached Greece itself as he wished.

Byron visited Ali Pasha, a notorious Albanian Moslem pederast, and then Athens, where he went in search of boys for pederasty. Oscar Wilde was taken to Greece by his Dublin professor, Mahaffy, probably influencing his later sexual proclivities.

Although Orthodox prelates like Makarios, Archbishop of Cyprus, contributed to the nationalist leadership and still exert a strong homophobic influence throughout modern Hellas, native homosexuals, often in contact with gay foreign tourists, and scholars such as Renée Vivien and Kimon Friar revived ancient concepts.

Homosexuality over the age of seventeen is not criminal in Greece, but public disapproval is sometimes expressed. The socialist government headed by Andreas Papandreou engaged in some harassment of meeting places and organizations during the 1980s. Apart from Athens, gay tourists flock to Mykonos, while the island of Mytilene, home of Sappho, understandably attracts lesbians. Three gay magazines have been active: Bananas (now defunct), Amphi (1978–), and To Kraksimo (1984–), while the literary review Odos Panos, though not strictly gay, often publishes works of a homosexual nature.

Since the Greeks generally reject the hybrid compounds formed by Western European scholars and scientists from classical roots, the Modern Greek term for "homosexuality" is omophilyphilia, literally "same-sex-love," in contrast to eterophilyphilia, "heterosexuality."

**Literary Achievements.** As in ancient Greek literature, homosexual themes figure prominently in the work of several twentieth-century writers. With his special linguistic gifts and his interest in both ancient and modern reality, the poet Constantine P. Cavafy (1863–1933), considerably influenced modern Greek verse. His specifically homoerotic themes have inspired such contemporaries as Dinos Christianopoulos. Born in 1931 in Salonika, Christianopoulos was abandoned by his parents at the age of one and a half, then adopted. In 1945 the poet began to use the pseudonym "Christianopoulos," which suggests "son of a Christian" or "little Christian." He studied literature at Aristotle University in Salonika, receiving his degree in 1954. In 1958 he founded the literary review Diagonal and in 1962 opened his own publishing firm under the same name. In his earliest poems, he began dealing with what was to become his major theme: homosexual love. His first collection, Season of the Lean Cows (1950), includes several historical poems in the Cavafy mode. The juxtaposition of situations and details from diverse periods and sensuality in conflict with Christian faith reveals T. S. Eliot's influence. In Knees of Strangers (1954), Defenseless Craving
moved by his mother from Salonika to Athens where he was raised by a half-crazed grandmother, then settling by accident into a building inhabited by female prostitutes, he took some of their customers for himself. Influenced by Rimbaud, he won recognition in Greece after his works were translated into French and English. He was found strangled to death on his bed in Athens. Taksis discussed homosexuality in a long interview included in his My Grandmother Athens and Other Texts (1979).

Two other major writers on homosexuality are Yiorghos Ioannou (1927–1985) and Menis Koumandareas (born 1933), while Alexis Arvanitakis, Yiannis Palamiotis, Vassilis Kolonas, and Prodromos Savidis have also dealt with it. Themis Kornaros' novel Mount Athos (for which he was sent to prison) treated the initiation rites undergone by novice monks in monasteries. The ecclesiastic code of the Greek Orthodox Church has specific statutes dealing with the punishments to be inflicted (e.g., prayers to be said in atonement) for homosexual acts.

As for the vestiges, especially in colloquial speech and folksongs, of homosexual mores from the earlier periods of modern Greece, much work has been done by Elias Petropoulos (The Bordello; Rhetoric Songs; Kaliardó, The Underworld and Greek Shadow Theater) and by Mary Koukoules in her continuing series Neoelleniki Athyrostomia (1984– ). A play has also been staged dealing with the life of transvestites and homosexual prostitutes, Yiorgos Maniotis' The Pit of Sin.

