SACKVILLE-WEST, VITA
(1892–1962)

British novelist, poet, biographer, and travel writer. The granddaughter of a Spanish dancer, and daughter of the imperious Lady Victoria Sackville, Vita Sackville-West was brought up on the family’s palatial estate at Knole. In 1913 she married the homosexual diplomat Harold Nicolson. The partners agreed that the institution of marriage was “unnatural,” but with care, frankness, and deep mutual affection theirs lasted forty-nine years.

In 1918 Sackville-West “rediscovered” Violet Keppel whom she had known as a child. Both were immediately smitten and embarked on a tempestuous affair, which Vita presented in fictionalized form in her novel Challenge, published in 1924 in the United States but not in England. She wrote a franker account for the drawer (which was not published until it was included in her son’s memoir of 1973). In 1919 Violet contracted a marriage—which was not intended to be consummated—with Denys Trefusis, but she and Vita continued to escape for love trysts at various locales in Britain. Harold, for his part, was preoccupied with the peace negotiations at Versailles.

At the end of 1922 Vita met Virginia Woolf, ten years her senior, who enchanted her. Prompted by caution on both sides, their affair was slow to ripen, but it proceeded intermittently through much of the 1920s. Woolf wrote Orlando (1928), her novel of androgyny, as an act of homage to Vita; Sackville-West’s Letters to Virginia Woolf was published in 1984.

Although Vita Sackville-West’s books achieved considerable popularity in her day (as did those of Violet Trefusis), it cannot be said that she ranks as a major writer. Her life showed, however, the varieties of experience open to a privileged woman in an era in which social controls were gradually lifting.


Evelyn Gettone

SADE, DONATIEN
ALPHONSE FRANÇOIS,
COMTE DE, KNOWN AS
MARQUIS DE (1740–1814)

French writer and thinker. A playboy in his youth, Sade was imprisoned in Vincennes and in the Bastille for twelve years while a cabal of relatives prevented his release. Here he did most of his writing. Liberated by the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, he served for a time in Paris as a minor official. Having fallen afool of the Napoleonic regime, he spent the last years of his life in the insane asylum at Charenton.

In the popular mind Sade is simply a scribbler of pornography who lent his name to the paraphilia known as sadism. Closer study of his writings reveals not only their elegant style and inventive plotting, but an astute, bitingly corrosive analysis of society and human motivation, which was forged by his solitary meditation and reading during his long years of confinement. The philosophy he evolved stems in large measure from the ancient Epicurean stress on the maximization of personal pleasure and the minimizing of
pain. He adds the corollary that to the extent that one’s own pleasure can be increased by the pain of others so much the better for the beneficiary. Cruel as they may seem, such views accord with a recurring trend in human thought to find the ultimate motor of human action in self-interest. Applied to sexual conduct they link up with the ancient contrast between the active [enjoying] vs. the passive [suffering] partner. Denying the existence of God, he sees no barrier to the pursuit of self-interest as the goal of human life. A century before Friedrich Nietzsche, Sade anticipated most of his key insights about power and motivation. He also provided a striking example of the “transvaluation of values.” As Lester Crocker has shown, Sade is the most radical and disturbing of all the Enlightenment thinkers. Yet because his books were hard to obtain until the 1960s, awareness of their importance has come late.

It is not generally realized that Sade was personally bisexual. In actual life—the murderous scenes in his books are not to be taken as records of real experience—one of his favorite sexual positions was to be penetrated by his valet as he penetrated a woman. He commended anal intercourse both for contraception and for [male] pleasure. Not surprisingly, in view of his prison years, he was also a connoisseur of masturbation.

Sade is sometimes taken to be misogynistic. Yet several of his books feature strong-willed women who are just as adept as the most ruthless man, if not more so, in obtaining their way. The didactic dialogue Philosophy in the Bedroom, which is perhaps the best introduction to his work, has a character [Dolmance] who defends male homosexuality. His masterpieces are the novels Juliette and Justine, the one showing the manifold satisfactions of those who follow his precepts of self-interest, the other the endless sufferings that are the lot of one who obstinately clings to virtue.


Wayne R. Dynes

SA’DI (CA. 1213–1292)

One of the most famous Persian poets and writers. Sa’di (“felicity”) was his poetical name. He was born in Shiraz and attended the University in Bagdad. Thereafter he studied the mysticism of the Sufis and educated himself by traveling for years through almost the whole Islamic empire. In or about 1255 he settled in Shiraz where he earned himself a great reputation as a writer. His most famous works are the Gulistan [Rose Garden] and the Bustan [Orchard], both consisting of stories and poems which are moralistic, didactic, mystical, and amusing.

An important theme in the works of Sa’di is the love for beautiful young boys, which he describes in all its facets, ranging from purely platonic and spiritual in the mystical love poems to obscene and lustful in what can be called his “pornographic” works. In his mystical love poems Sa’di invokes chaste love for boys as a way to transcend the self and ultimately achieve union with God. Beautiful boys can serve as mediators because they are considered as witnesses (shahid) of God’s beauty on earth. In his more worldly poems and stories he is more cynical and down to earth about the problems and joys of loving boys. Love ended, of course, when the boy’s facial hair be-smirched him: “Sa’di admires the fresh down of youth and not hairs rigid like a packing needle.”

In general, Sa’di shared the attitude of his contemporaries toward homosexuality and consequently showed a strong aversion to passive homosexual
behavior of older boys and men. Typically, he had a low opinion of women and marriage. His own wife and children are neglected in his writings. As friends and companions men were important, and for love there were boys. In a poem he says of himself: “Sa‘di’s fame has spread everywhere for his love of boys (shahid bazi). In this there is no blame among us, but rather praise.”


*Maarten Schild*

**SADOMASOCHISM (S/M)**

This term is conventionally defined as the giving or receiving of pain for erotic gratification. However, nonphysical elements, such as verbal abuse and humiliation, often play a large role. Bondage (restraint) is also common. A more comprehensive definition situates physical and nonphysical aspects in a larger framework of dominance and submission that engages the fantasy life of the participants. S/M differs from mere cruelty in that it is—expressly or implicitly—consensual: the partners define limits that must not be transgressed. The activities found in S/M are not radically different from the “horseplay” that sometimes occurs in ordinary lovemaking: teasing, biting, pinching, and wrestling. But in the S/M scene there is, superimposed on these ordinary behaviors, a range of specific S/M activities in a continuum ranging from harmless play to the most elaborate ritual “torture.”

*Clinical Theories.* The first element of the compound *sadomasochism* derives from the Marquis D. A. F. de Sade (1740–1814), whose works depict the inflicting of pain for the erotic enjoyment of the active partner. The term masochism stems from writings of the German Leopold Ritter von Sacher-Masoch (1836–1895), which concentrate on the element of humiliation experienced by the passive partner, notably the novel *Venus im Pelz* (Venus in Furs), in which Wanda and Gregor are the active and passive participants in flagellation. From clinical evidence nineteenth-century psychiatrists—above all Richard von Krafft-Ebing, author of *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886)—created an analysis of sadism and masochism as pathology. Modern S/M practitioners hold that what they do has very little in common with the compulsive patterns analyzed by psychiatrists. Instead, they employ their techniques as symbolic interpersonal play that deals in intensities that approach the actual pain threshold and may surpass it, but generally avoid crossing the level of tolerance.

In modern street parlance the two complementary aspects are described as “top” and “bottom” or “S” and “M.” In keeping with the dichotomy cherished by abnormal psychology, sadism and masochism are often regarded as diametrically opposed capacities, yet this dichotomy is belied in practice by the fact that individuals can exchange roles. Many S’s actually began their involvement as M’s, for this is often the best way for a novice to learn.

*Homosexual Aspects of S/M.* Culturally, the practice of S/M is a commentary on the dominance—submission pattern inculcated by the gender roles of advanced industrial society. Hence it is not surprising that women willing to take the role of dominatrix should be in demand, for reversal of the “normal” roles of dominance and submission offers not only a temporary relief from expectations imposed by patriarchal social traditions, but constitutes a kind of symbolic restitution. In like fashion, gay and lesbian S/M practices incorporate culturally defined ideas of active and passive. Here, however, there is a paradox, for S/M adepts will often insist that the M, who in theory is completely subservient, actually controls the pace, direction, and intensity of the experience by communicating his or her needs and limits. In such a dynamic, the S is
often "on trial" to demonstrate true competence and sensitivity. From this crisscross effect many participants derive stimulation and, they believe, insights into human relationships in general.

In most gay and lesbian S/M circles today, the wearing of leather garments, together with chains and other accoutrements, is common. Such apparel is often the focus of fetishistic attachments. It also emphasizes the element of theatre and performance, so that the S&M scene—and more broadly one's presentation of self as a "leather person" in social contexts—becomes a matter of enactment.

Entering the S/M subculture is not a matter of a simple one-time conversion. Some individuals flirt with the idea for years before taking the plunge. Once the novice has decided to enter the subculture, he may progress through several stages of increasing depth of involvement as experience grows and inhibitions about particular acts wane. This stagelike progression has led sociologists to speak of S/M "careers"—the individual trajectories of those who sustain their commitment. Some observers have noted increasing "tolerance levels" on the part of adepts who find that previous levels of involvement no longer deliver the intensity they once did, requiring progression to deeper levels.

In addition to flagellation, bondage, verbal abuse, role playing, genital torture, use of hot wax, and abrasion, S/M scenes may include "watersports," urinating on the M or causing him to swallow urine. Depending on the relationship, this may be regarded either as a gift, a humiliation, or a degradation. Much less common is the similar use of faeces ("scat"). Handballing or fistng, in which the hand or even the lower arm is inserted in the anal passage, formerly enjoyed some popularity, but with the spread of safer sex techniques it has become less common. Handballing is not necessarily an S/M activity any more than fellatio or masturbation; it depends entirely on the attitudes and intentions of those engaging in it. Although S/M practices have the reputation of being "far out," many of them are less risky in terms of disease transmission than the penetrative practices that are the central feature of the mainstream male gay world. In S/M scenes, sexual toys of various kinds—whips, straps, handcuffs, tit clamps, etc.—are freely used. Those who are seriously involved may have their nipples or genitals pierced and adorned with small rings; although quite popular, this practice is not universal. In ordinary S&M practice, however, there is almost invariably an avoidance of any activity that would lead to permanent marking or bodily harm.

As with any other subculture, S/M people tend to socialize with others who share their tastes. Most big cities in North America and northern Europe have at least one "leather bar," usually for gay men only. Prominent among the icons displayed in such establishments are trophies and photographs relating to motorcycle clubs, to which many serious S/M enthusiasts belong. There are also artists who have created imagery that is clearly S/M in its appeal; among the best known of these are Cavello, Etienne, Rex, Sean, and Tom of Finland (though some of the latter's work is not relevant).

Sociological studies have shown that in North America most S/M participants are of northern European ancestry, rather than from Mediterranean or African stock. Contrary to the stereotype that associates them with conservative or even quasi-Nazi views, surveys in the United States have shown that a majority are politically liberal. On the whole, they are well educated and hold upscale professional jobs. Few S/M people share the obsessive preoccupation with youth that is found in other sectors of the gay world; with a very few exceptions, boy lovers are not found among them. In fact, older individuals are notably visible at S/M gatherings, which are relatively free of ageism. The premium placed on technical exper-
tise seems to cancel out ageism with its attendant privileging of youth.

While some S/M practitioners seek new partners constantly, others may wish to form a more-or-less permanent relationship. In this case the M becomes the “slave” of his S, who will symbolize the ownership in various ways, such as the shaving of body hair, or the slave’s wearing of a prominent dog collar, or being required to perform various services for the master and the master’s friends. The appeal of the slave relationship is ostensibly the freedom from the crushing burden of responsibilities and decisions that modern urban life imposes. In some instances, however, the slave role is much less demanding and may even be carried out in an almost humorous fashion. There is a large range of activity between these two extremes of total slave–master bonding and playfulness, whereby the two participants limit the enactment to specific occasions, in the bedroom or elsewhere, when they perform their tasks with the utmost seriousness.

Seemingly objective presentations of the nature of S/M almost invariably slight the less tangible elements that are of supreme importance to those who are seriously committed. In the view of some who are experienced in the scene the real appeal of S/M is that it promotes a state of consciousness that transcends ego. Such “egoless” states are inherently blissful. Moreover, participants have the sense that they are involved in a form of magic or alchemy. In a state of perfect trust, their “vibrations” become perfectly attuned to one another, and blows that would normally be unwelcome are transmuted into a choreography of pleasure.

**Literary Manifestations.** The pioneering novels of the Marquis de Sade and Leopold von Sacher-Masoch have been noted above. William Carney’s *The Real Thing* (New York: Putnam, 1968) presents a historically accurate picture of the now-vanished scene in the United States in the late 1950s and 1960s. It is cast in the form of a series of letters from an experienced S to his nephew, a novice whom he is instructing in the traditions of the subculture he wishes to enter. Although Carney’s view of S/M is ultimately negative, it offers theorizing that is still of interest. Terry Andrews’ *The Story of Harold* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1974), of unusual literary quality, is revealing because S/M is integrated with other themes. The novels of “A. N. Roquelaure” (a pseudonym of Anne Rice) are ostensibly heterosexual, but include considerable relevant psychological speculation. Story collections by Phil Andros (*Stud*, Boston: Alyson, 1982; repr. of 1966 issue; and *Below the Belt*, San Francisco: Perineum) and Jack Fritscher (*Corporal in Charge of Taking Care of Captain O’Malley*, San Francisco: Gay Sunshine, 1984; and *Stand by Your Man*, San Francisco: Leyland Publications, 1984) offer material of varied interest.

**Parallels.** Analogies for the physical side of the S/M relationship have been found in some tribal societies, where warriors must undergo trials of pain before being admitted to the military elite. (Fraternity hazings are a faded modern version of these customs.) In ancient Thessaly the all-women rites of Aphrodite Anosia included erotic flagellation. The Romans delighted in gladiatorial shows and in watching condemned criminals devoured by lions in the arena. Yet these were not voluntary submissions to pain, and they seem—despite assertions to the contrary—to have no direct connection with eros.

The beautiful frescoes of the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii, which have never been completely interpreted, show women’s flagellation in the context of a religious and erotic initiation. Paintings of the martyrdom of the Christian saints —Catherine tormented by her wheel, Agatha suffering the assault on her breasts—are more explicit in their depiction of pain. In one instance, that of the handsome St. Sebastian pierced by arrows, a Christian image has acquired (since at
SADOMASOCHISM

least the end of the nineteenth century) a secondary status as the focus of contemplation by gay men. Of course it was not the aim of Christian hagiography and art to stimulate S/M thoughts. It may be, however, that these legends of fortitude under suffering were one of the elements that helped, however unintentionally, to prepare for the modern S/M sensibility.

The adage “spare the rod and spoil the child” attests to the use of flogging by parents and schoolmasters. In the English public school this practice became a veritable cult, with masters and pupils alike developing erotic feelings in conducting it. Through this imprinting some members of the upper classes developed a lifelong flagellomania; hence the expression “English vice” for erotically stimulating caning.

There may even be phylogenetic sources for the connection between corporeal pain and sexual performance, as with cats where the male cat bites the neck of the female during intercourse. Some students of the question hold that the human experience of erotic release of pain is governed by a distinctive physiological process, characterized by the release of certain endorphins; this physiological dynamic is, however, still imperfectly understood.


Wayne R. Dynes

SAFE SEX

Safe sex refers to activities with no risk, or very small risk, of undesirable consequences. Safe sex need not be conservative or monogamous sex, and it certainly does not mean less sex. Sex can indeed be “safe,” not just “safer.”

Disease. Partners who are free of sexually transmitted diseases can engage in any sexual activities they wish. Since there are diseases which can be transmitted sexually although the carrier is symptom-free and is even unaware he or she has been exposed—hepatitis and AIDS are by far the most serious—such a disease-free state can be known only through medical examination. In the case of AIDS, since it takes months before tests can detect antibodies to the HIV virus, testing indicates the subject’s infectious state as of several months previously. For a result valid at the time of the test, the test must follow a period of no potential exposure. As a practical matter, activities which can transmit disease can only be safe within a relationship monogamous so far as those activities are concerned.

There are, however, many ways of having enjoyable sex, even kinky and adventurous sex, with little if any risk of disease and without need for examinations and tests. Masturbation in pairs and groups is totally without risk. Among consenting partners, dirty talk, exhibitionism, and photography are safe. No one has gotten a disease from an odor, from fantasy, role-playing, erotic clothing, or bondage. One can safely be promiscuous with such activities, if desired, and those who are HIV-positive can fully participate.

Kissing and licking of unbroken skin cannot transmit AIDS. Intercourse with a barrier, such as a strong condom [extra-strength condoms are available and recommended for anal sex], is safe as long
as the barrier remains unbroken. Ample use of a water-based lubricant reduces the risk of breakage.

The activities which can transmit disease are those in which one receives orally, anally, vaginally, or through broken skin a substance from inside someone else's body: semen, seminal fluid (pre-cum), vaginal secretions, blood, urine, feces. Sexual toys can harbor microorganisms, and if they cannot be cleaned thoroughly or covered with a condom they should not be shared. A finger or penis can transfer disease organisms from one orifice to another, or one partner to another; washing before changing to a different orifice or partner is sensible. If fingers are inserted into the anus, a rubber glove is recommended; it also prevents dangerous internal scratches from fingernails. While the HIV virus is absorbed through the colon or breaks in the skin, and there are few known cases of its transmission via oral-genital sex, the hepatitis viruses, gonococcus, and other microorganisms are harder and are readily transmitted orally. A condom or (for women) a dental dam makes oral sex safe.

Injury. Sexual play, like other recreations, has various additional hazards; pornography tends to ignore these. The colon is easily injured, and such injuries require immediate medical attention. Sharp or breakable objects should never be inserted into the anus, and any anal play should be slow and careful, with lots of lubricant. While restraint [bondage] can be very erotic, for safety it should be limited to partners one knows and trusts. Ropes can injure the skin or nerves, and specialty stores sell safer hardware, such as padded cuffs. Abnormal weight distribution, as in suspension, can cause injury. Restriction of breathing is potentially fatal, and gagging or any other type of restraint requires constant monitoring and provision for immediate release in an emergency.

Planning, negotiation, and communication are essential components of safe erotic play. An agreed-upon "safe word" can be used to signal the need to lessen or stop activity which is undesirable. The use of alcohol or other drugs increases risk.

Eroticism and Danger. For many people a touch of danger enhances a sexual encounter, and there are those for whom sex without danger is uninteresting. One may rationally decide that the enjoyment an activity offers makes its possible negative consequences acceptable. Some behaviors have such a high risk, however, that they must be considered self-destructive, and may indicate the need for psychotherapy; these include unsafe sex with partners not checked for disease, public or semi-public sex without concern for possible legal consequences, and exposing oneself to assault from unstable partners (e.g., rough trade). It is possible, though, to incorporate limited and controlled danger in sexual activities. The presence of a caring and vigilant third party reduces risks. Some semi-public sex involves only minimal risk, and for willing partners to enact fantasies of danger—a pretended assault and rape, for example—can be very enjoyable.


Daniel Eisenberg

SAIKAKU, IHARA (1642–1693)

Japanese novelist. The novels and short stories of Ihara Saikaku rank among the masterpieces of the literature of Japan. His work is a product of the urban townsman class that developed in the cities of Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo (modern Tokyo) in the early decades of the Tokugawa period (1603–1868). Saikaku was known for most of his life as a poet of comic linked verse, but in the last decade of his life he turned to writing prose fiction. One of his favorite topics was male homosexual love, which in his day always took the form of a rela-
relationship between an adult man and a teenage boy. In *The Great Mirror of Male Love* (1687), his longest collection of short stories, Saikaku divided his discussion of boy love into two parts: the non-professional love exemplified in relations between samurai men and boys; and the love of professional actor/prostitutes in the kabuki theatre. He establishes a romantic ideal for boy love in his own townsman class based on the loyalty and self-sacrifice of samurai man–boy relations. Saikaku takes a deliberately misogynistic stance in the book in order to dramatize the single-minded dedication demanded of male lovers, but the stance is full of irony and may have had humorous appeal for his readers.

In addition to *The Great Mirror of Male Love*, Saikaku treated the topic of male love in the story of "Gengobei, The Mountain of Love," the last of five stories in *Five Women Who Loved Love* (1685). The heroine of the story, Oman, manages to seduce Gengobei, a confirmed lover of boys, by dressing as a handsome youth. By the time Gengobei realizes the error, it is too late, for he has fallen madly in love. The humor of the discovery scene must have appealed greatly to Saikaku’s readers. In *The Man Who Loved Love* (1682), the hero, Yonosuke, is a man of insatiable sexual appetites, meant obviously to be understood as a plebeian version of the courtly lover Priace Genji in the *Tale of Genji*. At the end of Yonosuke’s life of love, he numbers over 3,000 women and almost 900 men and boys among his lovers. One story tells how Yonosuke as a young boy surprised and confused a samurai by aggressively attempting to seduce him, a reversal of the normal pattern. The story implies that Yonosuke was ultimately successful.

Saikaku dealt with female homosexuality only once in his writing, and only briefly, in a scene in *Life of an Amorous Woman*. The book is a parody of Buddhist confessional literature from the fourteenth century, and records the tale of the heroine’s progress through respectable married life, high-class courtesanship, low-class harlotry, further degradation, and ultimately spiritual enlightenment. At one point in her checkered career, she took work as a housemaid. The mistress of the house was impressed with her beauty and summoned her to her bed. The heroine is shocked to discover that the woman wants to make love to her, but cannot protest. After a night of love-making, the scene concludes with the woman’s comment, "When I am reborn in the next world, I will be a man. Then I shall be free to do what really gives me pleasure!"


*Paul Gordon Schalow*

**SAILORS**

*See Seafaring.*

**SAINT-PAVIN, DENIS**

**SANGUIN DE (1595–1670)**

French poet and libertine writer. The son of a counselor in the Parlement, he studied with the Jesuits and thought of becoming a priest, but soon renounced this career and lived without a profession as writer, poet, and freethinker. In his lifetime he enjoyed the title of "The King of Sodom" and made no bones about his sexual interests in his poetry. Unlike such contemporaries as Théophile de Viau, he was more a sensualist than a philosopher—and therefore less of a threat to the Church and its orthodoxy. Too indecent for the press, his poems circulated only in manuscript, and it was not until 1911 that a French scholar named Frédéric Lachèvre ventured to publish some of the least offensive; others still await their editor. Lachèvre had the naïveté to deny Saint-Pavin’s homosexuality, claiming that it was a literary pose, a mere imitation of
Martial, an expression of displeasure at the frivolity of the opposite sex which he inwardly loved, or simply a wish to scandalize the conventionally minded. The poet seems in fact to have preferred the active role in anal intercourse, and—when he had sexual relations with women at all—to have practiced this only, so that he indignantly rejected the imputation that he had fathered the child of a woman of whom he had carnal knowledge. His interest in women was limited to those whose androgyny awakened the genuine attraction which he felt for the male sex.

His poems express a fondness for pages and their costumes, and in particular for a youth who is named "Tireis"—who later entered a monastery, inspiring the poet to allude to the pederastic practices of the monks by claiming that "in the same place he can find both his salvation and his pleasures!" Saint-Pavin evidently had contact with contemporary lesbian circles, as he wrote verses likening women's fondness for their own sex to his male-male attachments. In his imitations of Martial he defended homosexual love against the accusation of being "unnatural." Intimate with the homosexual cliques of his day, he revealed his inner thoughts in verses addressed to their members with a frankness that anticipated no censure or incomprehension. With the great Condé he was on such familiar ground that he could send him a poem declaring that "Caesar was as great a bougre as you, but not so great a general." He was in modern terms a self-proclaimed homosexual who made no secret of his identity, even in an age when death at the stake was not a wholly remote possibility for one of that persuasion. The publication of his complete corpus will shed much light on the homosexual subculture of France in the mid-seventeenth century and on the antecedents of the Enlightenment.


Warren Johansson

SAMURAI

The samurai class developed in Japan from what were originally soldiers who served courtiers and great aristocratic families in defending and managing their country estates, which in some cases were far from the capital in Kyoto, during the Heian period (794–1185). By the end of the Heian period, the soldiers had in many cases usurped their employer's landholdings and carved out large territories where they ruled by the sword. During military campaigns, soldiers were accompanied by boy attendants who saw that their physical needs were met. From this probably followed the tradition of man-boy bonding that seems to have been a feature of samurai life almost from its inception.

The Ashikagashoguns, who ruled Japan's heartland from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, seem to have brought the homosexual ethos of the samurai to the seat power in Kyoto from which they ruled, for there was a marked "homosexualization" of court culture during this period, particularly in the aesthetics of the Noh theatre. When Francis Xavier and the Jesuits came to Japan in the sixteenth century to proselytize, they were horrified by the openness with which homosexuality was practiced among the ruling samurai class and condemned it furiously, apparently with little effect.

Homosexual love was a major component of samurai sexuality right up until the samurai class was abolished in the early years of the Meiji period (1868–1912), after which it was deliberately suppressed by the Meiji government as part of its effort to modernize Japan. The novelist Mishima (1925–1970) sought to revive samurai traditions in order to revitalize Japan spiritually, and respect for the homosexual bond was apparently part of the revitalization he envisioned.
SAMURAI


Paul Gordon Schalow

SAN FRANCISCO

It may seem surprising that for the first hundred years after its incorporation in 1850 as a city of the new State of California, San Francisco (population ca. 700,000) was not particularly noted as a homosexual center. Certainly, as in the case of other cosmopolitan port cities such as Boston and New Orleans, gayness was not absent. With the rise of the modern homosexual rights movement in the 1960s, however, San Francisco assumed a paramount status, highlighting the triumphs as well as the setbacks of homosexual affirmation in the United States.

Early History. San Francisco began as a Spanish settlement in 1776 as Yerba Buena, passed into Mexican hands in 1821, and was conquered by the United States and renamed in 1846. The Gold Rush days of 1848–49 brought prosperity to the city—and a typically Western disproportion of numbers of men and women. The red-light district was the Barbary Coast, but thus far little information has come to light on specifically homosexual activities there (the catastrophic 1906 earthquake and fire destroyed many records from earlier days). The more genteel atmosphere of the century’s later decades, with the presence of gay people in the arts, is subtly evoked in Charles Warren Stoddard's novel For the Pleasure of His Company: An Affair of the Misty City (1903).

After the turn of the century, travelers reported the availability of servicemen for sexual purposes (the Presidio was a major army center). Harry Hay, who later was to start the American homosexual movement, enrolled in Stanford University in 1930. He recalls being helped to come out by his visits to friendly speak-easies in the city. Joe Finocchio’s establishment featured drag entertainment; after the repeal of prohibition it moved to new quarters at 506 Broadway, becoming the city’s premiere nightspot and gathering place for homosexuals. Such female entertainers as Rae Bourbon, Walter Hart, and Lucian Phelps played an important role as focal points of the gay identity at that time. Finocchio’s location in the North Beach area, a Bohemian redoubt, was also important, and the neighborhood later became noted for its beat population.

World War II and After. During the war San Francisco was the chief port of embarkation for the Pacific Theatre of War. While awaiting their orders or returning from battle many American servicemen and women from less sophisticated regions had their first taste of some sexual freedom. After being mustered out, a certain number of gay men and lesbians decided to settle in the Bay City, where they often became involved in a coupled situation, rather than return to their home towns.

Understandably, then, shortly after the American homosexual rights movement began in Los Angeles it spread to San Francisco. In January 1955, the Mattachine Review began to appear, patiently watched over by Hal Call, the guiding spirit of the San Francisco chapter of the Mattachine Society. At the end of the year, eight Bay Area women formed the Daughters of Bilitis, which became the national organization with its own monthly, The Ladder. Two of the founders, Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin, remained significant figures in San Francisco into the eighties.

Gay-baiting charges lodged by an unscrupulous candidate in the 1959 mayoral election introduced a phase of unprecedented public discussion of homosexuality. Public talk about a hitherto
taboo subject, including revelation of police payoffs, in turn engendered a backlash in which the police arrested large numbers of gay men and lesbians in sweeps in the bars. Gay organizations, including the Society for Individual Rights (SIR) and the Tavern Guild, found an unexpected source of support in sympathetic members of the clergy, who formed the Council on Religion and the Homosexual in 1964. The gay leaders and church people combined to monitor and eventually stem the homophobic backlash.

Maturity. Although San Francisco’s gay community was well advanced in many respects by the late sixties, New York’s Stonewall Rebellion of 1969, coming in the wake of the Civil Rights movement and the anti-Vietnam War movement, represented a national watershed which can also be used to divide historical periods in San Francisco. Attention in the mainstream media was reinforced by the brash input of new “underground” counterculture publications such as the Berkeley Barb, as well by a series of newspapers written by and for homosexuals. In the late 1970s San Francisco alone boasted four gay newspapers. Under the direction of Winston Leyland the journal Gay Sunshine turned into a major gay press, issuing books of all kinds. In the scholarly realm Professor John De Cecco established a center for the study of sexuality at San Francisco State University, where he edited a research tool of great prestige, the Journal of Homosexuality.

Three neighborhoods emerged as gay zones. Polk Street gulch was the oldest and most traditional of these. Eventually it was surpassed by the Castro, with its stereotypical clone type. Finally, Folsom Street became the center for those committed to, or dabbling in, the leather and S/M subculture. Backrooms and glory hole establishments for impersonal sex proliferated, and the income generated by tourists soared. Yet old-line politicians continued to deplore San Francisco’s reputation as “Sodom by the Bay.”

For their part gay men and lesbians had not neglected politics, but this realm was galvanized and transformed by the energies of an outsider from New York, Harvey Milk (1930–1978), who owned a shop on Castro Street. To the dismay of the city’s established gay leaders, Milk forged an improbable but solid alliance with the city’s blue-collar unions. His methods were often amateurish, sometimes even unethical, but they worked, and he was elected Supervisor on his third try in 1977.

Triumph turned to tragedy when Milk was murdered a year later, together with Mayor George Moscone, by a resentful former colleague and police officer, Dan White. When a jury acquitted White of the most serious charges after an inept prosecution, widespread riots erupted in the vicinity of City Hall, and some gay activists were seen setting fire to police cars. Milk was replaced by Harry Britt, another gay officeholder, and the lesson dawned on the city’s straight establishment that gay power had come to stay.

After 1981 the AIDS crisis hit San Francisco particularly hard, but new organizations and coalitions arose to cope with the medical emergency. A prolonged controversy led to the closing of San Francisco’s gay bathhouses. Even without these events, some dimming of the exuberance and sheer craziness of the 1970s was probably inevitable. Despite bickering, however, San Francisco’s gay infrastructure held firm and seemed destined to remain a major part of the city’s life.


Ward Houser

SANTAYANA, GEORGE (1863–1952)

American poet and philosopher. Born in Madrid, he came to the United States at the age of nine. He graduated from Harvard College summum cum laude.
in the class of 1886. From 1889 he taught philosophy at Harvard, and in 1907 was appointed professor there. In 1912 he retired and spent the remainder of his life abroad, mainly in France and Italy.

Having had to learn English at the age of nine, Santayana had a firm command of the literary language, but not the spontaneity in diction that marks the true poet in his mother tongue. His verse diction was a pastiche of Shakespeare, Shelley, Keats, and Tennyson, together with Victorian translations of the classics. The poetic outcome was sentimental, insincere, and abstract. As a philosopher Santayana was unoriginal in logic, taking his ideas from Plato and Leibniz. He rebelled against the tradition of American philosophy with its Calvinist background, which made the philosopher the moral guide of the community, a clergyman without a church. Santayana created no school of philosophy, though he was appreciated by his pupils at Harvard, he was an excellent lecturer, his voice even and melodious, his diction perfect, his whole manner aristocratic.

The content of his philosophy was that reality has different levels that cannot be forced into a comprehensive, universally valid scheme. For the purpose of giving his thought a realistic basis, he located that particular form of reality at the material level, but claimed that vital, spiritual, and ideal entities have qualitative traits of their own and cannot be reduced to material elements. The material realm of facts is wholly independent of the ideal realm of essences, as well as of their specific modes of apprehension. Beauty is a pure essence, whose contemplation cancels out the struggle for existence and forms the noblest and happiest human experience. Human reason is unable to penetrate intuitively into the regions of existence beyond the senses, but from this skeletal position Santayana developed a pragmatic attitude which he judged one of "common sense," one that accepts the possibilities and limits that its material origin imposes upon the human mind. Human institutions are tokens of the progress of the human spirit that is realized thanks to the growth of consciousness, from the primitive forms of human experience to its highest stages, a growth that is based in human nature itself.

