JACOB, MAX (1876–1944)
French poet. Jacob came to Paris from his native Brittany at the age of twenty-two, determined to become a poet and painter. In the capital he gravitated to the bohemian avant-garde circle around Guillaume Apollinaire. When he was twenty-five Jacob met Pablo Picasso, then unknown; the two quickly formed a pair bond and became roommates. The aggressively heterosexual Picasso tried to "correct" his friend's homosexuality, but without success. In 1915 Jacob, who had been born a Jew, converted to Catholicism with Picasso as his sponsor. The poems he wrote at this time are a rich amalgam of puns and parody, and mixtures of high and low subjects, all shot through with a hermetic complexity that was analogous to Picasso's Cubism.

In 1921 Jacob retired to live in the ancient monastery of Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire. His mysticism, heightened by the Catholic revival orchestrated by Jacques Maritain and others at the time, began to play an increasingly important part in his poetry. Another feature was reminiscences of Brittany, a region in France known not only for its traditional Celtic ways, but also for its association with the modernist primitivism of Paul Gauguin and his school. Despite his religious vocation, Jacob would make extended visits to Paris where he saw his old friends and enjoyed the sexual scene. In due course a bout of guilt would drive him back to the monastery.

In 1944 Max Jacob was arrested at Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire and deported to the notorious concentration camp at Drancy. Jean Cocteau and other friends attempted to intervene on his behalf, but Picasso refused. Although they are difficult, the poems of Max Jacob retain an important place in avant-garde French literature. A better understanding of the linkage of his life and work will be the task of a major biography, which has not yet been written.

Ward Houser

JAHNN, HANS HENNY (1894–1959)
German novelist and dramatist. Jahnn was born in Stellingen near Hamburg. Raised in a bourgeois milieu, Jahnn made his first literary efforts at the age of fourteen. In 1911, in high school, he met his friend and later life companion Gotthlieb Harms, with whom he quite early made several attempts to break out of his repressive bourgeois environment.

Jahnn's diaries offer an effusive record of the love affair linking him with Harms, who was one year older. After the outbreak of World War I the friends as self-proclaimed pacifists emigrated to Norway. There in great seclusion Jahnn wrote among other things the drama Pastor Ephraim Magnus, which was published by the Fischer firm after his return to Germany in 1919; winning the prestigious Kleist Prize, this work made Jahnn famous (and notorious).

Sharply rejecting Christian beliefs and morality, Jahnn and Harms founded (together with Franz Buse) the "Ugrino" commune, whose members shared living quarters and common beliefs. This homemade utopia, for which the multitalented Jahnn designed buildings for everyday use and for worship, was to be realized on a large plot of land south of Hamburg—acquired specifically for the purpose—and
was to afford a free life for a community of artists. The ambitious plan consumed all of Jahnn’s energy and ultimately failed because it required immense sums beyond the ability of even wealthy benefactors to raise. Nonetheless, Jahnn embodied his ideas in the fragmentary novel **Ugrino und Ingrabanian**. In actual fact, of the whole project there came only the Ugino-Verlag, which published several of Jahnn’s own works and undertook the reprinting of forgotten composers of the early baroque period (Buxtehude, Scheidt, Lübeck). What remained was a small, bohemian clique of living artists, from whose circle Jahnn and Harms in 1926 married the sisters Ellinor and Monna Philips. Jahnn’s daughter Signe was born in 1929.

Alongside his scandalous literary production Jahnn earned international recognition as an expert in historic organs, in particular by his work on the restoration of the Jacobi organ in Hamburg.

In February 1931 Gottlieb Harms died. Jahnn composed an incomparable monument to his memory in the novel trilogy **Fluss ohne Ufer** (River Without a Shore), published in 1949–61.

At the beginning of the National Socialist regime Jahnn once again went into Scandinavian exile. He purchased an estate on the Danish island of Bornholm, managed it, and devoted himself—always alongside his literary activity—to extensive research on hormones.

In 1950 Jahnn finally returned to Hamburg and there founded the Free Academy of Arts, whose first president he became. As General Secretary of the Pen Club he passionately strove to prevent the emerging split between East and West. To the very end of his life he fought first against the rearming of Germany and later above all against atomic weapons. In 1956 he received the Lessing Prize of the city of Hamburg.

Hans Henny Jahnn died on November 29, 1959, in accordance with the provisions of his will he was buried in a grave alongside his friend Gottlieb Harms.

Jahnn, whose collected works fill eleven volumes, ranks alongside Hermann Broch and Robert Musil as one of the most important German writers of the twentieth century. In his extensive narrative and dramatic work male homosexuality was a central theme. In at times excessive, sensual-erotic language Jahnn describes virtually without exception relationships between males—with all their utopias and fantasies, their moments of happiness and failures, with all the constructive and destructive traits of human beings. A striking feature of all his pairs of friends in the great novels is the inequality of the partners: the sexually inhibited, markedly intellectual type is always counterposed to a sensual, handsome “nature boy” for whom homosexual love is self-evident and in the direct meaning of the word natural. Jahnn’s whole oeuvre proclaims the need for harmonizing human feeling and action with nature. Starkly, Jahnn shows that the creatures of nature are cruel; they devour one another and are devoured in turn; only man is capable of pity—a capacity that Jahnn elevates to a moral imperative.

Jahnn cannot be fitted into existing categories on the basis either of his literary style or of the philosophical currents of his lifetime. The same is true of his attitude toward homosexuality and his literary treatment of it: Jahnn is far removed from Hirschfeld’s theory of a “third sex” and other justification paradigms of the Weimar era. Jahnn was one of the first to propagate, with sovereign self-understanding, the belief that homosexuality is but one variant of human sexuality.


**Dietrich Molitor**

**JAHRBUCH FÜR SEXUELLE ZWISCHENSTUFEN**

The *Jahrbuch* [whose title literally means “Yearbook for Sexual Inter-
grades") was the world's first homosexual periodical, with articles by experts in the relevant fields covering all aspects of the subject as it was then conceived. Edited by Magnus Hirschfeld in Berlin, it appeared in 23 volumes between 1899 and 1923, when its publication was halted by the economic collapse of Weimar Germany that undermined the financial base of the sponsoring institution, the Wissenschaftlich-humanitäre Komitee (Scientific-Humanitarian Committee).

Along with major articles, each volume included an annual review of the literature, fiction and non-fiction, pertaining to homosexuality, as well as comments on current events and the progress of the legal-political struggle for repeal of the notorious Paragraph 175. Some of the articles were illustrated with plates or photographs, a few even in color. The bibliographical sections were conducted by Eugen Wilhelm, a judge in Strasbourg, under the pseudonym of Numa Praetorius: they cover the German, French, and Italian (but not English) literature of the first two decades of the century. Scattered foreign contributions to the periodical were in French and English.

Magnus Hirschfeld himself wrote several pieces, the longest of which was entitled "Ursachen und Wesen des Uranismus" (Causes and Nature of Homosexuality, 5, 1903). Eugen Wilhelm also composed articles on the legal side of the problem, in particular "Die strafrechtlichen Bestimmungen gegen den homosexuellen Verkehr" (The Penal Statutes against Homosexual Intercourse, 1, 1899). Gustav Jaeger published the materials that he had obtained in 1879 from Kiroly Miria Kertbeny under the heading "Ein bisher ungedrucktes Kapitel über Homosexualität aus der Entdeckung der Seele" (A Hitherto Unpublished Chapter from The Discovery of the Soul, 2, 1900).

Richard von Krafft-Ebing revised his earlier views on homosexuality in "Neue Studien auf dem Gebiete der Homosexualität" (New Studies in the Area of Homosexuality, 3, 1901). The same volume contained a study by Friedrich Karsch-Haack on "Uranismus oder Päderastie und Tribadie bei den Naturvölkern" (Uranism or Pederasty and Tribadism among Primitive Peoples), which formed the basic core of his great 1911 monograph on ethnography. The Warsaw physician Franz Ludwig von Neugebauer contributed a whole series of not wholly relevant articles on pseudo-hermaphroditism. The Dutch writer L.S.A.M. von Römer contributed an excellent biographical study of "Heinrich der Dritte, König von Frankreich und Polen" (Henri III, King of France and Poland, 4, 1902), a book-length survey "Über die androgyinische Idee des Lebens" (On the Androgynous Idea of Life) 5, 1903), which remains an unparalleled, if uncritical treatment of the subject from distant antiquity to modern times, and a long historical essay, "Der Uranismus in den Niederländen bis zum 19. Jahrhundert, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der grossen Uranierverfolgung im Jahre 1730" (Homosexuality in the Netherlands until the Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to the Great Homosexual Persecution of 1730, 8, 1906), which began an inquiry that has been resumed more recently in the Netherlands. Kertbeny's legal polemic of 1869 that introduced the term homosexuality was reprinted in full (7, 1905). Paul Brandt, who used the pseudonym Hans Licht, composed a two-part article on "Der paidon eros in der griechischen Dichtung" (The paidon eros in Greek Poetry, 8, 1906; 9, 1908). I. Leo Pavia did a perceptive series on "Die männliche Homosexualität in England mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Londons" (Male Homosexuality in England with Special Reference to London, 11, 1909; 13, 1911).