Such writers depict traditional Greek (or Middle Eastern) or Mediterranean homosexuality in terms of strict role opposition: “active” countered to “passive” partners, as well as each writer’s views on the coming to contemporary Greece of “European” homosexual mores—the “Gay Movement”—in which sexual roles are not so strictly defined, because “identity” has taken the foreground. Greek readers by no means con-
sider the work of many of these writers, some of whom were or are major figures in Greek literature, to exemplify a specific literary genre designated "homosexual" or "gay" literature (though the more explicit work of certain contemporary writers may modify this situation). Whether eros is depicted in its homosexual or its heterosexual manifestation is secondary in importance to the literary power with which it is depicted.


William A. Percy and John Taylor

GREEK ANTHOLOGY

The Greek Anthology is another name for the Palatine Anthology preserved in a unique manuscript belonging to the Palatine Library in Heidelberg. It was assembled in the tenth century by the Byzantine scholar Constantine Cephelus on the basis of three older collections: [1] the Garland of Meleager, edited at the beginning of the first century B.C.; [2] the Garland of Philippus, which probably dates from the reign of Augustus; and [3] the Cycle of Agathias, collected in the reign of Justinian (527–535) and including only contemporary works. But in addition Cephelus incorporated in his anthology the *Musa Puerilis* or "Boy-love Muse" of Strato of Sardis, who probably flourished under Hadrian (second quarter of the second century). It is probable that the segregation of the poems on boy-love from the rest of the anthology (with the mistaken inclusion of some heterosexual pieces) reflects the Byzantine attitude, quite different from that of the pagan Meleager who indifferently set the two themes side by side.

These poems, assembled in the twelfth book of the Anthology (with others scattered elsewhere in the collection), are monuments of the passion of an adult male for an adolescent boy (never another adult, as some modern scholars have suggested; XII, 4 is the most explicit testimony on this matter) that was an integral part of Greek civilization. The verses frankly reveal the mores and values of Greek pederasty, exalting the beauty and charm of the beloved youth, sounding the intensity of the lover's attachment, and no less skillfully describing the physical practices to which these liaisons led, so that it is not surprising that the complete set of these poems was not published until 1764. They are realistic in that they deal with the rejection and frustration of the lover, the brief and ephemeral quality of the boy's prime (*anthos*), and the loss of his attractiveness once the coarseness and hairiness of the adult male make their appearance, even the gloating at the downfall of a youth who once could tease and reject his lovers with cruel impishness. The whole set of themes belongs specifically to the world of the boy-lover and his paramour, not that of the androphile homosexual of modern times, even if certain poems also profess an exclusively homosexual orientation that is indifferent to women's beauty. Some of the verses are little masterpieces of Greek literature whose euphony can scarcely be rendered into English; and when they were translated, until quite recently, often the sex of the subject or the addressee was falsified to conform to the mores of contemporary society. It has been said that if every other work of Greek literature had perished, the Anthology would make it possible to reconstruct the private life of Hellenic civilization down to the smallest detail, and this truism certainly applies to its image of the *paiderasteia* that informed the culture of Greece not just in its golden age, but even in later centuries, when the Hellenistic world embraced the whole of the East-
ern Mediterranean. The most recent poems in the group are from the second century, showing that in pagan circles the old ethos was undimmed.

The prudery that persisted into modern times compelled scholars to treat this section of the Anthology only in the obscurity of Latin annotations, and just recently has it become possible to discuss the content of these poems in the clarity of the modern languages. Students of classical literature and apologists for pederasty alike have undertaken the task of analyzing and commenting this corpus of poems; in particular one may consult the works of J. Z. Eglinton, *Greek Love* (New York, 1964) and Félix Buffière, *Eros adolescent* (Paris, 1980), as well as the bilingual editions of the Anthology that have appeared in various countries, beginning with the Loeb Classical Library text in English (1918). No account of the homosexuality of the Greeks can be written without taking into account the abundant and express testimony of the Anthology on the facet of their civilization that marked the apogee of love and fidelity between males.