In a genteel society where all sexuality was suspect, Santayana frankly preferred homosexuality to heterosexuality. He referred scornfully to the outcome of heterosexuality as "breeding," while studiously maintaining a façade of coldness and detachment that hid his true feelings from a scornful world. His first love was a Harvard undergraduate named Ward Thoron, seventeen, and three years younger than himself. All his love poems, beginning with a sonnet to Thoron, betray an origin in genuine homosexual emotion usually veiled in Christian imagery and allusion, or by the convenient fiction that the love object belonged to the opposite sex. He later admitted that he must have been homosexual in his Harvard days, like A. E. Housman, although he was "unconscious of it at the time." This may simply mean that the new concept of homosexuality, which reached the general public only after 1886, did not become part of his self-definition until later. Certainly no one of his urbanity and familiarity with the Greek and Roman classics could have been ignorant of the pederastic moods of the ancient world. Writing of this at the age of twenty-four, he asserted that paiderastia "has been often preferred by impartial judges, like the ancients and orientals, yet our prejudices against are so strong that it hardly comes under the possibilities for us." Later he could speak of the profound irrationality of love in terms that reflect his homosexual experience. Outsiders like Charles W. Eliot, the President of Harvard, suspected the abnormality of Santayana's character, though they veiled their criticisms in disapproval of his "unworldliness." His gradual withdrawal and then departure from a still puritanic America was an immersion in a warm humanity...
and Old World wisdom that American culture and simple prudence both forbade. His novel *The Last Puritan* (1935) has a character who is washed out of midshipmen’s training school in the Royal Navy for being implicated in a homosexual scandal aboard ship. Today Santayana’s reputation has considerably faded, yet he retains interest as a homosexual academic philosopher who after inner struggle against the intolerance of the American society in which he lived, then sought a more congenial atmosphere in the urbanity of the Old World.


Warren Johansson

**SAPPHO**

(ca. 612–ca. 560 B.C.)

Classical Greek poet. Celebrated in antiquity as the “tenth Muse,” Sappho, as she styled herself in the Aeolic dialect, was born at Eresus on the island of Lesbos, or according to others, in Mytilene. The daughter of Scamandronymus, she had three brothers, one of whom, Larichus, was appointed cupbearer in the prytaneum of Mytilene because of his remarkable beauty. Political struggles on Lesbos forced Sappho into exile in Sicily, but in time she returned to her homeland and there became mistress of a school for daughters of the aristocracy that achieved such fame as to attract pupils from distant parts of the Hellenic world of the early sixth century B.C.

To understand Sappho’s life and creative personality is especially difficult for the modern reader because of the enormous cultural distance that separates the milieu in which she loved and immortalized her love in poetry from that of the lesbian of today. In antiquity, and perhaps in all of historic time, she ranks as the outstanding singer of woman’s love for her own sex, but this was expressed as an age-asymmetrical relationship that exactly paralleled the *paidon eros*, the love of a man for an adolescent boy. It was not an unconventional, bohemian passion, but was inspired by the *eros paidagogikos*, the attachment of the teacher for the protégé. And so far from being reproved by religion, the affection was consecrated to Aphrodite, the goddess of love.

Sappho’s poetry, edited by the Alexandrian scholars in nine books, has survived only in fragments, some preserved in quotations in later authors, some recovered on papyri buried for two thousand years in the Egyptian sands. It is an intensely personal lyric poetry, saturated with the unutterable happiness of love and also the unbearable pain of rejection. Of all her girls the dearest was Atthis, and even from the imperfect remains of her poetry the love of the woman for the girl emerges with crystal splendor. Out of the anguish of her heart the poet invokes Aphrodite to float down from heaven and relieve her sorrow. Sappho was drawn to her pupils when they were barely emerging from girlhood, when the hour of their betrothal and marriage was still far distant. When they had outgrown this stage in their lives and were on the threshold of womanhood, Sappho composed epithalamia. Assembled in the ninth and last book of her poems, they symbolize her acquiescence in their passage to a new life as mistresses of aristocratic households. A whole set of poems is devoted to the theme of her resignation to the loss of her beloved pupil, her *eromene*.

Lesbian love played the same role in Sappho’s circle as did Dorian *paiderassteia* in Sparta. It was the younger partner’s first experience with love, and a step in her initiation to womanhood through intimacy with an older member of her own sex, but also a stage that she would leave behind when she passed on to her adult role as wife and mother. The circle of girls with their headmistress and lover formed a *thiasos*, a cultic union that recited the myths which had already received concrete form in the Homeric poems and performed rites.
in honor of their divine patroness. The mythical is the collective, the shared element of Sappho’s poetry and the counterpoise to her individual outpourings of emotion.

Even if Sappho’s poetry comes at a comparatively early stage of Greek literary history, it stems ultimately from a long tradition in the Aegean and Near Eastern worlds. The artistic perfection of her writing was made possible by thousands of years of poetic composition in Akkadian, Egyptian, and other languages in which men had sung the beauty of women. In the annals of civilization Sappho stands almost midway between the absolute beginning and the modern era, and the legacy of the past brought her craft to its peak of greatness.

Posterity has dealt ambiguously with Sappho’s life and work. Leaving aside the dishonesty and hypocrisy of later critics under the influence of the Judeo-Christian tradition, comic authors of antiquity, who in a manner incomprehensible to moderns equated the woman attracted to her own sex with one who takes the aggressive role in relations with men, had Sappho marry Cercylas [from cercos, “penis”] of Andros (“the city of men”), and invented the story that she committed suicide when rejected by Phaon, the man whose love she craved, by leaping into the sea, a literal interpretation of the metaphor “to spring from the Leucadian rock into the sea,” meaning to purify the soul of passions. Generations of classical scholars abused these bits of ancient wit to construct the preposterous image of a heterosexual Sappho whose unconventional love was a legend fabricated by slander or even by misogyny, and their falsehoods continue to be parroted in standard reference works.

For the more discerning, Sappho’s poetry has been a perennial inspiration to literary creation. The Latin poets, who could read the entire corpus of her work, often imitated it. The frankly homoerotic component of her poems ultimately, in the nineteenth century, made “lesbian” the designation for a woman enamored of her own sex, and Magnus Hirschfeld appropriately entitled his first pamphlet [1896] on the homosexual question Sappho and Socrates.

The significance of Sappho’s legacy for the modern lesbian movement is another issue. To identify the Lesbian writer’s koreophilic affection for her schoolgirls with the love of two adult women for each other is as misleading as to equate Greek pederasty with modern androphile homosexuality. The one and the other thrive in a cultural context that belonged to their time and place—not that of the resurgent homophile movement of the twentieth century. But to disavow the heritage of ancient Greece is impossible, because it is one of the wellsprings of Western civilization, and every one of its values is a latent value capable of being revived and reinstituted, even if in a different form. A creative figure of Hellenic and Mediterranean civilization, Sappho gave lesbian love its classic literary expression, and her work is an enduring part of the poetic treasure of humanity.


Evelyn Gettone

SARTRE, JEAN-PAUL (1905–1980)

French philosopher, novelist, playwright, essayist, and political activist. Sartre, who enjoyed a life-long partnership with Simone de Beauvoir [herself a major contributor to modern feminism], never had a homosexual experience, as far as is known. Yet as the dominant figure in
French intellectual life in the third quarter of the century, his thoughtful attitude toward the phenomenon, in combination with his sympathy for other marginalized groups, helped to prepare the way for the flourishing of France’s gay community after 1968.

Sartre’s understanding of homosexuality, like his perception of the situation of women, evolved slowly. His early story “Childhood of a Leader” (1938) portrays a spoiled upper-class boy who is seduced in preparatory school by an older student, and then joins a parafascist organization by way of compensation. Although not directly homophobic, this presentation did tend to lend some support to the theory (reflected also in Alberto Moravia’s The Conformist) that there is a link between early homosexual experience and right-wing commitment: the fascist perversion. Included in the play No Exit (1944) is an articulate lesbian, Inès Serrano. In Sartre’s novel sequence Les chemins de la liberté (1945–49), the homosexual character Daniel shows a fascination with militarism and fascism: he welcomes the German occupation.

His one major nonfiction study of a minority, Anti-Semite and Jew (1946), offers a number of interesting perspectives; in fact, inasmuch as it views the Jews as fundamentally defined by the environing hostility of society, his analysis may be [mutatis mutandis] better applicable to homosexuals than to its ostensible subject. However, Sartre’s major involvement with homosexual questions arose from his association with Jean Genet, to whom he had been introduced by Jean Cocteau. Sartre’s project of writing a preface to one of his friend’s works grew into a sprawling 600-page book (Saint-Genet: comédien et martyr, 1952), in which the philosopher discusses issues of freedom and self-understanding from an existentialist standpoint. Genet’s atypical experience, as foundling, thief, and worshipper at the shrine of the dominant male, may have skewed Sartre’s view of an identity in which he had no immediate personal stake.

In 1971 Sartre assumed, at some risk to himself, responsibility for publishing the manifesto of the Front Homosexuel d’Action Révolutionnaire, a radical gay-liberation group. Nine years later he gave an interview to two French gay journalists. In the colloquy he acknowledged that some key characters in his work, such as Mathieu in Chemins de la liberté and Roquentin in Nausée, were uncertain of their masculinity, an uncertainty that corresponded to the writer’s own sense of self. He likened becoming homosexual to becoming a writer as two creative responses to otherwise intolerable pressure. As regards the status of homosexuals in France in 1980 (“this prudish society”), he held that they should renounce the hope of blending in and remain aloof, seeking “a kind of free space, where they can come together among themselves, as in the United States, for example.”


Ward Houser

SATIATION THEORY

The traditional critique of luxury holds that indulgence in one vice, even a relatively mild one, sets the tyro on a path toward ever more serious involvement. In the modern language of addiction, one develops a tolerance to the intake of the entry-level stage, causing one to increase the dose, to which one then develops a new tolerance, and so on. For writers of nineteenth-century popular medical tracts, masturbation was the first step toward ruin; the practiced pervert, in this view, always began by laying “violent hands” on himself.

In the Old Testament, Ezekiel 16:49 links the sodomites with other forms
of luxurious indulgence. This notion has a current folk version which maintains that older men and women turn to same-sex relations when they can no longer experience the pleasures of "normal" love or have supposedly become impotent with the opposite sex. Such a view was sustained in the otherwise remarkably tolerant remarks of the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer. The common belief, which has little foundation, that prostitutes are often lesbian in their own preferences is ascribed to the fact that they have had too many men. Oddly enough, this notion of homosexual orientation as the outcome of surfeit and repletion is the mirror opposite of the psychoanalytic claim that homosexuality is a type of arrested development. For critics, the appetite governing same-sex love is always too little or too much, but never "just right."

There seems to be little empirical support for this folk view. Some people do change their sexual orientation, but usually for other reasons than satiation with their previous mode of erotic fulfillment. They may be responding more fully to feelings that they have always had, but have been suppressing; or they may wish to explore a side of their nature that has been neglected through lack of opportunity. But such a shift is rarely undertaken out of a mere sense of "jadedness." It is possible that for some individuals sadomasochistic practices have the function of restoring interest in sexual pleasures that have become too anodyne.

Wayne R. Dynes

SAUNAS
See Bathhouses.

SCANDINAVIA, MEDIEVAL
In this article Scandinavia has the extended sense that includes not only the three European countries of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, but also Iceland. The extant sources for the history of homosexuality in the Scandinavia of the Middle Ages, which is to say the period just before the introduction of Latin Christianity (about the year 1000) and the three centuries following, record no positive attitudes toward the phenomenon. There are no accounts of comradely love, of fidelity and heroism on the battlefield, of institutionalized pederasty such as have been transmitted by the literature of other peoples at a similar stage of cultural development. The textual material that has come down to us—undoubtedly reflecting a process of selection and editing—stigmatizes the passive- effeminate homosexual as slothful, cowardly, and unmanly—as the object of other males' sexual aggression and humiliation.

Folk Attitudes and Customs.
There is no word in Old Norse or in other Germanic languages for what came to be called sodomy in Medieval Latin, so that the criminal offense owes its inception to Christian teaching. Yet there was a term argr which was broader in its meaning: the Roman writer Tacitus in the twelfth chapter of the Germania had to paraphrase it in Latin as ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames, "slothful and unwarlike and sexually infamous," specifying that such individuals were punished by drowning in a swamp. And in later vernacular sources the word arg [with the variant tagr] is mentioned alongside stroðinn/sardinn and sannsordinn as one of three fulbettsord, "words whose utterance amounts to a capital offense." The man who is the object of such insults has the right to bring whoever uttered them to court or even to assault and kill him so as to avenge his honor. The three latter terms are past participles applied to one who has been used sexually by another male. In the same category of heinousness were insults likening a man to a female animal (berendi). The argr carried the further stigma of practicing sorcery (seidr), which was in principle a female art, as the Ynglinga saga says, "such ergi [argr conduct] accompanies this sorcery that it was deemed shameful for men to busy themselves with it;
therefore this art was taught to the priestesses." The disgraceful component of both the sexual and the ritual aspect of ergi was the taking of a female role by a male; it constituted the behavioral expression of a character type that was held in contempt by a warrior society. Such was the moral judgment of the people of the age of the sagas and even of later times. Conversely, when applied to a woman the feminine of *arg* meant *mannigjar*, that is to say, "man-crazy," aggressive in pursuing men, a quality as much despised in a woman as passivity and unmanliness in a man. It should also be mentioned that these customs applied only to free men, just as the laws against rape protected only free women: *slaves* were the property and responsibility of the master, and while sexual intercourse between two free men in which one had to take the passive role was considered shameful, no such feeling seems to have prevailed toward a slave's playing that part. In this respect the attitude of the pagan Scandinavians did not differ significantly from that of the ancient Greeks and Romans.

A further concept that bears upon this complex of beliefs is *nid*, a form of ridicule or insult that exposes the object to the contempt of the whole community. The laws distinguished between *tungunid* [tongue *nid*] and *trenid* [carving *nid*]. The former was the spoken insult; the latter a carving or statue that represented the injured party in a humiliating position, that of the passive party in anal intercourse. The erection of such a statue was a reproach that called for vengeance—hence the proverb "Only a slave retaliates at once, an *arg* never" (*Grettis saga*, chapter 15). By implication the free man defends his honor, but not impetuously, rather in accordance with an Arab proverb that says "He who waits but forty years for revenge is a man of little patience." The feminine behavior of a free man, whether in a sexual or in a magical function, is an act of baseness; and if he is not guilty, he must behave in a manner that will restore his honor. In another saga the carved *nid* takes the form of a pole with a man's head carved at one end and a runic inscription on the shaft which is then thrust into the body of a dead mare—the symbol of the feminine, implying that the abused party has taken the female role in an obscene act. In all these instances the sexual need not be the exclusive object of the reproach, as in Finnish and Estonian the loan word from *arg* is a complete inventory of the traits ascribed to the passive- effeminate homosexual, while in Modern German the word *arg* means simply "bad." A semantic parallel is Medieval Latin *felofello*, "evil-doer, criminal," stemming from Classical Latin *fellare*, "to perform fellation."

**Legal Aspects.** The only written law against homosexual behavior from medieval Scandinavia is Chapter 32 of the Norwegian *Gulathinglög*, a part of the new legislation introduced by King Magnus Erlingsson and Archbishop Eysteinn in 1164: "And if two men enjoy the pleasures of the flesh and are accused and convicted thereof, they shall both suffer perpetual outlawry. But if they deny the charge while common report affirms it, let them deny it with the hot iron. And if they are convicted of the charge, the king shall have one-half of their goods and the bishop one-half." This law was the outcome of collusion between the archbishop and Erlingr skakki, the father and guardian of the King. The provision against male homosexual acts was a convenient tool to rid the Church and the state of their enemies and despoil them of their property, and was probably modeled on a similar provision in the Code of Justinian which prescribed banishment with confiscation of half of their property for those guilty of an "abominable crime with persons of the male sex."

In conclusion, the material of the sagas and law codes from medieval Scandinavia shows that pre-Christian custom and belief severely stigmatized the free man who took the passive role in a homosexual relationship—a role that was
equated with cowardliness and want of manhood.


Warren Johansson

SCHOPENHAUER, ARTHUR (1788–1860)

German philosopher. Through a large inheritance from his father the celebrated misanthrope enjoyed financial independence so that he could devote his life completely to philosophy. Even today Schopenhauer’s ethic of compassion possesses great philosophical significance. In the third edition of his magnum opus The World as Will and Idea, Schopenhauer analyzed the phenomenon of “pederasty” in an addendum to Paragraph 44 on the metaphysics of sexual love. At that time (1859), the technical term homosexuality had not yet entered scientific discourse. Nonetheless one must proceed from the assumption that in this addendum Schopenhauer was seeking to find the cause of homosexuality from the philosophical standpoint. In a historical survey he showed that homosexuality has occurred at all times and among all the peoples of the globe. From this finding Schopenhauer concluded that homosexuality could not be unnatural, as his great model Immanuel Kant had held. Schopenhauer’s teleologically oriented conception of nature therefore had to assume in male homosexual behavior—the only form he discussed—a “stratagem of nature” (in the words of Oskar Eichler).

Referring to Aristotle he hypothesized that young men [supposedly boys just past puberty] and likewise men who are too old [the magic boundary is here the age of 54] are not capable of begetting healthy and strong offspring, because their semen is too inferior. As nature is interested in perfecting every species, in men older than 54 “a pederastic tendency gradually and imperceptibly makes its appearance.” When he formulated this argument Schopenhauer himself was 71 years old, so that he could have harbored a homosexual tendency for some years. His ethical evaluation of homosexuality is consistent: What is in the interest of nature cannot be bad. Schopenhauer considered only the seduction of minors as problematic, “since the unlawfulness consists in the seduction of the younger and inexperienced partner, who is thereby physically and morally corrupted.” Therefore homosexuality as such is not reprehensible, solely the alleged seduction of minors.

Schopenhauer was himself the father of at least two illegitimate children and had many unhappy affairs with women. He passionately admired Lord Byron and like him came to the conclusion that women could be considered beautiful only by “the male intellect clouded by the sexual instinct.” In intellectual and aesthetic respects Schopenhauer had homosexual preferences. In a letter to his admirer Julius Frauenstadt he stressed that “even their [women’s] faces are nothing along-side those of handsome boys.” Bryan Magee hypothesizes that the philosopher systematically suppressed his gay tendencies, a view shared by Oskar Eichler and others.

Thirty years after the publication of the third edition of The World as Will and Idea Oswald Oskar Hartmann adopted Schopenhauer’s teleological explanation of homosexuality, suggesting that the first champions of homosexual rights voluntarily followed Schopenhauer’s arguments.

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Schubert, Franz (1797–1828)

Austrian composer. Franz Schubert was the only great Viennese composer native to the city. While he did not enrich every department of music with a masterpiece, he did create supreme works in orchestral, piano, and chamber music, but above all in song, where he is preeminent because his rich vein of melody and expressive harmony reached the heart of the text as no one before him had done.

Schubert was the son of a Catholic schoolmaster descended from Moravian peasant stock. From an early age he displayed outstanding musical gifts, effortlessly outstripping his father, his elder brother, and his teacher, the organist at the parish church of Liechtental. Toward the end of 1808 he was accepted as a choirboy in the imperial court chapel, and simultaneously as a scholar in the Imperial and Royal City College. Here he impressed everyone with his musical gifts, and he was accorded the privilege of leaving the building for his lessons with Antonio Salieri, the friend of Haydn and rival of Mozart.

From 1810 onward Schubert began to compose music, and in 1811 he attended his first opera. His first settings of Schiller date from this period. Too short for the army, and with poor vision, he was rejected by the military authorities, and by the autumn of 1814 he was teaching at his father’s school, but he felt the irksome duties of the classroom as an insuperable barrier between him and the freedom to compose. But 1815 was one of his most productive years in sheer volume: in one year he composed 145 songs with a tremendous range. He also became acquainted with Franz von Schober, a wealthy and cultured young law student who urged him to abandon teaching and devote himself to composition. This he did only at the end of the following year, after his first commissioned work had been performed.

In time, after another depressing stint as schoolmaster, Schubert was appointed music master to the children of Count Johann Esterhazy at Zseliz in Hungary, but there he was bored and unappreciated, and longed only for the stimulus of life in the capital, to which he returned in November 1818.

Here he encountered new friends and new patrons, and there is circumstantial evidence that he gravitated to the Viennese bohème of the Metternich era, where he became the central figure in a coterie of homosexual and bisexual lovers of the arts. Despite continued and enthusiastically received performances of his songs and vocal quartets, he still found publishers reluctant to issue his work. In the autumn of 1822 he composed his eighth, “Unfinished” symphony in B minor, which dwarfed virtually all his compositions until that time. The reason why he did not finish the work is that he had contracted syphilis, and by the spring of 1823 he was dangerously ill. Despite this handicap and a pressing need for money that forced him into a bad deal with his publishers, he continued to compose. He was never able to fulfill his ambition to write a successful opera, but in other musical genres his fame and reputation were growing. He had a circle of friends at whose social gatherings his pieces were performed, and the press outside of Vienna gave him ever more notice. But by 1828 his health had been fatally undermined by the syphilitic infection and by the feverish pace with which he composed in the last eleven months of his life. His death—in the Romantic tradition—at an early age was followed by decades of ne-
glect and oblivion, and only much later was he recognized as one of the great Austrian composers.

What is known of Schubert's lifestyle, his bachelorhood, his intense and loving relationships with other men, and manifold accounts of his disorderly sexual conduct—all this points to a homosexual orientation. His biographers have interpreted unflattering references to the sexual side of his nature in contemporary sources as meaning that he frequented prostitutes, but hedonism of this kind was perfectly acceptable in the "Old Vienna" of his day, and the veiled allusions are probably to a far more unconventional form of sexuality. Schubert never achieved a fulfilled love relationship with a woman; his rejection of marriage was deeply rooted, and Schober recalled his friend's desperate and pathological reaction to the suggestion that he take a wife. Contemporaries ascribed this attitude to misogyny, which was the most that the heterosexual society of the nineteenth century could make of some individuals' failure to be magnetized by the opposite sex.

A modern psychoanalytic biographer of Schubert has concluded, from the study of a brief tale written by Schubert in 1822 entitled "My Dream," that the composer's creativity was fully unleashed by his mother's death on May 28, 1812, when he was in mid-adolescence. Within a month his enormous musical productivity began and continued almost without respite until his final illness and death. Self-conscious both as man and as artist, Schubert knew and treasured his distinctive sexual orientation, even if it had to be hidden from the obscurantist Catholic society of official Vienna. A poem of August von Platen dated January 31, 1823 proves that a well-defined homosexual subculture existed in the German-speaking world by that time, and in such a milieu Schubert could find comradeship and acceptance, while submitting to the outward conformity of the "quiet years" of Austrian history.

A psychoanalytic interpretation of Schubert's personality has found the clue to his life in the dialectical irony of homosexuality itself. In this view rebellion and submission are two sides of the same coin, as the subject oscillates between a passive, masochistic stance vis-à-vis the father and other male rivals, and competitive aggression against them. Schubert's creativity expresses the rebellious side of the complex, for although the homosexual refusal to be dominated is undermined by the need to propitiate the father and similar authority figures, the rebellion itself is perpetual. The homosexual aestheticism of the Romantic period defended brotherhood—with political overtones—against authority, creativity against submission to routine, beauty against the ravages of time and reality. In such an emotional and cultural setting Schubert lived out a brief but intensely creative life as one of the great composers of the early nineteenth century.


Warren Johansson

SCIENCE

Assessing the contribution of male homosexuals and lesbians to science is complicated by the fact that it is no longer clear what science is. Until the middle of the twentieth century, it was generally accepted that scientific progress occurred through slow incremental accumulation of factual data, a process requiring periodic revision of theories to accord with the data. Through the work of such thinkers as Thomas Kuhn and Karl Popper, however, it has become clear that, examined as a whole, scientific change is discontinuous, even erratic and willful, and often guided by external and contingent factors. These factors include the overall world view (not excluding religious components), social and economic
determinants, and the whims and idiosyncrasies of individual scientists. In its more extreme versions, the new scepticism discards the ideas of progress and rationality altogether, discerning an almost random succession of paradigms. Thus Paul Feyerabend, the gadfly of the field, has commended a Dada concept of science, in which "anything goes." It is not necessary to subscribe to this extreme view to acknowledge that as a result of ongoing reexamination the boundaries between science, on the one hand, and ideology on the other, are blurred. In a recent American educational controversy, for example, most scholars hold that the so-called "creation science"—which seeks to reaffirm the traditional picture of the origin of the cosmos given in the book of Genesis—is mistaken, but they seem unable to offer a conclusive argument as to why this is so.

At the end of the nineteenth century when the homosexual rights movement began in the optimistic climate of Wilhelmine Germany, it was confidently held that the emancipation of homosexuals would be achieved by the spread of "science." Increase of knowledge, erected on objective, incontrovertible foundations, would inevitably sweep away lingering "medieval" sources of bigotry and discrimination. The cataclysmic political developments of the twentieth century eroded these high expectations in every sphere. This more sober mood is fortunate, because the impact of the natural and social sciences in the first half of the twentieth century on homosexuality was decidedly mixed. Some fair-minded scientists helped to refute older stereotypes, it is true, but other researchers addressed themselves to schemes for the eradication of homosexuality through social engineering.

Antiquity. It is generally acknowledged that the emergence of critical rationalism in ancient Greece in the sixth century B.C. was the prerequisite for all subsequent scientific progress. This historic breakthrough depended on earlier advances in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, which pioneered in many areas of technology and scientific measurement. The birth of the critical rationalism of the pre-Socratics did not occur in a social vacuum: the absence of a powerful priesthood and of a central despotic government created zones of freedom in which independent thinkers could flourish. The sixth century also saw the emergence to full historical view of the institution of pederasty, the love of an older man for a youth. The Greeks regarded pederasty as itself a contribution to civilization. Hence the belief that, like scientific discoveries themselves, it had an "inventor," Orpheus and Laius being the two leading candidates.

Unfortunately, the life records of the pre-Socratics are too scanty to permit much conjecture about the dynamics of sexuality in their personalities. However, the writings of Plato and Xenophon indicate that Socrates, who has become synonymous with the very spirit of Greek inquiry, was a joyous pederast, who reached some of his most important conclusions in colloquy with a bevy of handsome disciples. In later Greek philosophy there is some indication that doctrines were transmitted from one generation to the next by being imparted by an older master to a beloved pupil. Aristotle, and after him, the Greek medical writers, attempted to determine biological mechanisms that might determine same-sex preference.

Greek science continued during the Hellenistic age, but declined under the Romans. It is probably not accidental that it revived again among the Arabs, under whose rule pederasty flourished almost as strongly as it had among the Greeks.

The Renaissance Tradition. It was largely from the Arabs that Western Europe of the Renaissance received its knowledge of Greek science. In Florence (dubbed both the New Athens and the New Sodom) the humanist Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) championed Neoplatonism, together with hermeticism and astrology. From the modern point of view these last
two elements might be thought of as anti-scientific. Yet recent research has established that the boundaries between science and the occult were often fluid, and hermetic ideas played a major role in the scientific revolution in the seventeenth century.

By common consent the most comprehensive Renaissance genius was Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), scientist, engineer, military expert, writer, painter, sculptor, and architect. The accusation of sodomy that was lodged against him in 1476 seems to have reinforced impressions derived from early life to make Leonardo both recluse and self-reflective. Apart from the quality of his inventions—he designed a bicycle and a parachute, as well as perfecting the use of chiaroscuro in painting—the enigma of Leonardo’s personality has continued to fascinate.

The English Renaissance found its own universal genius in the person of Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626), the creator of the Novum Organum and inspiration of the Royal Society. Holding that those who have wives and children give hostages to fortune, he was known for his partiality to handsome youths. Other English scientists who may have been homophile are Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727), Edmund Halley (1656–1742), and Robert Boyle (1627–1691). In France, René Descartes (1565–1650) was author of the Discourse on Method, and thereby the pioneer of modern rationalism. In his last years he was tutor to the bisexual Queen Christina of Sweden. Descartes composed some letters to her which have been interpreted as discrete advocacy of freedom of sexual orientation. In America the bachelor Benjamin Banneker (1731–1806) was probably the first notable black scientist.

Modern Times. The great explorer, geologist, and ethnographer Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) received his formation in the Berlin of Frederick the Great. Often accompanied by handsome young men on his travels, Humboldt left his fortune to a servant who was also his favorite. Other notable explorers who were homosexual were the Canadian David Thompson (1770–1857) and the Russian Nikolai Mikhailovich Przhevalsky (1839–1888). The sexuality of Sir Richard Burton remains obscure, but he certainly used his observations to making notable contributions to the study of same-sex behavior in the tropics (his “Sodadic Zone”).

In the twentieth century the inventors Nikola Tesla and Wilbur and Orville Wright may have been homophile. Study of the psychobiography of scientists is just beginning, and we may expect further breakthroughs. Two cases are of particular interest. The Austro-English philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951), who had been trained as an engineer, was given to furtive homosexual encounters with men he met in parks. Enigmatic and ascetic in his personal life, he was largely successful in concealing his secret, which his executors tried also to keep, fearing that its revelation would damage his standing as a philosopher. The obstacles placed in the effort to open the door to this aspect of the creativity of one of the twentieth century’s most influential figures constitute a revealing and all-too-typical instance of the difficulties of this kind of biographical inquiry. Much better documented is the case of one of the founders of computer science, the Englishman Alan Turing (1912–1954). Apprehended by the police, Turing was forced to be injected with hormones which resulted in chemical castration. He died of cyanide poisoning.

It is often asked, with wonder or disdain according to taste, why so many artists, poets, and painters, so many actors, dancers, and musicians, have been homophile. In the face of the massive evidence, however, it tends to be assumed that there is some nexus between creativity in the arts and same-sex orientation. Inasmuch as the “scientific personality” counts as the opposite of the artistic one, stereotypical thinking assumes that science is a pursuit somehow inherently
"normal." The relative paucity of famous homosexual scientists probably stems from the fact that one does not have much information on the affective lives of investigators of natural phenomena, because such aspects are thought irrelevant to the "objectivity" of science. Yet, as indicated at the outset, the older picture of science as a seamless web of dispassionate inquiry is yielding to a more nuanced picture, in which science draws closer to the arts. As this newer approach takes hold, one may expect to learn more about the emotional commitments of individual scientists and the way in which these commitments in turn interacted with their creativity and the larger world in which they live.

Richard Dey

**SCIENCE FICTION**

Although the definition of "science fiction" has eluded any real consensus either inside or outside the field, for present purposes science fiction will be treated as a literary (and lately, cinematic, television, and musical) genre which either speculates on life in the future (or "alternative universes" of the present or past) or in which the extrapolated or speculated effects of advances (or declines) in science and technology are important elements to the story. With this definition the article excludes the major genres of fantasy and horror.

**General Considerations.** Sometimes called "speculative fiction," "sf" (as it is commonly referred to) is a genre of the modern age of science, though some would trace its roots back to such "fantasy travel" writers as the second-century (A.D.) Greek Lucian, whose *True History* takes him to a homosexual kingdom on the moon. A wider circle of opinion credits Mary W. Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) with being the first sf work, showing a genuine concern for the effects of science on humanity. Jules Verne (1828–1905) and H. G. Wells (1866–1946) are other oft-cited founders of the genre.

As a self-conscious body of literature, sf arose in the Anglo-American world in the 1920s and 1930s, when it found a vehicle for short stories in pulp magazines and an audience among male adolescents. As such sf "predictions" as the atomic bomb became reality in the 1940s, the genre became increasingly respectable, developed an adult readership, and became able to economically sustain book-length works by talented writers. This expansion continued at a slow but steady pace into the 1960s, when an explosion of interest in space travel (accompanying the moon landing program) and science in general raised interest in sf to the point where it became a major part of popular culture, generating films of mainstream circulation (such as *2001: A Space Odyssey*), television series (such as "Star Trek"), and scholarly scrutiny. Today it is one of the most popular genres of fiction in the English-speaking world, has spread to many other languages (notably Russian), and is the subject of hundreds of academic courses. Sf also boasts a highly organized and very vocal fandom constituting what almost amounts to a subculture in itself.