Shorter pieces were biographies of famous homosexuals, critiques of arguments for retaining the paragraph against homosexuality in drafts of a new penal code, and presentations of the theory of the innate character of sexual inversion. A large part of the material that had been
published in the *Jahrbuch* was utilized in Hirschfeld's 1914 magnum opus, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (Male and Female Homosexuality). After 1914 the contributions became somewhat shorter and more trivial, while others were devoted to wartime happenings of relevance to the subject. Hirschfeld went so far as to list any element of "male character" in women as part of the general theme of "intersexuality."

On the whole, the articles in the *Jahrbuch* rallied to Hirschfeld's belief that homosexuals represented an evolutionary intermediate stage or intergrade between the male and the female, and that their condition was inborn and unmodifiable by any form of therapy or any accident of environment or experience. This stance was the bedrock for the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee's plea for toleration for an "unjustly persecuted variety of human being," as Kurt Hiller later phrased it. However, it led to an open break with Benedict Friedlaender and others who looked to the classical model of pederasty as the practice of a bisexual male population, not of exclusive inverted and effeminate. The supporters of this view later seceded to form the Gemeinschaft der Eigenen (Community of the Exceptional) with its journal *Der Eigene*.

Ignored by official science and scholarship in Wilhelmine Germany and later, the *Jahrbuch* remains a unique collection of materials for the study of all aspects of homosexual behavior and cultural attitudes toward it. While it scarcely paid attention to such problems as "gender," "role playing," "lifestyles," and the like, it treated the subject as defined by contemporary psychiatry and jurisprudence in a thorough and serious manner not equaled by much later apologetic writing on behalf of homosexual liberation. Its contributors surveyed all the literature that appeared in both the learned and the popular press of the day, discussed the homosexual sides of cultures remote in time and space, and scoured the writings of the past for the light that they might shed. If these early studies were sometimes uncritical, amateurish or biased, they at least were a starting point for investigation of a field that had been almost totally excluded from academic scholarship, dependent as that was upon the control of the state and of respectable opinion. Surviving in complete sets in a few medical and university libraries and in private collections, as a resource for the serious investigator the *Jahrbuch* has not been superseded even today.

Warren Johansson

**JAILS**

See Prisons and Jails.

**JAMES I (1566–1625)**

King of Scotland and England. The son of Lord Darnley and Mary Queen of Scots, he became James VI of Scotland upon his mother's forced abdication in 1567. Studying under various teachers, notably George Buchanan, he acquired a taste for learning and theological debate. During his minority the king was the pawn in a complicated struggle between the Catholic and Protestant factions within the clergy and nobility. His personal rule began in 1583; three years later he allied himself with the childless Queen Elizabeth of England to improve his prospects for succeeding to the throne, breaking with the party of his mother, whose execution in 1587 he accepted calmly. In 1589, this time against Elizabeth's wishes, he married Anne of Denmark. In 1603 he succeeded to the English throne by virtue of his descent from Margaret Tudor, the daughter of Henry VII.

Though welcomed in his new domain, James brought little understanding to its parliament or its problems. At the Hampton Court Conference he displayed an uncompromising anti-Puritan attitude in face of the request of the Puritan clergy for status within the established church. Out of this conference came the
project for revision of the Bishops' Bible of 1566 that produced the so-called King James Version of 1611, which on its merits won a firm place in the Protestant churches and in English literature. Although it is a Renaissance translation that could not go beyond the store of learning available in its time, fundamentalist Protestants have invested it with an almost sacred and revealed character, even refusing to abandon it for more recent English renderings such as the Revised Version (1881–95) or the Revised Standard Version.

The private life of James I impinged upon his public life in a manner that betrayed his erotic proclivities. He relied upon favorites whose qualifications consisted more in physical charm than in talent for government. His adolescent passion for Esme d'Aubigny, and his friendship for Patrick Gray, Alexander Lindsay, and others had already provoked comment. But because the resources of the Scottish exchequer were skimpier than those of the English, these friendships had no real impact on the regime in Edinburgh. Three favorites have left their names in the chronicles of the time, James Hay, John Ramsay, and the Englishman Philip Herbert. Of these the first enjoyed James’ indulgence the longest; he was heaped with honors and benefitted from a marriage with the daughter of the Earl of Northumberland; the third was married to the daughter of the Earl of Sussex, and on the occasion of the festivities the dramatist Ben Jonson composed a masque entitled Cupid Pursued. The Englishman had a shorter period of royal grace than the others because of his faults of character.

More important than any of these was a young Scotsman named Robert Carr, who managed to break a limb in front of James at a tourney in March 1607. At the sight of this blond athlete James' heart quivered, and in no time the handsome young man was on the rise. He was named Gentleman of the Chamber, then Viscount Rochester and later Earl of Somerset (in this capacity he was the first Scot to sit in the House of Lords). As the leading personality of the court, he was a force with whom ambassadors and even Robert Cecil had to reckon. That their liaison was homosexual was not doubted by James' contemporaries, but the young man was something more than a lover to him, he was also a spiritual heir. On the negative side, the courtier was extravagant and insolent, and his behavior contributed no little to the decline of James' popularity. In 1615 Carr was disgraced, and in the following year he and his wife were convicted and sent to prison, where they remained until 1622.

James' choice then fell upon George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham after 1617. Of a distinguished family, the handsome and cultivated youth knew that what the sovereign wanted was an adopted son—a role that he had no difficulty in playing. The aging king may not have had a physical relationship with him, and was not jealous of his female interests; but the two were recognized by their homosexual contemporaries as a classic pair: a king and an all-powerful favorite. The life of James I illustrates how the general opprobrium attached to "sodomitical" relationships did not interfere with the passion of a ruler who occupied the throne and conferred his favors upon young men of his choosing, who by their privileged estate and position were exempt from the death penalty that threatened the rest of his subjects.


Warren Johansson

JAMES, HENRY

(1843–1916)

American novelist, playwright, and critic. His father, Henry James senior, was a writer on theology influenced by the mystical works of Emmanuel Swedenborg; his brother William became a distinguished
Finding the study of law not to his liking, Henry James began to contribute reviews and short stories to American periodicals. For a number of years his fiction showed a decided debt to the conventions of popular works of the time, a tutelage from which he gradually emancipated himself so as to become sui generis: "the Master." He chose to reside mainly in Europe, at first in France and Italy, but increasingly in England. A novel of the middle period, *The Bostonians* (1886), portrays a close emotional relationship between the wealthy feminist Olive Chancellor and her acolyte Verena Tarrant, which is spoiled by the intervention of a selfish young lawyer. James' most characteristic works of this period, however, focus on the "international theme," the encounter of callow but innocent Americans with European sophistication. In what is probably the most poignant of these works, *Daisy Miller* (1870), a young American girl dies of a fever after an encounter at the Colosseum in Rome.

Related to male homosexuality are "The Pupil" (1891), which concerns a mentoring relationship, and the ghost story, "The Turn of the Screw" (1898). In the latter novella, a young governess is given charge of two young children, a boy and a girl, in a remote country house. She finds that the deceased figures of her own predecessor and of the sinister valet Peter Quint have returned to possess them. The boy Miles dies at the hands of Quint, who—it is intimated—had corrupted him during life. James left the story deliberately ambiguous so that it is always possible that the occurrences are hysterical fantasies on the part of the governess.

James's last three major works, *The Wings of the Dove* (1902), *The Ambassadors* (1903), and *The Golden Bowl* (1904), return to the "international theme," but on a level of complexity and abstraction that makes them entirely different from his earlier treatments of it. More than any others, these late works have attracted both devotion and hostility—the latter stemming from their highly wrought literary style and baffling elusiveness. Their fascination lies in part in the sense that James has glimpsed truths that are ultimately inexpressible, and has gone as far as he could to make them at least mystically present. It may be, however, that the novelist was unconsciously aware that he had other themes that he might have dealt with, but in the repressive climate of the age in which he lived did not dare to attempt.

The question of James' sexuality remains puzzling. He never married and, though he cherished many friendships with women, no heterosexual genital relations are recorded. His letters reveal an infatuation with a macho sculptor, Hendrik Andersen, whom he met, however, only in 1899. It has also been asserted that the writer was in love with his brother, William James. It is of interest that their sister, Alice James, an invalid who died young, was inclined toward lesbian feelings.

Whether James simply had a very low sexual drive or a formidable capacity to repress the homosexual feelings that surely visited him from time to time will probably never be known. Certain features of his personality are characteristic of upper-class homosexuals of the period: fastidiousness and horror of "vulgarity," sensitivity to art (albeit limited by dilettantism), extraordinary attention to social nuances, social climbing (akin to Marcel Proust's), and aestheticized cosmopolitanism.


Wayne R. Dynes

**JAPAN**

Japan is an island nation of about 125 million people on the northwestern rim of the Pacific Ocean, heavily influ-
enced by Chinese culture but politically independent since the beginning of historical records in the fifth century.