*Warren Johansson*

**GRIERSON, FRANCIS**

(1848–1927)

American musician and essayist. Grierson was born Benjamin Henry Jesse Francis Grierson Shepard in England; until 1899 he was called Jesse Shepard. His family moved to frontier Illinois, where Jesse heard Lincoln debate Douglas in 1858, an incident incorporated in his *The Valley of the Shadows* (London, 1909; Boston, 1948). The family next moved to St. Louis, where the boy's beautiful singing voice attracted the attention of John Frémont (explorer, first Republican presidential candidate, and Civil War general). Frémont took thirteen-year-old Jesse as his page, but when the older man lost his command, the boy moved with his family to Niagara Falls and then to Chicago. Jesse early developed his talent as a pianist and gave musical recitals along the Atlantic coast in 1868. He met Walt Whitman then and the two remained life-long correspondents and friends.

Not yet twenty, he went to Paris, where his singing and piano improvisations made him an international star. On March 25, 1870, he sang the lead part in Léon Gastinelle’s mass at Notre Dame Cathedral. Inviting him to dinner, the elder Dumas predicted “With your gifts you will find all doors open before you.” In 1874 he returned to the United States and in October conducted seances at Chittenden, Vermont, with Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, the founder of Theosophy. She, however, disapproved of Grierson because he had performed at Salle Koch, a St. Petersburg dancehall frequented, Blavatsky claimed, “by dissipated characters of both sexes.” Jesse was not deterred in his career as a medium, which he combined with his music. He made his way to San Francisco and thence to Australia. In 1880 he was in London lecturing and in 1885 he met Waldemar Tonner, a German Jewish tailor in Chicago, the two remained lovers for forty-two years. Offered a city block in San Diego, the couple moved for a time to 20th and K streets, where they built the Villa Montezuma with contributions from spiritualists and theosophists.

visits to the poet’s garret and concluded that two lines of Verlaine were worth more than the whole of Paradise Lost.

Fearing the onslaught of war, Grierson returned to New York City in 1913. The New York Evening Post sent a reporter to interview him, who later wrote, “I had never seen a man with lips and cheeks rouged and eyes darkened. His hair was arranged in careful disorder over his brow, his hands elaborately manicured and with many rings on his fingers; he wore a softly tinted, flowing cravat.” Grierson’s writings on the German menace and the “yellow peril” show him at his weakest: *The Invincible Alliance, and Other Essays, Political, Social, and Literary* (London, 1913) and *Illusions and Realities of the War* (New York, 1918).

Grierson’s fame in the United States faded with the years, he remained known only among spiritualist circles. His last two books were *Abraham Lincoln, The Practical Mystic* (New York, 1918) and *Psycho-Phone Messages* (Los Angeles, 1921); his lover never found a publisher for a poetry anthology and Grierson’s autobiography, which were left in manuscript. Tonner and Grierson moved to Los Angeles in 1920 and soon took up with a Hungarian count, Michael Albert Teleki, and his mother; they all ran a dry-cleaning business together. In 1927, Tonner arranged a concert for Grierson; at the end of the performance, when he did not turn to the audience, Tonner checked and found his lover dead.

Having observed Queen Victoria’s funeral, Grierson was no sexual liberator. While he was flamboyant and enjoyed the airs of the aristocracy, he deeply loved and shared his life with a tailor. He lived his entire life like the grasshopper enjoying whatever prosperity showered upon him. When his funds ran low, he pawned his fur coat or ruby ring. More truly than his contemporary Oscar Wilde, Grierson could have said that he put his genius into his life and only his talent into his books.

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**GRIFFES, CHARLES TOMLINSON (1884–1920)**

American composer. Growing up in a middle-class home in Elmira, New York, the young Griffes early became aware of his musical talent as well as his “difference”—his lack of attraction to girls and dislike of contact sports. His ability as a pianist attracted the attention of an eccentric patron, Mary Selma Broughton, who arranged for him to go to Berlin to study (1903). There his acquaintance with the city’s thriving gay subculture must have given him an insight into his own nature far richer than the hints that he been able to piece together in Elmira. He also acquired a “special friend” in an older student, Konrad Wöcke, who helped him to become acclimated in Germany. The two remained devoted to one another for a number of years. On the advice of his teacher, Engelbert Humperdinck, Griffes’ professional goal shifted from piano performance to composing. His first compositions reflected the heavy, Germanic taste that he had learned; later, however, under the influence of French and Russian music, he acquired the lighter, more colorful accents that are characteristic of his mature work.