By its nature, sf tends to posit alternatives to contemporary societies, their assumptions, and their mores, while remaining rooted in the cultures of its writers and readers. It should not be surprising, then, that sf has on the one hand dealt imaginatively with issues of sexuality, sexism, and sexual orientation, portraying contemporary assumptions about these topics as time-and-culture-limited rather than universal, and on the other hand has had its share both of invisibility for non-heterosexual characters and of homophobic stereotypes. Since the 1970s, the former tendency has become dominant, aided by a good number of acknowledged gay, lesbian, or bisexual writers; it is not too much to say that in the 1980s, homophobia is no longer considered "good form" in sf.

**Historical Development.** During the "pulp period," sexuality in general was
largely neglected, the subject not being considered suitable for adolescent literature, and the magazine editors serving as effective censors. As the demographics of the readership broadened, it became possible to include characters who were more or less undisguised homosexuals, but these, in accordance with the attitudes of the times, tended to be villains: evil, demented, or effeminate stereotypes. The most popular role for the homosexual was as a decadent slaveholding lordling whose corrupt tyranny was doomed to be overthrown by the young male heterosexual hero. Lesbians for good or bad remained nearly invisible.

It fell to Theodore Sturgeon, one of the most noted sfi writers of the 1950s, to provide the first positive portrayal of homosexuals in a 1953 story “The World Well Lost,” published in the June issue of Universe. Coming at the height of the homophobic hysteria of the McCarthyite period, this story featured a pair of homosexual-androgynous aliens who, exiled from their homeworld, arrive on earth. At first their gender remains unknown and Earth’s population fawns on them, dubbing them “lovebirds,” but when the truth is discovered they are sent back where they would face execution. In the end, however, the pair is rescued by a spaceman who is a closet homosexual. This landmark story is typical sf in criticizing contemporary mores [here, homophobia] while undermining the threat to the reader [and the current censors] by recasting the protagonists as aliens.

A step backwards to homophobic attitudes was Charles Beaumont’s 1955 story “The Crooked Man,” a Playboy piece which inaugurated a long line of stories in which homosexuality is portrayed as the social norm for one reason or another. Sturgeon came back in 1957 with “Affair with a Green Monkey,” examining social stereotyping of homosexuals (again with an alien as the subject).

By 1960 Pyramid was ready to publish the book-length Venus Plus X, in which Sturgeon posits a one-gender society; the homophobic attitudes of a heterosexual male brought into this society are unfavorably depicted.

There matters rested until 1967, when Samuel R. Delaney, a black gay writer and winner of four Nebula Awards and one Hugo Award, started playing with alternative sexuality in his Ace novel The Einstein Intersection (using semi-alien, semi-human hermaphrodites) and the Nebula-winning short story “Aye, and Gomorrah,” which posits the development of neutered human “spacers” and then depicts the “frelks”—people who become sexually oriented toward the spacers. In this work the concept of sexual orientation is examined with the desired distance attained by imagining a new one.

Delaney followed this in November, 1968, with the dazzling Hugo- and Nebula-winning short story, “Time Considered as a Helix of Semi-precious Stones.” This picaresque tour de force featured two human males, H. C. E. and the teenage sexually masochistic singer Hawk, who are still friends after having once been intimates.

Enter Ursula K. Le Guin, a mildly feminist writer, who in 1969 startled the sf world with her Ace-published novel The Left Hand of Darkness. This book, which won both major awards and quickly gained the stature of an all-time classic of the genre, broke all previous molds in depicting a planet whose people are sexually neuter most of the time, but who randomly turn male or female for a few days each month.

After Le Guin’s searching examination of sex roles and orientations, the field was wide open for further exploration; the coming of the “gay liberation” period starting with the 1969 Stonewall Rebellion led to a relative flood of works looking at unconventional sexualities.

It remained only for Delaney to break the last barrier, depicting homosexual lovemaking on the part of his bisexual
male hero, the Kid, in his 1975 Bantam novel, *Dhalgren*.

In the cinema, where science fiction has been flourishing commercially since at least 1969, the absence of homosexuality has been nearly complete. *Logan’s Run* (1976), depicting a future city in which homosexuality is casually accepted, stands out as an exception.

**Authors.** A number of the most prominent writers working in the field of sf have been publicly identified as gay, lesbian, or bisexual. Two of these, William S. Burroughs and Gore Vidal, made their reputations in mainstream literature but have contributed important novels to the genre, such as Burroughs' *The Wild Boys* (1971) and Vidal's *Kalki* (1978). Writers working primarily in sf who have reached the very top of their field include Marion Zimmer Bradley (b. 1930, prolific author of the Darkover series of novels and also a frequent contributor to gay and lesbian periodicals), Samuel R. Delany (b. 1942 in Harlem, author of the Neveryon series and a frequent writer on gay themes), and Joanna Russ (b. 1937, a radical lesbian feminist and occasional contributor to lesbian and gay journals). Edgar Pangborn (1909–1976) wrote a number of widely read works and consistently dealt with same-sex love. Less well known are Nikos A. Diaman, the Englishman Henry Fitzgerald Heard, Elizabeth A. Lynn, Tom Reamy, Sally M. Gearhart, and [in this field] the Frenchwoman Monique Wittig.

There is also a body of gay male *pomography* with sf settings; authors in this area include Felix Falkon, Dave Garrett, Peter Harnes, Peter Hughes, Rex Montgomery, Charles Platt, and the more widely known Larry Townsend.

**Novels of Interest.** A large number of sf novels are of substantial gay or lesbian interest. The largest category of these are works in which the hero(ine) or a major protagonist is either homosexual or bisexual, usually males; books of particular interest to women are so noted. These works include Marion Zimmer Bradley's Darkover books *The Heritage of Hastur* (1975) and *The Forbidden Tower* (1977), which link homosexuality to telepathy; William S. Burroughs’ *The Wild Boys* (1971) and *Blade Runner* (1979); the classic sf writer Arthur C. Clarke’s *Imperial Earth* (1975), in which the hero brings back from Earth a clone of his lost lover; Joan Cox's *Mindsong* (1979); Delaney's hallucinogenic *Dhalgren* [see above]; Thomas M. Disch’s *On Wings of Song* (1979); Zoe Fairbairns' *Benefits* (1979), a feminist work set in Britain; M. J. Engh’s *Arslan* (1976), in which the title character, a modern Alexander the Great, is bisexual and develops a long-lasting affair with a schoolboy; Sally M. Gearhart's *The Wanderground* (1978), a set of feminist stories with a common background; David Gerrold’s *The Man Who Folded Himself* (1973), in which the hero uses time travel to make copies of himself which turn out to be ideal lovers; Leo P. Kelley’s *Mythmaster* (1973), whose bisexual protagonist opts for heterosexuality; Elizabeth A. Lynn’s *A Different Light* (1978), in which another bisexual protagonist opts this time for homosexuality, and *The Dancers of Arun* (1979), which features fraternal incest complicated by telepathy; a set of novels by Michael Moorcock: *The Final Programme* (1968), featuring a bisexual hermaphrodite, *The English Assassin* (1972), whose female characters are lesbian or bisexual, *Breakfast in the Ruins* (1972) about a gay male, and *The Adventures of Una Persson and Catherine Cornelius in the Twentieth Century* (1976), two bisexual lesbians; George Nader’s *Chrome* (1978), the first sf novel published by a major house [Putnam] specifically geared for the gay male market; Frederick Pohl's *Gateway* (1977), a Nebula and Hugo winner about a repressed homosexual; Thomas N. Scortia’s *Earthwreck!* (1974), popular writer Robert Silverberg's *The Book of Skulls* (1972), in which two of the four heroes are gay; the great sf philosopher Olaf Stapledon’s *Odd John* (1936), whose hero goes through a homosexual phase shortly after puberty;
best-selling sf writer John Varley's *The Ophiuchi Hotline* (1977), whose heroine is bisexual, and his Gaia series starting with *Titan* (1979) and continuing with *Wizard* (1980) and *Demon* (1984), featuring a pair of women, one bisexual and one lesbian, who become closer and closer lovers as the trilogy progresses; Paul Well's *Project Lambda* (1979), depicting concentration camps for male homosexuals in a police-state United States; and John Wynne's *The Sighting* (1978), a coming-out story.

Homosexual villains can be found in numerous books; an interested reader might consult Barry Malzberg's *The Sodom and Comorrah Business and Tactics of Conquest* (both 1974), Fred M. Stewart's *Star Child* (1975), or Kate Wilhelm's Hugo-winning *Where Late the Sweet Birds Sang* (1976).

Novels set in worlds which accept homosexuality as a normal and integrated part of the environment, but without a focus on a major character, include John Brunner's multiple award-winning *Hugo*, British Science Fiction Award, Prix Apollo) classic *Stand on Zanzibar* (1968); Delaney's *Babel-17* (1966) and *Triton* (1976); Marta Randall's *Journey* (1978) and *Dangerous Games* (1980); and John Varley's "Eight Worlds" series of books. The paucity of novels projecting homosexuality as a not-very-remarkable, accepted part of the landscape, is noteworthy; authors seem either to make homosexuality a major element of their story or to omit it altogether.

A significant number of novels posit a world or society in which homosexuality is the only option, there being but one gender present. The feminist vision of a world without males has no doubt inspired several of these; in short-story form they are represented by James Tiptree's (pseudonym of Alice Sheldon) Hugo-winner "Houston, Houston, Do You Read?" (1976), in which a plague has wiped out men and three male astronauts hurled into the future have to deal with the situation. Novels in this category include Suzy M. Charnas' *Motherlines* (1978), in which women have set up societies completely outside of the men's world, the novel containing no male characters; Charles E. Maine's *Alph* (1972), showing a future Earth in which men have been extinct for half a millennium and civil war erupts over a plan to bring back males; Joanna Russ' *The Female Man* (1975), where the all-woman world is called Whileaway; Joan Slonczewski's *Door Into Ocean* (1986), where an all-female race on a water planet must deal with male invaders; the Frenchwoman Monique Wittig's *Les Guerillères* (1969) and *The Lesbian Body* (1973), which posit all-female lesbian societies; her collaboration with Sande Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* (1976), which does the same in the far future; and Donna J. Young's *Retreat: As It Was* (1979), which has an entire lesbian galaxy subjected to warfare by an unknown species: men.

All-male environments have been a staple since the pulp days of sf, but these have usually been limited situations such as spaceships rather than entire cultures. Novels which depict entire all-male societies include: A. Bertram Chandler's *False Fatherland* (1968), in which the arrival of a mixed-crew spaceship precipitates a miraculous conversion to heterosexuality; Auctor Ignitus' *AE: The Open Persuader* (1969), in which gay men have set up their own society; and the Italian Virgilio Martini's homophobic *The World Without Women* (1969), where gay men invent a disease which kills off all the females.

Theodore Sturgeon's oft-cited *Venus Plus X* (see above) sets out a single-sex world which is defined as neither male nor female, while Philip Wylie's *The Disappearance* (1951) separates males and females into two parallel worlds, each of a single gender, where homosexuality is adopted out of necessity.

Another large category of stories involves societies in which both sexes are present but homosexuality is either compulsory or socially favored. These works
could be written out of an author's desire to hold a satirical mirror up to the homophobia of his culture, but in practice seem to reflect the writer's own paranoia about homosexuality. The classic tale of this type was the short story by Charles Beaumont, "The Crooked Man" (see above). In this story, however, the "genuine" homosexuals are cruel and depraved. Novels dealing with this theme include Anthony Burgess' *The Wanting Seed* (1962), in which homosexuality is required for official employment in Britain and violent warfare breaks out between the sexes, while Nature goes on strike: crops fail and animals will not reproduce; Suzy M. Charnas' *Walk to the End of the World* (1974), which sets out an Earth of sexual apartheid and the subjugation of females; the Frenchman Robert Merle's *The Virility Factor* (1974), in which men are hit by a disease which leaves a despotic lesbian tyranny in charge and the remaining men become second-class citizens; Naomi Mitchinson's *Solution Three* (1975), basically an expansion of the Beaumont setting; and Eric Norden's *The Ultimate Solution* (1973), in which homosexuality is the social norm in a Nazi America.

Settings in which sexuality involves more than two genders have been presented in the venerable Isaac Asimov's *The Gods Themselves* (1972), which depicts a three-sexed race, two of whom are more or less male; Samuel R. Delaney's seminal *The Einstein Intersection* (1967), also trisexual; and John Varley's *Gaia* series, in which the native intelligent species undergoes extremely complex patterns in order to reproduce.

A final major category of novels does away with gender distinctions altogether, presenting worlds of androgyny. Ursula Le Guin's *The Left Hand of Darkness* (see above) is the classic of this type. Other novels in this area include the legendary Robert Heinlein's *I Will Fear No Evil* (1970), which puts a man's brain into a woman's body through a transplant operation; Robert Silverberg's *Son of Man* (1971), where the inhabitants of a future Earth can change sex at will; Frederick Turner's *A Double Shadow* (1978), whose hero is a hermaphroditic; and John Varley's "Eight Worlds" series, in which human beings can and do change gender as easily as haircuts.


Stephen Donaldson

**SCIENTIFIC-HUMANITARIAN COMMITTEE**

The Wissenschaftlich-humanitäre Komitee, the world's first homosexual rights organization, was founded in Berlin on May 14, 1897, the twenty-ninth birthday of Magnus *Hirschfeld* (1868–1935), a physician of Jewish origin who became the leading authority on homosexuality in the first third of the twentieth century. Under the pseudonym of "Dr. Ramien," Hirschfeld had in 1896 published a book entitled *Sappho und Sokrates, oder wie erklärt sich die Liebe der Männer und Frauen zu Personen des eigenen Geschlechts!* (Sappho and Socrates, or How Is the Love of Men and Women for Persons of Their Own Sex To Be Explained?). Moved by the suicide of a young homosexual officer on the eve of a marriage into which his family had pressured him, Hirschfeld went on to create an organization that would campaign for legal toleration and social acceptance for what he called the third sex.

Writing in an era when biology and medicine uncritically accepted the notion of "inborn traits" of all kinds, Hirschfeld maintained that homosexuals were members of a third sex, an evolutionary intermediate (or intergrade).
between the male and the female, and he bolstered his thesis with data of all kinds showing that the mean for the homosexual subjects whom he studied by interview and questionnaire fell almost exactly between those for male and female respectively. Accordingly the journal which the Scientific-humanitarian Committee published from 1899 onward was entitled the Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Homosexualität (Annual for Sexual Intergrades with Special Reference to Homosexuality).

Aims and Methods. The first and foremost goal of the committee was legal reform, as following the establishment of the North German Confederation and then of the German Empire, a new penal code was adopted that went into force on the entire territory of the Reich on January 1, 1872. Its Paragraph 175 made criminal widernatürliche Uazucht zwischen Männern (lewd and unnatural acts between males) with a maximum penalty of two years. The repeal of this paragraph was the main object of the Committee’s endeavors during its 36 years of existence. For this purpose it drafted a petition “to the Legislative Bodies of the German Empire” that was ultimately signed by some 6000 Germans prominent in all walks of life. But it also sought to enlighten a public that as yet knew nothing of the literature that had been appearing sporadically in the psychiatric journals since 1869, or of the earlier apologetic writings of Heinrich Hoessli and Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. By means of pamphlets, public lectures, and later even films, the Committee sought to convince the world that homosexuals were an unjustly persecuted sport of nature, who could not be blamed for their innate and unmodifiable sexual orientation. Because they lived in a society that was wholly intolerant of homosexual expression, they had to hide their orientation and their sexual activity, and so were peculiarly exposed to blackmail if their true nature came to the knowledge of members of the criminal underworld. As early as January 1898 August Bebel, the leader of the German Social Democratic Party, spoke on the floor of the Reichstag in favor of the petition, while the other parties denounced it in horror. Among the educated elite Hirschfeld’s views soon won a large measure of support, but they were totally rejected by the churches and by the conservative jurists of the Wilhelmstrasse engaged in drafting a new criminal code.

The Committee was in practice the world’s first center for the study of all aspects of homosexuality. Though ignored by academic scholars, Hirschfeld collected material from various sources on the frequency of homosexual behavior in the population and the psychological profile of the homosexual personality. In 1904 Hirschfeld concluded that 2.2 percent of the population was exclusively homosexual, and that the figure was surprising only because so many of his subjects successfully hid their inclinations from a hostile world. The private lives of his subjects he examined from numerous aspects, in every one of which he found evidence that supported his theory of an innate third sex.

Difficulties and Rivals. As the years passed, the Committee was beset with problems from within and without. Hirschfeld’s theories placed undue emphasis on the effeminate male and the virginal female as the homosexual types par excellence, a standpoint that alienated the pederasts who fell into neither category and were often bisexual as well. Benedict Friedländer, an independent scholar, denounced Hirschfeld’s views and contrasted them with the Hellenic ideal of man–boy love which was a virile, state-building phenomenon in his Renaissance des Eros Uranios (Renaissance of Eros Uranios; 1904). A rival organization, the Gemeinschaft der Eigenen (Community of the Exceptional), was founded in 1902, and adopted as its journal Der Eigene, edited by Adolf Brand, which had been publishing literary and art work on the subject of pederasty since 1898. The in-
compatibility of the two approaches shows that the umbrella concept of "homosexuality" united biological and psychological phenomena which had only this in common, that they both ran afoul of the Judeo-Christian taboo on same-sex relations; socially and politically they were—and still are—incompatible. The Committee had even anticipated the split by proposing in its petition an age of consent of 16 for homosexual relations—which would in effect have excluded the boy-lover from the benefit of law reform.

The other critical juncture in the history of the Committee was the Harden-Euleenburg affair, which began in November 1906 with accusations by Maximilian Harden, a sort of Walter Lippmann of the Second Reich, in his journal Die Zukunft, to the effect that two of the Kaiser's intimates, Prince Philipp zu Eulenburg and Count Kuno von Moltke, were members of a homosexual clique whose inner sanctuary had been penetrated by another of their ilk, the First Secretary of the French Legation in Berlin, Raymond Lecomte, who had then revealed to the Quai d'Orsay that Germany was bluffing during the Moroccan crisis of January-April 1906 that ended in a diplomatic victory for his country at Germany's expense. A series of scandalous trials ensued in which Hirschfeld testified as an "expert witness," Harden was victorious, and Euleenburg was disgraced and ruined, spending the last years of life in isolation on his estate. But the whole series of events associated homosexuality with espionage and treason in the eyes of the press and the public, and the Committee's fortunes took a turn for the worse. Interestingly enough, it was the newspapers' use of the term homosexual during the Harden-Euleenburg affair that made it a household word and displaced the medical coinages current until then in the specialized literature of the subject.

The reaction to the Committee's endeavors went so far as a proposal for extending the sanctions of Paragraph 175 to women in Paragraph 250 of a draft penal code published late in 1909. This elicited a statement in support of the Committee from the Deutsche Bund für Mutterschutz [German League for the Protection of Motherhood], an organization devoted to the welfare of the unwed mother, whom public opinion in Germany stigmatized almost as cruelly as it did the male homosexual. In this way the various groups advocating reform in the sphere of sexual morality were brought closer together by the moves of the opposition.

Scholarly Achievements. Aided by the experts in various disciplines who had been attracted to the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, Hirschfeld set about writing a major work that was published in January 1914 under the title Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes [Male and Female Homosexuality]. This vast tome summarized everything that had been learned from the literature of the past, and especially of the preceding decade and a half, as well as the 10,000 case histories that Hirschfeld had taken in that time. All its arguments were directed toward proving that homosexuality was inborn and unmodifiable and that the reasoning [including early psychoanalytic writings] in favor of acquired homosexuality was untenable. As a scientifically documented, carefully argued plea for toleration, it remains along with the 23 volumes of the Jahrbuch the committee's principal legacy to the later movement.

Later History. World War I interrupted the committee's work, and for a time some of its publications were suppressed by wartime censorship. Hirschfeld took a patriotic stance on the pages of the committee's journal, which also carried letters from homosexual servicemen in the field. The end of the Empire and the proclamation of the Republic in November 1918 gave new hope to the committee's aspirations, but the postwar drafts of a new penal code were no more acceptable than the previous ones.

To propagate the Committee's views, a film entitled Anders als die An-

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dem [Different from the Others] was made in 1919 and shown in almost the whole of Germany before it was banned by a revived censorship. It was the first use of the cinema to promote the cause of homosexual liberation, and a second film called Gesetze der Liebe was produced in 1927. Under the Weimar Republic the committee carried on extensive propaganda, but by now organizations of a primarily or purely social character far exceeded the committee in membership. The postwar era saw an extensive gay subculture thrive in Berlin and other large German cities.

The growing anti-Semitic movement in Germany made Hirschfeld one of its targets. He was assaulted in Munich in 1920 and again in 1921, the second time receiving a fractured skull and being prematurely reported dead. On the other hand, the Social Democrats and Communists supported the Committee’s demands in the Reichstag, and in 1929, a 15–13 vote of a committee approved the striking of the “homosexual paragraph” from the draft penal code. However, this victory was premature: no action was taken by the Reichstag, and the mounting economic crisis not only made other issues more urgent, but led to the phenomenal rise of the National Socialist German Workers Party (Nazis), which despite the presence of some homosexuals in its own ranks denounced the homosexual liberation movement, in part because it was identified with such Jewish figures as Hirschfeld and Kurt Hiller, who had participated in a coalition of groups seeking reform of various sex laws in Germany and edited its critique of the official draft of the new code.

After the Vienna Congress of the World League for Sexual Reform on a Scientific Basis (1930), Hirschfeld did not return to Germany, fearing for his life at the hands of the Nazis. His collaborators continued the work of the committee, but the growth of the extreme right doomed its efforts. With the appointment of Hitler as Reichschancellor on January 30, 1933 the Committee sought a modus vivendi with the new regime, as did many others who hoped that by adopting a nationalist line they could placate the National Socialists. However, the accession to full power by Hitler and his supporters meant the end of the Committee and the destruction of the Institute for Sexual Science which Hirschfeld had founded in 1918.

Conclusion. Little known except in homosexual circles, the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee was all but forgotten by the end of World War II, but its publications survived in a few learned libraries and private collections. The homophile movement that began in the 1950s perhaps unjustly neglected this brave and pioneering effort to change the prejudice and intolerance of Western society in regard to homosexuality, and future students of the subject are well advised to consider how it conceived its mission and set about fulfilling it. Small as it was, it was the forerunner of the vast international gay rights movement of today.


Warren Johansson

SCULPTURE
See Art, Visual; Nude in Art.

SCYTHIANS
Scythia is the general name given by ancient authors to the whole area extending from the Danube to the frontiers of China. It was occupied by a warlike, nomadic people who came from what is now southern Russia in the first millennium B.C. Before the ninth century B.C. they formed a kingdom in the eastern Crimea, and in the seventh century they invaded Syria, Mesopotamia, and the Balkan peninsula. Though attacked by Darius
I of Persia (512 B.C.) and then by Alexander the Great (ca. 325 B.C.), they survived but were driven back to southern Russia, where in the following centuries they were displaced by the related Sarmatians. Russian and Ukrainian scholars of today regard the Scythian culture, known from extensive archeological finds that supplement the scattered references in classical literature, as part of the prehistory of their country.

What links the Scythians with homosexuality is the long debate over the meaning of a Greek passage in Herodotus’ Histories which, brief as it is, seems to provide evidence for a sexual culture that was widespread in antiquity, though unknown among the Greeks themselves. Herodotus [i, 105] reports the dire consequences of the fact that some stragglers from the Scythian army violated the temple of Aphrodite Urania at Ascalon, on the coast of Palestine. “On such of the Scythians as plundered the temple at Ascalon, and on their posterity for succeeding generations, the goddess inflicted the thelesia nusos (‘feminine disease’). And the Scythians say themselves it is for this cause they suffer the sickness, and moreover that any who visit the Scythian country may see among them what is the condition of those whom the Scythians call enarees.” Elsewhere [IV, 67] Herodotus credits the enarees— he translates the term as androgynoi, “men-women”—with a special method of divination which they have from Aphrodite. The Hippocratic work On Airs, Waters and Places, 22, ascribes the “disease” of the anarieis, understood as a form of impotence, to divine retribution, which struck the wealthy in particular. Finally, Aristotle in the Nicomachean Ethics [VII, 7] speaks of a malakia, “effeminacy”—also defined as to thely, “the feminine”—that was a hereditary trait of the Scythian kings. Such is the scanty but significant evidence that survives from antiquity.

Julius Rosenbaum, in an omnium gatherum of texts and comments on the sexual life of the ancients entitled Geschichte der Lustseuche im Altertume [History of the Plague of Lust in Antiquity; 1839], argued that the “feminine disease” meant a proclivity to pederasty. In 1882 the Russian historian Vsevolod Miller opened a new chapter in the discussion by pointing to survivals of Scythian myth and custom among the Ossetians. Subsequently, Georges Dumézil analyzed an Ossetian legend in which the hero Hamyc offends the god of the sea Don Betyr and is punished by having to endure pregnancy and childbirth. He concluded that Herodotus had confounded two phenomena, a genuine Scythian tradition from the northern coast of the Black Sea and a piece of folk belief associated with the shrine at Ascalon. This city on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean remained pagan (Canaanite) even after the interior of Palestine had been conquered by the invading Israelites, who because they had no navy could not blockade the port and compel its surrender.

The two elements in this tangle of legends deserve closer analysis. The Scythian element is the variety of shamanism with symbolic change of sex, including the wearing of women’s clothing, a custom associated with the practice of divination among the peoples of the far north of the Eurasian continent and one that reputedly serves to enhance the magical powers of the shaman. In modern times the practice of gender change was studied among the Chukchees of eastern Siberia by the anthropologist Waldemar Bogoras, who emphasized that no physical hermaphroditism was involved, but rather the adoption in full of the clothing, speech, manners and even marital status of a woman. These customs are believed to be remnants of a once-vast Eurasian cultural realm, which may well have embraced the Scythians.

Turning to the Canaanite element identified with Ascalon, this would lie in the indigenous religion of the country, more specifically in the practices forbidden in Deuteronomy 22:5 and 23:18. The
latter form part of the profession of the kādēsh and the kelebb, who donned women’s clothing and prostituted themselves to male worshippers at the temples of Ishtar/Astarte, of which the oldest, as Herodotus specifically mentions, was the one at Ascalon. The rendering of the word kādēsh in the Septuagint by pomezon and teliskomenos, which are glossed in the lexica by terms indicating that these servants of Ishtar performed both erotic and priestly functions for the devotees of the goddess, suggests that the hierodules of the Canaanite-Phoenician religion were the counterpart of the shamans in the archaic cultures of sub-Arctic Eurasia. This conclusion reinforces what is known from other sources: the kādēshim engaged in homosexual activity as part of their religious calling, which provoked the rivalry and hatred of the priests and Levites in ancient Israel. Hence the Greek observers of Palestinian and Eurasian sacrosexual customs were struck by the similarity between them.

Soviet commentators on the passages in Herodotus and the Hippocratic corpus have preferred to stress the purported survival of matriarchal customs: the male who practiced divination had to adopt the gender of a woman in order to exercise a function that had previously belonged only to women. However, it is more consistent with the whole body of ethnographic data on divination and magic to see in the Scythian institution (and its Canaanite analogue) another instance of the peculiar gift for extrasensory perception that is often linked with inversion of gender role and sexual orientation. The religious culture of the Scythians institutionalized this phenomenon in the guise of a shamanism which survived among the remote Ossetians until comparatively recent times, when the mounting influence of Islam and Christianity led to its disappearance.


Warren Johansson

SEAFARING

As a closed environment usually involving only one gender, maritime life offers objective conditions favoring situational homoerotic behavior. Nonetheless, at the present stage of research, documentation remains incomplete. Historical evidence, which comes mainly from western civilization, is generally of two types: on the one hand, the official policies of the maritime authorities, and their enforcement; on the other, folklore and oral tradition, most commonly sailor songs or sea shanties.

In addition to shipboard sexuality, there is a long and reasonably well attested history of sexual interaction between seafaring men in port and homosexuals attracted by a certain “sexual mystique” attributed to sailors at large. As a result, seamen and their images have assumed a role in the gay subculture out of all proportion to their miniscule presence as permanent members of that subculture.

Naval Policy and Discipline

Although Greco-Roman culture was suffused with same-sex relations, little has been recorded of this activity in a maritime context, probably because it was taken for granted. In a fourth-century text from Athens, Aeschines notes that one Timarchus, who had ostensibly gone to the port of Piraeus to learn the barbering trade, had actually prostituted himself to sailors there.
The introduction of Judeo-Christian norms created the presuppositions for a new and problematic attitude, for the taboo on homosexual relations was supposed to apply everywhere. Nonetheless, evidence of enforcement is patchy, probably because shipboard activities were out of sight of land-based guardians of official ideology and pirates paid them no heed anyway. In early modern Europe, three nations—the Venetian Republic, the United Provinces (Holland), and England—felt themselves at risk, because their very prosperity depended on seaborne commerce. Sermons and pamphlets warned against the vengeance an angry god would inflict on a nation that tolerated sodomy. Nonetheless, the only evidence of sustained persecution comes from English naval history. During the eighteenth-century wars, heavy punishment with the lash as well as hanging were inflicted for buggery, reaching a peak during the conflict with Napoleon. From 1806 to 1816, 28.6 percent of all executions in the Royal Navy were for buggery. The punishments abated, but the practice evidently did not. Sir Winston Churchill, for a time First Lord of Admiralty, was to remark that the three traditions of the Royal Navy were “rum, sodomy, and the lash.” Although homosexual conduct has been decriminalized in the United Kingdom for consenting adults (1967 and after), this liberalization does not apply to the navy or merchant marine, where it remains subject to discipline.

In the United States, a kind of witchhunt was conducted among naval personnel in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1919–21, but this local action had no immediate sequel. Court records of testimony, however, demonstrate the sailors’ casual attitudes. Some Navy men and women were discharged in the late stages of World War II as part of a campaign to rid the armed services of “sex perverts.” Introduction of women aboard ship has caused some shifts in emphasis. In the USS Norton Sound case in Long Beach, California (1980), women in the ranks were subjected to investigation for both heterosexual and lesbian activity. Naval discharges for “homosexual involvement” are still occasionally handed out today, though courts-martial for sodomy are extremely rare. Since the mid-1970s administrative discharges have usually been characterized as “Honorable,” especially if the “involvement” in question was off-ship and off-base. Admitted homosexuals are not eligible for enlistment or commissioning in the United States Navy. Naval policy toward homosexuality has been under attack from the gay and civil liberties movements since the 1960s, when less-than-honorable discharges were common.

**Attitudes of the Sailor.** The custom of speeding work through singing—the sea shanty—probably goes back to the days of oars when keeping an exact beat was critical. Surviving sailor songs, however, go back to the nineteenth and sometimes eighteenth centuries, handed down from generation to generation in uncensored form and eventually written down by folklorists and collectors. These songs provide a quite different viewpoint on shipboard sexuality from that of the official establishment.

The attitude reflected in these songs is one of casual acceptance of sex among the sailors at sea, though homosexual adventures in port are not described. Thus, the Royal Navy sang “Backside rules the Navy,/ backside rules the sea./ If you wanna get some bum [arse],/ better get it from your chum,/ cause you’ll get no bum from me.” An American Navy enlisted man’s song, “Turalai,” celebrated the navy “for buggering whatever it can” and went on to state flatly that from this activity “comparative safety on shipboard/ is enjoyed by the hedgehog alone.” Merchant mariners commonly characterized the cabin boys as sexual recipients.

It is interesting to note that the sailor songs frequently accompanied tales of heterosexual adventures in port with woeful endings involving venereal disease.
and vengeful husbands, but the songs describing sex at sea among themselves are good-humored and without such warnings.

Sailor slang characterized the passive sexual partner on ship as "sea pussy," implying he was a legitimate substitute in the female-deprived circumstances of an ocean voyage. Thus does the proverbial seaman's expression "any port in a storm" find direct physiological outlet.