Present-day Japanese attitudes toward homosexuality are a complex blend of modern and traditional ideas about love and sex. Homosexual behavior is accepted in some circles and stigmatized in others, but in general it is looked upon more as an eccentricity than a perversion. Sex of whatever variety tends to be thought of as playful and pleasurable, but, even so, sexual behavior is held to strict standards of social decorum that require it be enjoyed with discretion and propriety. Japanese men and women share a great amount of social and non-sexual physical contact with their own sex and as a result most Japanese experience and are more comfortable with close emotional friendships with members of the same sex. To a remarkable degree, social definitions of appropriate sexuality have not excluded homosexuality or declared it a social heresy, and homosexuality does not inspire the level of horror and disgust it has sometimes received in the Judeo-Christian West, largely because no native Japanese religious tradition has ever singled it out for condemnation.

Marriage Duties. Homosexual preference becomes a problem for Japanese men and women when it threatens marriage. In the Confucian philosophical scheme, which still exerts great power in Japanese and East Asian social life, the refusal to marry represents not just a repudiation of the past (one's ancestors) but a denial of future unborn generations and one's place in the familial continuum. Exclusively homosexual individuals are expected to sublimate their personal feelings, regarded as selfish, for the sake of the "family," the historically ongoing line of generations from the obscure past into the future of which every person is considered a part. Refusal to marry and raise a family makes it difficult for an individual to assume his or her rightful place as a mature member of adult society, since it is marriage that confers social respectability.

Homosexual men and women are nevertheless able to form socially acceptable marriage-like relationships through adoption. In general, adult adoption is far more common in Japan than infant adoption, and for gay men and lesbians this means they have a legal means to make a commitment to their partners. When the popular young actor Oki Masaya committed suicide in 1983 at what seemed the peak of his career, it was his adoptive "father" who was interviewed, weeping, on Japanese television.

Due to the emphasis placed on marriage in Japanese society, homosexual relations are usually conducted in a context of bisexuality. This is ideal for men and women with a bisexual orientation, but for those having an exclusively homosexual orientation who marry for the sake of their family, such "enforced" bisexuality is a psychological and emotional strain. The frequency and nature of extramarital homosexual relations varies from person to person, ranging from continence, to brief encounters, to life-long extramarital commitments. Such commitments may have the spouse's blessing, particularly if the public "form" of the marriage is maintained. This seems to have been the case with the Japanese novelist Mishima Yukio (1925–1970) and his wife Yoko. She has continued to maintain the public propriety of their marriage since her husband's death by censoring all media discussion of his homosexuality. (The 1985 film *Mishima* was banned in Japan because of its explicit depiction of his affairs.) In this and similar cases, the media generally practice self-censorship to prevent embarrassment to the bereaved survivors, even though the person's homosexual activity may already be public knowledge, as with Mishima.

Aesthetics. Androgyny is the traditional ideal of sexual aesthetics in Japan. A boy or man is deemed most beautiful
JAPAN

when he is desired by both men and women; a woman or girl is likewise most beautiful when both men and women desire her. The handsome “masculine” woman and the beautiful “feminine” boy are favorite stereotypes in Japanese theatre, finding expression in the traditional all-male kabuki theatre and in the newer all-female Takarazuka Opera Company, where handsome women act men’s roles opposite beautiful heroines. Fans of both Takarazuka and kabuki may develop a serious “crush” tinged with homoeroticism for their favorite actor or actress.

Modern Gay Life. Hierarchy and clear separation of roles are important elements in sexual relations in Japan, and homosexual relations are no different. Usually, one partner is clearly the “man,” the other the “woman” in the relationship, although more egalitarian partnerships are increasingly common.

Gay publications are more widespread than lesbian and are rarely censored for content. If the publication is pornographic, censorship will eliminate pictures of genitalia and pubic hair, just as in straight pornography. A recent Japanese gay guide identifies bars in terms of the clientele they attract, whether students (high school and college), young and middle-aged businessmen, or laborers. Gay bath houses exist in most major cities and male homosexual prostitution is legal. In recent years, both official health policy and public opinion have become less tolerant toward male extramarital sex, including homosexual, owing to its association with the spread of AIDS. Lesbians have not been identified with AIDS, however, and remain relatively unaffected by it.

The Meiji Repression. The origins of Japan’s modern sexual constructs can be traced to the Meiji Period (1868–1912), when Japan’s leaders were striving to achieve social, political and technological parity with the “enlightened” West. They quickly perceived the stigma attached to homosexuality and went about discouraging it in order to bring Japan's sexual behavior into line with that of nineteenth-century Europe. Homosexuality was temporarily outlawed with the adoption of the Prussian legal code in the 1870s, but the ban was soon dropped. Anti-homosexual morals were taught in public and missionary schools and in Japan’s “Higher Schools” (universities), which students entered in their mid-teens. Male homosexual activity persisted there, however, as attested in Mori Ogai’s (1862–1922) Vita Sexualis in which he details his narrow escape from the sexual advances of upperclassmen.

Daily newspapers of the late nineteenth century reported incidents in which roving bands of students abducted handsome boys and seduced them; the papers bemoaned such goings on as a social problem unbecoming to a new, modernized Japan, but there was no moralistic hysteria surrounding the censure. In girls’ schools and women’s universities, “S” clubs were formed in which women calling themselves “sisters” (using the English word) met secretly to discuss their lesbian feelings. The Meiji government’s attempt to marginalize and pathologize homosexuality by the adoption of nineteenth-century western social constructs was never entirely successful, probably because there was no urgent indigenous imperative for eradicating a form of sexual behavior that probably struck most Japanese as harmless, but it seems to have created the conditions for a separate homosexual identity, the need for which had not previously existed in Japan.

Ancient Literature. Stories about male homosexuality abound in the literature and lore of pre-modern Japan. The Chronicles of Japan (720) mentions two young male courtiers who loved each other and were buried in the same tomb when they died. Several exchanges of erotically-charged poems in the Manyoshu, compiled late in the eighth century, were apparently sent from one male courtier to another. Japan’s eleventh-century masterpiece of classical literature, Lady
Murasaki's *Tale of Genji*, includes a scene in which Prince Genji spent a night with the young brother of a woman who refused his advances, and the narrator states that Genji found the boy's physical charms quite pleasing.

Yoshida Kenko ([1283?–1352?]), a fourteenth-century courtier–monk and aesthete, wrote in *Essays in Idleness* about his sexual attraction for boys. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, sermon-like stories called "acolyte tales" (*chigo monogatari*) were written about Buddhist monks who fell in love with their temple acolytes and as a result became enlightened as to the illusory nature of emotional attachment. Samurai men and boys who died for the sake of male love were idealized in the sixteenth century in accounts of contemporary historical events.

Kabuki. Seventeenth-century literature depicted boy actors in kabuki theatres who were patronized for prostitution by merchant and samurai men. The primary writer about male homosexual love in the seventeenth century was Ihara Saikaku ([1642–1693]), who wrote peripherally about it in several works including *The Man Who Loved Love and Five Women Who Loved Love*, and devoted an entire book to the topic in *The Great Mirror of Male Love*. The latter work is virulently misogynistic and seems to have been designed to appeal to an urban male readership that thought of itself as exclusively homosexual. Many woodblock prints survive from this era depicting men and boys in sexual embrace. Besides stories about male homosexual love, there were also guides to the kabuki theatre that had a frankly homoerotic appeal, and many etiquette books were published that advised men and boys how to dress, groom, and attract male lovers.

Not much can be said with certainty about homosexuality among the men and women of the lower classes in pre-modern times, but history and legend give ample testimony to its popularity among their social superiors. One legend states that male homosexuality was introduced to Japan from China in the ninth century by Kukai (774–835), the revered founder of Esoteric Buddhism in Japan. Certainly, homosexual love seems to have been an important element of life in many of Japan's Buddhist temples and monasteries. The Zen temples of the Five Mountains (*Gozan*) are said to have asserted their control over the Ashikaga shoguns during the fourteenth century in part by making handsome boys available to them whenever the shoguns visited.

Noh. The third Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimitsu ([1358–1408]), observed a performance of Noh in 1374 when he was 16 that featured a beautiful 12-year-old boy, Zeami ([1363–1443]), who became the founder of classical Noh. Yoshimitsu's homosexual attraction for Zeami changed the history of Noh theatre by giving it the shogunal patronage that would allow Noh to reach levels of artistry and spiritual power it could not otherwise have obtained. Zeami's Noh represented the first major influence of plebeian culture on an aristocratic tradition that had been isolated from low culture for centuries.

In the sixteenth century, Oda Nobunaga ([1534–1582]) began the process of unifying a war-torn Japan, but was assassinated before he could complete his task. His page and reputed male lover, Mori Rammaru ([1565–1582]), died by his side in the same attack. A recent year-long television series produced by the Japan Broadcasting Company (NHK) on the history of this period depicted the final moments of Nobunaga and Rammaru accurately but without explanation.

The Tokugawa Period. Japan was finally unified under Tokugawa Ieyasu ([1543–1616]) in 1603, and he and his descendants ushered in a 250-year period of peace. The Tokugawa shoguns most famous for their love of boys were Ieyasu's grandson, the third shogun Iemitsu ([1604–1651]) and Iemitsu's son, the fifth shogun Tsunayoshi ([1646–1709]). Tsunayoshi caused considerable scandal by
giving fiefs and promotions to his male lovers and was rumored to have had a harem of boys recruited from throughout Japan whence he summoned his favorites to his chamber at night. His taste for young men was apparently shared among the upper level leadership of the day, but his behavior drew criticism from contemporaries for its excess.