In 1907 Griffes returned to the United States, and the following year he accepted an appointment at the Hackley School for boys in Tarrytown, NY. Frequently complaining of overwork, he was to remain there until his death. During his trips to New York City he became a regular patron of the Lafayette Place Baths and the Produce Exchange Baths. Although he disliked some aspects of these establishments, he found them an indispensable resource for sexual contacts. Griffes’ last years were illuminated by a deeply emotional friendship with a married New York policeman, Dan C. Martin, an arrange-
ment recalling one effected some years later by the English novelist E.M. Forster. Always of a delicate constitution, Charles Tomlinson Griffes died of pneumonia in 1920. His papers passed into the hands of his younger sister Marguerite, who destroyed many of them, apparently because she feared their "compromising" nature. In this way precious material for the understanding of his inner life has been lost.

Griffes was the first important American composer to be fully conversant with the avant-garde, as represented by such figures as Claude Debussy, Ferruccio Busoni, and Edgard Varèse. He was also influenced by Indonesian and Japanese music. His *Symphony in Yellow* of 1912 bears a dedication to Oscar Wilde. The choral work *These Things Shall Be* employs a text by another English homosexual writer, John Addington Symonds. One of his last works, the experimental *Salut au Monde*, uses texts from Walt Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass*. The general public, however, knows Griffes best for his sensual short pieces, *The Pleasure-Dome of Kubla Khan* and *The White Peacock*.


**Ward Houser**

**GROSS INDECENCY**

As a term of art for homosexual acts, "gross indecency" entered English law through the *Criminal Law Amendment Act* of 1885. An amendment, drafted by Henry Labouchère and retained as Section 11 of the Act, has the following language: "Any male person who, in public or private, commits, or is party to the commission of, or procures or attempts to procure the commission by any male person of, any act of gross indecency with another male person, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor." Earlier legislation, culminating in the 1861 Offenses Against the Person Act, directed against anal activ-ity (buggery), required proof of penetration (down to 1828 the law was interpreted to require proof of penetration and emission). Ambitiously, the 1885 legislation enlarged the prohibition to include any homosexual contact whatsoever. As Havelock Ellis pointed out in 1897, it was illogical to include private acts, since no one would be present to record the indecency or be outraged by it. At all events, Oscar Wilde was convicted ten years later under the 1885 Act in a case that sent shock waves throughout the Western world.

"Indecency" has a broad connotation, suggesting anything held to be unseemly, offensive, or obscene. The 1861 Act had mentioned "indecent assault" against both females and males. Apparently wishing to leave no uncertainty that consensual acts, as well as coercive ones, fell within the scope of the prohibition, Labouchère seems to have deleted the noun "assault," adding the adjective "gross" by way of compensation. There is no crime of "petty indecency."

In 1921 a Scottish Conservative M.P. proposed to criminalize acts "of gross indecency between female persons." This legislation was not adopted, and in fact lesbian acts have never been against the law in the United Kingdom. The 1967 Criminal Offenses Act (England and Wales) removed private conduct between consenting adults from the scope of the criminal law, but left the expression "gross indecency" for public acts. If committed by members of the Armed Forces or Navy, even private acts remain a matter of gross indecency. It also remains illegal to "procure" an act of gross indecency; in a bizarre case, the director of a play, *The Romans in Britain*, was prosecuted in 1982 for a brief episode of simulated buggery.

Five New England states and Michigan imitated the British statute. As of 1988 Michigan still recognized "gross indecencies between males" and "gross indecencies among females." Generally, however, the expression has little currency in American law and is unlikely to
acquire much, as it would be vulnerable to attack under the “void for vagueness” principle.

See also Common Law.