Sailors in general have long been noted for a relatively casual attitude toward the standards of sexual "morality" held by landlubbers; this relative tolerance also applies to same-gender sexual activity. Most seamen are of the working class and widely share the attitude common among working-class men that only the passive partner's activity is "homosexual" or "unnatural," while the active, insertive partner's role is not stigmatized.

In the American navy (until pay was substantially raised with the end of the draft in the early 1970s), and in less-well-paid navies to this day, male prostitution in port was quite common among enlisted sailors, sometimes for nominal sums as an excuse for a desired sexual contact. The active, "male" role had to be preserved, however. Not infrequently, the poverty-stricken sailor would first earn some money offering himself for fellatio with a homosexual male, then take the money so earned and spend it on a female prostitute.

While it is clear that sailors in general are more tolerant of homosexuality than a cross-section of the land-dwelling population from which they come, the maritime subculture is not immune from the homophobia of that population. Significant numbers of sailors can also be found to endorse the strictly homophobic norms established by naval (if not merchant marine) authorities. While some captains ignore the official policy, and others enforce it only when inescapably brought to their attention, still others have been known to conduct vigorous witchhunting. As with many other matters of shipboard life, the atmosphere with regard to homosexuality can vary enormously from one ship to another.

It should not surprise that significant numbers of young men who prefer the companionship of other males and feel little or no need for females have for centuries gone to sea. Those inclined toward passive roles have often found themselves welcomed by sexually frustrated crewmates, while those inclined toward active roles have found it relatively easy to camouflage themselves as "straight" while practicing the sex they like best.

The Mystique of the Sailor. For the landlubbing civilian, sailors have often had a romantic aura, and for homosexual males this has been supplemented by an uncommonly strong erotic mystique. This mystique is promoted by many sailors, who traditionally pride themselves on their erotic prowess, their experience of sexual variations from all over the world, their revealing skin-tight uniforms, and their abundant sexual energy stored up over weeks or months at sea. Some seamen speculate that the constant vibrations of the powerful engines on ship make them especially horny. Perceived by homosexuals as hypersexual, relatively casual about homosexual contact, and easily plied with inhibition-loosening alcohol, it is no wonder that even apparently heterosexual sailors were sought out and highly prized as sexual partners. The sailors, of course, were usually aware of this and often played up to it, resulting in a curious symbiosis of maritime and homosexual subcultures. In gay slang, sailors are called "seafood," probably reflecting their well-known (if scientifically undocumented) fondness for oral sex, and the men who are particularly drawn to them are called "seafood queens." In major ports, where the interaction of the two subcultures is strong, there are well-known places, times, and means of making contact. In Norfolk, Virginia (headquarters of the U.S.
Atlantic Fleet), for example, there are so many available sailors that many of the “seafood queens” become specialists, adopting one particular ship and its crew or one occupational speciality (such as radaron or boatswain’s mate) to the exclusion of others.

Not well known is the fact that a great deal of the motivation for those generally heterosexual sailors who become repeatedly involved with gay men as trade is not sexual or financial at all. The young common sailor, generally at the bottom of the shipboard hierarchy and often dismissed with contempt by civilians at large, finds himself treated like royalty, his male ego enhanced, his grieves given sympathetic attention. Instead of taking orders all the time, he finds himself in a position to give them. Instead of the usual sterile environment of cramped shipboard quarters, he gets to relax in a home environment where he can kick back, watch television, and have his every need attended to.

_Literary and Artistic Images._ The sexual fascination with sailors was often expressed, though sometimes cryptically, in literary works. Major monuments are the sea novels of Herman Melville; in _White-Jacket_ (1850) the title character declares, “sailors, as a class, entertain the most liberal notions concerning morality . . . or rather, they take their own views of such matters.” In 1895 Adolfo Caminha published a novel, _Bom-Crioulo_, offering a frank view of an interracial affair between two Brazilian sailors. Among twentieth-century novels, Jean Genet’s _Querelle of Brest_ (1947) is outstanding for its transposition of the sailor image into the author’s own powerful moral universe. In its turn the book was made into a film by the German gay director Rainer Werner Fassbinder. The multitalented Jean Cocteau offered a dual homage to sailors in poetry and drawings. Christopher Bram’s novel _Hold Tight_ (1988) portrays the spy-catching career of a sailor in a male brothel in New York City during World War II. The American painters Paul Cadmus and Charles Demuth showed sailors on shore leave as the object of the attention of gay men. Depictions of sailors, often emphasizing the characteristic contours of the bell-bottom trousers and the jaunty set of the cap, have been a staple of pornographic drawings, photographs, and films.

Much research remains to be done, especially as regards homosexual behavior among Muslim, Chinese, Japanese, and other non-Western sailors. There can be no doubt, however, that seafaring, with its characteristic appeal to escape from the constraints of land-based civilization, has been a major focus of male homosexual imagination.


*Stephen Donaldson*

**SELF-ESTEEM**

Self-esteem refers to the evaluative dimension of the self-concept: the attitude that an individual adopts and customarily maintains with regard to the self as good or bad. It reflects the extent to which an individual believes the self to be capable, significant, and worthy. Self-esteem thus implies an overall attitude of self-acceptance, self-respect, and self-worth independent of context. Rosenberg notes that “A person with high self-esteem is fundamentally satisfied with the type of person he is” while a person with low self-esteem “lacks respect for himself, considers himself unworthy, inadequate, or oth-
erwise seriously deficient as a person." In many ways, self-esteem is the quintessential individual characteristic for Western society.

Theories Viewing Homosexual Persons as Deficient in Self-Esteem. Traditional psychological and sociological theories frequently view the homosexual person as living a lonely, depressed life, conceiving and despising the self as inferior. This state exists, it is believed, because of longstanding developmental handicaps that the homosexual condition imposes or because of the negative effects that a homophobic social world has on one's sense of identity. In either case, it appears inevitable and, to some, even justifiable that the homosexual individual will devalue the self, resulting in self-contempt and a negative self-image.

A plethora of theoretical and empirical work has appeared to explain the purported deficient self-esteem level of the gay and lesbian population. Most theories of gay and lesbian self-esteem focus on the etiological connection between self-evaluation and sexual orientation. For example, some psychoanalytic theorists attribute to homosexuality, by definition, a wide range of neurotic problems that relate to how an individual evaluates himself or herself. Because of their developmental history, which is purported to be responsible for both the sexual orientation and the negative self-image, homosexual persons have (in this view) serious personality disturbances, engendering feelings of self-inadequacy, sadistic and masochistic behavior, and suicidal gestures.

Varying the theoretical perspective but not the fundamental conclusions, sociological theorists are far less concerned with inner psychological dynamics. Rather, this perspective emphasizes the state of the external world and its subsequent impact on self-evaluation among homosexual persons. Low self-esteem is the result of internalizing negative values and attitudes—the reflected appraisals—of significant others in her or his world during the childhood years, especially those of parents, siblings, and teachers. There is a clear message given to the growing child: sexual minority youth often feel bad about themselves, have a poor self-image and low self-esteem and, especially during their teenager years, feel totally alone.

One need not necessarily experience the negative social reactions directly—say, by being harassed by peers or fired from a job; the imagined sense or expectation of negative sanctions can be more powerful than a direct assault on one's self-image. The mass media frequently incorporate anti-homosexual cultural meanings and behaviors; apprehensions of discrimination that can emanate from this exposure may have serious repercussions for one's self-image as a gay or lesbian person.

More Balanced Approaches. Empirical studies testing these theoretical assumptions concerning the negative self-esteem felt by gay men and lesbians were first stimulated by Evelyn Hooker's (1957) research with non-pathological homosexual individuals. She concluded that homosexual persons are not necessarily maladjusted individuals filled with self-loathing and low self-esteem who experience difficulty in functioning. In a review of subsequent empirical studies that compared the self-esteem level of gay and lesbian subjects with that of heterosexual men and women, Savin-Williams (1990) found that eight of the 16 studies comparing lesbians with heterosexual women found no difference in mean self-esteem level; six, higher scores for lesbians; and two, higher scores for straight women. Eighteen of the 30 studies comparing males reported no difference in self-esteem level; five, higher scores for gay men; and seven, higher scores for straight men.

Empirical research on the self-esteem of gay men and lesbians not only fails to substantiate the theoretical speculations of a number of writers, in the case of lesbians the findings tend to contradict
the psychological and sociological theorists. Apparently, despite the “developmental handicaps” of growing up alienated and alone within a heterosexual home and an alien society, most gay men and lesbians manage to evolve a healthy and positive self-image in the process of coming out.

Research Perspectives. It is not particularly profitable to focus on group differences in self-esteem level between gay and straight subjects. More important are investigations that explore the developmental experiences of those gay and lesbian individuals who maintain a negative self-image in contrast with those who view the self as a positive entity, thus apparently insulating themselves against societal messages to the contrary. If this focus becomes primary, then there is hope that the social sciences will be in a better position to address the fundamental issues of self-esteem among gay men and lesbians. As a result, policies and programs that attempt to assist those gay and lesbian individuals who experience negative self-feelings and self-images will be better informed and thus more effective.

Equally critical is the need to expand the self-esteem literature beyond the evaluative aspect to embrace perceptual and cognitive dimensions of the self. Especially needed are in-depth longitudinal studies that trace the evolving sense of self as a gay or lesbian person from the first moments of cognition in infancy and childhood to full recognition—and acceptance—during maturity.


Ritch Savin-Williams

SEMIOTICS, GAY

In general usage, semiotics denotes a scholarly discipline concerned with the interpretation of signs. Although the roots of the field go back at least to the time of John Locke (1632–1704), semiotics first drew notice from a larger public with the spread of the structuralist vogue in the 1960s and 1970s.

The expression gay semiotics has been proposed with the more limited sense of the repertoire of symbols and artifacts displayed on the person to signal one's membership in the homosexual community or some sector of it—in short, tokens of sexual preference or allegiance. Typically, these attributes of nonverbal communication have been chosen so that the meaning is evident to initiates but obscure to outsiders. In this respect gay semiotics recalls the symbolism of freemasonry, with the important difference that it is not decreed or regulated from above by some central authority, but disseminated by piecemeal invention from below. Absolute secrecy is not a necessity: in the case of the lambda pendant and the pink triangle button, the wearer may seek to elicit questions from the curious, which then give the gay person a cue to present his or her explanatory “rap.”

Among sadomasochists, or those flirting with the idea, keys are worn externally on the right or left to indicate the S or M respectively (though in some circles the laterality may be reversed). A similar function is served by the red handkerchief protruding from the right or left back pocket. Urban folklore—assisted by commercially produced cards—maintains that there is a whole range of different hanky colors identifying different preferences, but the suggested guidelines do not seem to be followed very closely. As the key and handkerchief codes have spread to outsiders—a common feature of the diffusion of mass culture—the meaning has become blurred.

In the early 1980s some gay men took to carrying a small teddy bear in their
back pocket to indicate their fondness for gentle personalized sex as distinct from what they perceived as the mechanical, unloving, sometimes brutal encounters of the time.

In the late 1980s the immense quilt sponsored by the Names Project and carried out by scores of local projects, all commemorating thousands who died of AIDS, produced a fascinating array of visual iconography. The images of the individual panels were chosen and sewn by surviving friends and relatives. Some panels show emblems of favorite places where the person memorialized had lived; another shows an image—of Moscow—that the deceased had wished to visit; still others carry the insignia of the schools from which the deceased had received degrees. Passionate avocations, such as music and dance, are represented by appropriate symbols, such as a clef, a piano keyboard, or the outline of a tap dancer. The use of sequins and bright, glittering colors reflects characteristic aspects of the gay image. Some have quotations alluding to the interests or the character of the individual commemorated. In terms of the world history of funerary iconography, the symbols are usually "retrospective"—referring to joys and accomplishments during life—rather than "prospective"—directed toward a future life.


Wayne R. Dynes

SENSIBILITY

In eighteenth-century English, under the stimulus of the proto-Romantic trend, the word "sensibility" acquired the meaning of "sensitive or ready capacity for emotional response, as distinct from intellect or will; acuteness of feeling," overlaying the earlier sense of "physical response to stimuli." More recently, the word has served to designate dimensions of feeling that are conceived as flourishing in certain groups, such as "feminine sensibility," "artistic sensibility." Although the possibility has often been canvassed, it seems unlikely that there is any single homosexual or lesbian sensibility, or mode of expressing the group’s way of looking at the world [which is scarcely unitary among the members of these groups]. What may exist, however, are more restricted sensibilities cultivated by certain groups or schools of homosexual writers and artists, as in Bloomsbury or lesbian Paris in the 1920s.

This problem is related to the question of whether homosexual individuals are endowed with a greater creative potential than other people. It might be thought that over the centuries the very stigmatizing of homosexuals and lesbians has fostered the development of inventive ways of dealing with the world. Thus far, however, such a phenomenon seems to have been shown only for certain types of wit, and then for limited periods of time (as in camp). It has not been possible to glean any empirical data supporting the folk belief in special homosexual creativity.


SEPARATISM, LESBIAN

In its strongest form, lesbian separatism means social, cultural, and physical separation from all who are not lesbians. As society is now constituted this option is possible only for a very few. Many lesbians who regard themselves as separatists seek to live and work in circumstances that are as far as possible "women’s space," without insisting on the absolute exclusion of men. The term "lesbian separatist" is also sometimes used within the gay/lesbian movement for those who do not wish to work with gay men.
The Amazons, figures of Greek mythology rather than historical reality, are supposed to have lived in an all-female society, rejecting men and making war upon them. Aristophanes’ play Lysistrata (411 B.C.) shows Athenian women seceding from their city in a “sex strike,” but only temporarily—until the men agree to make peace. Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860–1935), a pioneering American socialist and feminist, wrote a novel, Herland (1915; reprinted 1979), depicting a utopia in Africa populated only by women. In her own life Gilman’s closest bonds were with other women, and she transmitted her distillation of the women-centered aspects of the first wave of feminism to the second.

In 1971 the New York group Radicalesbians published an essay, “The Woman Identified Woman,” coining an expression that was to have considerable resonance. Degrading the exclusively sexual identification of the word lesbian, the essay proposed to identify the concept with a woman who chooses to place her energies with other women.

Outsiders tend to label lesbian separatists as “women who hate men.” In their defense, separatists often say that what they are opposed to are the domineering, aggressive aspects of male behavior, rather than men themselves. They wish to make a clear statement that will set them apart from the ambivalent stance of heterosexual women, even those who profess feminism. Separatists believe that such straight women enter too readily into complicity with the power structure of patriarchy, by continuing to meet the sexual and emotional needs of men, these women give aid and comfort to the enemy.

Some women choose to form communes on “women’s land,” setting themselves apart from all males, including male children and animals. In so doing they hold that they are creating liberated zones in which their natures can grow unhampered by the dictates of patriarchy. They also affirm their protest against the practices of the society from which they have seceded. This solution, which never attracted large numbers of women, seemed to ebb in the late 1980s in the United States, though it has found advocates in other countries, notably West Germany.

Other women who identify as separatists have remained in physical proximity to men, while making their position known. They feel that, like members of ethnic minorities, they must be free to go anywhere, while remaining themselves. Some gay men, who assert that they are seeking to strengthen the feminine elements of their own personality, are drawn to seek association with lesbian separatists, but they are usually told that they can make their best contribution through educating other men.

Some women have entered lesbian separatism for a number of years as part of a process of personal growth, only to emerge later with a more complex position. This seems to have been the experience of a principal theorist of the movement, Charlotte Bunch, who remains a radical lesbian feminist.


Evelyn Gettone

SETTEMBRINI, LUIGI (1813–1876)

Italian patriot and writer. Born in Naples, Settembrini took an active role in the movement for Italian unity. In 1851 the Bourbon regime condemned him as a conspirator, first to death, and then to prison. In 1859 he was helped to escape by his son, who diverted to Ireland the ship that was deporting him and others to America. He became an exile in England and then in Florence, where he continued to write and work for the cause. After the 1860 proclamation of the kingdom of
Italy, he taught in the University of Naples. In 1876 he became a senator of the kingdom of Italy.

Settembrini was the author of the autobiographical Ricordanze della mia vita and many other works, including Lezioni di letteratura italiana and a translation of the works of Lucian of Samosata from the Greek, which is still used.

His homosexual side was first revealed in 1977, with the unexpected publication of a novella, I neoplatonici, a homoerotic fantasy set in ancient Greece. Written in 1858–59 while he was in prison, just after he completed the Lucian translation, he sent the manuscript to his wife in the guise of a translation of an ancient Greek text. Remaining in his unpublished papers at the time of his death, the text was examined by Benedetto Croce, who counseled against publication.

I neoplatonici is a short work, but one that conveys the author's intimate fantasies. Devoid of any real plot, it follows the experiences of two boys who fall in love with one another and become lovers, concluding with a double (heterosexual) wedding. The story includes descriptions of sexual acts (anal) which have no parallel in Italian literature of Settembrini's time. Although the modest ambitions of the work place it outside the canon of the author's major works, it is nonetheless a dignified and serious text, written in a fresh, lively style, and endowed with a certain elegance.

Also noteworthy is the wholly positive and serene picture presented of homosexual relations. The author deliberately returned to a pre-Christian concept of (homosexuality, presenting same-sex love as an element of human life that is capable of giving joy and satisfaction. Moreover, the novella treats the link as both emotional and erotic—a rare accomplishment for the period.

When the book was published a hundred years after the author's death, some hailed it as a "revelation" that Settembrini had homosexual relations while in prison. This suggestion remains a hypothesis, which as yet has no documentary support.

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*Giovanni Dall'Orto*

**SEXISM**

Sexism is the assumption that the members of one sex collectively are superior to those of the other, together with the resultant differentiation practiced against members of the supposed inferior sex, especially by men against women. The term is also used to designate conformity with the traditional stereotyping of social roles on the basis of sex (social sex roles).

**Conceptual Foundations.** Modeled on racism and racist, the terms sexism and sexist do not seem to have been used before the mid 1960s. Unlike racists, some sexist males profess to cherish and admire members of the other sex, with whom they have intimate and family relations. However, such admiration—the "pedestal theory"—is not incompatible with discrimination, as when it is held that women must be barred from certain occupations "for their own protection." The purported admiration of women by sexist men is also linked to sexual objectification—the reductive vision of women as simply bodies which are the object of lust rather than as full human beings. Although the matter remains controversial, some hold that overarching biological differences require difference of treatment in a few areas between men and women. Pregnancy leave is one example. More problematic is the question of differences in temperament, and even in styles of thought, between women and men. In any event, an increasing body of opinion in Western industrial society holds that women deserve equality of respect, to-
gether with full access to positions of economic and political strength.

In the view of many feminists, sexism is rooted in an age-old system of patriarchy, the institution and ideology of male domination. Usually couched in the form of a blanket condemnation, this discourse fails to allow sufficiently for gradations, which may be all-important to the situation of the individual. Because most positions of power are held by men in Sweden as well as Iran, we may conclude that both are subject to patriarchy, yet few would deny that the situation of women today in the first country is far better than in the second.

The spread of the term sexism has fostered the coinage of ageism, classism, and even lookism, alongside the well-established elitism. Despite their seeming usefulness, all these terms have the quality of epithets. In the usage of some they reveal a certain smugness, a confidence that "we" are superior to "them." Another term that has had some circulation is heterosexism, defined as the assumption that heterosexuality and its institutional forms are the only valid and socially beneficial arrangement, and that heterosexual values must prevail, without modification. Unfortunately, in the political practice of gay advocacy organizations the term tends to be divisive, alienating potential allies in the civil rights struggle who happen to be heterosexual. It ill behooves a group seeking pluralistic tolerance of its values and lifeways to appear to de-fame those of the majority.

Effects on Lesbians and Gay Men. Be this as it may, a good case can be made for the point that prejudice against male homosexuals and lesbians is rooted in the sense that they are not behaving in accordance with the norm appointed for their sex, and that they are in fact inverting this norm. Victorian society and its twentieth-century prolongation had a strong interest in promoting gender-role conformity and in censuring "sissies" and "tomboys."

Still, the effects of the practice of sexism are different for lesbians from what they are for gay men. Traditionally, lesbians [who are often not perceived as such] have suffered discrimination as women. This existence of this pattern leads lesbians to make common cause with heterosexual women in the feminist movement. On the other hand, insofar as there are benefits to women from sexist discrimination these benefits may be endangered by the recasting of existing assumptions. Until recently, it has been assumed that, unless she is clearly unfit, the mother should receive custody of the children in divorce cases. Yet the questioning of this piece of traditional wisdom has been one of the legal strategies used, in many cases surely hypocritically, to deny lesbian mothers their children. On the whole, however, lesbians are willing to risk any complications that might ensue from dismantling discrimination against women, which affects them more severely. This is the case with lesbian couples, where both typically have low-paying jobs, as contrasted with heterosexual couples, where the man at least receives the salary which in his profession is deemed adequate for the male head of a household.

Gay men hold that they too are victims of sexism inasmuch as they are regarded as womanish and not deserving of the same privileges as "true men." Yet discrimination in hiring and housing usually takes the form of outright barring of homosexuals, that is to say, a gay man might be refused a job or an apartment that a woman would receive. Conversely, in an all male social club, gay men would be admitted. In both situations gay men and women are not equated. In promotions, however, gay men may be passed over because they are held to be wimpish, unstable, and unfitted for executive jobs. Here their situation approximates to that of women, whose "flightiness" and "susceptibility to emotional moodswings" ostensibly bar them from positions in the
upper echelons of business and government. According to some feminists, such complaints on the part of gay men are trivial, inasmuch as gay men benefit qua men from the privileges accorded to a whole gender class. However, these benefits are differently apportioned, as the category of race shows, for black men do not benefit [if at all] to the same degree as white men. These are only a few of the complexities involved, and they suggest that, as an analytical tool, "sexism" is rather blunt.

Modern industrial society is undergoing rapid technological and social change, and in the course of this transition it is impossible to foresee what the ultimate arrangements will be. While the discussion of sexism has often been heated and rhetorical, thoughtful observers of social policy must remain indebted to it for raising essential questions of human dignity and power.


Wayne R. Dynes

SEX NEGATIVE, SEX POSITIVE

This polarity owes its inception to Wilhelm Reich (1897–1957), who sought to synthesize Freud and Marx in a style acceptable to the leftist intelligentsia in Central Europe of the 1920s. The basic hypothesis is that some societies accept the inherent value of sexual expression and indeed insist on it as a prerequisite of mental health, while other human groups despise sexuality and are ceaselessly inventive in devising austerities and prohibitions as a means of social control.

Despite its seeming radicalism, the exaltation of "sex positivism" perpetuated the sentimental idealism of some eighteenth-century explorers and ethnographers who contrasted the supposed sexual paradise of the South Seas (for example, the Tamoé of the Marquis de Sade's Aline et Valcour [1791]) with the ascetic regimes of pre-Enlightenment Europe, in which Catholic and Protestant vied in cultivating stringent codes of sexual morality. In our own day, some homophile writers such as Wainwright Churchill characteristically see ancient Greece as a "sex positive" culture because it tolerated and even fostered pederastic relationships among males of the upper classes. The situation of Greek women these writers pass by in silence. Popular authors of books on "the sexual history of mankind" have reveled in depicting the joys of life in temporally and spatially remote but uninhibited societies where the burdens of chastity are unknown and sexual bliss is the lot of one and all. Such golden-age fantasies are part of the discourse of utopianism.

In truth, all cultures regulate sexual behavior in one way or another. No human society allows its members, whatever their age, sex, or social status, to interact sexually with one another without restriction. Indeed, there are not a few in which heterosexual intercourse, even with the full consent of the adult participants, can be punished by ostracism, mutilation, or even death if it involves, say, a liaison between a male of a lower caste and a female of a higher one. Also, the concern with the legitimacy of one's offspring causes the sexual freedom of the nubile or married female to be severely restricted in nearly all cultures, as no society wants a horde of children with no assignable father deposited "on its doorstep."

If the myth of complete sexual freedom, however appealing it may be to critics of Western sexual mores, is unfounded, what factors promoted its acceptance? One is the greater licence accorded by many cultures to the foreigner—the tourist or anthropologist—for a variety of psychological and economic reasons, including the undeniable appeal of the exotic partner and the practical demand in
tourist resorts for prostitutes and hustlers to serve the guests, even though similar behavior would not be tolerated in a native village fifteen miles away. Also, the availability of teenaged partners to the foreigner may reflect only the circumstance that children are virtually forced into prostitution by families for whom this form of exploitation is a lucrative source of income. Such a situation has nothing in common with the “sexual freedom” on which the leaders of the sexual reform movement liked to expatiate, it is rather a survival of slavery and feudalism in the Third World. Also, even if certain practices are tolerated, the circle of persons who may engage in them without being repudiated by their families or punished by the civil authority is much narrower than Westerners—furnished with a foreign passport and a source of income from outside the country—can ever be aware. Everywhere wealth and power do impart a degree of freedom to gratify one’s sexual desires, including even those tabooed by the larger society, but this is not an egalitarian right, it is a privilege of the elite in a hierarchical, class regime of the kind that the left would abolish if it could—at least in theory. The concrete practice of the states in the socialist bloc is another matter. Finally, many cultures have puberty rites that entail exceedingly painful practices such as circumcision, subincision, clitoridectomy (“female circumcision”), tattooing, mutilation, and the like—scarcely the Western ideal of an uninhibited adolescence.

What probably forms a line of demarcation is whether asceticism ranks as an ideal of behavior for everyone, or only as a norm for those with a religious vocation that does not affect the rest of the community. Medieval Christianity did profess an ascetic ideal that would forever place homosexual activity outside the pale of morality, since it can never serve the end of procreation within lawful marriage, and all other forms of attachment were denied the right of sexual expression.

Other cultures have seen pleasure as a good in itself, quite apart from the procreative aspect, but the pursuit of pleasure, as in the case of the prostitute, could also entail becoming a social outcast with no prospects of conventional marriage. So the freedom of one was purchased at the price of another’s degradation or servitude.

All these considerations reveal only how far modern Western civilization is from a solution to the “sexual problem,” a solution that must take into account the risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, the possibility of unwanted pregnancy, and similar misfortunes. Even if a future society adopts a wholly positive attitude toward sexual pleasure, the need to shield both the individual and the collective from the negative consequences of unregulated sexual practice poses a problem that cannot be wished away.

Warren Johansson

**Sexual Liberty and the Law**

Sexual liberty has been of particular interest in Anglo-Saxon thought. The reception of the *Enlightenment* from the Continent, from Beccaria, Filangieri, the French *philosophes*, and the Code Napoléon mandated a reexamination of common law traditions that long resisted the wave of criminal law reform.

The ideas of John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) have been enormously influential in this sphere. Perhaps unaware of his father James’ friend Jeremy Bentham’s incisive unpublished treatises arguing for the decriminalization of sodomy, Mill defended individual liberties and in the tradition of the *philosophes* urged minimal state interference with speech and conduct of individuals. Mill’s ideas have not gone unchallenged. Champions of traditional Judeo-Christian morality, including Sir James Fitzjames Stephen in 1874 and Baron Patrick Devlin in the 1960s, argued that a society that failed to control the morality of individuals would disintegrate.
Hart’s Defence of Liberty. In Law, Liberty and Morality (1963) Professor Herbert Lionel Adolphus Hart sets forth the best analytical argument against the suppression of victimless sexual offenses: the criminal law itself inflicts suffering by requiring that some persons repress their “anti-social” urges. This is of particular importance in the case of the laws enforcing a sexual morality that may create misery of a special degree. For both the difficulties involved in the repression of sexual impulses and the consequences of repression are quite different from those involved in the abstention from “ordinary crime.” The imposition of sexual morality by state power interferes with the personality of the individual far more than do laws simply meant to curb the criminal underworld.

As to the outrage of tradition-minded and religious individuals Hart replied: “For offence to feelings, it may be said, is given not only when immoral activities or their commercial preliminaries are thrust upon unwilling eyewitnesses, but also when those who strongly condemn certain sexual practices as immoral learn that others indulge in them in private.” The law can offer no relief to those who experience moral outrage at the thought that others may be engaging in conduct which they deem immoral. “To punish people for causing this form of distress would be tantamount to punishing them simply because others object to what they do; and the only liberty that could coexist with this extension of the utilitarian principle is liberty to do things to which no one seriously objects. Such liberty is plainly quite nugatory.” Individual liberty entails the right to engage in conduct which others find objectionable or distasteful; this is inseparable from the very notion—“unless, of course, there are other good grounds for forbidding it. No social order which accords to individual liberty any value” could also confirm the adherents of the Judeo-Christian tradition in the right to live in a society free of behavior which that tradition condemns. They may rightly insist on being protected from public display of such behavior, but not from private.

Rebuttal of Devlin. In reply to Devlin’s assertion that a society requires a shared morality, Hart claims that “[t]here seems, however, to be central to Lord Devlin’s thought something more interesting, though no more convincing, than the conception of social morality as a seamless web. For he appears to move from the acceptable proposition that some shared morality is essential to the existence of any society to the unacceptable proposition” that any change in the moral code of a society is coterminous with its destruction.

Devlin’s views evidently reflect the wish to restate the sexual morality of medieval or Reformation Christianity in the guise of an abstract concept of morality as tantamount to the loyalty which the citizen owes to the modern state: “It is clear that only this tacit identification of a society with its shared morality supports Lord Devlin’s denial that there could be such a thing as private immorality and his comparison of sexual immorality, even when it takes place ‘in private,’ with treason. No doubt it is true that if deviations from conventional sexual morality are tolerated by the law and come to be known, the conventional morality might change in a permissive direction, though this does not seem to be the case with homosexuality in those European countries where it is not punishable by law.” For the Christian moralist, though not the liberal thinker, any departure from a moral code held revealed and immutable is divine lése-majesté, which a secular state must convert into the notion of “treason” to find an equivalent.

Devlin upholds the view now totally disavowed by reputable historians that “history shows that the loosening of moral bonds is often the first stage of [social] disintegration.” This kind of generalization about the dangers of deca-
dence filled the moralizing history textbooks of past generations, and was even the standard explanation of the fall of Rome. Today this myth lies buried under the weight of the accumulated mass of anthropological, sociological, historical, and other scholarly evidence and is invoked only by the half-educated when they need a generalization to support their resistance to change—which is an inescapable characteristic of human institutions. Devlin's wish to confer immutability upon the Judeo-Christian condemnation of homosexuality through claiming that morals do not change, only the degree of society's toleration of their violation, amounts to a play on words. The increased toleration is a proof that people's ideas about the validity of the principle have in fact changed, even if religious conservatives who believe in the divine origin of moral norms would like to maintain that having once been "revealed" they cannot change throughout eternity.

Legislation and Public Opinion. Hart next takes up the argument—a serious one when one considers the motives of legislators who must submit their voting records to the approval of their constituents—that the irrational aversion and disgust caused by homosexuality justify the retention of penal sanctions: "The conviction that such practices [homosexuality] are morally wrong is surely inseparable in the mind of the majority from instinctive repulsion and the deep feeling that they are 'unnatural.'" Devlin maintained that English law had a standard of its own—the reasonable man, the right-minded man, "the man in the Clapham omnibus"—who should not be obliged to argue why conduct that he instinctively feels to be abominable is abominable." Such thinkers as Kurt Hiller in his legal dissertation on The Right Over One's Self (1908) and Coenraad van Emde Boas in his thesis on Shakespeare's Sonnets and the Double Disguise Plays (1952) had earlier discussed this issue of the subjective response to homosexual behavior ("the vital aversion") which exists quite independent of anything in the book of Leviticus or in the canon law of the Christian church, freely admitting that the barely educated "masses" still shared the medieval beliefs and attitudes, and that only an enlightened minority of intellectuals were actively promoting the new credo of sexual freedom. In this matter Hart seems to retreat into the defense that the minority should be allowed the right to its tolerant views, even if the majority persists in rejecting them.