Lesbianism. The history of female homosexuality is much more obscure, largely because women's sexuality was not taken seriously except in relation to men. This is true both in literature by women in the Heian period (794-1185) and in later literature dominated by male perspectives. One exception is a twelfth-century tale called The Changelings, about a brother and sister who switched roles and lived as if they were the opposite sex. The story is told primarily from the perspective of the sister living as a man, and reveals the spirit of a woman who finds her society's definition of the female role too confining for her taste. In the seventeenth century, Ihara Saikaku wrote in Life of an Amorous Woman of an affair the heroine had with the mistress of an all-female household. Though such literary depictions are rare, pictorial representations of two or more women engaged in sex are much more common from the seventeenth century, when erotic woodblock prints became popular. It is not known whether these pictures catered to a male or female audience.

In modern Japanese literature, Nobel laureate Kawabata Yasunari (1899-1972) often depicts lesbian relationships, particularly in a triangular competition with a man, such as in Beauty and Sadness. The third volume of Mishima Yukio's Sea of Fertility tetralogy, called Temple of Dawn, uses both male and female homosexuality as a symbol of decadence. He wrote about male homosexuality as a source of adolescent confusion in Confessions of a Mask, and as a sadistic force in Forbidden Colors. A short story called "Onnagata" shows homosexual desire as a petulant force in the personality of a kabuki actor of female roles. Japan's most highly acclaimed modern gay poet has been Takahashi Mutsuo, whose strange blend of Christian symbolism and gay sensibilities is captured for English readers in a collection called Poems of a Penisist. The title poem is reminiscent of Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass, of which it may be a conscious imitation.


Paul Gordon Schalow

JARRY, ALFRED (1873–1907)

French dramatist, novelist, and humorist. After an obscure apprenticeship in literary avant-garde circles in Paris, Jarry achieved sudden and stunning celebrity with the 1896 production of his knockabout drama Ubu Roi. Ubu, the violent and aggressive antihero, becomes king of Poland through guile and fraud. This farce, a reworking of a collaborative effort undertaken with two schoolmates when Jarry was fifteen, anticipates the Theatre of the Absurd. His 1902 novel Le Surmâle, which concerns a machine that falls in love with its creator, has a proto-surrealist character. Although Jarry garnered a cult following, his other works failed to earn him a living. Once his meagre inheritance was exhausted, increasing poverty and alcoholism brought on his early death.

In his personal life Jarry had very few intimate relations. No heterosexual affair has ever been documented. His one
close female friend, the novelist Rachilde (Marguerite Ayrton Vallette), was known for her own interest in sexual ambiguity. The only serious treatment of sex in Jarry's work appears in the short play Haldernabou (Oeuvres complètes, Paris: Pléiade, 1972, pp. 214–291), based on his relations with the bisexual poet Léon-Paul Fargue. Whether he and Jarry were lovers in the physical sense is uncertain, though the play suggests that they were. The hero, Haldern (Jarry), seeks a partner who is "neither man nor woman nor monster at all, a devoted slave and one who could speak without breaking the harmony of his sublime thoughts."

Unable to resolve his personal conflicts, Jarry transformed them into the paradoxes of his art. In the 1920s the Surrealists took him up, together with his predecessor Lautréamont; today he is regarded as a major (though perplexing) French writer.


JESUS (D. CA. 29)

A Galilean Jewish teacher who lived during the reigns of the Roman emperors Augustus and Tiberius, Jesus was, if not the founder of Christianity— the point can be debated—certainly the inspiration for it. Hence any discussion of this faith, which has persecuted homosexuals, must begin with his pronouncements and examples, insofar as they can be ascertained. Franciscans, for instance, look to his ideal of poverty, while the Amish emphasize his style of simple living. Gay men and women have principally found his pronouncements on homosexuality curiously missing and taken this absence of condemnation as tantamount to tacit approval. Because no word from him favors it, critics of homosexuality have judged the silence to signify his endorsement of other Scriptural condemnations, thereby attesting emphatic disapproval.

Problems of Source Evaluation.

Both sides take as primary sources the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the first four books of the New Testament. The numerous apocryphal gospels, among other supplementary sources, cloud the issue, as does the meaning of the word "gospel" (euangelion) itself. With a long history, by the first century it meant simply "good news." Thus, the Good News According to Mark, the earliest surviving gospel, does not claim to be a life of Jesus but a proclamation or testimonial about him. Testimonials of faith are not biographies; it is misleading to use them as such. Above all, they are not history. The four endorsed by Christian orthodoxy as canonical were written between 40 and 80 years after the Crucifixion, and whatever sources, if any, they are based upon cannot be clearly identified. Besides, they not infrequently contradict one another as in the instance of how many witnessed the Resurrection and when and where they did so. Yet it can be argued that the gospels do convey the spirit of a person—relatively liberal, iconoclastic, somewhat political, certainly charismatic—who made a powerful impression on his followers.

How much of the record was changed to suit later circumstances? There is every reason to believe that if other facets of the tradition, different from those we now have, did exist at the time when James, the pious brother of Jesus, came to be head of the church, these facts would have been changed to suit the clean-cut image that James wanted to project. This "brother" (if indeed he was one in blood, for Roman Catholics deny that the perpetual Virgin Mary produced any other offspring), who had not even been a part of the movement during Jesus' lifetime, was beheaded about the year 44, which was approximately a quarter of a century before the first gospel, Mark, was composed. The non-canonical gospels, generally known as gnostic because they claim to
contain gnosis or special knowledge, come from an even later time than the "synoptic" account of Mark-Matthew-Luke [all with similar perspectives] and the more philosophic, somewhat later John. But again, how far back do the traditions of gnosticism go, or do they represent only special interest groups of the mid-second century and later?

Gleanings. The canonical gospels indicate that Jesus was single in his early thirties, contrary to the Jewish tradition that made marriage and fatherhood the norm even for the religious elite. Moreover, they show that he had attracted an entourage of men and women—mostly men—who followed him closely, and that they wandered throughout Galilee, Judea, and the surrounding countryside [areas impoverished and oppressed by Roman and upper-class Jewish and Greek exploiters], preaching repentance and the forgiveness of sins. John the Baptist, an ascetic whom Jesus encountered, preached a similar message, but Jesus was more successful, perhaps because he was also a miracle worker and healer. After his death a final element was added, the notion of an eternal life that believers could share, the poor having a much better chance of salvation than the rich.

The gnostic Secret Gospel of Mark (see Morton Smith, The Secret Gospel, pp. 113f.) suggests that Jesus may have had physical union with certain initiates who came to him at night for a secret baptism. They were naked except for a linen cloth around their waists. Mark 14:51-52 records that a young man was with Jesus but ran away on the night that he was arrested by the brook Kidron, a place and time that meet the requirements of such a baptism as described by Smith. This special treatment for members of Jesus' inner circle only accords with the gnostic idea of concentric circles—the inner circle, of course at the center, knowing all secrets; the members of the second circle having only a more general knowledge and baptism administered to them; and a third circle consisting of potential candidates and all outsiders. Jesus told members of his inner circle that certain secrets were reserved only for them, that is, he preached an esoteric gospel for initiates, the teleioi. But other aspects of this "Secret Gospel," if there was one, may have been only what later factions wanted to believe.

Jesus appeared when the Qumran sect that produced the Dead Sea Scrolls was at its peak, yet the gospels never mention the sect nor do its writings contain so much as one reference to Jesus or his Nazarene followers. Nor does the New Testament name the enigmatic Essenes, known only from Philo, Pliny the Elder, and Flavius Josephus—a sect that is described as leading a monastic life that generally excluded women. Other sectarians lived in their own homes throughout Judaea and Galilee, but if married both partners abstained from sexual relations after their initiation into the order. Like the monasteries, these were enjoined to give hospitality to other Essenes who were traveling, and it has been suggested that this custom explains in part how Jesus and his group found accommodations while on the road. Often associated with this sect is John the Baptist, an ascetic whom Jesus visited and honored, who was quite close to this group—but Jesus was no conventional ascetic, and nothing in the canonical gospels and the Book of Acts suggests that the first Christians lived as hermits or in monastic communities, Christian monasticism commencing only in Egypt in the third century.

Jesus was also a younger contemporary of the revered Jewish leader Hillel [flourished ca. 30 B.C.—A.D. 10], who fostered a systematic and liberal interpretation of Hebrew Scripture, but again neither Jesus nor any New Testament author cites Hillel in any connection. The similarities with Jewish teaching that have been so extensively analyzed in this century in order to reconstitute a Judeo-Christian tradition probably stem from the use of common sources: sayings that far from
being original had already found their way into folk tradition.