William A. Percy

GUIDES, GAY

In the nineteenth century various guides of limited circulation were published of the demimondes of Paris, London, Brussels and other cities, sometimes including directories of prostitutes; none is known to have had a homosexual emphasis. For some decades in our own century, it appears, homosexual men exchanged among themselves handlists of favorite haunts—bars, restaurants, hotels, baths and public meeting places. A few seem to have been duplicated in a kind of samizdat form, reproduced in carbon-copied or mimeographed sheets. These lists were distributed privately, and sold, if at all, clandestinely. This clandestinity served to protect the establishments listed from notoriety that might result in police harassment.

Out of the small handlists pamphlets and books emerged. The earliest surviving example seems to be The Gay Girl’s Guide [69 pp.], a male-oriented publication with a directory of “where to make contacts,” that apparently began publication in Boston in 1949. It was succeeded by the international Guide Gris, first published in San Francisco in 1958 with subsequent editions, which seems to be the first such collection to appear as a real book. In the 1960s, the Incognito Guide, published in Paris, enjoyed fairly wide circulation. In 1972, “John Francis Hunter” [John Paul Hudson] published a heroic one-man job of 629 pages, The Gay Insider USA. While these and other guides of those decades are now obsolete, they are useful for the historian who wishes to establish the “homo-geography” of the recent past.

Currently three well-established publications dominate the field: the Spartacus Guide, covering the world outside the United States; the Movement-oriented annual Gayellow Pages, blanketing North America, with one national and five regional editions; and the lesbian Gaia’s Guide, edited by Sandy Horn. Gay guides have also been published for such cities as London, Paris, Amsterdam, Berlin, New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, with special telephone books (“yellow pages”) appearing also for the latter two.

Wayne R. Dynes

GUYON, RENÉ CHARLES MARIE (1876–1961)

French jurist and sexual theorist. Guyon earned a doctorate in law from the University of Paris with his study La Constitution australienne de 1900 [Paris: Chevalier-Marescq, 1902]. This work and his Ce que la loi punit: code pénal expliqué [Paris: Larousse, 1909] brought him to the attention of the King of Siam, who appointed him in 1908 a member of the Code Commission and in 1916 chief of the Drafting Committee of the Siamese Code of Law. In 1919 the Siamese government published Guyon’s The Work of Codification in Siam in both English and French editions. René Guyon developed early the principle of privacy, that law should never invade the bedroom. “The greatest charity you can render your neighbors,” he wrote, “is keeping out of their private lives.” In Siam [called Thailand after 1949], as the Spartacus Gay Guide notes, “The right to be homosexual has never been forbidden or restricted.”

In his philosophy, Guyon developed a rationalism indebted to Epicurus and updated with Einstein, Freud, and modern science. He expounded his ideas in a series of works: Essai de métaphysique matérialiste [Paris: Costes, 1924]; Essai de

From anthropology and from his own travels, Guyon found many superstitions but also sexual freedoms unknown to Europeans. With his brother he wrote an account of Brazil's emerald forest: *A travers la forêt vierge: aventures extraordinaires de deux jeunes Français au Brésil* (Paris: Gedalge, 1907). Guyon traveled extensively throughout Asia and Africa and closely studied the works of James Frazer (*The Golden Bough*), Paul Gauguin (*Noa Noa*), General A. H. Pitt-Rivers (*The Clash of Cultures and Contact of Races*), and Sigmund Freud (*Totem and Taboo*).

Most of the latter half of his long life was spent in Bangkok, where he died in 1961. Editing a two-volume *Anthologie bouddhique* (Paris: Crès, 1924), Guyon praised Buddhism, whose general ideas he found "logical, acceptable, and relatively practical" because "sexuality is not made an object of special odium of an unreasonable and almost pathological kind." In *La cruauté* (Paris: Alcan, 1927), he contrasted the Buddhist attitude toward animals with Christian cruelty.