Intellectual Liberty. The freeplay of ideas in the marketplace, Hart pointed out, has undermined traditional platitudes: "The real solvent of social morality, as one critic of Lord Devlin has pointed out, [Richard Wollheim, Crime, Sin, and Mr. Justice Devlin, p. 40] is not the failure of the law to endorse its restrictions with legal punishment, but free critical discussion. It is this—or the self-criticism which it engenders—that forces apart mere instinctive disgust from moral condemnation. If in our own day the 'overwhelming moral majority' has become divided or hesitant over many issues of sexual morality, the main catalysts have been matters to which the free discussion of sexual morals, in the light of the discoveries of anthropology and psychology, has drawn attention." This amounts to little more than saying that because the sexual reform movement has called the traditional beliefs into question by undermining the complacency with which they were accepted—since this rested in the last analysis on their supposed divine origin—they should no longer be enforced even if the majority still upholds them. Moreover, Hart replicates Mill's and the eighteenth-century liberals' fear of the tyranny of the majority: "It seems fatally easy to believe that loyalty to democratic principles entails acceptance of what may be termed moral populism: the view that the majority have a moral right to dictate how all should live. This is a misunderstanding of democracy which still menaces individu-
ual liberty." In other words, if the authoritarian state of the Middle Ages had the right to legislate personal morality, it has not bequeathed it to the majority in a modern democratic one, though conservatives may in this case appeal to the tradition-minded majority against the reformers.

Hart summarized: "Whatever other arguments there may be for the enforcement of morality, no one should think even when popular morality is supported by an 'overwhelming majority' or marked by widespread 'intolerance, indignation, and disgust' that loyalty to democratic principles requires him to admit that its imposition on a minority is justified."

Conclusion. Although National Socialist and Communist totalitarians have repressed both religion and sexual freedom, the history of the struggle for homosexual rights within democratic societies has been in some sense a duel between the sexual reform movement on the one hand and the church and its heirs and allies on the other. The latter have been able to win not a few victories at the polls and in the legislatures by appealing to the residue of medieval 'intolerance, indignation, and disgust' in the electorate. Gay liberation is confronted with the task of fighting an uphill battle against the defenders of traditional sexual morality, in no small measure because in the English-speaking world classical liberalism long shirked its task of reforming criminal laws of sexual offenses.

On the positive side, President Reagan's nominee, Robert Bork, failed to gain confirmation by the Senate to the Supreme Court (1987) in large part because he was regarded as the leading exponent of attempts to legislate morality in the Judeo-Christian tradition of Stephen and Devlin, against the pragmatic tradition of minimizing societal control over the individual embodied in the American Bill of Rights and later amendments, and so eloquently supported by Bentham and Mill in the nineteenth century and Hart in the twentieth. Modifying his views, Devlin himself was later to write in The Judge (1979): "It is generally agreed that there was no consensus, probably not even a bare majority, . . . for the reformation of the laws against homosexuality. Nevertheless [the change was made] has surely helped to promote a more tolerant attitude to homosexuals." He thus conceded that legislative reform could justifiably be enacted in advance of changes in public opinion, and that the effect of such legislation might feed back onto that public opinion in a salutary way.


William A. Percy and Arthur C. Warner

SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASES

Sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), also called venereal diseases, are among the most common infectious disorders in the world at the end of the twentieth century. They affect men and women of all backgrounds and economic levels. However, they are most prevalent among teenagers and young adults; nearly one-third of all cases occur in teenaged subjects. Homosexual men suffer disproportionately from STDs, while lesbians are scarcely affected by them, for reasons having to do with the anatomical and
physiological differences in their manner of sexual intimacy and greater male promiscuity.

The incidence of STDs in the general population is rising; after World War II young people began to cross the threshold of sexual maturity earlier, becoming sexually active at an earlier age, and having multiple sexual partners. The tendency of homosexual men to engage in promiscuous sexual activity was reinforced by the freedom that came in the liberal 1970s, when much of the illegality and clandestinity attached to the search for partners of the same sex vanished. But the new condition called Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS), first reported in the United States in 1981, struck down thousands of homosexual men until studies of the etiology and transmission identified the specific practices that were responsible for its spread. Since then, the greater number of new cases has shifted to intravenous drug abusers. However, no effective immunizing agent or therapy for the condition had been discovered as of 1989. Lesbians, on the other hand, were no more subject to AIDS than they had been to the classical STDs.

Gonorrhea. The classic venereal disease is gonorrhea, attested since classical antiquity; it was, down to the appearance of AIDS, the most common STD among homosexual men. It is caused by the gonococcus, a bacterium that grows and multiplies rapidly in moist, warm areas of the body such as the urinary tract or the rectum (it does not survive long in the mouth, but can sometimes lodge in the throat), while in women the cervix is the most common site of infection. Gonorrhea is usually localized; however, the disease can spread to the ovaries and fallopian tubes, resulting in pelvic inflammatory disease, which can cause infertility and other serious conditions. The early symptoms of gonorrhea are mild, and some infected individuals display no symptoms of the disease; this is one reason why it is so readily transmitted. Men infected in the urinary tract usually have a discharge from the penis and a burning sensation during urination that may be severe. Symptoms of rectal infection include discharge, anal itching, and sometimes painful bowel movements. The disease is treated with antibiotics such as penicillin, though there is increasing concern about the emergence of new strains of penicillin-resistant gonorrhea. Regardless of the drug prescribed, the patient should take the full course of medication and then return to the clinic for a follow-up test to determine whether the infection has been completely eliminated. In the 1970s, because of the ease with which gonorrhea could be treated, not a few homosexual men developed a nonchalance about the frequency with which they contracted gonorrhea and an indifference to prophylactic measures, so that the incidence of the disease was far higher than among heterosexuals of the same race and social class.

Syphilis. The disease of syphilis made its appearance in the first stage of the formation of the global metasystem, which is to say, the network of economic and political relations that includes all of the regional subsystems. This initial stage occurred in the years 1480–1520, when the voyages of discovery reshaped the image of the world and laid the foundation for the global economy that was to be created in the following centuries. Although the matter is still disputed by medical historians, the weight of the evidence inclines to the view that syphilis was confined to the Caribbean until the sailors of Columbus brought it back to Spain on their return voyage in 1493. Carried by sailors and soldiers—even today high-risk groups for STDs—syphilis rapidly spread to the other end of the Old World, so that by 1522, when Magellan’s ships arrived at the Philippine Islands, it was already known there as “the Frankish [= European] disease.”

Syphilis is today readily treated with antibiotics, but if left untreated, in its tertiary stage it can cause mental disor-
SXESUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASES

ders, blindness, and death. It is caused by a corkscrew-shaped bacterium called Treponema pallidum. The systemic infection is acquired by direct contact with the sores of someone who has an active infection. Though usually transmitted through the mucous membranes of the genital area, the mouth, or the anus, the bacterium can also pass through lesions on the skin of other parts of the body. A pregnant woman with syphilis can give the disease to her unborn child, who may be born with serious damage to the central nervous system. Also, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the practice of bleeding was common, syphilis was occasionally transmitted by shared cupping glasses, much as AIDS is now contracted by the shared needles of IV-drug users.

Because the early symptoms of syphilis may be quite mild, many people fail to seek treatment when they first become infected. Such untreated carriers can infect others during the primary and secondary stages of the disease, which may last as much as two years. The first symptom of primary syphilis is an open sore called a chancre, which can appear from 10 days to 3 months after exposure (usually 2–6 weeks). Ordinarily painless and sometimes even inside the body, the chancre may go unnoticed. It is usually found on the area of the body exposed to the bacteria, such as the penis, the vulva, or the vagina. A chancre may also develop on the cervix, tongue, lips, or fingertips. Within a few weeks it disappears, but the disease continues its progress, and if not treated in the primary stage, may evolve through three further stages.

Secondary syphilis is marked by a skin rash that appears from 2 to 12 weeks after the chancre disappears. The rash may extend to the whole body or be confined to a few areas such as the palms of the hands or the soles of the feet. In these sores active bacteria are present that may spread the infection through contact with the broken skin of the infected party. The rash may be accompanied by influenza-like symptoms such as mild fever, fatigue, headache, sore throat, and patchy hair loss, swollen lymph glands throughout the body, and other disorders. The rash usually heals within several weeks or months, and the other symptoms subside as well. The signs of secondary syphilis occasionally come and go over a period of one to two years, like those of the previous stage, the symptoms of the secondary one may be mild enough to go unnoticed.

If untreated, syphilis lapses into a latent stage during which the patient is no longer contagious. Many individuals who are not treated will suffer no further consequences of the disease. However, 15 percent to 40 percent of those infected go on to develop the complications of late, or tertiary syphilis, in which the bacteria inflict damage on the heart, eyes, brain, nervous system, bones, joints, or almost any other part of the body, sometimes causing paralysis. This stage can run into years or even decades.

There are three ways of diagnosing syphilis: a physician's recognition of its symptoms, microscopic identification of syphilitic bacteria, and blood tests, of which the last are not always reliable, as they can result in false positive results in people with autoimmune disorders or certain viral infections.

Syphilis is treated with penicillin, administered by injection; for patients allergic to penicillin other antibiotics can be used. Twenty-four hours after beginning therapy a carrier of syphilis usually can no longer transmit it. A small number of patients fail to respond to the standard doses of penicillin, so that it is necessary for patients to have periodic repeated blood tests to ascertain that the infectious agent has been completely destroyed and that there is no further trace of the disease in his organism. Proper treatment will cure the disease at any stage, but in late syphilis the damage done to body organs is irreversible.
AIDS. Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome made its appearance in the last phase of the formation of the global metasystem—the period after 1960. Somewhat hypothetically, scientists have reconstructed its origins as follows. When the former African colonies were emancipated from the tutelage of the metapolitan countries and a network of commercial air lines was established that brought hitherto remote areas of Central Africa within 36 hours’ flying time of the major cities of the globe, a rare condition that had been found in isolated cases in the neighborhood of Lake Victoria began to spread to the United States, Brazil, and Western Europe. Others dispute this theory of African origin.

Individual cases occurred in the United States in the late 1960s and 1970s, but only in 1981 was the condition recognized and named. The majority opinion was that it was caused by a virus (Human Immunodeficiency Virus, HIV) that destroys the body’s ability to fight off infection, so that the victim becomes susceptible to many fatal diseases, called opportunistic infections, and to certain forms of cancer, as well as a characteristic malignant form of Kaposi’s sarcoma.

At the outset, most victims of the condition in the United States were homosexual men in their late twenties or thirties, though in Central Africa it is principally an affliction of heterosexuals. After some floundering, researchers ascertained that passive anal intercourse was at the highest risk in sexual transmission, though many continued to assert that all exchange of bodily fluids must be avoided. Health officials, the media, and gay organizations vigorously promoted “safe sex” techniques as a means of avoiding AIDS. The gay community voiced urgent demands for more funds for research, therapy, and care for people with AIDS, but an effective cure eluded the best efforts of medical science. Other victims of AIDS were intravenous (IV) drug users, hemophiliacs, and children born to women who had contracted the condition mainly by sharing needles with other IV-drug users. Lesbians remained essentially untouched by the epidemic because of the different techniques which they employed to achieve sexual gratification.

Other STDs. Other sexually transmitted diseases include chlamydial infections, genital herpes, and genital warts. Chlamydial infections are now the commonest of all STDs, with some three to four million new cases occurring each year. They often have no symptoms and are diagnosed only when complications develop. Occurring in both men and women, they are treated with an antibiotic drug such as tetracycline. Genital herpes is a disease primarily of heterosexuals that has remained incurable; the major symptoms are painful blisters or open sores in the genital area. Even though the sores disappear in two or three weeks’ time, the virus remains in the body and the lesions may recur. Genital warts are caused by a virus related to the one that causes common skin warts. They are generally treated with a topical drug applied to the skin, or by freezing. If the warts are very large, surgery may be needed to remove them.

Infectious hepatitis, a disorder of the liver, may be transmitted through poor sanitation and infected food. For this reason its additional status as a sexually transmitted disease, was for a long time ignored. Yet it was commonly acquired by gay men, sometimes through oral–anal contact ("rimming"). In fact, until the introduction of a vaccine in the early 1980s, the gay male rate of hepatitis was ten times the United States national average.

Prevention. The danger posed to the gay male community—and to a sexually more permissive society—by STDs has led to the adoption of “safe sex” guidelines for intimacy with casual partners or complete strangers, and to the revival of the condom, a sheath for the penis which was invented in England about 1705. Originally it was made of animal intestine, but now it is usually fashioned of very thin
rubber. As a simple, cheap, and largely effective if not aesthetically pleasing device it was used in heterosexual intercourse earlier in this century mainly to prevent conception, but found little application in homosexual pairing since the chance of impregnation was non-existent. In the 1980s this attitude changed, and the gay media paid much attention to condoms. Special models appeared that are claimed to be superior for anal [as distinct from vaginal] penetration, and fear of disease has inspired the use of the sheath even for oral-genital contact. In any event, the sexual abandon that characterized much homosexual life in the 1970s has become fraught with danger, and the adage "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" has gained renewed meaning.


Warren Johansson

Shakespeare, William (1564–1616)

Playwright and poet, often considered to be the greatest writer in the English language. Of tenant farmer stock and the son of a glover, Shakespeare was born in the provincial town of Stratford-upon-Avon in England; however, the very few facts known about his life are derived from various legal documents. In 1582, he married Anne Hathaway, with whom he had three children within the next three years; the following five years are unaccounted for, but by 1594 he was involved in the theatre world in London as both an actor and a playwright. He enjoyed an increasingly successful theatrical career until his retirement in 1612 and his return to Stratford.

With so few substantiated facts about his biography, one can only turn with some reservation to his works for insight into the man. An undisputed master of both poetry and human nature, Shakespeare is the author of some of the most enduring classics in world literature: Richard III (1591), Romeo and Juliet (1595), As You Like It (1599), Hamlet (1600), Twelfth Night (1601), Othello (1604), King Lear (1605), Macbeth (1606), and The Tempest (1611), among his 37 plays. Given the almost complete range of human experience chronicled in these works, one can state little about the author's own character and personality without conjecture.

Shakespeare's prolonged separation from his wife and the stipulation in his will that she inherit his "second best bed" has, however, sparked much debate about his sexuality.

The Plays. A search of the plays reveals little advocacy for homosexuality, if much tolerance and compassion for all types of benign variations of human behavior. While his plays are peopled with many passive and introspective men (such as Hamlet and Richard II) as well as aggressive and independent women (such as Rosalind in As You Like It and Beatrice in Much Ado About Nothing), no distinctly gay characters are evident. Some critics have singled out the sensuous and seemingly asexual Enobarbus of Antony and Cleopatra, the effete fop who incites the aggressively masculine Hotspur in 1 Henry IV, or the doting and infatuated Sebastian of Twelfth Night as prototypes, but such designs are inconclusive.

Historically, however, theatrical companies of Shakespeare's time did not employ women; instead, their roles were played by boys, apprentices to the companies. In adherence to the laws and sympathies of the times, the plays were, therefore, unable to display any overtly sexual
behavior, but one of Shakespeare's most frequent plot devices was to have his heroines disguise themselves as boys, particularly in the comedies. Thus, what in reality was a boy pretending to be a woman pretending to be a boy leads to some psychologically acute and complex scenes with homoerotic suggestions, such as the encounters between Rosalind [as Ganymede, a name rich in suggestiveness] and Orlando in As You Like It and Viola [as Caesario] and Orsino in Twelfth Night.

The Sonnets. For more substantive evidence, one must turn instead to Shakespeare's sequence of 154 poems in the form of sonnets, published surreptitiously in 1609 and immediately protested by their author. Probably intended as a personal exercise for private circulation, the sonnets may be the works that reveal something of the man himself; in them, Shakespeare names the persona "Will," an obviously personal and intimate diminution of William, and, as in most of the Renaissance sonnet sequences, their subject is erotic love.

Dedicated to "Mr. W. H.," who has been variously identified as the Earl of Southampton, a boy actor named Willy Hewes, Shakespeare himself [in a misprint of his initials], someone unknown to history, or someone invented, the first 126 are clearly homoerotic, while most of the others concern a woman conventionally called "the Dark Lady." Historically, those scholars who begrudgingly admit to their subject matter try to discount their message. Most claim that the attraction the persona feels for the fair young man is either platonic or unconsummated; others assert that the poems are only examples of the Renaissance male friendship tradition. Still others insist on the fallacy of equating the persona with the poet and confusing literature with autobiography.

However, a close reading reveals a genuine emotional bond quite clearly consummated physically, one that grows and develops over a period of time, one threatened by a rival poet as well as the

Dark Lady herself, also the mistress of the persona and also in pursuit of Mr. W. H. If not homosexual, the sensibility behind the poems is decidedly bisexual, and if not William Shakespeare, "William" is a voice that speaks with convincing experience. Those who minimize the homoeroticism of the sonnets fail to consider why a heterosexual poet would choose homosexual love and desire as his subject matter. They also fail to give credit to the persona, in Sonnet 121, when he says 'I am that I am.'

Conclusion. Shakespeare's sexual identity will probably always be speculative, but this in no way diminishes the achievement of a playwright who could sensitively chart the full range of human involvement in a compassionate portrait of human diversity. But without question, Shakespeare is the author of some of the finest lyric poems to describe gay love and passion.


Rodney Simard

SHAMANISM

In the strict sense, shamanism is a phenomenon of the magical and religious life of Siberia and Central Asia. At its core lies a specific technique of ecstasy of which the shaman alone is the master, specializing in a trance during which his soul is believed to leave his body and either ascend to the heavens or descend to the underworld. The shaman further controls his spirits in the sense that as a human being, he is able to communicate with the dead, with demons, and with nature spirits without becoming their instrument. He is invested with power over fire and enjoys a
unique method of healing. Shamans belong to the elect who have access to a region of the sacred that is closed to other members of the community.

Sibeltia. The connection of homosexuality with shamanism was noted by the classic investigators of the subject. Waldemar Bogoras mentions that, under the influence of a Siberian shaman, a Chukchi lad at sixteen years of age will suddenly relinquish his sex and imagine himself to be a woman. He adopts female dress, lets his hair grow, and devotes himself entirely to female occupations. Disclaiming his sex, he takes a husband into the hut and performs all the work usually incumbent upon the wife. This change of gender identity is strongly encouraged by the shamans, who interpret such cases as an injunction of their individual deity. The gender shift coincides with entry into shamanhood, and nearly all the shamans are individuals who have left their sex.

There are three degrees of effeminization of the male. The lowest grade consists simply in the feminine style of the hairdo. The second is marked by the adoption of female clothing, which can be for shamanistic or therapeutic purposes; it need not entail a complete change of sex. That is the third stage, in which the subject, aided by the spirits, learns all the female handicrafts, begins to speak in a feminine mode, and even acquires the physical weakness and helplessness of a woman. He becomes a woman with the physical appearance of a man. He contracts a marriage with a man which is then solemnized in the usual fashion, and the couple lives together as man and wife, with the “wife” taking the passive role in sexual relations. The shaman also has a special protector among the spirits who functions as a kind of supernatural husband, regarded as the real head of the family who gives orders through the “wife,” which the husband is duty-bound to execute. The effeminate shaman is feared by other shamans who have not undergone the change of sex, because he alone has the spirit protector who can avenge any wrong done to his protégé.

In Speaking of the Koriaks, Stefan Krasheninnikov refers to men who occupy the position of concubines, comparing them in turn to the “men transformed into women” of the Kamchadale. Every one of the latter is regarded as a magician and interpreter of dreams, wears women’s clothes, does women’s work, and has the status of a concubine. The homoeroticism of the Koriaks was interpreted by Bogoras and Waldemar Jochelson as an outgrowth of the shamanic, but in turn as a monopoly of the profession of shaman held by the homosexual. In olden times, according to Jochelson, shamans “transformed” into women were not rare among the Koriaks, and were even regarded as the most powerful of their ilk. They entered into marriages with men, or became second wives when a female wife was already present. Professional shamans have guardian spirits who appear to them in the guise of animals or birds, typically as wolves, bears, seagulls, eagles, or lapwings. The future shamans are often nervous youths who suffer from attacks of hysteria during which the spirits order them to devote themselves to shamanism. Those in the process of becoming shamans pass through a stage of fits of wild paroxysms alternating with states of total exhaustion. The phenomenon was declining among the Koriaks early in the twentieth century following their conversion to Russian Orthodoxy.

The Broader Context. Edward Carpenter understood the shaman as the precursor of a higher stage of cultural evolution, a variation of the human type that sprang from a variant of the sexual orientation itself, or rather of the germ plasm that underlies that orientation. Such classes of men and women, diverging as they do from the norm of sexuality, become repositories and foci of new kinds of lore and new techniques of control over the world of spirits and divinities feared
and adored by the rest of their tribe. The primitive development of the intellectual, as opposed to the purely physical, aspects of culture was first embodied in the shamanistic type, which rejected the customary activities of the hunter and warrior in favor of a sacral occupation. The superstitious belief that the spirits had conferred supernatural powers upon them reinforced their commitment to the profession of trance medium and healer—one exercised by many homosexual men and women in different cultures, even in the high civilizations of later centuries. In the whole process the homosexual-transvestite orientation is primary, the shamanic calling secondary. Shamanism is a distinctive feature of the archaic paleoarctic cultures that has fascinated students of primitive religion, though not all have acknowledged the homoerotic component of the phenomenon.


Warren Johansson

**SHAWN, TED**

(1891–1972)

American dancer and choreographer. Born in Kansas City, Missouri, to a father who was a successful newspaperman and a mother related to the famous Booth family of actors, Shawn at first planned to be a Methodist minister. But while at the University of Denver he contracted diphtheria and the experimental serum that saved his life left him temporarily paralyzed from the waist down. As he began to recover, he turned to therapy, to exercise, and then to dance. When he decided upon a dance career, he appraised the potential of his own body and found it incompatible with the demands of ballet, but he surmised that he could infuse the decorativeness and technical polish of the ballet into a contemporary dance style that was still rather trivial. This gave him a new vision of dance in America whose culture was then scarcely receptive to such an innovation, and he devoted his life to realizing it.

His first partner was a dancer named Norma Gould, but she was soon eclipsed in Shawn’s life by Ruth St. Denis, a star of the day. They met in 1914, and not long afterwards he proposed to her, although at 22 he was some fourteen years the younger, and despite her objections they were married on August 13. The union was not consummated until some time in October, and then only after she had convinced herself that contraceptive methods would shield her from pregnancy and childbirth, which, she felt, would destroy the beauty of her body. During much of their marriage, however, she was unfaithful to him; he did not disapprove of her conduct on moral grounds but took it as an affront to his vanity.

As a teacher and employer of male dancers he was paternalistic and generous. Shawn paid his dancers higher wages than the union demanded, even during the lean depression years. He sought never to invade the privacy of his boys, or to impose himself on them. He required only that they maintain an unbroken façade of masculinity and never display any sign of effeminacy. He was fighting an uphill battle in the America of the interwar period to prove the manliness of dance. If in his instructional readings he touched upon the Greek ideal of male love, he never tried to convert anyone to homosexuality. He himself was bisexual, and not a few of his male dancers were bisexual or homosexual, but he did not make advances to them. Unlike his wife he was not promiscuous, but sought an enduring relationship with his partners. Had she not been unfaithful to him, he might not have
chosen a life of homosexual liaisons despite his own erotic ambivalence.

Together Ted Shawn and Ruth St. Denis founded the Denishawn school, an academy of dance and the related arts with classes in as many dance techniques as they could offer, music, drama, stage, and costume design. It created and propagated an entirely new concept of American dance that was to circle the globe and end America’s provincial backwardness in this branch of art. Conversely, their tours of other areas of the world, particularly the Far East, gave their art a cosmopolitan quality. Shawn had the gift of transmuting something that had stimulated him intellectually and spiritually into theatrical terms whose surface sheen even untutored audiences could appreciate. After the Ted Shawn Dance Theater, the first theatre designed especially for dance, opened in 1942, the debuts and premières acquired national and even international significance. Shawn was thus an American pioneer in the choreographic art, and a major figure in the dance culture of the twentieth century.


Warren Johansson

Siberia
See Paleo-Siberian Peoples, Shamanism.

Sicily
Dividing the Mediterranean into eastern and western basins, Sicily, largest of its islands, became pivotal when the Phoenicians opened the West to maritime trade after 1000 B.C.

Antiquity. In the eighth century Greeks began colonizing eastern Sicily and southern Italy, to control the straits between the island and the toe of Italy, and to establish farms to which to export their burgeoning population. To control the western passage around the island, their Phoenician rivals colonized Western Sicily, their greatest foundation being Palermo, opposite Carthage, their main African site. Until the Roman conquest in the third century these two great merchant peoples contended for Sicily. Both early introduced pederasty; Phoenicians with temple prostitutes (kelabhim), eunuchs, and effeminate boys, Greek warriors with young aristocratic athletes.

Greek settlements, beginning with Cumae (ca. 750 B.C.), occurred before the Hellenes institutionalized pederasty about 650 on Crete. Shortly afterwards Zaleucus introduced pederasty for the colony at Locri on the toe of Italy. While colonists sometimes all came from one “metropolis” (mother-city), often founders of a single colony came from various old cities. The need for constitutions was imperative and many were written. Zaleucus, the earliest known colonial lawgiver and author of a constitution, composed the laws for Locri using the even then prestigious Cretan models. He was the student of Onomacritus or Thalestas, the Cretan “musicians” (poets—statesmen) who first institutionalized pederasty and may have antedated “Lycurgus,” as the reformers at Sparta who introduced the Eunomia (“good order”) institutionalizing pederasty on Cretan models styled themselves. Whether Zaleucus antedated the Spartan reform institutionalizing pederasty or not, it soon spread to all the Greek poleis of Sicily and Magna Grecia and to all other western outposts of Hellenism, including Massilia (the modern Marseilles; founded ca. 600), where it did not shock the Celts who practiced their own version of it. Too little is known about the sexual practices of Sicels and Siculs, the aboriginal Sicilians, to form a judgment of their attitudes toward pederasty before the arrival of Greeks and Phoenicians.

Frequent interchange of population and travel fostered a common Hellenic civilization with only local variations, but Sicilian Greeks, partly because of the Carthaginian menace, retained tyrants
after most were overthrown in the homeland. Most Sicilian tyrants were pederasts. In the sixth century Phalaris of Acragas (Agrigentum) roasted his enemies alive in a bronze bull which seemed to bellow with their agonizing death screams. At Syracuse, Hiero (died 467/6) competed in the Olympic Games and patronized Pindar, greatest of the pederastic poets, and Dionysius patronized Plato along with his mentor Socrates, the principal theoretician of pedagogical pederasty. Hiero's older brother Gelon, who defeated the Carthaginian attempt to take over the island in 480, had made Syracuse the greatest western polis. First of the homosexual exiles and émigrés, Pythagoras founded at Croton ca. 530 the pederastic school of philosophy that flourished in Magna Grecia. At the end of the sixth century Parmenides of Elea in southern Italy founded the pederastic Eleatics. Both bucolic poets, Theocritus (fl. ca. 250), who migrated to Alexandria, and Moschus (fl. ca. 150) were born at Syracuse.

After the Roman conquest, during which in 212 a soldier sacking Syracuse slew the scientist Archimedes, Greeks from Southern Italy and Sicily introduced Hellenism including pederasty to the more cultivated members of the Roman aristocracy, and Latin writers such as Vergil and Petronius often placed their pederastic scenes there. In addition, latifundia (great estates) filled Sicily with gangs of slaves and other impoverished agricultural workers, normally isolated from women. With inordinately high female infanticide, lower-class males must also have often satisfied their drives homosexually or with farm animals. Under the Romans Sicily became an intellectual backwater and declined further in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era with Vandalic piracy and Byzantine reconquest.

Islamic and Medieval Sicily. Seizing Sicily from the Byzantine Empire between 827 and 902, Arabs turned the Mediterranean into a Muslim lake, thereby isolating and accelerating the decline of Western Europe. They reinvigorated Sicily with new crops, often irrigated, such as sugar, cotton, and citrus fruits, and industries such as silk and cotton textiles. The Arabs reestablished its position as an entrepôt of international trade, lost when the Roman Empire crumbled. Though the subject has hardly been studied, polygamy, eunuchs, seclusion of women in harems, and female infanticide must have encouraged both male and female homo- sexuality in Muslim Sicily, and a high proportion of Arabic poetry is pederastic.

The Normans, who conquered Sicily between 1061 and 1090, and their descendants and successors, the Hohenstaufen kings (1194–1266), were rightly regarded by the papacy with suspicion as having imbibed too deeply of Islam, which they tolerated. They played off one group of subjects against another: Muslim, Jew, Greek, and Lombard (in southern Italy, which they also ruled). His Guelph (pro-papal) enemies accused Frederick II (r. 1198–1250), so well depicted by Ernst Kantorowicz) of keeping a harem and practicing pederasty with his black slaves. Brother of the fanatic St. Louis, the greedy and bloodthirsty Charles of Anjou (r. 1266–1285), who beheaded Frederick II's 16-year-old grandson Conradin and his coeval "friend" when they tried to regain the Sicilian throne, finally stamped out Sicilian heterodoxy. The bloody rising against tyranny and overtaxation known as the Sicilian Vespers (1282), plunged the central Mediterranean into a century of wars between the islanders, who called in the Aragonese dynasty to protect them from the Angevins, Charles' descendants, who kept the mainland provinces of the former kingdom of Sicily. This conflict created the "two Sicilies," albeit they were reunited by Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon in 1437. Sexual imbalance on the island persisted, with 136 males for 115 females and 40 percent of adult males unmarried in some areas during the fifteenth century, indicating the persistence of female infanticide, which other evi-
dence likewise indicates for England, France, and Tuscany.

Antonio Beccadelli (1394–1471), a humanist of the early Renaissance, was born in Palermo. In 1434 he was called to Naples, where he served king Alfonso as ambassador, secretary, and historian. He is best known, however, for his learnedly scurrilous *Hermaphroditus*, which contains a number of homosexual epigrams modeled on *Martial* and other Latin poets.

*Modern Times.* By the fifteenth century Sicily had become a colonial economy owned by a few aristocrats supplying—with the backbreaking labor of landless proletarians and slaves who made up the bulk of the population—grain, sugar, cotton, and other commodities to Genoa, Barcelona, and other Mediterranean ports. Aragonese Inquisitors relentlessly suppressed dissent and non-conformity, but tried in vain during the second half of the sixteenth century to obtain a papal bull so that they could “relax” pederasts, a veritable “social plague,” as they stated, to secular courts. Sicilian sodomites were therefore tried and punished in the local secular courts rather than by the *Inquisition* as in Aragon. The Greek language and Arabic pederastic traditions persisted among the lower classes, where males greatly outnumbered females.

The Spanish Bourbons ceded the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (1759–1860) to their cadet Neapolitan branch, which misgoverned the island as badly as had its Habsburg predecessors, so that the Mafia and a general disrespect of all authority, including clerical, flourished. One of the chief opponents of Bourbon misrule was the bisexual patriot Luigi Settembrini (1813–1877), who was fascinated by ancient Greek pederasty.

After Garibaldi liberated Sicily and southern Italy in 1860, but turned it over to the House of Savoy, northern industrialists began a new form of exploitation of the mezzogiorno (south of Italy) and Sicily. Millions escaped poverty by emigrating to the Americas as well as to northern Italy. Americans tended to stereotype Italians as oversexed and morally loose. Sicilians and Neapolitans brought Mediterranean homosexuality to the United States, but adjusted their sexual mores rapidly to the new transatlantic climate conditioned by Protestantism. A significant contribution of the Italian underworld to the American gay subculture was its ownership of gay bars and speakeasies during Prohibition at a time when no respectable businessman would touch such an ill-famed enterprise. A Sicilian-American, the fine gay novelist Robert Ferro, died of AIDS together with his lover in 1988.

Like Capri in the bay of Naples, favorite resort of homosexual exiles and émigrés, Taormina in Sicily became in the nineteenth century and remains today a resort for gay tourists, along with the seedier violence-prone large cities of Palermo and Naples, abounding as they are even now with dashingy attractive scugnizzi (street urchins), often available at a price. Baron Wilhelm von Gloeden just after 1900 published provocative pictures of nude Sicilian boys from the region of Taormina, and continued to reside there until his death in 1931. Since World War II even ordinary gay tourists have frequented these once exclusive enclaves, driving those seeking greener pastures to Mykonos, Ibiza, and increasingly, as those have also become overrun, to Muslim sites in North Africa.

William A. Percy

**Sissy**

A diminutive of “sister,” the term “sissy” originated in mid-nineteenth-century America as an epithet for a weak, cowardly, or effeminate boy or man. Popular works, such as the novel, *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1886) by Frances H. Burnett, and H. T. Webster’s cartoon strip, “The Timid Soul,” featuring Caspar Milquetoast, helped to solidify the stereotype. The sissy, it was held, was not born but made, through pampering or mollycoddling in childhood
by well-meaning, but overprotective female guardians. Such mistakes of training could in many cases be corrected (it was believed) by strict discipline and exercise in such manly pursuits as athletics, hunting, and military life. The great exemplar of the redeemed sissy was Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919), the delicate youth who turned into the roughrider and flourisher of the symbolic big stick.