What did Jesus think of homosexuals and bisexuals, given the lack of any specific pronouncements? He raised no issue about a Roman officer who loved a boy-slave so much that he came pleading with Jesus on the sick boy's behalf and was granted his request (Matthew 8:5–13 has pais, “boy,” but Luke 7:1–10 uses doulos, “slave”). The symbolic meaning of this passage is instructive: the centurion represents the military power of Rome and at the same time the Roman pederastic tradition in which the servant was also the bed partner of his master. The story reflects Jesus’ (or the early church’s) acceptance of the Roman state as open to its preaching and conversion—an accommodation which culminated in Constantine the Great’s adoption of Christianity in 313. Moreover, and contrary to Jewish tradition, Jesus held eunuchs in high regard. In directing his closest disciples about the place where his last supper should be kept, he told them to go into the city and follow a man who would be carrying a pitcher of water, which was women’s work and most likely performed by an effeminate male. The instances of a beloved disciple, recorded only in John’s gospel, can be explained both in ordinary (Near Eastern custom) and in allegorical terms; thus we should not make too much of this favoritism as evidence for a sexual preference, though the last supper incident shows a typical dinner with exclusively male company. In Jewish tradition the guests at the Passover meal are supposed to recline in the manner of the symposia where the ancients dined while stretched out on couches.

Finally, in the context of his time, Jesus’ actions and teachings reveal a highly positive attitude toward women, a stance that is generally at odds with the Jewish (and Northwest Semitic) tradition of a totally androcentric religious culture, but more compatible with Roman customs in this sphere.

See also Racha.


Tom Horner

JOHN, APOSTLE
See Beloved Disciple.

JONATHAN
See David and Jonathan.

JOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS
(37–CA. 105)

Jewish priest of aristocratic descent, Pharisee, and historian. Though a zealous defender of the Jewish religion, he sympathized with the Romans and discounted the militant nationalism that plunged Judaea into war with Rome in the year 66. Appointed commander of the forces in Galilee by the Sanhedrin, he capitulated to the Romans when besieged in Jotapata, winning the favor of Vespasian by prophesying that he would become emperor. Upon the fulfillment of the prophecy, he was released from captivity but remained with Titus until the destruction of Jerusalem in 70.

As a protégé of Vespasian and Titus, he settled in Rome and composed not only the classic history of the Jewish War, but also the *Jewish Antiquities* in 20 books, published in 93/94. In this work (I, xi, 1, 3) he endorsed a homosexual inter-
pretation of the sin of Sodom, alleging that the inhabitants had tried to violate the angelic visitors because of their youthful beauty. As a believing Jew he wrote in the apologetic work Contra Apionem (2, 199) that “the Law recognizes no sexual connection save the natural union of husband and wife, and that solely for the sake of begetting children. The sexual union of males with males it abhors, and punishes with death whoever is guilty of such an assault.” In other words, even in a polemic addressed to gentle readers in imperial Rome, Josephus already voiced the moral principle that sexuality is legitimate only for purposes of procreation; in this respect there was nothing left for St. Paul or St. Augustine or the scholastic philosophers of the thirteenth century to invent. His writings, preserved in Greek and translated into Latin, became part of the Judaic heritage of the intertestamental period that influenced Christianity; they continued to be copied and read during the Christian Middle Ages as an appendix to the Biblical history proper and a “proof” of its veracity.

Warren Johansson

JOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS

The novel Chronique d’une passion (1949) is a striking example of Jouhandeau’s use of personal subject matter. The narrator Marcel becomes the lover of the artist Jacques, whom he had long admired. So intense is his passion that Marcel compares his love with that for God. But his wife Elise (based on Jouhandeau’s real spouse, Elizabeth), who had at first tolerated the affair, becomes intensely jealous and resolves to kill Jacques—a plan she abandons only when Marcel agrees to renounce him. Although for most of its length the novel seemed to point to the breakup of the marriage, it ends by reaffirming it. Chronique d’une passion is a paradoxical mixture of homosexuality, religion, and conjugality.

Many of these themes recur in Jouhandeau’s vast diaries or Journaliers, which achieved 26 volumes from 1961 to 1978. The essay Ces messieurs: Corydon résumé et augmenté (1951) reexamines in the post-World War II period the considerations that André Gide had laid before the French public in his original defense of homosexuality, Corydon, of 1924.


Ward Houser

JUAN II OF CASTILE (1405–1454); ENRIQUE IV OF CASTILE (1425–1474)

The most famous homophile relationship in Spanish history is that between Juan II and his older lover Álvaro de Luna (ca. 1390–1453), who shared a bedroom for years. The king is remembered as a great patron of literature, who sponsored the birth of Castilian lyric poetry, which until that time was missing from the cul-
tire. He is also remembered for his choice of Álvaro de Luna to take over the tiresome business of running the country. Luna has long been recognized as one of the best administrators Spain ever had, and because of his dramatic fall from favor and public execution he became a well-known figure in both popular poetry and drama.

The story of the love between Juan and Álvaro, for which there are many sources, is worthy of a novel. The relationship began when the king was three, with the appointment of Álvaro as his page (doncel). The bond which quickly emerged between them was so strong that those hostile said the king was victim of an hechizo or enchantment; this in fact became a euphemism in Spain for "inappropriate" sexual desire. When the young king was seven, his mother exiled Álvaro and kept the king virtually a prisoner, a period that ended only with her death six years later. Juan and Álvaro were immediately reunited, and Álvaro, a brilliant conversationalist, was the favorite of many court ladies. He is also the author of one of the earliest and most balanced Spanish defenses of women against misogynist charges.

Save for a later period when the king was again prisoner and Álvaro exiled, which was intended to end their relationship, Juan and Álvaro remained together for thirty-five eventful years. They struggled together against a hostile aristocracy, sometimes fleeing together from superior force. The end came with Juan's remarriage after his first wife's death; his new wife, mother of the prudish Isabella the Catholic, was able to force the dismissal and then the execution of Álvaro. The king died a year later.

The homosexual tastes of Juan's son Enrique IV have been dealt with more openly. His reign was much more chaotic, and he seems to have suffered from a disease which affected his personality. Enrique did not have a governor with the talent of Álvaro de Luna and was unable to meet the challenges from the aristocracy. His marriage with his first wife Blanca was unconsummated and annulled; Enrique's impotence was explained as enchantment. After remarriage, a major successorial and political issue arose concerning the legitimacy of his daughter Juana, widely believed to be the daughter of the court favorite Beltrán de la Cueva. Enrique was dethroned in effigy as "puto," and during the latter part of his reign was almost without authority. A kind, cultured, but sick and weak man, like his father he enjoyed hunting expeditions, which apparently served as cover for homosexual activity. Juan II and Enrique IV stayed on comparatively good terms with both their Jewish subjects and the Islamic kingdom of Granada. Enrique in particular had a Moorish guard—the last Spanish ruler to do so until Franco—and gave other evidence of sympathy toward Spain's non-Christian cultures.


JUDAISM, POST-BIBLICAL

As Julius Wellhausen stated in his Prolegomena to the History of Israel (1883), Judaism is the religious community that came into being on the ruins of the kingdom of Judah after the exiles were repatriated as part of the minorities policy of the Persian Empire in the year 536 before the Christian era. Biblical Judaism in the form in which we know it from the canonical scriptures of the Hebrew Bible (commonly known as the Old Testament) was created in the middle of the following century by a group of scholars and notables under the leadership of Ezra the Scribe. The apodictic commandments in the book of Leviticus (18:22 and 20:13) leave no doubt that homosexual relations between
males were judged worthy of the death penalty, though female homosexuality went unmentioned. This condemnation paralleled the one in the Zoroastrian state religion of the Persians themselves.

The Hellenistic Period. With the spread of the Jewish diaspora from the territory of Persia into the Hellenistic world following the conquests of Alexander the Great, the Jewish attitude toward homosexual behavior came into conflict with the tolerant and even approving customs of the Greeks and the other peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean. The apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings reveal that Judaism did not mute its disapproval, but reinterpreted the Sodom legend so that it became a tale not merely of divine retribution for inhospitality, but of the punishment of a city where homosexual activity was practiced (Book of Jubilees, 16:5–6).

The writings of the opinionated and eccentric Philo Judaeus (notably De specialibus legibus, 3, 37–42), and even of the ideologically colorless Flavius Josephus (Contra Apionem, 2, 199), indicate that during the first century of the Christian era Hellenistic Judaism categorically condemned sexual relations between males, so that on this subject nothing remained for Christian theologians to invent; the primitive Church simply ratified the eighteenth and twentieth chapters of Leviticus as received and interpreted in the contemporary Synagogue and made them part of its own constitution. What was left for Christianity to elaborate was a comprehensive definition of “unnatural” (= non-procreative) sexual activity that classed all of it as the “sin of the Sodomite” (peccatum sodomiticum), that is to say, it fused a Greek philosophical concept with a Jewish legend. This Judaism proper never did, just as it never fully abandoned the older notion of Sodom as a place where the conventions of hospitality were grossly violated and the norms of justice literally reversed. It is this side of the legend that is expanded and illustrated with narrative vignettes in the traditions recorded in the Talmud and the Midrashim during the first millennium of the Christian era.

Subsequent History. There is a further development of the prohibition on homosexuality in the Mishnah and the Gemara. The commandments prohibiting male homosexual activity were associated [b. Sanhedrin 53a] with two groups of statutes, one aimed at breaches of patriarchal authority and power, the other forbidding idolatry and magic. The penalty was death by stoning, as in other sexual offenses. Both the active and the passive partners were held culpable, in contrast to the relative indifference to the active male homosexual in many other cultures [b. Sanhedrin 54a–55a]. All these provisions may have been of limited import once the Jewish authorities were deprived of the power to impose the death penalty after the Kingdom of Judaea lost its independence, which occurred with finality in the year 70. Thereafter the Jews were doomed to be a client people living under foreign domination, with a diaspora that extended to the very ends of the known world, and subject to the varying and divergent legal codes of the states on whose territory they resided, albeit as a protected community with formally recognized privileges.