In 1929, Guyon published the first volume of his monumental *Etudes d'éthique sexuelle*. Before World War II, six volumes appeared: I. *La légitimité des actes sexuels* (Saint-Denis: Dardaillon, 1929); II. *La liberté sexuelle* (Saint-Denis: Dardaillon, 1933); III. *Révision des institutions classiques* (Mariage: Famille) (Saint-Denis: Dardaillon, 1934); IV. *Politique rationnelle de sexualité, la reproduction humaine* (Saint-Denis, Dardaillon, 1936); V. *Politique rationnelle de sexualité, le plaisir sexuel* (Saint-Denis: Dardaillon, 1937); and VI. *La persécution des actes sexuels I. Les courtisanes* (Saint-Denis: Dardaillon, 1938). The first volume was translated into English in 1934 and the second volume in 1939 with introductions by Norman Haire.

A further volume which would have included homosexuality has never appeared, but Guyon's analysis of the topic emerges from his other volumes. He rejected all notions of perversion, abnormality, inversion, third sex, and the "woman's soul trapped in a man's body." Separating sexual gratification from human reproduction, he argued that any and all sexual pleasures are reasonable, natural, and legitimate. What he labeled "intersexual" (man and woman) intercourse is relatively uncommon (abnormal); masturbation, he argued, was the most common (normal) form of sexual activity. He rejected the idea of "genital" sexuality and argued that the mouth, anus, fingers, tongue, or other outlet was no less erogenous than the penis and vagina. For him bestiality, incest, fetishism, talking dirty, exhibitionism, voyeurism, necrophilia, coprophilia, and other activities are equally joyful. "Every mechanical means of producing sexual pleasure," Guyon postulates, "is normal and legitimate; there is no room for moral distinctions between the various available methods: all are equally justifiable and equally suited to their particular ends."

His reservations were sadism, chastity, and love. The first, he argued, too often violated "the fullest respect for the liberty of others and the free consent (uncomplicated by any element of violence or deceit) of the sexual partner." Deliberate chastity to Guyon was an incomprehensible disease. Love was understandable, but too limited: "Individualized love is only sexual desire concentrated on a single person," which is unduly selfish and lasts at most a few years. Guyon was nearly unique among sexologists in recognizing that homosexual and incestuous love "enjoy exactly the same possibilities of passion, the same paroxysms of joy,
the same jealousies and torments, in a word the same characteristics, as the most usual forms of intersexual love.”

Guyon participated in the work of the World League for Sexual Reform on a Scientific Basis and supported Magnus Hirschfeld and the founding of a French chapter of the organization under Pierre Vachet. Guyon corresponded with Norman Haire in London and Sigmund Freud in Vienna. He himself became a practicing psychoanalyst, but Freud did not go far enough for him. Freud’s Three Essays on the Theory of Sex (1905) identified the libido of the child but failed to reject censorship and repression. Guyon defended infant sexuality as natural and normal, but social conventions “as abnormal and undesirable.” In his reply, Freud argued that homosexuality was not natural but “acquired.” Guyon also rejected the idea of a death instinct advanced in Freud’s Beyond the Pleasure Principle (1920); for Guyon, the conflict was not between thanatos and eros, but between eros and convention.


Guyon is best known today for his teachings on childhood sexuality. He vigorously opposed all notions of innocence, chastity or virginity; he wrote: “nature is on the side of the child, and artificial convention on the side of the average adult.” A year after his death, a group of seven intersexual adults formed the René Guyon Society in Los Angeles. Their motto—credited to Guyon—was “Sex before eight or it’s too late,” and they encouraged training children in the use of condoms. Tom O’Hare for some time issued the René Guyon Society Bulletin, but the organization suffered persecution and repression in the anti-sex climate of the eighties.

Guyon’s unfinished Etudes resemble Foucault’s unfinished History of Sexuality in the ambition of the authors. There is no evidence that Foucault ever studied Guyon, but Foucault’s argument that sexologists invented the idea of homosexuality could be corrected by reading Guyon. Guyon’s books were published in editions as small as a hundred copies. The Nazis who conquered France in 1940 and Charles DeGaulle, who took power after World War II, had an equal repugnance for sexual liberation. Guyon’s work still remains to be discovered.