Twentieth-century America continued to be preoccupied by the contrast between the rugged frontiersman, the stalwart embodiment of the country's abiding strength of character, as against the effete, overcultivated, sissified European. In literature, such expatriates as Henry James and T. S. Elliot, with their recondite allusiveness, were contrasted with such standardbearers of the forthright native tradition as Jack London, William Carlos Williams, and Jack Kerouac. Ernest Hemingway, both an expatriate and a he-man, was an exception—though perhaps he protested too much.

While the word sissy may be relatively recent, the sissy concept takes up the older tradition of attacks on luxury as a solvent of manly virtue. Like the dandy before him, the sissy was not necessarily homosexual, but this status was often implied—particularly in the first half of the twentieth century when the word was a favorite stand-in or euphemism for the harsher "queer" or "fairy." In their heyday, Hollywood films made considerable use of the ambivalent image of the sissy, as personified by such players as Franklin Pangborn and Clifton Webb.

Significantly, the term "tomboy," the female counterpart, never bore a comparable negative charge, inasmuch as imitation of the male in the young female was considered essentially harmless and transitional.

In the 1970s the popularity of ideals of androgyny did something to soften the negativity of the sissy stereotype. Through writings and face-to-face discussions promoting ideas of the women's movement, men learned that it was acceptable to show emotions and sensitivity, and even to cry. The he-man role, though conferring status in a patriarchal society, now seemed a barrier to personal expressiveness and creativity. Many accepted, in principle at least, the idea that there was a range of types between the male and female poles, rather than a stark opposition. Although these arguments made some impact on many men, particularly those who entered sensitivity-training groups influenced by feminist ideas, the concept of sissihood has shown a remarkable capacity to survive; it largely retains its negative aura. In the yuppie eighties the appropriate symbol of this survival was the updated version of the milkos, the trendy quiche eater; Real Men Don't Eat Quiche (1982) was the title of a goof book by Bruce Feirstein.

Recently the word "wimp" has become popular as a derogative epithet, conveying a sense of insufficient maleness, but it lacks connotations of overt effeminacy or homosexuality despite its origins as a slang term for a female.

See also Macho.

Wayne R. Dynes

SITUATIONAL HOMOSEXUALITY

This term refers sociologically to widespread same-sex behavior in total institutions where no partner of the opposite sex is available. In some cases, as in prisons, jails and reformatories, the inmates are there involuntarily; in others, as ships at sea, monasteries and nunneries, and mines in southern Africa, participation has been freely chosen. The term is also applied to cultures where adolescents are gender-segregated. The assumption behind the notion of psychological situational homosexuality is that the individual's behavior is dependent on the heterosexually deprived situation, and that those performing homosexual acts faute de mieux under these circumstances will
revert to heterosexual behavior once they regain access to the opposite sex, while the "true" homosexual prefers his own sex even when the other is freely accessible. The situation of deprivation does not affect all people equally. Even late nineteenth-century authors realized that some individuals never engage in homosexual activity no matter how long or how intense the deprivation from heterosexual contact they endure. Similarly, many homosexuals fail to take up heterosexual activity even though homosexuality may be so severely repressed as to be practically unavailable. Nevertheless, cross-cultural evidence abundantly documents higher incidences of homosexual activity in situations of heterosexual deprivation, and markedly so for males in their sexual prime.

Siwa Oasis

A town in the Libyan desert of western Egypt, Siwa is the site of an ancient civilization which retained a form of institutionalized homosexuality into the modern era. The oasis was the location of an oracle consulted by Alexander the Great and modern observers have stressed how the Berber population conserved its own language, religious rites, and sexual customs despite the later overlay of Islam and Egyptian administration.

Sexual relations among men fell into the ancient pattern of pairing between usually married adult men and adolescent bachelors. In the nineteenth century, families lived within the walls of a town constructed rather like a single large adobe "beehive" while all unmarried men lived together on the edges of town where they made up a warrior class (zaggalah) protecting the oasis from desert marauders. In the twentieth century, as the military function declined and the townspeople have moved out of the walled center, the zaggalah have become agricultural laborers retaining their customs and clubhouses. The anthropologist Walter Cline, writing in 1936, found "All normal Siwan men and boys practice sodomy... Among themselves the natives are not ashamed of this; they talk about it as openly as they talk about love of women, and many if not most of their fights arise from homosexual competition."

Among the zaggalah, man-boy relationships were formally recognized when the man offered the boy's father a gift (or brideprice) as in heterosexual marriage. Abd Allah notes that "Siwan customs allow a man but one boy [vs. four wives] to whom he is bound by a stringent code of obligations." In the zaggalah clubhouse "laborers come together on any occasion for communal rejoicing and assemble on moonlight nights for drinking, singing, and dancing to the merry rhythm of flute and drum" (Cline). This festive and erotic tradition culminates in a three-day bacchanal dedicated to the medieval sheik, Sidi Soliman, following the Islamic fast of Ramadan. The various accounts of Siwa agree on the openness and fluidity of sexuality, in that divorce is casual and serial polygamy common, men having as many as a dozen wives over time. Male and female prostitution was noted and Cline remarked that the role in homosexual relations was variable and voluntary.


Barry D. Adam

Sixteenth-Century Legislation

This era brought to completion the trend toward criminalization of homosexuality throughout Christendom. The Jewish and Christian antihomosexual tradition that goes back to the fifth century
had crystallized in the canon law of the Christian church, whence it passed—from the end of the thirteenth century onward—into the criminal codes of the various European jurisdictions. The imposition of a Christian sexual morality that saw in homosexual acts a violation of the order of nature went hand in hand with the church’s expansion of its organizational and spiritual control over a recalcitrant or even heretical population. The only conflict with the secular power was over the jurisdiction of its courts as opposed to the ecclesiastical ones.

The Reformation did not break with this trend or reverse it. By the close of the sixteenth century the whole of Christian Europe—Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox—held sodomy a capital offense. The English statute of 25 Henry VIII c. 6 (1533) imposing the penalty of death by hanging for “the detestable and abominable Vice of Buggery committed with mankind or beast” is but a single example of the laws enacted by the Christian states and principalities in that era.

Central Europe. A condemnation of sodomy committed by “eın mensch mit eynem vihe, mann mit mann, weib mit weib” [a human being with a beast, man with man, woman with woman] appears in Article 141 of the Constitutio criminalis Bambergensis [criminal code for the German city of Bamberg] of 1507, in the same article of the Constitutio criminalis Brandenburgensis [criminal code of Brandenburg] of 1516, in Article 122 of the two drafts of a penal code for the Holy Roman Empire dating from 1521 and 1529, and finally in Article 116 of the Constitutio Criminalis Carolina that was formally adopted at the session of the Diet [Reichstag] in Regensburg on July 27, 1532. This was the end result of the work of codification that had been begun at the Diet in Freiburg in 1498 and was completed only in the reign of the Catholic emperor Charles V, who was one of the bitterest opponents of the Reformation. The time span involved—starting 19 years before the division of the Western church and ending 15 years after it—proves beyond a doubt that the rise of Protestantism had nothing to do with the enactments in question. The Carolina had an enormous impact on European criminal law, both substantive and procedural, in countries as far apart as France and Russia, from the time of its enactment to the end of the Ancien Régime; even the widernatürliche Unzucht (unnatural lewdness) of the notorious Paragraph 175 of the Penal Code of the German Empire (1871) merely rephrases the unkeusch, so wider die natur beschicht (unchastity contrary to nature) of the German codes of the early sixteenth century. The earlier German code had no force or influence, however, in England, which had already gone far down the path of developing its own distinctive legal tradition—the so-called common law.

The origin of all these statutes is probably to be sought in the writings of the Italian jurists of the fifteenth century who are cited as sources of the imperial law which displaced the local codes of the individual German cities. What happened was simply that offenses which had been crimes in canon law were now made criminal in the secular courts as well. In this whole process of criminalization of sodomy the teaching of the Christian church is primary; the legal enactments and social attitudes are secondary and tertiary developments, so that the English statute of 1533 independently parallels the Continental enactments.

England. Monks—against whom accusations of sodomy had been voiced since the ninth century—were of course targets of the Reformers. Henry VIII’s letter of April 4, 1543 to his agent in Scotland, Ralph Sadler, envisages what one would nowadays call a “covert action” in that country that would dispossess the monasteries of their holdings in a more effective manner than a publicly decreed statute might have allowed. With respect to his own realm there is no evidence that the statute of 1533 [included as it was in a
group of miscellaneous statutes having nothing remotely to do with this subject] was motivated by the Reformers' intent to prosecute the monks for "crimes against nature" and then to dissolve the monasteries and confiscate their property. Dissolution of monasteries and enactments against sodomy were two different issues.

The unique features of the English tradition in this sphere are first, the use of the term buggery as the legal designation for the crime, though in ordinary speech in England the word was long considered obscene and offensive; and second, the frequent commutation of the penalty of death by hanging (not burning at the stake, as some wrongly assume) to exposure in the pillory, which was described by contemporary observers as worse than death because of the ferocity with which mobs, and particularly women eager to punish enemies of their sex, pelted the defenseless sodomites with missiles and filth of every kind. It is uncertain just how and when this penalty began, but there is evidence that the pillory was used to punish sexual immorality well before the reign of Henry VIII, possibly even as early as the time of Richard II (late fourteenth century). The standard histories of English law begin in medias res by relating the abuses to which the pillory led in the mid-eighteenth century and then its abolition for all offenses except perjury in 1816. In Great Britain it was finally abandoned in 1837, and the United States Congress followed suit in 1839.

The sixteenth-century sodomy statutes remained on the books until the thinkers of the Enlightenment, beginning with Cesare Beccaria in 1764, denounced the death penalty as a relic of medieval superstition and intolerance.

The number of persons executed for "buggery," "crime against nature," and the like in jurisdictions subject to the British crown was probably no more than three a year for the whole period from 1561 to 1861, when the death penalty was abolished in favor of life imprisonment. Thus

the scores of victims of the law cannot be compared with the hundreds and thousands who were executed or simply killed just for holding "heretical" beliefs during the Reformation conflict in the sixteenth century. In fact, the really significant feature of the English legal development is its laxness in both directions: the criminalization of sodomy only in 1533, the abolition of the death penalty only in 1861, and the retention of the offense in the criminal codes of the English-speaking world long after the influence of the Enlightenment and of classical liberalism had reshaped almost every other area of the law. But few as the executions may have been, they left an enduring stamp on public opinion. And the United States Supreme Court's fateful decision in Bowers v. Hardwick (1986) denying the right of privacy to consensual adult homosexual behavior keeps alive the legal tradition that stems from the law of 1533, reinforced by the unrelenting hostility of religious conservatives and fundamentalists.

See also Canon Law; Law, Feudal and Royal; Law, Municipal.

Warren Johansson

SLANG TERMS FOR HOMOSEXUALS IN ENGLISH

The several national varieties of English offer hundreds of slang terms for homosexuals, a few of them traceable to the seventeenth century, but most dating from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some may be heard wherever English is spoken [e.g., gay, queer]; many more are limited in their area of use ["jasper," "pooper," "moffie"]). Nearly all these terms were devised by heterosexuals and so tend to express in their meaning or derivation the hostility, the contempt, the hatred, and the fear that straight people have felt toward gay sex and those who practice it.

The corpus of slang also reflects long-standing and still prevalent misunderstandings of homosexuality. Recent
exposures of and challenges to these misconceptions have made as yet little impression on the language, and although individuals may have modified their usage, offensive, misconceived, and otherwise objectionable terms continue to be used.

Gay people have themselves adopted many of these terms, because until recently their understanding of themselves and their sexuality differed little from the views of the society in which they lived.

Basic Categories. Almost all terms for male homosexuals fall into four simple categories: first, those taking or assumed to take the “active,” masculine role, the inserter role, in anal intercourse; secondly, the “passive,” feminine role, the receptor role, in anal intercourse; thirdly, effeminate men who may be gay (there is some overlap between the latter two categories). Finally, for United States English, a category of fellator (cocksucker engaged in oral activity) is needed.

A similar typonomy, without a fourth category corresponding to fellator, applies to terms for lesbians. First, masculine, “active”; secondly, (ultra-) feminine, “passive”; and, thirdly, mannish women who may be lesbian. Again, there is some overlap between the first and third categories. Even though early sexology distinguished cunnilinguistics from tribades, calling the former “sapphists” and “Lesbian lovers” (this original sense became obscured when these terms became generic for female homosexuals), English slang does not seem to have developed similar categories. There are many slang terms for those who perform oral sex on women (“cuntlapper,” “-licker”; “muffdiver,” “plater”; “gamahucher,” “gamahucker,” “gamarucker,” and so forth) but none is specifically homosexual in application.

These categories mirror the traditional equation of biological sex and gender role, whereby male anatomy entails masculinity and female anatomy femininity. From this psychobiological determin-
is rhyming slang on “cock.” One of the equivalent American terms, “jocker,” is likewise probably derived from “jock,” which means “fuck” as a verb and “cock” as a noun. In the case of the synonym “wolf” the association is the same but metaphorical rather than direct.

The key to understanding a large number of passive/effeminate terms is the supposed reversal of gender and sex roles: the adoption of behavior deemed “natural” or appropriate to the opposite sex. A man who is passive must in some sense be a woman; even one who is raped is judged to have “lost his manhood” and becomes de facto a woman. Many slang terms for the passive homosexual directly personify him as a vagina or an anus: “gash,” “pussy,” “gentleman pussy,” “sea-pussy,” “boy-pussy,” “boy-snatch,” “boy-cunt,” “bum-boy,” “poonge” [from Yiddish for “cunt”], “brownie-queen,” “browning-sister” or “queen,” “mustard-pot,” “jere.”

Another common procedure is to apply a word that has female reference. The most direct method is to use a female name. The oldest known slang term “Molly” is an example, and “Marjery,” “Mary-Ann,” and “Charlotte-Ann” are further obsolete instances. Other nineteenth-century examples still survive: “Miss Nancy,” “Nance,” “Pansy” [and other flowers], “Mary,” “Betty,” “Dinah,” “Ethyl,” “Nola” have been recorded in the United States and in Australia the [obsolete] “Gussie” [from August]. Or it may be any one of the large number of words normally used of females: “aunt[ie],” “chicken,” “fem[me],” “girl,” “bitch,” “belle,” “mother,” “queen,” “sis[sie],” “sister,” “wife,” and the like. Or it may be a word that refers to stereotypically feminine behavior: “limp-wrist,” “broken-wrist,” “fist,” “mince,” “prissy,” “swish.” [See Women’s Names for Male Homosexuals.]

Another way of seeing male homosexuals as women is to view them as hermaphrodites. This confusion has seen the word “hermaphrodite” corrupted into “morphodite,” “morphydidite,” “morphodite,” and in South Africa “moffie.” It has also yielded “freak.”

One of the most prolific sources of feminine words has been male prostitution. Evidence of this phenomenon in London exists from the Middle Ages, and late nineteenth-century writers on homosexuality such as Havelock Ellis and “Xavier Mayne” (E. I. Prime-Stevenson) state that it was widespread throughout Europe and the United States. The prostitution took two main forms. Highly masculine men, especially soldiers, who were poorly paid, made themselves available as “active” partners. The older tradition involved very effeminate men, often cross-dressers, who frequented certain taverns or bars; sometimes their activity was outright arsepeddling, but often it seems to have been sex in return for a good time paid for by the masculine male. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such effeminate men were called mollies [from “Moll,” the perform of Mary, which meant “harlot” or “hussy”) and the places where they operated were molly-houses.

The semantic transition from “harlot” and/or “slatternly woman, hussy” to “effeminate passive homosexual” and hence “homosexual” generally is the source of some of the most common terms for homosexuals. Such words include “fairy,” “nancy” or “nance,” “queen/quean,” and, contrary to popular myth, “fag” and “faggot.” Above all there is the term “gay” itself, which in its present sense has not been traced earlier than the 1920s but which clearly derives from the earlier slang sense of “sexually dissolute, promiscuous, libertine,” a sense often applied to female prostitutes. Other less familiar examples of this shift include “aunt[ie]” [originally meaning “brothel-keeper, old prostitute”), “ginch,” “hump,” “kife,” “twidget,” and “skippy.”

The long tradition of male prostitution in London has meant that working-class Londoners have had a long exposure to it. London slang, particularly Cockney
rhyming slang, is very rich in terms for effeminate homosexuals, many of which live on in Australian slang. One nineteenth-century term was "sod," which survives as a mild term of abuse, its original sense largely forgotten. It in turn gave rise to the rhyming slang "Tommy Dodd," shortened to "Tommy." More important is "poof!" ("pouf"), attested from 1833, which has yielded the elaborated Australian term "pooster" (new spread to New Zealand and Britain) and the rhyming slang "horse's hoof" or "horses" (Australian variant, "cow's hoof") and "iron hoof" or "iron." The variant form "puff," attested from 1902, may have originally been only a spelling variant rather than representing a different pronunciation; however that may be, it has spawned "collar and cuff" or "cuff" and "nigh enough" or "enuff." "Queer" has yielded "Brighton Pier," "ginger beer," shortened to "ginger," "King Lear," and, some have argued, "ere" and "gear." In Australian English "queen" has given rise to "pork and bean" and (poor example) "submarine."

United States English is rich in terms for homosexual fellators. Other varieties of English have no such slang, although associated terms such as "blow-job" and "head" (neither necessarily homosexual) have recently begun to penetrate other Englishes. The earliest written record of the word "cock-sucker" occurs in John S. Farmer and W. E. Henley's Slang and its Analogues, vol. 2 (1891), and interestingly they define it as "fellatrix." In the United States, however, the word applies to a homosexual, is one of the most taboo of words, and is also one of the strongest terms of abuse. The American homosexual's predilection for fellatio is longstanding, for already in 1915 Havelock Ellis recorded the slang term "head-worker." Later synonyms include "blow-boy," "flute[er]," "cannibal," "gobbler," "larro" (back-slang), "mouser," "muzzler," "dick-sucker," "dick[ie]-licker," "skindiver," "nibbler," "lapper," "lick-box." Lesbianism. Terms for lesbians are far less common than those for homosexual men, a fact that is consonant with the greater invisibility of the lesbian in the past. No term now current can be traced earlier than the 1920s. In the eighteenth century lesbian practices were referred to as "the game of flats," but there was apparently no term for the practitioners. In the late nineteenth century two spinsters living together were referred to, in parts of the United States, as being in a Boston marriage. The phenomenon of "tomboyishness" was widely recognized and far less deprecated than the male equivalent "sissihood," yet it was not commonly or usually associated with lesbianism.

The word lesbian itself has given rise to many shortenings: "les[]," "lessie," "lez," "lezzie," "lezzo," "lesbie" and the associated pun "lesbie-friends," "lesbo," "lesley"; and the locutional elaboration "les-bbyterian." All of these are generic. Most other terms fall into the butch-fem/"fluff" categories and most seem to be of United States origin.

The oldest term seems to be "bull-dyke[er]" or "bull-dyking woman." The latter was also shortened to "B.D. woman." These terms first appear in black circles in the 1920s, and "bull-dyking" and "B.D." occur in the blues. The most plausible etymology of the "dyke" element, which later became an independent word with the same sense, is that it derives from the late nineteenth-century slang "dike" meaning "to dress up formally or elegantly." This derivation would suggest the priority of "bull-dyker" over "bull-dyke," which accords with the evidence. There are also corrupt forms "bull-dagger" and "boon-dagger," and "bull" too has become an independent word. "Dyke" has spread to other English-speaking countries, and is often reinforced with the word "diesel."

Other masculine-lesbian terms include "butch," "amy-john" (from "amazon"), "jasper," "stud," "baby-stud," "tootsie."
The feminine, "passive" lesbian is a "fem[me]," "fluff," "fairy-lover," and "lady-lover." This last is used generically.

**Conclusion.** Language and particularly slang mirrors salient facts about the society in which it is used, and this is true of all the slang names for homosexuals that have accumulated over the past two centuries. They show in their meaning and derivation the popular understandings of homosexuals and homosexual behavior and sexual activity. That the understanding and perceptions involved are so frequently wrong makes the task of overcoming prejudice and ill-will so much harder, for the detritus remains embedded in the language. It is no accident that English has so few slang terms that mean homosexual, pure and simple, without reference to sexual roles and acts.

Studies of the slang vocabularies of other Western European languages have shown that they are as rich as English. In all modern languages, apparently, money, inebriation, and sex are all especially productive of popular terms. However, homosexual vocabularies are highly insular: even Spanish and Portuguese, so similar in other ways, show hardly any commonality in their slang terms for gay men and lesbians. Nonetheless, the whole group of Western languages displays some common semantic elements: gender reversal [imputation of effeminacy to gay men and masculinity to lesbians]; use of women's names as genetic terms for male homosexuals; inheritance of medieval Christian words of the "bugger" and "sodomite" families; and adaptations of psychiatric and medical terms. Occasionally slang terms migrate from one language to another, as French *tante* to German [also variant: *Tunte*], and (probably) in loan-translation form to English as *aunt[ie]*. In recent years the English word "gay" has entered these languages, and others as well.


**G. S. Simes**

**SLAVERY**

The institution of slavery, under which one human being was the property of another and his labor power could be exploited by the owner with no remuneration beyond bare subsistence, existed from the dawn of history down to modern times. In some countries of the New World the agricultural sector abandoned slavery only in the second half of the nineteenth century. Most studies of slavery have concentrated on the economic aspect, fewer on the social and political. Only a very few have entered into the sexual exploitation that slavery entailed, and these tended to focus on the problems of marriage and childbearing rather than on the homosexual side.

**General Considerations.** The person of the slave belonged to the master, and could be used for sexual gratification as well as for economic gain. The slave could not in most cases refuse the master's advances, whether they were heterosexual or homosexual. The inferior status of the slave translated into the passive role in homosexual intercourse, which was always assigned to the party of lower rank. In ancient city-states the free citizen was forbidden to prostitute himself without loss of status, so that the profession of prostitute could be exercised only by slaves or foreigners and sometimes by freedmen. For this reason handsome young males captured in battle or in slave-hunting raids were likely to find their way into brothels, a fate preferable to the hard labor imposed on slaves in the mines and latifundia of the magnates and great landowners. It was no disgrace for the slave to be subordinated sexually to the master, but simply part of
his function as an "animated tool," an instrument of pleasure. The slave in ancient Greece was forbidden to be a pederast, that is, to take the active role with a boy. In situations of this kind, as in relationships between male slaves and upper-class women, the law and society could be harshly punitive.

So extensive was the sexual abuse of captives and slaves that it was assumed, tacitly and even explicitly in law codes, that any woman who had been in a city taken by force or had been a slave had been sexually violated. The same was true of males taken prisoner, who were exposed to the aggression of their captors in a world where homosexual activity was considered part of everyday life. The slavemonger engaged in practices typical of the modern call-boy service, grooming and depilating his wares, concealing their physical blemishes as best he could, and falsifying their ages and other personal data. Such behavior earned the slave dealer the contempt of polite society, an inferior status that lingered as long as slavery itself.

At the same time intimacy with the master could afford a slave a relatively comfortable existence, the superiority of the personal or household servant over the one who toiled in the fields or in the mines. In the ancient world particularly, slaves were educated for all occupations, even the highest in the administrative hierarchy, so that the condition of slave did not imply intellectual inferiority or lack of culture. It has even been asserted that the market in slaves provided for a rational distribution of labor power in ancient society, and the ability to provide "intimate personal services" must have contributed to the overall value of a boy offered for sale.

The status of the slave set the parameters of the sexual activity that was obligatory, permitted, or forbidden. The overriding principle in the ancient world was that the active role was reserved to the superior partner and forbidden to the inferior one, while the passive role was prescribed for the inferior partner and forbidden to the superior one. In ancient Athens slaves and boys were often classed and treated similarly, but with this crucial difference: for the upper-class Athenian boy the status was temporary and transitional, the homosexual liaison partook of a rite de passage rather than of an obligation contingent upon the servile role.

Historical Development: Ancient Greece. Among the Greeks the pederastic relationship—the legally and socially sanctioned form of male homosexuality—was considered part of everyday life. The slavemonger engaged in practices typical of the modern call-boy service, grooming and depilating his wares, concealing their physical blemishes as best he could, and falsifying their ages and other personal data. Such behavior earned the slave dealer the contempt of polite society, an inferior status that lingered as long as slavery itself.

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Slavery

law prohibited slaves from using free boys as sexual partners at all. Plutarch ascribed the authorship of both laws to Solon, with the significant proviso that he did not ban relations between slaves and free women—as the Roman emperors were later to do.

Rome. Roman pederasty never had the educational role which Greek society had assigned to the phenomenon. The same aspect of dominance and submission prevailed: the behavior that is obligatory for the slave is unworthy and demeaning when practiced by a free man. But a Roman of the upper class had abundant opportunity to acquire a male slave as a bed partner if he so chose. The nonchalance with which Roman society judged such matters is demonstrated by Catullus' wedding poem in honor of Manlius Torquatus and his new bride Junia, which alludes at length to the groom's liaison with a young male slave of the household in the jocular manner typical of Roman straightforwardness in dealing with sexuality. However, for the Roman, marriage and procreation were duties; homosexual affairs were casual matters or opportunities for relaxation. The male prostitute must have been a characteristic figure of the night life of the metropolis, as during the reign of Augustus such hustlers had their own specially designated holiday, duly recorded in the State Calendar. But the mentor–pupil relationship that was the hallmark of Greek paiderasteia at its best never found entry into Roman mores, which always fell short of the Hellenic ideal.

From the Introduction of Christianity to Early Modern Times. Christianity influenced the sexual life of slaves by making a breach in the distinction between matrimonium, the legal marriage of citizens, and contubernium, the union of convenience between slaves. In principle Christian morality upheld a single standard for all, slave or free—which implied that the slave could not be compelled to take the passive role in a homosexual relationship. Byzantine historians record that after the legislation of Justinian on sodomy, it became "the crime of those to whom no crime could be imputed," and that convictions were obtained solely on the word of a child or a slave. In this way the incipient Christian norms of sexual behavior played into the hands of those who needed a political weapon to strike at their enemies. In a society where overt homosexuality had been a matter of everyday life, the adherents of the "old lifestyle" now exposed themselves to the death penalty if the authorities got wind of what was happening inside their households. The innovation of Christian moralists and legislators lay, in a sense, in equalizing master and slave: extending the old prohibitions on the active homosexual role from the slave to the free man, and those on the passive role from the free man to the slave. It was the former act that led Friedrich Nietzsche to characterize Christianity as having a "slave morality," since it reduced the whole population to the lowest common denominator, even if in practice the slave had little opportunity to bring charges against his master unless he found political protectors outside the household.

It is sometimes alleged that the anti-sexual animus of primitive Christianity stemmed from its being a religion of slaves and of the "oppressed" who were forced to submit to their owners, but this view is now being abandoned. The sexual morality of Hellenistic Judaism which the Church ratified and reinforced with an ascetic bias had nothing to do with the institution of slavery, in fact the Mosaic Law held that Israelites should not keep other Israelites in permanent bondage, just as Plato taught that Hellenes should not enslave other Hellenes. The coincidence of the two doctrines led ultimately to the abolition of slavery in the center of Christendom, though not on its periphery, where "barbaric" peoples continued to be enslaved and to be utilized as the labor force of a slaveholding economy from the early middle ages until the suppression of the slave trade in the nineteenth century.
In the eighth to tenth centuries Jewish slave dealers transported Slavic captives from Itil and Kiev in Khazaria to the slave markets of Moorish Spain, but on route at Verdun the males were castrated, with the result that in Arabic the word *saqaliba* meant not just “Slavs” but “eunuchs,” who had their own special role in the sexual economy of the time. The eunuchs were employed as harem guards and as part of the military force of the Moorish rulers, but a feminized eunuch could also be the passive partner in a homosexual relationship. The Arab world preserved vestiges of slavery down to the twentieth century, and only international pressure and intervention have terminated the practice in quite recent times.

Relatively little study has been made of homosexual activity among the black slaves of the New World. In the seventeenth century Portuguese sources show, however, that homosexuality was common among the peoples of Angola, from which many Brazilian slaves were recruited. *Inquisition* reports beginning at the same time show considerable interracial sodomy, in most cases involving free white men and black slaves. There is also evidence of direct transfer of the social forms, including transvestism, documented in Angolan homosexuality to the slave population of Brazil.

**Conclusion.** In various cultural contexts, slavery augmented the element of dominance and submission implicit in many traditional homosexual relationships, and also enhanced the economic value of offspring in societies where parents could for mere financial gain sell a child into slavery knowing full well that it was destined for a brothel in some distant city. Even today the “sexual paradises” of Western tourists in Southeast Asia continue practices such as these that have survived from pre-modern societies, so that the champions of “sexual freedom” are profoundly wrong in imagining them as utopias of any sort. Rather they perpetuate a legacy of sexual exploitation and bondage that is incompatible with modern notions of liberty and self-determination.


*Warren Johansson

**SMYTH, ETHEL, DAME (1858–1944)**

British composer and memoirist. The daughter of a Frenchwoman and a British general, Smyth obtained her musical training in Germany. She also spent some time in the bisexual foreign colony in Florence, where she came under the influence of Henry Brewster, who wrote the librettos for some of her compositions. From him she derived a quasi-mystical Neoplatonic philosophy. Her symphonic choral work *The Prison* (1930) bears the epigraph: “I am striving to release that which is divine within us, and to merge it in the universally divine.” Her first major work, the Mass in D Major (1893), was hailed for its expansive construction, robust enunciation, and rich orchestration—all qualities that were then unexpected in a woman composer. From 1898 to 1925 she wrote and produced six operas. She also composed choral and orchestral works, chamber music, and songs.

An extroverted and even flamboyant personality, Smyth made a significant contribution to the British movement for women’s suffrage. For this cause she wrote a “March of the Women,” which was much used in demonstrations. Her opera *The Boatswain’s Mate* (1916) revolves around a strong female personality, that of the landlady. She battled for equal treatment of women as artists, tirelessly canvassing conductors and executants, and staging grand scenes of temperament when her exacting performance requirements were not met. Smyth also cultivated roy-
ality and golf. In 1922 she was made a Dame of the British Empire.

She fell in love with a number of women, most notably with Virginia Woolf, whom Ethel Smyth met when she was seventy-one. "I don't think I have ever cared for anyone more profoundly," she noted in her diary. "For eighteen months I have thought of little else." By this time she was suffering from deafness, and had to stop composing. She shifted her energy to her autobiographical volumes, which became renowned for their frankness and excellent prose style. Always forthright, she declared in 1935: "I am the most interesting person I know, and I don't care if anyone else thinks so." Her own summation of the three reasons for her remaining undefeated was: "An iron constitution, a fair share of fighting spirit, and, most important of all, a small but independent income."


Evelyn Gettone

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION APPROACH

In the 1980s a seemingly new approach to the study of homosexual behavior arose, which its advocates termed social construction. Denying the existence of any "transhistorical" definition of same-sex behavior, the social constructionist scholars hold that sexual behavior is, in all significant aspects, a product of cultural conditioning, rather than of biological and constitutional factors. Thus same-sex behavior would have an entirely different meaning, say, in ancient Egypt or Tang China from what it would have in nineteenth-century Europe. In the view of some proponents of this approach, the "modern homosexual" is sui generis, having come into existence in Europe and North America only about 1880; hence it is vain to conduct comparative research on earlier eras or non-Western societies.

The social constructionists contrast their own approach with that of the "essentialists" (a term of their own devising), who ostensibly believe in an eternal and unchanging homosexuality. Yet most critics of social construction are not essentialists, and to label them as such amounts to a caricature that has proved tactically useful for polemical purposes but has advanced understanding very little. One should also bear in mind that the discussion is not current in the gay/lesbian community as a whole, but is confined to scholars.

Strengths and Weaknesses. What is valuable about the social construction approach is the fact that it alerts researchers to the dangers of anachronism. It makes no sense, for example, to refer to such ancient Greek figures as Socrates and Alexander the Great as gay without noting that their erotic life was conducted in a framework in which pederasty, the love of an adult man for an adolescent boy, was the rule, and not the androphilia—male adult–adult relationship—that is dominant today.