With rise of Christianity and then Islam and their acquisition of the state power, the Judaic taboo on homosexuality was adopted by the host peoples, so that the authority of Talmudic law became superfluous. But even where the Jewish communities had not the power to execute one of their members, they could always ostracize him and in effect exile him from their midst. It is thus all the more remarkable that in the Islamic cultural milieu the pederastic tradition should have revived, and that poems extolling the beauty of adolescent boys should have been composed in Medieval Hebrew, naturally in imitation of Arabic models. The “gazelle” (ṣēḥḥī) of these lyrics is the beloved youth with his charms and caprices, just as in contemporary Islamic poetry. These poems thus constitute the sole body
of homoerotic literature in the Hebrew language to the present day, as the theme did not figure in writings in neo-Hebrew of the Haskalah (Enlightenment) and then of the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language that accompanied the Zionist movement and the resurrection of the state of Israel.

The treatment of homosexuality in the Rabbinic writings of the Middle Ages is limited to: (1) commentaries on the Hebrew Bible, such as those of Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes, which were transmitted to the Christian world in the Latin glosses of Nicholas de Lyra on the Vulgate; (2) commentaries on the Talmud, of which Rashi’s is the classic; (3) responsa in answer to questions of criminal law (the so-called halakhah), and (4) codifications and restatements of Talmudic law, such as the Mishneh Torah of Musa ibn Maimun (Maimonides) in the thirteenth century and the Shulhan Arukh of Joseph Karo in the sixteenth.

No such interweaving of Biblical and classical (Platonic–Aristotelian) thought as was effected by Thomas Aquinas could occur in Jewish theology, which retained the tradition of a simply formulated and wholly praxis-oriented Oriental code of law. Above all, never in all of its history did Judaism institutionalize an ascetic tradition with a celibate clergy and monastic communities, leaving no room for a religious order with crypto-homosexual overtones and even an unspoken norm of deviant sexuality that stealthily lurked beneath the surface of Greek Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. The medieval rabbi and scholar was a husband and the father of a numerous family, unlike his Christian counterpart. And the want of any parallel to the study of Greek and Latin literatures perpetuating a culture in which overt homosexuality flourished precluded the imitation or revival of the pagan customs of antiquity.

Thus the legacy of Judaism down to modern times has been a negative one, even more so than that of official Christianity, which was always undercut by the persistence of Greco-Roman paganism—the other source of European civilization which the Christian Church could never disavow.

**Jewish Contributions to Sex Reform.** But despite the absence of a positive homosexual tradition in Judaism, many “emancipated” and assimilated Jews were to play an enormous role in the sexual reform movement and as pioneers in the study of human sexuality in general and of homosexuality in particular. The leader of the world’s first homosexual rights organization was Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935), the son of a Jewish physician from Kolberg (now Kołobrzeg) on the Baltic coast of Prussia. One of his early collaborators was Kurt Hiller (1885–1972), who even claimed descent from Rabbi Hillel. It was Hiller who in the spring of 1918, in the wake of the discussion of the minority problem in Central Europe provoked by Wilson’s Fourteen Points, conceived the notion of the homosexual as a member of a minority deserving of protection instead of the persecution and ostracism that it had suffered under the Old Regime. Two other figures, Marc-André Raffalovich, the brother of a banker from Warsaw, and Arnold Aletrino, a Sephardic Jew of Amsterdam, were also among the early defenders of homosexual rights and in particular of the homosexual as a healthy, normal human being, albeit with an idiosyncratic sexual orientation.

The scientific study of sexual behavior early attracted many Jewish figures such as Iwan Bloch (1868–1922), a polymath whose writings cover vast areas of anthropology and history, and Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), whose psychoanalytic interpretations stressed the homoerotic component in the thinking and behavior not just of homosexuals, but of all human beings—to whom he ascribed a fundamental bisexuality. On the other hand, not a few of his disciples have been doggedly insistent in the belief that homosexuality is a mental illness, often with clear overtones of moral condemnation that amounted to a pseudo-medical rationali-
JUDAISM, POST-BIBLICAL

The psychoanalytic profession has remained largely Jewish in its membership, even after Hitler’s rise to power scattered the original followers of Freud from their homes in Central Europe into exile in England and the United States. Despite their shortcomings, these analysts deserve credit for examining questions of sexuality, and indeed the popular mind typically equates psychoanalysis with the science of sexuality itself. Just because Judaism never branded sexuality as intrinsically obscene and unmentionable, the Jew in modern times has been able to achieve a certain measure of detachment and objectivity when dealing with matters which the Christian mind had dismissed as unthinkably obscene.

Until 1948 Jewish religious rejection of homosexuality lacked access to state power. Although the Turkish penal code in force since 1858 had penalized homosexual acts only when committed with a minor under the age of nine, the new nation of Israel inherited, along with the rest of the common law tradition, the criminal law of Mandate Palestine, which followed that of England itself in punishing male homosexuality with a maximum of ten years of imprisonment. However, in practice the Israeli authorities were clearly influenced by the sexual reform movement in Central Europe and did not prosecute consensual adult homosexual acts. After two attempts to repeal the law from the Mandate period foundered on the opposition of the Orthodox parties, in 1988 the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, passed a bill abrogating Section 351 of the Penal Code. Homosexuals are not excluded from military service which is obligatory in the garrison state that Israel has been forced to become, but homosexuals are transferred to non-security posts.

Israel’s homophile organization, the Society for the Protection of Personal Rights, was founded in 1975. In 1988 an independent gay magazine, Maga’im (Contacts) began to publish, with text in Hebrew and an English summary for foreign subscribers.

Gay Synagogues. With the emergence of the gay liberation movement in the 1970s, the gay churches found their counterpart in gay synagogues such as Beth Simchat Torah in New York and Sha‘ar Zahav in San Francisco—another instance of how modern Judaism has been profoundly influenced by its Christian environment. Under the wing of the Reform movement in modern Judaism, these foundations have obtained a measure of acceptance, and several international congresses of Jewish homosexuals have been held in major cities of the world. Moreover, public opinion polls in the United States show assimilated Jewish respondents as far more willing to abandon the traditional negativity toward homosexual behavior and gay rights than Christians of similar class backgrounds. The gay synagogues, like their Christian brethren, struggle to gain acceptance and understanding from the House of Israel in the face of the condemnation in the Torah and the long tradition of rejection and exclusion from the religious life of the Jewish community. For their members they serve to reaffirm links with an ethnic identity that they do not wish to renounce.


JUDAISM, SEPHARDIC

The splendor of the Jewish culture of medieval Spain (“Sepharad,” in Hebrew) would be hard to exaggerate. In a symbiotic relationship with Muslim and then Christian rulers, Jews enjoyed from the eighth through the tenth centuries (in Andalusia) and from the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries (in Christian Spain) as much stability and legal protection as they had ever known. They prospered economically and demographically, and made up a larger proportion of the
population than in any other European country. During some periods Jews considered Spain a historically Jewish country, and their new homeland.

Spain as a Center of Medieval Jewish Culture. Jewish intellectual life and the Hebrew language were reborn in Spain. There was the greatest flowering of Hebrew poetry since Biblical times, and Hebrew was used for the first time for secular poetry. Pioneering work was done in Hebrew grammar, lexicography, and comparative Semitic linguistics; Spanish Jewry produced philosophers and scientists; Jews participated in government as nowhere else in Europe. Except for the Ashkenazi Jews of central Europe, Spain was quickly recognized by all but the most isolated Jews as their intellectual and religious leader. Although the history is complicated, and during the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries most of the Jewish population lived in Christian rather than Islamic territory, the fate of the Jews in the Iberian peninsula was linked with that of Islam. The decline saw Kabbalistic mysticism reach its greatest development, and an influential intellectual contribution to aliyah (the return of Jews to Israel) in the Zionist poetry and travels of Judah ha-Levi. The legacy of this cultural hot-house survived within Judaism into the seventeenth century, and the Judeo-Spanish identity and the Hasidic offshoot of Kabbala to the present. Much of Spain’s great Catholic culture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has also been revealed to be the work of converts or descendants of converts. Before idealizing the era, however, one must remember that Spanish Jews were no less intolerant than their contemporaries of other religions, and perhaps more so; they dominated the slave trade from Khazaria to Moorish Spain in the eighth to tenth centuries, among other things producing eunuchs for export to the rest of the Islamic world. Also, Spanish Judaism was very misogynistic, at times more than the often quite misogynist Islamic culture. Sometimes (as with the Almoravids) there are suggestions of a protofeminism in Spanish anti-Semitism, as there are at other times in the Christian campaign to expel Islam from the peninsula.