Charley Shively

GYMNASIA

The Greek sports ground, usually at first outside the city walls, was open to all citizens but not to slaves or foreigners. Gymnasia evolved from the Cretan dromos (simple running track) where in the seventh century B.C. boys and young men began to exercise together nude. The Greeks and those nations they influenced were the only civilized peoples ever to exercise regularly in the nude. As institutionalized pederasty spread to Sparta and the rest of Greece, so did gymnasia, some of which added covered tracks. The oldest in Athens date to the sixth century, probably established by Solon, who forbade slaves, as in Crete, to enter them: the Academy and the Lyceum, originally as elsewhere on the outskirts of the city, outside the walls and large enough for parades and riding lessons. Soon a third was added for metics, the Cynosarges. In the larger gymnasia special areas of the palestra were set aside for the teenagers,
from which men were barred so that they would not cruise the boys while they were exercising. The principal supervisor, the paedotribus, had to be over 40.

That the gymnasia early became centers of plotting is attested by the fact that Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos (d. 521 B.C.), had them burned. The more pederasty became associated with tyrannicide as it did, the more tyrants opposed it. The Persians also opposed gymnasia, as did the tyrants they supported, and Ionia after the Persian conquest did not practice pederasty, as Plato’s Symposium said.

Gymnasia had three principal subdivisions: (1) the track (dromos), where athletes practiced for contests of distance—running, javelin throwing, and the like; (2) the palestra, for physical exercise, wrestling, and ball playing, at times with a library attached; and (3) baths, swimming pools, and rooms for massage. As centers of recreation and leisure for the Greek male the gymnasia became the setting for paideia [educational instruction], as reflected in the Platonic dialogues, several of which are set in them. Philosophers, sophists, dialecticians and all kinds of other teachers frequented them, drawing audiences of boys and men to their lectures. Plato preferred the Academy and Aristotle the Lyceum.

In the Hellenistic period gymnasia and pederasty spread to all the cities where Greeks settled or which became Hellenized. The gymnasiarchs appointed by the Ptolemies eventually acquired wide political and administrative powers in their poleis, under the Romans becoming the chief officials. Even Jerusalem briefly acquired a gymnasium near the Temple, where circumcised Jewish youths with simulated foreskins performed their exercises nude in the reign of Antiochus. The scandal helped provoke the Maccabean uprising, which destroyed the gymnasium in Jerusalem, though Herod the Great (d. 4 B.C.) later patronized ones in the Greek cities. Gymnasia also appeared in Rome and some Latin cities in the West, although most Romans disapproved of nudity and gymnastics, preferring hunting and war games. During the empire Roman baths, some of which had mixed patrons, often added exercise rooms and even libraries, thus coming to resemble the increasingly elaborate Hellenistic gymnasia, which even in the eastern provinces they rivaled and to some extent replaced.

No more is heard of gymnasia after A.D. 380, when the intolerant Christian Theodosius the Great began to persecute pagans. Ascetics, calling themselves “athletes for Christ,” preferred to mortify the body, condemning not only pederasty and nudity but even bathing, and culminating against gymnasia and baths, which declined especially in the Western provinces as cities shrank and became impoverished beginning with the disasters of the third century.

During the Renaissance Italian theorists like Guido di Montefeltro revived the Greek and Latin desideratum of a sound mind in a sound body and the English public schools established in the sixteenth century reimported systematic exercise and games as part of the program for their students, but no one proposed nudity. The modern gymnasium thus grew up as an adjunct to the playing fields of Eton and Harrow. American schools and colleges imitated these English models. In the nineteenth century and even more in the twentieth gymnasia were established in European and American cities for the rich, often as clubs, and for the general public as the YMCAs. Some became centers of homosexual cruising and after the Stonewall Uprising, openly gay gymnasium appeared in most larger American cities. The Westernizing elites of the Third World also established gymnasia.

See also Bathhouses.


William A. Percy