Granting this point, social construction errs too far on the side of difference in denying any commonality whatever among same-sex love in ancient Greece, in the Middle Ages, and in contemporary Western society. This denial of commonality and continuity would deprive scholars of the fruits of cross-cultural study of same-sex behavior. Another consequence of social construction orthodoxy is to exclude biological factors from any role in the shaping of sexual desire. Some extreme adherents claim that the body itself is a mere social construct—implying a rejection of material reality itself.

Sources. It has been suggested that the conflict between social construction and its opponents is another version of the old debate about nature versus nurture, between those who believe that human conduct is largely conditioned by biological forces and those who attribute the
leading role to culture (the environmentalists). One's first response is to say that human behavior is the result of a confluence of the two forces, but this compromise is usually rejected by those in the environmentalist camp. In similar fashion, the social constructionists hold that culture is supreme, and are little prepared to concede biological constants. The social construction debate has also been compared to the medieval philosophical dispute between the realists and the nominalists, those who believed that the world contained real essences as against those who believed that we know only names for primal qualities. The parallel is inexact, however, since few social constructionists would be willing to adopt the nominalist views they are said to hold. Indeed, thoroughgoing nominalism would make the social constructionist claims meaningless, since there would be no stable social categories to contrast with the purportedly labile ones of sexual orientation.

The actual roots of social construction as a theory are twofold. First is the heritage of German historicism, which (emerging in the late eighteenth century), saw successive historical epochs as each having a distinct character, radically different from those that precede and follow. This trend, which posits a series of historical eras almost hermetically sealed from one another, accounts for the social constructionist belief that there is a "modern homosexual," a type that has existed only since ca. 1880. This eighteenth-century source shows that the social construction approach is not as new as its proponents suggest.

The second source is the tendency of modern sociology and anthropology to attribute human behavior solely to cultural determinants. In some social constructionists this tendency is tinged with late Marxism—which may itself be regarded as a sociological doctrine. These two main sources were given focus by the writings of the French social thinker and historian Michel Foucault, who though not self-identified as a social constructionist seminally influenced such proponents of social construction as Kenneth Plummer and Jeffrey Weeks. These and other adherents picked up Foucault's ideas of historical discontinuity, of "ruptures" radically segmenting periods of historical development.

Two Key Questions. A major objection to the social constructionist position is that homosexual behavior existed in Western society during the hundreds of years in which its existence was formally denied by the dominant culture, the authorities imposed obligatory heterosexuality upon the entire population and subjected anyone known for "sodomitical" behavior to economic boycott and social ostracism, if not to criminal prosecution. A curious outcome of these centuries of oppression is that when the first writings on homosexuality reached the general public at the end of the nineteenth century, some individuals revealed to psychiatrists that, although they had responded solely to members of their own sex since adolescence, until then they imagined themselves unique in the whole world. They had "constructed" their own sexual consciousness without any social input—a feat that should be impossible according to social constructionist postulates.

Another fact that contradicts the social constructionists is the abundant evidence for gay subcultures in Europe and the United States for at least a hundred years before the modern, political phase of homosexuality began—a subculture whose participants, however, merely thought of themselves as members of an erotic freemasonry from whose forbidden pleasures the vulgar mass was excluded. (While the evidence becomes sparser as one goes back in time, in some sense these subcultures can be traced back to the twelfth century in the Middle Ages.)

The "modern homosexual" is a political concept; the phenomenon began when individuals oriented toward their
own sex, in the wake of trials such as those of Oscar Wilde and Prince Philipp zu Eulenburg, came to regard themselves as part of an oppressed minority cherishing a grievance against late Victorian society and its norms of sexual morality, and demanding their own "place in the sun." This trend was for a long time characteristic of northern Europe (where generally homosexual conduct was criminalized) and was foreign to the dwellers of Mediterranean lands. Since the 1960s, the "gay" identity has had an undeniable component of political activism; it was the badge of the individual who proclaimed his sexual nature openly and campaigned for the liberation of himself and others like him from the unjust prohibitions and discriminations of "straight" society. One can readily grant that in ancient Greece and Rome no one was "gay" in this sense. Such a political stance arose only in dialectical opposition to the Judeo-Christian attitude toward homosexual behavior and those who engaged in it. Even today many of those who participate in homosexual activity far from the mass meetings and rallies of the "gay ghettos" are heedless of this political aspect of homosexuality, which they perceive as irrelevant to their desires for erotic gratification.

Conclusions. As has been noted, social construction theory has made a contribution in warning against anachronism, the tendency to project back into the past one's own familiar experiences and life ways. Yet the idea that cultural climates shift, changing the expression of sexuality with them, is scarcely a new discovery. What is disappointing about social construction is that it offers no explanation of the "grounding" of such change. What mechanisms—economic, political, intellectual—cause a society to move from one dominant cultural climate to another? Moreover, social construction has gone too far in seeking to discourage transhistorical and cross-cultural investigations of homosexual desire. Implied roadblocks of this kind must not stymie the investigator, for comparative studies across time and across social systems are a vital prerequisite to the emergence of a satisfactory concept of human homosexual behavior in all its fullness and complexity.


Wayne R. Dynes

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

This term has acquired various meanings in the course of the past century and a half. Late nineteenth-century Europe saw the formation of Marxist working-class parties that called themselves Social Democrats. These gained in numbers and influence, but were beset by the unresolved problem of whether to limit themselves to parliamentary maneuvering, or else to resort to such extra-parliamentary means as general strikes and working-class violence to achieve power.

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 triggered a major crisis within the left, in which the parliamentary and reformist elements sided with Social Democracy, while those committed to violent revolution joined Communist Parties organized on the Leninist model. This splitting of the left provoked internecine struggles that weakened it in the face of the emerging fascist and National Socialist movements in the years of the Great Depression. Social Democracy tended to become the party of the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals, while the working class proper rallied to its Communist rivals.
Germany. The first party to welcome the new homosexual emancipation movement was German Social Democracy. In January 1898 August Bebel, the leader of the party in the Reichstag, took the floor in defense of the first petition submitted by the newly founded Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, while—with the exception of a single National Liberal—the representatives of the other parties expressed outrage and disgust at the subject of the petition. In the wake of this intervention, Magnus Hirschfeld was personally received by Secretary Nieberding, the head of the Imperial Office of Justice, who cautioned him that the government could do nothing until the public had been reeducated as to the justice of abolishing the antihomosexual Paragraph 175. The Social Democrats—with a few exceptions in their own ranks—continued to be the only party that supported the demands of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, while the opposition was spearheaded by the Catholic Centrist Party. At first the whole issue was limited to Germany, as the Social Democratic parties in other nations, for a variety of reasons, had no “homosexual question” to debate.

As happened elsewhere, German progressives took notice—often uncritically—of Soviet Russia. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 not only swept away the old order in a cataclysm of blood and violence, it gave the appearance of turning the new Soviet Russia into a huge experimental laboratory in which official support was accorded all kinds of pioneering social innovations. The penal codes of the RSFSR in 1922 and 1926 omitted all reference to voluntary homosexual acts committed in private, and among reformers in the West the myth arose that the Soviet Union was the “country of the future” in which the injustices and inequalities of the past were being overcome. This stance naturally affected the leftist parties abroad.

In 1922 a highly progressive penal code was drafted by the German Minister of Justice, Gustav Radbruch, who had been the teacher of Kurt Hiller at the University of Heidelberg, but Radbruch did not succeed in bringing his draft before the Reichstag. The Communist Party, with its principle of strict intraparty discipline, made support for law reform part of its platform. The Communist lawyer Felix Halle formulated its approach to the issue by writing: “The class-conscious proletariat, uninfluenced by the ideology of property and freed from the ideology of the churches, approaches the question of sexual life and also the problem of homosexuality with a lack of prejudice afforded by an understanding of the overall structure of society.”

On October 16, 1929, decriminalization of homosexual acts between consenting adults was voted by a committee of the Reichstag 15 to 13, with the Communists, Social Democrats, and German People’s Party [classical liberal] supporting the change. However, the American stock market crash a week later—heralding a world-wide depression—provoked a crisis in which law reform was shelved as the Reichstag struggled with the deteriorating economic situation and the mounting polarization of political forces within the country.

The Social Democratic Party supported the demands of the homosexual organizations less out of any principled commitment than because of its devotion to the principle of individual liberty which it had taken over from the classical liberal parties of the nineteenth century, but for just this reason it countenanced defection within its own ranks.

Other Countries. In countries other than Germany the Social Democratic parties and their equivalents often had no clearly defined “sexual politics,” suffered embarrassment by the issues which sexual reform raised, and were intimidated by the negative response of the uneducated and religious strata of the population. The only country where law reform was realized under Social Demo-
ocratic leadership in this period was Denmark, which repealed its sodomy law in 1930 (followed by Sweden in 1944 and Norway in 1948).

In the Soviet Union, Stalin set about repudiating all concessions to liberalism as he consolidated his power in a one-party state. A law dated March 7, 1934—a year after the National Socialist seizure of power—restored criminal sanctions against male but not female homosexuality. Various contradictory pretexts were offered for the change, but in practice it meant that—even as the myth of the “humanist Stalin” was propagated abroad in the interest of the Popular Front formed to halt the rising tide of reaction in Central and Western Europe—the Communist parties lost all interest in sexual reform, and Social Democracy had to carry the ball alone.

The World League for Sexual Reform on a Scientific Basis itself collapsed after Hirschfeld’s death on May 14, 1935, as the two wings—one desiring a centrist approach with the cooperation of the bourgeois parties and the other seeking an open alliance with the Communist Party, even at that late date—could not work together. The movement of the preceding twenty-five years had pursued a number of different goals which now proved ideologically incompatible. The sexual reform aspect tended to become the province of the left, while the birth control movement and sex education were anchored in the center and the eugenics movement became identified with the right, particularly after the Nazi accession to power in Germany, where Hitler forced upon his cabinet a series of negative eugenic measures, including compulsory sterilization. The Soviet Union relentlessly dismantled progressive social laws, prohibited homosexuality, forbade abortion and the sale of birth control materials, and conformed to the model of the clerical-fascist states with their pronatalist policies. Some leftist scholars have argued that such retrograde policies were a temporary aberration under Stalin. Yet long after his death, the Communist regimes of China, Cuba, and Vietnam—not to mention that of the Soviet Union itself—have continued to adhere rigidly to these policies, with antihomosexuality prominent among them.

In Western Europe after 1945 the Social Democratic parties sympathized with the homosexual liberation movement but were often timid in defending it, while the conservative parties were solid in their opposition to law reform and quite willing to use homosexuals as scapegoats in the anti-Communist furor of the 1950s. It was only in 1969 that Paragraph 175 was finally repealed under a Social Democratic government in Bonn.

In Britain a special situation prevailed. Much of the Labour Party’s rank and file persisted in regarding homosexuality as a product of the elite public schools, as (in effect) an aristocratic vice. Initially it was easier to obtain support for the work of the Wolfenden Committee from Liberals and even Conservatives than from Labour stalwarts. When George Brinham, who had been chairman of the Labour Party from 1959 to 1960, was murdered by a hustler in 1962, the party offered no sympathy, only silence.

Nonetheless, in Parliament the chief support for the Abse Bill (1967), which decriminalized homosexual conduct among consenting adults in England and Wales, came from Labour Party members. Yet this step was taken in the form of a private member’s bill not officially supported by the Labour government of Harold Wilson.

Subsequently, homosexuality emerged as an issue in dispute between the “modern” sector of the party, consisting of intellectuals and elements of the upper middle class, as against the old-line trade unionists. The latter remained deeply suspicious of the championing of gay rights and other progressive social issues by the modern faction. In the 1980s Thatcherite electoral successes caused frustration that
heightened cleavages over social questions. In the Bermondsey by-election of February 1983, when openly gay Peter Tatchell sought to be returned to Parliament as the official Labour candidate, his campaign suffered to systematic vilification at the hands of party stalwarts. In 1988 many Labour M.P.s voted for Clause 28, the notorious measure banning “promotion” of homosexuality.

Despite the checkered record in some countries, on the whole the growth of Social Democracy promoted a climate of liberalism in which, other factors permitting, a visible gay movement could flourish. In the early 1980s the French Socialist Party of François Mitterand proved receptive to a number of requests from the homosexual movement, eliminating the last vestiges of the Vichy restrictions on homosexual conduct. The Spanish Socialists under Felipe González enormously increased the whole sphere of sexual freedom. In Greece, however, the Socialist regime of Andreas Papandreou continued to repress homosexuality.

Conclusion. On the whole, the ideology of Social Democratic parties has been eclectic rather than doctrinaire, absorbing traits of nineteenth-century liberalism repudiated by the conservatives. At the same time they have been gingerly about offending lower middle-class deference to sexual “respectability,” and they loathe to engage in a vigorous defense of gay rights in crucial electoral contests where the right (and sometimes the left) openly appeals to anti-homosexual prejudice. Despite these reservations, the progress achieved by the gay movement in Western and Central Europe would have been unimaginable without the intervention and support of the Social Democracy, however qualified in particular situations it may have been.

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SOCIAL WORK

This umbrella term comprises a range of professional services, activities, and methods concretely addressing the investigation, treatment, and material assistance of those perceived to be economically disadvantaged and socially maladjusted. Social work began in late Victorian England as a volunteer response to the wide disparity between the “two nations”—the comfortable class and the poor—and spread quickly to America and northern Europe. In the course of the twentieth century the field became professionalized, and today most social workers are state employees. Large claims have sometimes been made for social work: that it can cure society of its ills, and that it represents the conscience of a people, but these assertions are usually rejected as grandiose. Lacking a methodology of its own, social work has sometimes seemed a prisoner of the varying mixtures of economics, sociology, and psychoanalysis that have been imported to sustain its practice. Social work should probably be viewed not as a science but as a humanistic endeavor, though one in which the imperatives of bureaucracy loom large. At its best, however, social work avoids ascriptions of pathology, seeking to build on the strengths of clients so that they may take an active part in reclaiming their own lives.

Social Work and Homosexuality. The rise of the modern gay and lesbian movement after World War II has exposed the inadequacy of the publicly supported
social services for members of sexual minorities. It is not so much that professional social workers are homophobic—surveys have shown that they are less so than most segments of society—as that they are ignorant of the special needs of gay and lesbian clients, and hence prone to insensitivity, however unintentional. In part this situation reflects the earlier prevalence of the cultural norm of Western society which decreed heterosexual marriage to be the only acceptable, recognized form of sexual relationship; other types of liaison had to be hidden from the prying gaze of the neighbors, social workers, and the police. Moreover, most gay and lesbian clients, not being members of economically deprived families, or having severed conventional family ties, are seen as middle class, and hence outside the area of the social worker’s concern. Of course not all students of social work are the same, and some individuals attend schools of social work as a prerequisite to the practice of psychotherapy with middle-class clients.

Gay Self-Help. Almost from the beginning of the Mattachine Society, America’s first successful homosexual rights organization, the need to organize volunteers to supply counseling and—as far as possible—jobs and temporary economic assistance was recognized. Today this need is particularly acute with youth, with the elderly, and with people with AIDS. Many gay and lesbian teenagers feel compelled to leave home (“runaways”), or may even be pushed out by intensely homophobic parents (“throwaways”). If they are to escape the self-destructive subculture of drug abuse and prostitution, they need positive assistance. This has sometimes proved a sensitive issue, as caregivers may incur suspicion of impure motives. As regards older gay men and lesbians, research has shown that the stereotype of a lonely, desperate, unhappy old age is false. Nonetheless, older gay people have special needs, and these are the focus of such organizations as New York’s Senior Action in a Gay Environment (SAGE).

The AIDS crisis has caused new organizations to be created in major cities in North America and western Europe. The remarkable social response of the gay community to this baffling disease contrasts with the situation of the intravenous-drug-user group of AIDS patients, where dependence on public sources of therapy and counseling is total.

Even gay-organized social services may display inadequate attention to some sectors of their population. Because most gay volunteers are middle class, they may not have a full understanding of those from poor backgrounds; put differently, commonness of sexual orientation may mask difference in social class. It is often forgotten that many lesbians and gay men are parents, and their concern for their offspring is a central aspect of their lives. Finally, gay men and lesbians of color may have not only economic problems but psychological ones as well; the latter stem not only from the racism of the larger society but from lack of understanding within their own ethnic communities.

Experience has shown that the gay community need not continue to rely mainly on its own largely volunteer efforts, but that real successes can be gained in sensitizing social workers employed by the state, either during their training period or in the course of their professional activity. After all, homosexuals are entitled to a return on their tax dollars just as much as any other group, and the social disorganization caused by prejudice against them ultimately impacts the larger community. In some cases much may be accomplished by sitting down with the [presumably] heterosexual social workers and patiently explaining the problem. However, the bureaucratic constraints of public agencies can make progress slow. Here external pressure, including lobbying efforts and voting drives, is required. The success of gay groups in organizing is known to politicians and can be used to advantage in changing the social-work profession from the top.
SOCIobiology

Sociobiology is the study of behavior (in human beings and animals) from the point of view of its evolution by natural selection. The term was popularized in 1975 (the field is sometimes also called "behavioral ecology"). Narrowly, sociobiology has come to mean the study of the "why" questions of behavior: why does a particular species of fish have males that act like females do just before they lay their eggs? Broadly, it can also take in the "how" questions: how do the fish's central nervous system and hormones collaborate to produce this behavior?

Nature and Nurture. There are, of course, other approaches that have been called "biological." To the lay mind, if a trait "is" biological then it cannot be changed; if the trait "is" environmental then it can be. This is a false dichotomy, and is self-contradictory. For example, an "environmental" event like a car accident can have very fixed and unchangeable consequences (such as permanent injury), while a "biological" trait such as the growing of a beard can be routinely overridden by a cultural mandate (shaving). Establishing the steps leading up to a trait helps one to understand the trait and perhaps to change it, regardless of whether the causation turns out to "be" biological, environmental, or some combination. The sizes, shapes, and spatial distributions of footprints are all socially determined within certain limits set by the biology of walking. But if the footprints are in sand, they are easily changed; if they are in wet concrete, they are unchangeable [short of jackhammering] after just a few hours.

Unfortunately, this naive nature-nurture dichotomy has been widely taken up in the social sciences. The most common view is to say that biology has an influence in the womb and very early in life, but that soon after birth the family and society socialize the infant and make the influence of biology negligible. A variation of this view maintains that biology sets the limits but socialization sets the precise outcome. A few social scientists, including a few in sexology, believe so strongly in the power of socialization that they claim that students of behavior should not bother with biology at all.

This point of view is rapidly crumbling, even within the narrow confines of sexology itself. The massive Kinsey Institute study of male and female homosexuality in blacks and whites (Bell, Weinberg, and Hammersmith, 1981) attempted to correlate hundreds of environmental factors (number and age of siblings, childhood rearing practices, social class, and the like) with adult homosexual outcome and came up with almost nothing. They very nearly found that the only powerful predictor of adult homosexuality is childhood gender nonconformity, a finding that has been replicated often, both retrospectively and prospectively. This predictor is so strong that the authors of the study considered it evidence that such nonconformity is closely linked to homosexuality developmentally—i.e., that the commonest type of adult homosexuality is just the adult expression of the childhood nonconforming trait. That is a reasonable conclusion, though one cannot thereby assume that biology has been shown to be the likely cause of sexual orientation differences.

Yet sexual orientation does run in families, according to a study conducted by Richard Pillard and James D. Weinrich. If the results are extendible to the population at large, then about 20 to 25 percent of the brothers of gay men are also gay, and 20


Wayne R. Dyne
to 25 percent of the sisters of lesbian women are lesbian or bisexual. These findings per
se do not show the reasons for the trait running in families. But it is interesting that in recent history, social scientists
have not conducted studies like this one, even though they would quite properly
point out that they would use socializa-
tion theory to explain the results.

When homosexuality and biology have been discussed together before the advent of sociobiology, results have
been mixed. Alfred Kinsey approached homosexuality and biology just as he
approached heterosexuality and biology: by considering the natural evolutionary
heritage of our species. Heterosexually, he noted that a sense of smell is extremely
important in the courtship rituals of many mammalian species, and so he thought it
not surprising that some human beings would be sexually excited by particular
smells. Likewise, he found sexual activities
between members of the same sex to be
common enough in other mammals to
conclude that homosexuality, too, was
within the evolutionary heritage of the
human mammal. However, he resisted
finer distinctions [might something be
natural for mountain sheep but unnatural
for human beings?] and seemed to be uninter-
ested in the Why questions, even though
he was a well-enough regarded expert in
evolutionary biology to write a textbook
about it.

Genetic Basis for Homosexuality? The Kinsey group’s surveys did, how-
ever, find an incidence of homosexuality
among men and women that was very
high, evolutionarily speaking. This sig-
nificance of Kinsey’s statistics was picked
out by the pathbreaking evolutionary bi-
ologist G. Evelyn Hutchinson, who read
the Kinsey statistic that roughly 10
percent of American males had only or mainly
homosexual experience for 3 or more years
of reproductive life, and argued that there
might be a genetic predisposition to such
behavior. This number is evolutionarily
extremely large if one assumes that homo-
sexuality is merely an evolutionary “mis-
take.” Had the actual incidence of homo-
sexuality turned out to have been what
biologists consider the normal range for evolutionary mistakes—very rare, say one
in 10,000—Hutchinson would not have
taken note of it, because [rightly or wrongly]
he could have assumed that if there were a
genetic mechanism promoting homosexuality it was no commoner than any of
several genetically transmitted diseases.
But 10 percent is at least 100 times as high
a level as 1 in 10,000 is, and so Hutchinson
had to ask why natural selection would
have “allowed” the evolution of a species
that had sexual learning patterns in which
10 percent of its male members reproduce
at a level significantly lower than they
otherwise seemed able to—not because of
some incurable defect but because they are
not attracted to women. After all, attrac-
tion to the opposite sex is one of the first
things one might expect evolution to ar-
range. So if there were any genetic predis-
position to even a portion of male homo-
sexuality, then Kinsey’s statistics pose a
puzzle: how could a genetic mistake come
to be so common? Even if one takes an
estimate as low as 4 percent, this is still 40
times higher than the highest mutation
rates.

Hutchinson’s answer was to find
the sense in which homosexuality is not
an evolutionary mistake, and in following
this radical [for 1959] line of thought he
showed a preference that was also shared
by the earliest sociobiological investiga-
tors of homosexuality. When sociobiolo-
gists see variation in a trait in nature, they
tend to look not for what went wrong, but
rather for what went right. In Hutchinson’s
day, the way to see something “right” in a
trait that lowered reproductive success
was heterozygote advantage. This was the
first in a number of theories developed in
an attempt to explain the evolutionary
value of homosexuality.

Heterozygote Advantage. This is
commonly illustrated in textbooks by the
example of sickle-cell anemia, but there is
no reason why the principle has to be illustrated with a disease. The essential point is that sometimes an organism can need two different genes to maximize its reproductive success. Owing to genetic recombination, a parent usually passes only one of these two genes on to any particular offspring, and so only some of that organism’s children will get one of each kind of gene [i.e., be heterozygous like the parent], even if both parents have both genes [i.e., are heterozygous themselves]. Some children will get two copies of one and others will get two copies of the other [i.e., they will be homozygous]. Natural selection will be unable to eliminate either of the two kinds of homozygote, even if one of them [as in sickle-cell anemia] is extremely deleterious to the carrier’s reproductive success, because there is natural selection for heterozygosity.

Hutchinson’s idea could be loosely applied to homosexuality as follows. If there were a gene which predisposed its carriers to be heterosexual, and another one at the same locus that predisposed them to be homosexual, and if those who got one of each gene on average raised more children than those who got two of either kind, then there could well be a number of nonreproductive, homozygous individuals who got two copies of the homosexuality-predisposing gene—a number much higher than the levels of 1 in 10,000 or so discussed above, and quite possibly in the 4–10 percent range. So Hutchinson viewed homosexuality not as an out-and-out mistake but perhaps as the inevitable result of selection for heterozygosity in sexual preference.

It was evolutionary biologists John Kirsch and James Rodman who put flesh onto this idea in 1982 by proposing that people with one copy each of the hypothetical homosexuality- and heterosexuality-predisposing genes might be bisexuals with a higher average reproductive success than either the average “pure” homosexual or the average “pure” heterosexual. There are, for example, many societies in which everyone is expected to marry but in which male members are expected to engage in extensive homosexual relationships before marriage (or throughout life). These relationships can be of profound benefit throughout the men’s lives. A “pure” heterosexual might have more difficulty forming such bonds, and a “pure” homosexual might have trouble forming a marital bond, and thus both groups might not fare as well reproductively as the man with bisexual potential. How this might apply to societies in which extramarital homosexuality was disadvantageous was not explained in detail.

An entirely different model of homosexuality in sociobiological thought concerns certain so-called “cross-gendered” individuals such as the berdache among American Indians, the mukhannath [or khanith] among the Arabs of Oman, and the hijra in India. In certain societies (with endless variation in detail), boys [and sometimes girls] with marked childhood gender nonconformity are channeled into specialized adult roles. In the case of berdaches, these specialized positions often combine the roles of drag queen, healer, psychotherapist, and teacher. The theory proposed to account for such people is called kin selection, and in its previous application to insect societies it constitutes one of sociobiology’s theoretical triumphs.

Kin selection theory points out that Darwin was wrong when he proposed that, as a result of natural selection, individual animals will act so as to maximize their reproductive success (or R: the number of offspring one has which survive to reproductive adulthood). Instead, says kin selection, natural selection acts to maximize individuals’ inclusive fitness $\left( I_{\text{F}} \right)$, which is the number of surviving offspring plus the number of relatives’ surviving offspring, with each such offspring being devalued by a fraction that reflects the percentage of genes shared
with the individual by direct descent. One’s own children are valued at 1, a full sibling’s children at 1/2, one’s half-sibling’s children at 1/4, and so on. Accordingly, some people might maximize their IF even if they have an RS of zero—which means that one can no longer automatically assume that an animal without offspring is acting contrary to how evolution has selected it to act. Accordingly, the homophobes’ most smug argument—that homosexual acts are unnatural because they cannot produce children—collapses at its foundation.

In 1976 Weinrich pointed out that this model might be applicable to the cross-gendered berdaches [following suggestions made by Robert Trivers, Herman Spith, and Edward O. Wilson]. For kin selection to take hold and allow the evolution of such reproductively altruistic traits, a certain mathematical relationship must hold between the cost to the individual of not reproducing (the cost measured in terms of lost RS) and the benefit to that individual’s kin of having a nonreproducing relative (the benefit likewise measured in RS units). Under some conditions, an individual might reproductively be considered “damaged goods,” and thus have a lower than average cost of not reproducing. Under others, an individual might just happen to be particularly gifted in a given society’s nonreproductive role, and might thus maximize her or his IF by taking up the role—even if taking up the role would require one to forego personal reproduction.

The damaged goods argument often meets with acceptance, perhaps because it does not challenge the cultural assumption that homosexuality should turn out to be below heterosexuality in some sense. But the special-talent explanation often meets with the following question: if the people supposedly covered by it are so talented, why do they not apply their talents to reproduction?

Berdaches. A good answer to this legitimate (even if unfortunately-phrased) question had to wait until 1987. Recent anthropological research suggests that people like the berdaches are not so much cross-gendered as they are mixed-gendered, and that they serve[d] important roles in their societies as arbitrators in the battle between the sexes. Here, once again, the unique sociobiological perspective (or obsession) of reproductive success steps in with a surprising theoretical argument. If mixed-gender individuals are valuable because they can arbitrate different points of view on gender issues, why is it to the advantage of each side to take the berdaches’ advice? Why would they be considered less biased than others in the tribe? If a society is willing to reward them [and their families] for settling gender disputes, arranging marriages, and the like, because they are not particularly biased for or against (say) men who abandon their wives and 20 children or women who cuckold their husbands, it would behoove them not to be men who had abandoned their wives and 20 children themselves or women who had cuckolded their husbands themselves.

Sociobiological theory suggests that these people would in fact be less likely to be biased only if they renounced their sex’s point of view, which sociobiologically is seen to result from the different actions each sex is selected to use in its reproductive strategy. If they pursue a nonreproductive strategy, then sexual dimorphism suddenly loses its point, and (according to kin selection) their side in the battle of the sexes would depend not upon their own sex but upon the sex of their relatives. But on average [and certainly on average over time!] one’s relatives are about equally divided between males and females. So by renouncing individual reproduction, such people make it possible for their advice in fact to be less biased. This in turn makes their advice more likely to be taken (even if, as is the fate of arbitrators, it is taken grudgingly).

Marriage and Homosexual Behavior. With both the kin selection and
heterozygote-advantage theories in mind, in 1987 Weinrich proposed a new theory that put forth a better evolutionary raison d'être for homosexuality in societies in which everyone is expected to marry. In such societies, sexual attraction is often not high on the list of reasons to marry; pure lust is expected to be gratified in extramarital liaisons or not at all. Ancient Greece, modern urban Mexico, medieval Japan, and the United States in several of the past few centuries may well constitute such societies. "Being homosexual" in such a society, as opposed to "being heterosexual," means being inclined to having homosexual relations outside of marriage instead of heterosexual ones outside of marriage. Obviously, this kind of homosexuality can be considered a form of bisexuality, and interestingly such a bisexual or homosexual person has two reproductive advantages over a pure heterosexual when viewed in sociobiological terms: he or she would be less likely to have children out of wedlock, and she or he would be less likely to protest a marriage arranged by the parents [i.e., one would be less likely to be already in love with a member of the opposite sex to whom one might have wished to become married]. Both of these traits had previously been proposed by sociobiologists as reproductively altruistic acts (in work published before this theory was circulated).

Conclusion. Of course, any sociobiological theory worth its salt must be highly aware of social and environmental influences on the traits being considered, because natural selection is extremely sensitive to the social forces at work in the society which sets the rules. If your society offers no bethache role, you can try to improvise one (as modern "drag queens" seem sometimes to do) but it is unlikely that your IF will thereby increase. Sociobiological theories help to explain why imprinting of sexual object choices could have evolved in some species to be fixed (like footprints in concrete) and in others to be easily changeable (like footprints in sand). Indeed, it is even conceivable that "fixed" types may have begun evolving in some societies and "changeable" types in other societies.


James D. Weinrich

Sociology

The term sociology was coined by Auguste Comte in 1836. Since his time sociology has developed into a major discipline, with particular resonance in English-speaking countries.

Yet academic sociology is in some respects a codification of knowledge that
has always been available. In all societies individuals have some view of what is shared by other individuals known to them. Folk theories exist everywhere about what is common to members of a human group as well as what contrasts with qualities found in other groups. Programs for scientific comparison of the evolution of social arrangements were stimulated by reports of social arrangements at variance with European ones made available during the Age of Discovery (after 1492). The Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution helped to augment this stimulus and channel it.

Among those trying to make sense of those changes and their place as part of a process of social evolution were the three architects of sociology’s “grand theory”: Karl Marx (1818–1883), Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), and Max Weber (1864–1919). None of them was professionally trained in sociology, and their precursors in theorizing about social order and structure included Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Vico, Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau.

The Basic Problem. The central concern of sociology elaborating this patrimony is world-historical changes in systems of domination. Its aim is to explain how one system (e.g., capitalism) functions at a particular time and how one system arises from another (e.g., capitalism succeeding feudalism). To those enmeshed at the discipline’s center, others chronicling the lifeways of “queers” have seemed to be engaged in a dubious enterprise unlikely to contribute to the building of a unified theory of society. Indeed, description of how people actually live has often struck those concerned with abstract, general theories of society as a diversion from the path to knowledge. And when the people described are homosexual, motives such as voyeuristic titillation or special pleading are imputed. Yet the macrohistorical processes projected by Marx and Durkheim from their consideration of European history have not been enacted elsewhere as predicted, nor have subsequent events in Europe followed their scenarios of primordial loyalties eroding with increasing industrialization.