Homosexuality. A link between Spanish Jews and homosexuality is suggested by circumstantial evidence; it is also a common theme of Spanish anti-Semitism. The first known condemnations of homosexuality in the peninsula, in the seventh century, coincide with harsh penalties against Jews. The well-documented Jewish role in the introduction of Islamic rule to Spain, and the thriving of Jews in that culture, where homosexuality was tolerated and sometimes openly encouraged, is itself circumstantial evidence of Jewish sexual behavior. Under Christian rulers who were tolerant of homosexuality, such as Juan II and Enrique IV, Jews thrived; under those intolerant, such as Ferdinand and Isabella, Jews suffered. Those hostile to Judaism spoke of it as a contagious condition or as an incurable disease, a charge familiar from homophobic literature of many periods. Jews were accused of having introduced homosexuality to Spain (through the Moors); after they were expelled from Spain in 1492 and briefly took refuge in Portugal, Jews were blamed for having introduced homosexuality into that country. The countries in which they finally settled after the expulsion were more tolerant of homosexuality: the Ottoman empire and to a lesser extent Italy. Satirical poetry of the thirteenth through fifteenth and seventeenth centuries frequently associates Jewishness with sexual perversion. In the twentieth century, “Jew” was used in Spain as an epithet meaning “homosexual,” and homosexuals were often referred to as a “sect.”

Poetry. What has taken the matter out of the realm of coincidence and anti-Judaic fantasy has been the recovery of secular Hispano-Jewish poetry, much of which is refined, sensual, and unabashedly hedonistic. This body of work was virtually unknown a century ago, and some
has been saved only by chance in the famous Cairo genizah (storeroom of old manuscripts). It is far from being completely translated or assimilated, although some Hebrew texts have been known, and seemingly discussed in some circles in Spain, for over fifty years. In it pederasty is widely found, and while male–female love is by no means absent, it is less prominent than in Hispano-Arabic poetry. There are scores of pederastic poems, written by the greatest Jewish authors of the period: Ibn Gabirol, Samuel ha-Nagid, Moses Ibn Ezra, Judah ha-Levi, and others. In addition, strong love between adult males, such as Moses Ibn Ezra and the younger Judah ha-Levi, is found in the poems. Male–male love was used as a religious metaphor; Israel’s love for God was expressed as love of a male. In different poems Israel takes sometimes a male, at other times a female role.

These poems are frequently mentioned by later Sephardic poets, and one must conclude that they circulated widely at the time, and were not viewed as something which needed to be kept secret from other Jews. (Being in Hebrew, they were of course unknown to non-Jews.) The conclusion seems unavoidable that they reflect widespread homosexual behavior among Sephardic Jews, at least until they moved to Christian territory in the late eleventh century, after which the pederastic poetry tapers off. As homosexuality was treated much more secretively by Jews living in Christian Spain, by the converts and descendents of converts who were to dominate Spanish intellectual life in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, and by Sephardic Jews who chose exile from Spain over conversion in 1492, its extent is impossible to determine. It is probably reflected in the androgynie of the Kabbala, and in the power and mystery surrounding the Hebrew language and even more the pseudo-Aramaic of the Zohar, which guarded access to secret, untranslated texts. Among the converts there are occasional suggestions of sympathy with what may have been considered a heritage, even if it was no longer expressed in sexual activity and only known through vague oral transmission, the pederastic poetry having been lost or forgotten.

Scholarship. The poets and intellectual leaders of Sepharad were also Biblical scholars, indeed those who founded modern Biblical scholarship. Besides compiling the first dictionaries of Biblical Hebrew, they examined the chronology of the Bible, detecting for the first time the two Isaiahs and identifying the Pentateuch as post-Mosaic. As they saw the Bible as their national as well as poetic and religious source, their views on Biblical homosexuality (to which Biblical chronology is very relevant) are worthy of reconstruction, though not yet studied in any Western language. That Samuel ha-Nagid claimed descent from and identified with King David, however, suggests that he perceived David, Israel’s great poet-king and symbol, as predominantly homosexual. The Song of Songs, traditionally interpreted as portraying love of God from a symbolic female viewpoint, and whose role in the Kabbala is well-known, was of course taken as the work of David’s son Solomon. Although modern archeology does not support it, Sephardic Jews dated their presence in Spain from the time of David and Solomon, when Jews accompanied the Phoenician seafarers; the Phoenician king Hiram was a friend of David and Solomon. These Biblical experts must have noted the homosexual temple prostitution which reached its peak during the reigns of David and Solomon (Deut. 23:17–18; 1 Kings 14:24, 15:12, 22:24; 2 Kings 23:7; all references to the kādēšh). Ha-Nagid never tired of talking of his Levitic origin, to which he ascribed his talents as a poet, and Judah ha-Levi (“the Levite”) also chose to emphasize that fact; it is possible that they saw a link between homosexuality and the Levitical priesthood, which figured prominently during the times of the two great kings. When one
finds verse claiming that "If Moses could have seen... my friend, he would not have written in his Torah 'Do not lie with mankind as thou liest with women,’” one can be sure that Biblical homosexuality was seen somewhat otherwise than it commonly is today.

Granada. No part of Hispano-Jewish history is more fascinating than that of Granada. Early Arabic writers repeatedly called it a Jewish city, “Garnata al-Yahud” (Granada of the Jews). The Zirid kingdom of Granada emerged as an independent entity after the breakdown of centralized Islamic authority in Córdoba, and insecurity in that city led distinguished Jews to move to Granada. Granada was in the eleventh century the center of Sephardic civilization at its peak, and from 1027 until 1066 Granada was a powerful Jewish state. Jews did not hold the client [dhimmi] status typical of Islamic rule. Samuel Ibn Nagrilla, recognized by Sephardic Jews everywhere as the quasi-political ha-Nagid (“The Prince”), was king in all but name. As vizier he made policy and—much more unusual—led the army. In his poetry, the main source for his military career, there is found a disturbing joy in gory combat in the name of the lord of Israel. It is said that Samuel’s strengthening and fortification of Granada was what permitted it, later, to survive as the last Islamic state in the Iberian peninsula.

All of the greatest figures of eleventh-century Hispano-Jewish culture are associated with Granada. Moses Ibn Ezra was from Granada; on his invitation Judah ha-Levi spent several years there as his guest. Ibn Gabirol’s patrons and hosts were the Jewish viziers of Granada, Samuel ha-Nagid and his son Joseph. One cannot avoid the conclusion, for which there is also evidence in the memoirs of the last Zirid king, that homosexuality and pederasty were the norm in aristocratic Jewish and Muslim circles in Granada.

In a startling thesis, Frederick P. Bargebuhr has argued that the Alhambra in Granada was begun during this period. On the basis of a poem of Ibn Gabirol first published in 1941, plus architectural evidence, he has proposed that the Fountain of the Lions was part of a Jewish temple-palace, whose foundations can still be seen. According to Bargebuhr, it was undertaken by Samuel ha-Nagid’s son and successor Joseph, 1000 years after the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem. Joseph did not have his father’s political skills, however, and was assassinated in 1066 during the only anti-Jewish pogrom in Islamic Spain. While the Jewish community of Granada reestablished itself for some years, this marked the beginning of the end, and a turning point in Sephardic history. Judah ha-Levi’s Zionism has the fate of Zirid Granada as its immediate background.

The final period of independent Granadine history, the Nasrid kingdom of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, is very imperfectly known. Estimates of the size of its Jewish community vary greatly, and little is known about its intellectual life, nor is it known to what extent the Alhambra we know, with an esthetic called homosexual, reflects the putative original Jewish temple-palace, although it might. Some Jews and involuntary converts to Christianity fled to Granada from the newly hostile Christian Spain; they were warmly received by the Jewish community there. After conquering the city Ferdi-
nand and Isabella had the Jewish quarter razed as a site for the cathedral, and Jewish inscriptions obliterated. They left nothing (other than the Fountain of the Lions) to remind one that Granada was once a major Jewish city, even briefly a new Jerusalem. Their unexpected decision to expel all Jews from Spain was at the behest of the fanatic Torquemada taken in Granada only three months after its conquest.

After World War II Christian theologians were horrified and conscience-stricken by the revelation of the Holocaust and by the bitter realization that the mass murder of millions of men, women, and children in the gas chambers was in some respects the logical and inevitable consequence of everything that the Christian Church had taught in regard to the Jewish people almost since the beginning of its existence. The Church had stigmatized the Jewish people as deicides and Christ-killers, as exiles rejected by God and fated to wander homeless across the face of the earth, as guilty of host profanation and ritual murder, had decreed that they be marked with the Jew badge and confined behind the walls of the ghetto. Small wonder then that Christians had remained silent in face of the mounting wave of anti-Semitism in the 1930s and finally of the deportation of their Jewish neighbors to destinations from which they never returned.

Hence in the postwar period liberal theologians undertook to find a common ground between Judaism and Christian-
also of the criminal underworld, legal penalties ranging from fines and confiscation of property to castration and death. To find anything positive in this tradition would be an arduous task, but the analogy in the relationship between Judaism and Christianity merits comment.

The Church and Synagogue have never been able to accept homosexual love as on a par with heterosexual, yet that is the precondition for any reconciliation with the gay community. To admit that the attachment of two persons of the same sex can be as selfless, as devoted, as positive in its effect on society, as the love of members of the opposite sex would have major repercussions for the theology of sexual relations. Jewish and Christian moral theologians would have to concede that the attempt to "convert" homosexuals forcibly to heterosexual was as cruel and unjust as forced conversions in the religious sphere; and that the moral condemnation and legal prohibition of homosexual behavior, particularly since the thirteenth century, was as wrong as the anti-Judaic measures adopted by the Church from the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) onward. The effort to exclude homosexuals—a stable minority of the population—from Christian society never reduced their numbers, but produced only a vast and needless amount of human misery. It undoubtedly contributed to the persecution and killing of homosexuals in Nazi Germany which—unlike the Jewish Holocaust—went unnoticed and unprotested by Christian theologians while it was happening, and has gone uncondemned and unrejected since 1945.

A genuine new beginning in the relationship between homosexuals and the church and synagogue requires such an act of reflection and contrition on the part of the religious groups whose past record has been one of condemnation and rejection. Acquaintance with the writings of homosexual men and women across the centuries, with the record of their feelings and aspirations, of their struggle to survive within an implacably hostile society, is a precondition for insight and understanding. Only on this basis will the Judeo-Christian tradition be able to come to terms with the biological and psychological reality of homosexual love.

Warren Johansson

JUNG, CARL GUSTAV
(1875–1961)
Swiss depth psychologist. One of a number of major thinker-therapists who became active at the beginning of the twentieth century, he and his work have received the accolade of a special adjective, "Jungian."

Life. Born in Basel into a family both sides of which had members gifted with ESP powers, Jung was the son of a pastor in the Swiss Reformed Church. Reading the textbook of psychiatry written by Richard Freiherr von Krafft-Ebing convinced him that this should be his future specialty, and he took his medical degree from the University of Basel in 1902. He worked at the Burghölzli Hospital under Eugen Bleuler from 1900 to 1907. He established his reputation with a book on The Psychology of Dementia Praecox in 1906.

In the following year he first encountered Sigmund Freud during a trip to Vienna, and for six years the two actively corresponded and collaborated. In 1909 Jung renounced his hospital appointment in favor of his growing private practice, and also traveled with Freud to lecture at Clark University in Massachusetts. The two thinkers increasingly diverged, particularly after Jung published his own ideas in a book entitled The Psychology of the Unconscious (1912), later renamed Symbols of Transformation. At the first meeting of the International Psychoanalytic Association in Munich in 1913, the rift between Jung and Freud turned to open hostility, and the two never met again. In April 1914 Jung resigned as President of the Association.
Between 1913 and 1917 Jung went through a period of deep and intensive self-analysis; he now asserted that he had never been a Freudian, and set about creating his own school, which he dubbed analytical psychology in contrast to psychoanalysis. He devoted himself fully to his private practice, to research, and to writing; his *Collected Works* amount to eighteen volumes. He treated not only psychology and psychotherapy, but also religion, mythology, social issues, art and literature, and such occult and mystical themes as alchemy, astrology, telepathy and clairvoyance, yoga, and spiritualism. He lived and worked at his home in Küsnacht, by the lakeside of Zurich, interrupting his routine with travels to India, Africa, the United States and other parts of the world. His theory of the collective unconscious led him to anthropological study of African peoples and the Navajo Indians of the Southwest United States. He outlived nearly all of his early associates in the psychoanalytic movement, dying at the age of eighty-five in 1961.

**Distinctive Elements of Jung's Thought.** At least part of the incompatibility between Freud and Jung stemmed from their differences in psychological endowment and clinical background. Freud was committed to rationalistic and materialistic explanations, had little experience of paranormal psychic phenomena, and had never worked in a hospital or confronted psychotic patients. Jung was repelled by the emphasis which Freud had placed on the sexual (the "libido"), but at the same time sought to probe the deepest layers of the unconscious. In Jungian psychology, the whole personality is designated the psyche, which has three components: the conscious *ego*, the *personal unconscious* and its complexes, and the *collective unconscious* and its *archetypes*. Major dynamic concepts are *psychic energy* or *libido*, *value*, *entropy*, and *equivalence*. The persona is a mask adopted by an individual in response to the demands of social convention. The purpose of the mask is to make an impression upon others and often to conceal one's true feelings and thoughts. The *anima* refers to the feminine side of a man's nature, and the *animus* refers to the masculine side of a woman's nature. The *shadow-archetype* consists of the animal instincts that man inherited in the process of evolving from lower forms of life. The shadow typifies the animal side of the psyche, while the *self* represents the individual's striving for unity, wholeness, and completeness.

Jung's actual influence upon psychiatry has been slight, but he has contributed to the practice of *psychotherapy* by the flexibility and variety of his technique, which included painting, modeling, and writing as well as dialogue. Since Jung's death, some followers have found support in his teachings for concepts of feminism and *androgyny*, but these interpretations presuppose an element of revisionism.

**Jung and Homosexuality.** Jung never developed a major theory of homosexuality, but five general positions emerge from his writings.

The first is that homosexuality ought not to be a concern of the legal authorities, and that, barring the social stigma, homosexuality does not diminish the "value of the individual as a member of society," while laws against homosexuality as a criminal offense are useless, inhumane, and in fact promote crimes such as blackmail. Thus Jung, like Freud, ratified Magnus Hirschfeld's arguments for legal toleration of homosexual expression; and it is probably not by chance that when in 1938 Switzerland adopted a federal penal code replacing that of the cantons, there was no provision making homosexual acts criminal. The second position is that homosexuality is best understood when set in a historical and cultural context. Ancient Greece, in which pederasty served a social and political function, was a constant point of reference for Jung in dealing both with individual cases and with larger issues of theory.
A third point is that Jung did identify homosexuality with "primitive" societies, and by analogy reasoned that homosexuality is a result of psychological immaturity and therefore abnormal and disturbed. This interpretation is maintained in both the theoretical and the casuistic portions of his work.

Fourth, Jung distinguished an individual's homosexuality from other aspects of his personality. In the case histories Jung went beyond the patient's homosexual behavior, scrutinizing other aspects of his psychological development. In theoretical discussions he posited that a mother complex resulting in homosexuality could also foster other personality traits, positive and negative.

The last and most characteristically Jungian attitude is that an individual's homosexuality has its own meaning specific to the individual in question, and that psychological growth consists in becoming conscious of that meaning. The search for that meaning led Jung to elaborate a two-stage process of examination; he first discerned how the homosexuality finds expression in the patient's life, then examined the repercussions of this expression on the patient's entire personality. This culminated in the insight that homosexuality can have both positive and negative meanings for any individual. Underpinning this whole approach to homosexuality is the characteristic "individuality" of Jung’s psychology, in which the unit of study is the individual soul. Thus homosexuality varies from one subject to another and contains seeds of growth and of deformation for each individual. Hence his teaching implies that every homosexual must examine his sexual interests with the goal of deeper self-understanding.


Warren Johansson

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**JUVENAL (67–ca. 140)**

The last extant Roman satirist. The facts of his personal life are elusive, as his work contains almost no autobiographical material. The unreliability of the Life compiled only in late antiquity makes reconstruction of the events of his life impossible. His *Satires* in 16 books (the last of them mutilated) castigate the moral corruption and hypocrisy of contemporary Roman society, particularly its upper strata, which are contrasted with the sober virtues of an idealized Roman past. The bitter indignation of his work may have been the result of his personal fortunes. The publication of his verse satires began in the reign of Trajan and reached its high point under Hadrian. After Juvenal's death his works were little read, quoted, or studied, since the vices and literary fashions which he excoriated became increasingly fashionable at the Imperial court; but interest in him revived at the close of the fourth century, when the authoritative, commented edition of his *Satires* was published. The Christians, however, relished his denunciation of contemporary pagan cults, and the middle ages appreciated his writings far more as a textbook of ethics, as hundreds of manuscripts and commentaries attest.

Juvenal observed and judged the cosmopolitan city of Rome with all its domestic and foreign vices and roundly condemned them, from the man equally ready to give children to a woman and sexual pleasure to another man to the virago brandishing her spear in the arena. In the second satire he spends his ire on several types of homosexual male, particularly the effeminate and the transvestite: hypocritical philosophers, affected moralists, members of secret societies and orgy clubs, and mincing noblemen. In the ninth satire he voiced his disdain for adult hustlers. Witnessing and denouncing all the byways of sexual expression in frank and unequivocal language, he (unlike Martial) never resorted to obscenity. Yet he went so far as to urge his readers, if they
really want to "burn the candle at both ends," to seek sensual pleasure from a boy rather than from a woman—advice that betrays a strong element of homosexuality in his character. Juvenal was a convinced misogynist; he detested and despised not the women of his own corrupt age, but women in general. However, there are favorable references to boys as love objects, which would imply that his own preferences were those of the pederast.

Juvenal was basically a member of the Stoic and aristocratic opposition to the empire who painted its life and manners in the blackest possible hues. Moralizing Christian commentators, and even modern scholars such as Gilbert Highet, have seized upon certain of his satiric thrusts as anticipating and confirming their own attitudes, but his work merits a more detached approach to its ethical complexities. Juvenal undeniably represents a major source of information about homosexual life in Rome in the first half of the second century, and is also a classic of the satiric genre in antiquity.


Warren Johansson

JUVENILES
See Youth.