Even the builders of American sociological traditions, who focused on smaller social units over briefer periods of time, expected contrasts of race, ethnicity, and gender to wane. The classic work (1913–18) of W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki on Polish peasants emigrating to the United States exemplified Durkheim’s conception of the (necessary) breakdown of traditional [peasant] society with accompanying individual pathology which reflected social disorganization—both of which were expected to disappear with integration into the modern world of, say, Chicago. Empirical work in the Chicago School tradition treated ethnic subcultures under the rubric of “social disorganization,” an anomaly destined to be resolved as contact with dominant American society reduced differences. This process—variously termed assimilation, acculturation, accommodation—was supposed to eliminate hostility and, by the same token, conflict. Since conflict was regarded as a product of individual attitudes and values rather than of structured inequalities, it was expected to diminish as contact dissolved stereotypes and cultural differences—the sources of intergroup conflict. Ascribed characteristics (such as race, gender, and possibly sexual orientation) have taken on an importance quite out of keeping with the confident expectations of those in the “grand tradition” that these need not be considered, because their significance would decline eventually and disappear.

Historical reality has proved to be quite different. Groups based on characteristics which classical theory regarded as already anachronistic a century ago have not merely “assumed political functions comparable to those of a subordinate class; they have in important respects become more effective than social classes in mobilizing their forces in pursuit of collective
ends" (Parkin, p. 622). Insofar as sociology aims to analyze what is actually occurring rather than to invoke the tarrying of the messiah, it must endeavor to explain the continued strength and/or emergence of social movements based on consciousness of shared ascribed characteristics. The emergence of a group consciousness and subsequent mobilization of a "people" who could not seriously have been designated a "group" three decades ago contrasts markedly with the erosion of class consciousness and the increasing impotence of organized labor. Not just Marxist theory, but classical bourgeois social theory, including the two major American perspectives descended from Durkheim and from Thomas, functionalism and symbolic interactionism respectively, have ill prepared the investigator to understand the quite unpredicted emergence and successes of racial and ethnic, women's and gay movements. Although understanding homosexual socialization has not been a central theme for sociological theory, prominent attempts to encompass American (male) homosexuality in the mid-to-late twentieth century will be discussed below.

Functionalism. The structuralist-functionalist tradition included some recognition that moral consensus requires some target: norm-drenched individuals need before them the cautionary example of negative role models. To be certain that they are within the bounds of propriety, someone else must be condemned to obloquy outside the boundaries. Blatant specimens of inadequate masculine socialization can be tolerated as a butt for jokes (among other things), because such persons serve as a horrible warning of what boys must avoid becoming. Possibly, public punishment of sodomites served the same "function" in Europe during the Middle Ages, in Aztec Mexico, and in the pre-Columbian Andes. Ridicule was sufficient in North American Indian tribes and in the Pacific cultures of Polynesia. To define the moral unit "us" of a society there must be others beyond the moral pale. Durkheim wrote of "normal" rates of deviance and crime necessary to provide occasions for exemplary punishments to affirm the moral order, publicly fixing the line between acceptable and unacceptable behavior. Durkheim's intellectual heirs have been concerned with boundary maintenance both between and within societies. Of course, to serve an exemplary role as a moral counterexample a deviant (of whatever sort) must be generally recognized as such. Prior to the Kinsey findings concerning incidence, when it was assumed a homosexual was a rar avis (the village queer) and that one could be readily recognized by everyone (because of their obvious gender non-conformity), homosexuality seemed consistent enough with a moral consensus model of society, i.e., it was "normal deviance" rather than subversion of the moral order.

The landmark study that showed how widespread homosexuality could reinforce rather than challenge the moral order was that of Reiss on hustlers and their clients (1961). For trade individuals, masculinity was defined by inserter behavior. In their view, the "queers" were the insertees, so their participation did not erode trade masculine status, so long as they gave nothing more than their cocks (and possibly an occasional beating), i.e., so long as they "never took it." Prostitution was not perceived as demasculinizing as such; apparently this stigmatizing definition was evaded along with that of "queer." Such a system could persist only with the collusion of clients willing to enact the role of the "queer" by not challenging the valuation and self-image of those whose behavior was that of homosexual prostitution. So long as this system's script for the dominance of the masculine actor and the submission (and optimally feminization) of the "queer" was credited, validation of masculinity and depreciation of homosexuality were actually supported by "deviant" acts. The "queers" kneeling to worship the symbols of trade's masculinity quarantined the
stigma, protecting the masculine self-conceptions of their sexual partners. Beyond the financial rewards, sexual release, and the reassurance of masculinity, the trade participants were exposed to the dangers of succumbing to any temptations toward passivity. Most presumably “learned” they weren’t “queer”—and did not have to be such to get off with men. Reiss’ study did not assess the degree of “role distance” of those enacting the “queer” role versus the degree of self-hatred, but to whatever extent those playing the “queer” role credited its truth (and justice), the moral order in general and the superiority of heterosexual males in particular were reinforced by “deviant” acts.

How far men could venture into homosexuality—beyond adolescence and even beyond exclusively insertor behavior—without considering themselves implicated as “queers” either by themselves or by their partners was demonstrated by the preponderance of married men observed by Laud Humphreys in his study of toilet sex, Toilet Trade. Not only was homosexuality compatible with the existing moral order, so were homosexuals, for it was not just “trade” who “compensated” for suspect sexual behavior with hyper-conformity in espousing traditional social values (especially in regard to sex and gender). The stratification of sexual encounters [with the “masculine principle” on top in every sense], along with the “consent” to stigmatization of those seeking “real men” as partners was perfectly consistent with the Durkheimian vision.

Blumstein and Schwartz’ rich comparative study of married, non-married cohabiting, gay male, and lesbian couples follows the functionalist tradition into a social world in which such stratification is mostly obsolete—although both lesbians and gay men in their sample remain sensitive to being fit into the opposite gender role. Functionalists delineated complementary instrumental (the husband oriented toward the world outside the family) and affective (the wife oriented inward to the family) roles necessary to the functioning of small groups (not just families). Blumstein and Schwartz substitute a new polarity—work-centered/relationship-centered—for the instrumental/affective one. They contend that for a relationship to endure, at least one partner must be oriented inward toward keeping the relationship going well, but do not try to sort out whether relationships work better when both partners are relationship-centered, or if there is some advantage to one partner being oriented outward from the relationship to the work world (i.e., whether the roles are genuinely complementary, not merely different).

Symbolic Interactionism. In the pre-contemporary period of relative neglect, most sociological research dealing with homosexuality was done, however, within another, indigenous tradition which rivaled functionalism for hegemony in postwar American sociology: symbolic interactionism. The Chicago School included a tradition of studying “unconventional” careers [e.g., the typical patterns of taxi-hall dancers, jack-rollers, hoboies] in the same way as the subcultures built by practically every imaginable social category that could be found in Chicago, except homosexuals. Like Durkheim, the founders of the Chicago School believed the all too visible social pathology they saw around them would first fade, then gradually disappear [a process to be accelerated by sociological knowledge itself] as a modern moral order emerged, to be consolidated and expanded. The modern society envisioned from Chicago was more ethnically diverse than was the Gesellschaft conceived by European theorists. Still, Chicago sociologists believed that the knocking together of those with different cultural backgrounds would break down, or at least wear off the rough edges of culturally distinctive differences. And, for whatever reason, this tradition was far more concerned with documenting the stages in what they were certain was the
evolution of antagonistic groups into a future unity (moral order) than with discussing the overall process: the forest of the evolution to a more integrated social/moral order often disappeared from view in Chicago descriptions of particular trees [roles, groups, etc.]. Nevertheless, the Chicago tradition focused on socialization decades before functionalists turned to trying to account for the actual transmission of social order. The Chicago model of socialization held that an identity [i.e., a self] is an internalization of the view of significant others. If a behavior [say a boy playing with dolls] is interpreted by others [e.g., parents] as instancing a category [say, sissy], they will treat the boy as if he is that kind of person. By recognizing their conception of what he is, the boy will learn who [what] he is, and if this self is credible, the behavior will be transformed into a stable pattern [conduct] and a defining feature of self.

According to symbolic interactionist theory, the self is a product of social definition. What transforms behavior into conduct is labeling by others. In the social system of “trade” and “queers,” discussed above, the homosexual behavior of the “trade” is not transformed into homosexual conduct [or identity], because the “queers” who know about the behavior do not so label them. Unless the police chance upon them in the act, no homosexual label is applied. But what of the “queers”? Who labeled them? Within encounters with the “peers,” “trade” of course did, but most encounters began with someone already set in the “queer” role, so explanation must look back before the particular occasion to locate the manufacture of the “queer.” Unfortunately for the theory, most people with homosexual, gay, or lesbian self-identities report never having been labeled. In his pioneer study of 182 men who considered themselves homosexual, Dank [p. 123] found “no cases in which the subject had come out in the context of being arrested on a charge involving homosexuality or being fired from a job because of homosexual behavior... 4.5 percent of the sample came out in the context of public exposure.” Although labeling theory posits labeling by agents of the state [policemen, judges] in official records, those trying to rescue the theory might extend “labeling” from official acts to internalization of everyday epithets. Such a tack does not, however, salvage the theory, for even in this broader sense, labeling does not account for the data which have been gathered. Even those explaining adult homosexuality on the basis of childhood efeminacy do not find more than half of those with the effect reporting the supposed cause, even if labeling as effeminate is widened to self-labeling.

That homosexual conduct is generally reached without ever being labeled by others should suffice to discredit “labeling theory,” and some men report having come out (and have in some cases joined gay organizations) before having had any homosexual encounters. That is, identity [secondary deviance] sometimes precedes behavior [primary deviance]. For lesbians, Ponsie (p. 125) lists a series of elements in the process of identity formation that reverses the primary–secondary deviance order. The first element is that the individual has a subjective sense of being different from heterosexual persons and identifies this difference as feelings of sexual-emotional attraction to her own sex. Second, an understanding of the homosexual or lesbian significance of these feelings is acquired. Third, the individual accepts these feelings and their implications for identity, i.e., the person comes out or accepts the identity of lesbian. Fourth, the individual seeks a community of like persons. Fifth, the individual becomes involved in a sexual-emotional lesbian relationship.

Rather than those with a gay identity being a subset of those engaged in some homosexual behavior, the sets intersect with most of those with gay identity within the intersection and most of those
with some homosexual behavior not in the intersection. Whether the tinier subset of those labeled is wholly in the intersection of these sets is unknown.

_Theory and the Rejection of the Deviant Role_. Having explored adult males who engaged in homosexual behavior, and whose denial of homosexuality correlated with social and political traditionalism, Laud Humphreys became the first sociologist to give sustained attention to the puzzles homosexual reality posed to sociological theory. In _Out of the Closets_ Humphreys set out to analyze the then-young gay liberation movement, which was comprised increasingly of those who had never been labeled, yet openly proclaimed their gayness, adopted various idioms of the counterculture, and sought coalitions with other groups challenging the status quo. Humphreys did not attempt to fit the emergence of the gay liberation movement into the functionalist or labeling frameworks discussed above. Instead, he built on Goffman’s rambling, but suggestive book, _Stigma_.

Erving Goffman (1922–1982), whose major concern is specified in the title of his first book, _The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life_ (1959), was interested in how individuals manage potentially discrediting information. He started with the assumption that in a large-scale, mobile society, no one is quite what he or she seems to be, that is, everyone has some things to hide; “deviance” involves not a few “deviants,” but everyone (albeit to varying extents, depending on the social standards for the gravity of what they have to hide). For Goffman, everyone who is not discredited is (to some degree) discreditable. The discreditable must cope with anxiety about being found out, the discredited with anxiety about being rejected on the basis [which they themselves may consider legitimate] that they are “that kind of person” (whatever kind does not deserve to be treated as a whole human being). For Goffman, feeling one-self discredited does not require labeling by anyone else, nor for that matter do such feelings require any objective basis (such as “primary deviance”). Since labels are selectively self-applied, being frozen in the naming glare of some representative of Society (parent, teacher, policeman) is far from the only path to a sense of spoiled identity. Goffman’s extension of the concept of managing discrediting information from exotic “deviants” to everyone led him to glimpse another way of being in the world: accepting that one is indeed an instance of a discredited category, but challenging the legitimacy of that category’s opprobrium—that is, neither trying to deny a category (“I’m not like them”) nor living in disgrace (“We deserve it”; “We brought it on ourselves”; and so forth), but instead affirming “I’m fine anyway” (e.g., gay and proud).

Goffman glimpsed the possibility of organizing to challenge the very stigma that is the only common feature of a group, and Humphreys provided an exemplar in his case study of a movement committed to transvaluing the negative valuation of homosexuality. “Normalization” of deviance can be a group strategy, but it required a group. Organization of a movement, in Humphreys’ view, had two prerequisites: recognition that present treatment of one’s kind is intolerable, and conviction that change is possible. Both conceptions now seem so obvious that one is tempted to forget they were once widely unrecognized, when the sinfulness or sickness that was homosexuality was perceived to be inevitable and just.

Conceiving the existing reality as intolerable and changeable was clearly necessary for the formation of a social movement. Undoubtedly the Kinsey data and the example of the Negro civil rights movement encouraged the early homosexual movement. The formation of a critical mass of people who viewed themselves as defined to some extent by homosexual desires was the central precondition for change, and was itself disproportionately facilitated by even tiny organizations.
challenging the legitimacy of the dominant society's picture of homosexuals. There were other fostering circumstances. Wartime homosociality was one, whether or not World War II sped urban migration for those who became involved in the homosexual subculture, and even if official labeling was not part of their experience. Another material change abetting the postwar expansion of public settings for meeting others interested in homosexuality was the introduction of penicillin, and the concomitant reduction of anxiety about venereal diseases. Cultural factors which were important to what the critical mass did include the North American tradition of printing dissident views and some general valuing of freedom of the press—a value missing everywhere else in the Western hemisphere, and a value that was not sufficient in itself for the extension to the homophile press—the tradition of voluntary associations derived from the religious pluralism of the United States, and the welfare state's takeover of insurance against disaster [the "safety net" function formerly discharged by the family].

Growth and Diversification of Gay Culture. Early social science discussions of the "homosexual community" treated it as static, rather than recently-emerged [post-World War II]. Since at least the mid-1970s, sociologists writing about North American gay culture and gay communities have given nominal recognition to changes, particularly more assertive demands for social respect and the diversification of institutions catering to an open, self-accepting gay market. How did the institutionally elaborated gay communities of the 1970s come about? Obviously, some of the same factors, notably the coalescence of a critical mass, the conception that change was possible, the "mobilization of symbolic resources" [including an embryonic gay press, distorted mass media coverage, and public examples], and other factors adduced in the discussion of the "evolution" of gay political organizations, apply to the "evolution" of gay culture at the same time in the same places.

In folk conceptions of the past, it is well known that "in the beginning was the bar"—or more exactly, temporal and spatial segments of bars. Before the rise of the present range of gay institutions, what most lesbians and gay men seeking fellow lesbians and gay men did between working, sleeping, and sex was to drink. The gay bar was the first gay institution, and for most members of the "pre-Stonewall generation" was often the only one. Before gay people demanded acceptance and forged their own institutions, profitable gay bars provided a modicum of anonymity and protection from official and unofficial interference with gay association. Of course, bars provided a setting for arranging sexual liaisons, but their historical importance for the development of a gay people has more to do with revealing to many individuals that they were not unique: not only were there similarly-homosexually-inclined others, but these others were not [all] monsters, and were numerous enough to have meeting places [of varying degrees of furtiveness and friendliness].

"In the beginning was the bar" will strike some as sociology again discovering the obvious. However, what is noteworthy about bars' being the first gay institutions to develop is that it holds true in other cultures [e.g., Latin America, the Philippines] in which only embryonic challenges to the equation of homosexuality with female gender behavior have been made. In cultures where homosexuality is age-defined, neither gay bars nor gay identity have developed. Not that alcohol is a necessary catalyst for the crystallization of gay identity, but drinking together represents a degree of solidarity which is lacking where one is expected to "graduate" from the receptor role with age. Solidarity with peers is what is important, not alcohol dissolving inhibitions and generating addiction. Another reason to consider the [historical] primacy of gay bars is that,
given the generally higher prices of drinks, undesirability of locales, and poor service, gay bars are also the prototype of businesses selling their patrons to each other. Manifestly, the business of a bar is to sell drinks, and the central importance of the bar (followed by the institution of the cocktail party) likely explains the high rates of lesbian and gay alcoholism. As Nardi put it, “Drinking is not used to escape from something; rather it is used to join something. Initial socialization into a gay community often occurs by attending gay bars and enacting the drinking roles perceived as essential to gay identity” (p. 28). As a result, “Getting drunk... is normal trouble in the gay community, rather than deviance” (Warren, p. 58). Other preconditions create other institutions.

Organs for communicating a positive view of a group are essential to positive self-identification, as well as to political organization and social coordination. In the United States early homophile organizations produced periodicals, and ONE, Inc. in particular fought a protracted legal battle (1954–58) for the use of the U.S. mail. In Latin America gay periodicals continue to be seized as subversive even when there is no conceivable prurience to interpret as obscene, as in Mexico, where the Ley de Imprenta gives a judge discretion to condemn printed, written, or duplicated materials as “apologías de un vicio” (vice advocacy). Outsidemetropolises with gay ghettos, many people learn that homosexuality is a possible way of life from print media, the existence of which is now taken for granted by those living in gay worlds (including gay scholarship).

State provision of insurance against disaster (Medicaid, worker’s compensation, unemployment insurance) and old age (Social Security) is perhaps the most important replacement of the traditional family function, and increases the likelihood of residential concentration of homosexually inclined persons. Parental control was eroded by the inability to guarantee a livelihood for the next generation and by increased geographical mobility—opportunity was beyond the reach and often beyond even the view of parents. Partner choice then became a more personal decision. Welfare state protection of individuals clearly reduced the necessity of reliance on the family and may well be a prerequisite to gay society (contrast Latin America).

Whether geographical mobility was necessary to populate contemporary gay ghettos has been questioned. Similarly, while newly created public places such as railway stations and parks provided anonymous meeting places in the nineteenth century, there had been recognized trysting places in pre-capitalist mercantile centers, such as Venice, Paris, and Seville. Welfare protection, geographical mobility, voluntary relationships, all releasing individuals from dependence on and control by the family, were at least foreshadowed by monasticism and the military in Western history—locales in which widespread homosexuality occurred or has been posited.

The timing of the emergence of persons recognized by others in terms of homosexual preference is a major point of contention in the social constructionist position formulated at the University of Essex and elsewhere ca. 1981. Suggested dates for this transformation range from the fourteenth century until as recently as the end of the World War II. The flux of possible human desire has so impressed advocates of this view that they have ignored the very limited number of known social organizations of homosexuality (by age differences, gender differences, or egalitarian comradeship), historically attested labels for roles (e.g., sodomite and catamite), and the necessary economy of schematization in all cognitive categorization. Actual comparisons of social constructions across space or time have not generally been made by ostensible social constructionists, who seem more intent
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on avoiding being labeled themselves than in exploring differences and commonalities of social processes.


Stephen O. Murray

SOCRATES (469–399 B.C.)

Athenian philosopher. The son of a well-to-do sculptor or stonemason, he was later reduced to poverty. Late in life he married Xanthippa, who became proverbial in subsequent ages for her bad temper and shrewishness, though the stories about her may have been exaggerated. In early life he was interested in the scientific philosophy of his time and is said to have associated with Archelaus the physicist, but in the period best known to posterity he had abandoned these interests and was concerned solely with the right conduct of life, a quest which he conducted by the so-called “Socratic” method of cross-examin-

ing the individuals whom he encountered. While serving in the army he gained a great reputation for bravery, and as one of the presidents of the Athenian Assembly at the trial of the generals after the battle of Arginusae, he courageously refused to put an illegal motion to the vote despite the fury of the multitude. In 399 he was brought to trial before a popular jury on the charge of introducing strange gods and of “corrupting the youth.” There has been considerable dispute over the precise meaning of the indictment, but the first part seems not to have been serious, while the second amounted to a charge that he had a “subversive” influence on the minds of the young, which was based on his known friendship with some of those who had been most prominent in their attacks on democracy in Athens. He made no attempt to placate the jury and was found guilty and sentenced to die by drinking a cup of hemlock. Though his friends could have enabled him to escape, he acquiesced to the sentence.

Socrates left no writings of his own: knowledge of his life and work comes from Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle. He probably never formulated a precise philosophy. His legacy to his disciples and to later generations consisted in the method by which he analyzed and criticized the fundamental assumptions of existing systems. He probably rejected the conventional Greek religious beliefs of his time, yet professed or created no heterodox religious doctrines. From time to time he had paranormal experiences, signs, or warnings which he interpreted as guideposts to his own conduct.

His sexual life, apart from the unhappy marriage, reflected the Greek custom of pайдерастией to the fullest. He was both the teacher of the young men who frequented his circle and the lover of at least some of them. As a boy of seventeen he had been the favorite of Archelaus, because he was in the bloom of youthful sensuality, which later gave place to serious intellectual concerns. As an adult he
given the generally higher prices of drinks, undesirability of locales, and poor service, gay bars are also the prototype of businesses selling their patrons to each other. Manifestly, the business of a bar is to sell drinks, and the central importance of the bar (followed by the institution of the cocktail party) likely explains the high rates of lesbian and gay alcoholism. As Nardi put it, “Drinking is not used to escape from something; rather it is used to join something. Initial socialization into a gay community often occurs by attending gay bars and enacting the drinking roles perceived as essential to gay identity” (p. 28). As a result, “Getting drunk . . . is normal trouble in the gay community, rather than deviance” [Warren, p. 58]. Other preconditions create other institutions.

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loved good and noble boys with a passion that he asked only to be requited, but he was never given to a coarse and purely sensual pederasty; if the beauty of the young Alcibiades made an intense and lasting impression on him, he never forgot his duty as a teacher to guide his youthful pupils toward perfection. He was capable of self-willed abstinence and held this power up to others as an ideal; to have sought to impose it on all others was foreign to the Greek mentality. As a bisexual Hellene Socrates was always responsive to the beauty of the male adolescent and craved the companionship of young men; as a philosopher he practiced and taught the virtues of moderation and self-control. He endures as one of the outstanding examples in antiquity of a teacher for whom eros was an inspiration and a guide.

Because Socrates is a major figure in Western tradition, his sexual nature posed a continual problem. From Ficino to Johann Matthias Gesner (1691–1761) scholars sought to address the question discreetly. The Marquis de Sade was bolder, using socratiser as a verb meaning “to sodomize.” Even today, however, many classicists choose to evade the problem.


Warren Johansson

**Sodom and Gomorrah**

These legendary cities have been traditionally located in the vicinity of the Dead Sea, where they constituted two members of a pentapolis, the Cities of the Plain. According to the Old Testament account in Genesis 14, 18, and 19, God overthrew four of the five cities in a rain of brimstone and fire. The names of Sodom and Gomorrah, especially the former, have become proverbial. Echoes of the episode recur in the Bible and in the Koran, as well as in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic exegetical and homiletic writings. From the first city, Jewish-Hellenistic Greek formed the derivative sodomites, from which medieval Latin obtained the noun of agent sodomita; as a result the connection with male homosexuality is for many axiomatic. However the matter is more complex.

A number of main constituents of the Sodom legend emerge from the central passages and fragmentary allusions in the Old Testament and the intertestamental literature, together with the midrashic writings of later centuries:

(1) the geographical legend that sought to explain the peculiarly barren terrain around the shores of the Dead Sea. The ancient world’s rudimentary science of geology correctly related this barrenness to the circumstance that the water level of the Dead Sea had in prehistoric times been far higher; the sinking of the water level had exposed the previously inundated, now strikingly arid and sterile region to the gaze of the traveler.

(2) the theme of sterility by which the ancient mind sought to explain the origins of this condition; to the Bedouin living east and south of the Dead Sea it suggested the etiological inference that at one time the area surrounding this salinized body of water had been a fruitful garden belt. Yet the inhabitants of the cities of the plain had even in the midst of their abundance and prosperity denied hospitality to the poverty-stricken and the wayfarer, while the luxury in which they wallowed led them inevitably into effeminacy and vice (the parallel in the Hellenistic world was the city of Sybaris, whose proverbial self-indulgence gave the English language the word sybaritic). For this reason they were punished by the destruction of their cities and the conversion of the whole area into a lifeless desert.

(3) a Bedouin folk tale on the perils of city life, of which Lot is the hero who

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must be rescued again and again by the intervention of others. In Genesis 14:12 Lot is taken captive when Sodom is conquered by the four kings who have allied themselves against the Cities of the Plain; Abraham saves him by military intervention in the manner of a tribal sheik with his retinue of 318 warriors. In 19:4–9 the Sodomites threaten Lot’s guests with gang rape, but are miraculously blinded and repelled, and in 19:13, 15 the angelic visitors warn Lot of the imminent destruction of the city so that he and his family can leave just in time to escape the rain of brimstone and fire. This underlying motif explains why Lot later “feared to dwell in Zoar” (19:30), even though God has spared the place as a reward for his model hospitality toward the two visitors. Over the centuries Sodom and Gomorrah, along with the Babylon of the Book of Revelation, came to symbolize the corruption and depravity of the big city as contrasted with the virtue and innocence of the countryside, a notion cherished by those who idealized rural life and is still present, though fading in twentieth-century America.

(4) the occurrence in the region east and south of the Dead Sea of volcanic activity that persisted throughout antiquity and subsided only after the thirteenth century. These volcanic eruptions, which have left traces still to be seen at the present day, inspired the ‘rain of brimstone and fire’ (burning sulfur) of Genesis 19:24, which supplemented the notion that the four cities had been “overthrown” (destroyed by an earthquake) that figures in Genesis 19:25.

(5) the presence in the geographical vicinity of the tribe of Benjamin, which belonged to the pre-Israelite population of Canaan and had for centuries lived by marauding and plundering at the expense of its more civilized neighbors. The culmination of this brigandage in the period of the judges was the outrage at Gibeah recorded in Judges 19, with its explicit motifs of sexual aggression and gang rape.

(6) the currency in antiquity of world destruction legends, in which the earth is annihilated either by water (kataklysmos) or by fire (ekpyrosis). The story of Noah and the deluge is the rendering of the first in the book of Genesis, while the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is a localization of the second, in which the catastrophe is limited to four cities in the vicinity of the Dead Sea (Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboiim) even though the epilogue involving Lot and his daughters clearly derives from a universal conflagration myth.

(7) world destruction legends that actualize elements of fantasy wish-fulfillment. If the human race were annihilated with the exception of a single family, the earth could be repopulated only by means of sexual unions ordinarily condemned as incestuous. The handful of virtuous human beings preserved from the catastrophe by the gods are the chosen seed of a new mankind.

(8) world destruction fantasies associated in modern clinical experience with the early stages of schizophrenia. These fantasies reveal a key component of the Sodomy delusion: the subject cherishes the belief that particular actions would expose the world to this awful fate, and that only by refraining from them is he virtuously warding off the catastrophe. Astrologically literature supplied the ancients with an entire list of calamities that betokened divine wrath, as in Luke 21:11, all of which were later ascribed to retribution for “sodomy.” Fear of homosexual aggression plays a role in these paranoid fantasies, of the sort analyzed by Freud in the classic Schreber case.

The Sodom legend and its gradual expansion into the delusional form that obsesses the Christian mind were therefore overdetermined; the conscious and unconscious associations of the component themes blended to form the later complex of Christian beliefs that may be designated the “sodomy delusion.” Its priority in the Old Testament sequence
notwithstanding, the more prosaic story in Judges 19 served as the model for the mythical narrative in Genesis 19, where Lot's angelic visitors are miraculously saved from homosexual assault. The whole account, reinforced by the enduring geographical features of the Dead Sea region [the supposed "statue of Lot's wife"], underlay the theological dogma that the destruction of the Cities of the Plain had been divine retribution for the homosexual depravity of the former inhabitants.

And so the "sin of Sodom" became synonymous with homosexual activity and then with "unnatural vice"—a Hellenic, not a Judaic concept—in general, and the scriptural fate of the cities and prophecies of future doom made their barren site linger as an eternal warning to any people that tolerated such depravity in its midst.

The notion of sodomy is an innovation of Latin Christianity toward the end of the twelfth century; it is not found in Jewish or Byzantine writings. Legal usage in various countries has given the word broader or narrower definitions, particularly in regard to the character of the actions that "constitute the offense." In the late Middle Ages the tendency of the allegorizing mind to parallelism led to the notion that Gomorrah, the twin city of Sodom, had been a hotbed of lesbianism, even though there was nothing in either Testament that would suggest such a construction. The hold of the legend on the mind of Christian Europe has been such that even in the twentieth century literary works have been composed on the subject, and the less sophisticated part of the population still believes that the destruction of Sodom exemplified the wrath of God that is revealed from heaven [Romans 1:18] against those who practice homosexuality.

Warren Johansson

**SODOMA (GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI, CALLED "IL SODOMA"; 1477-1549)**

Italian painter. Born at Vercelli, Sodoma studied under a minor Lombard artist [Martino Spantzottii] in Milan, where he sustained a more crucial influence—that of the innovative work of Leonardo da Vinci. Between 1505 and 1508 he executed a series of frescoes in the Benedictine monastery of Monte Oliveto near Siena. He then became Siena's leading artist. He was also summoned to Rome, where he painted part of a ceiling in the Vatican's Stanza della Segnatura, as well as some handsome frescoes in the Villa Farnesina. Today his works are less appreciated than those of his Sieneese rival, Domenico Beccafumi.

Despite some nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars who have sought to deny it, his nickname is deserved. According to his biographer Giorgio Vasari, Sodoma loved unchaste entertainments and merrymaking; he surrounded himself with an entourage of boys and beardless youths. Cherishing them greatly, "he acquired the name of Sodoma, which he did not take with annoyance or disdain, but rather gloried in it, making jingles and verses on the subject, which he pleasantly sang to the accompaniment of the lute." Once, while in Florence, his horse won a race, and on being asked what name should be proclaimed, he insisted "Sodoma, Sodoma!" This effrontery earned him a session of fagbashing by the mob. He was moreover an eccentric, keeping a menagerie of animals so that "his house resembled Noah's Ark" [Vasari]. In his early years at Siena he did marry, siring a daughter, but his wife left him in disgust after a year. In a tax return of 1531 Sodoma facetiously claimed to have three mistresses and thirty grown children—an assertion that is no more indicative of basic heterosexuality than was Walt Whitman's comparable declaration three and a half centuries later.
Vasari, who furnishes most of the information on Sodoma’s personal life, taxes him not with immorality, but with lack of industry and imprudent management, as a result of which he passed his last years in want.

Wayne R. Dynes

SODOMY

As an overarching term for sexual deviation, the word sodomy today has an archaic, somewhat obsolescent ring, though it still figures in some legal discourse (“the sodomy laws”). Sodomite, having shrunk to one syllable in early modern British slang (“sod”), has faded further, so that it is little more than a jocular term of mild abuse. Historically, however, the concept of sodomy has been of immense importance. Moreover, it had several nuances of meaning, which it is essential to distinguish in order to interpret older written evidence.

The term sodomia originated in Medieval Latin about the year 1180 as a designation for the “crime against nature” that could be committed in one of three ways: [1] ratione modi, by obtaining venereal pleasure with a member of the opposite sex, but in the wrong manner, e.g., by fellation; [2] ratione sexus, with an individual having the genitalia of the same sex; or [3] ratione generis, with a brute animal. The abstract noun sodomia [for the sin] derives from the noun of agent sodomita [for the sinner], which had originally been used in the Septuagint and Vulgate to mean an inhabitant of the city of Sodom [from Old North Arabic sudum-matu = the [Dead] Sea]. According to Genesis 19, Sodom had been destroyed because of the sexual depravity of its male population, which had attempted a gang rape on the two angels who came to deliver Lot and his family from the impending destruction. In time the expressions pecatum sodomitae or crimen sodomitae came to be used to designate a variety of “unnatural” sexual acts, but only in Latin Christianity did the new derivative sodomia take hold and become a theological and legal concept; it remained alien to Byzantine Greek and Medieval Hebrew. From Latin the term passed into the modern languages of Western and Central Europe as the technical expression for the crime which was punishable by death everywhere until the second half of the eighteenth century, when the Enlightenment began to attack this sacral offense as a relic of the medieval superstition that divine retribution would overtake any community that tolerated “sodomy” in its midst.

The terms sodomy and sodomite thus spread until they embraced a far larger semantic sphere and a higher pitch of affectivity than the later terms [sexual] inversion and homosexuality, and in reading a medieval or later legal text one must not immediately assume that homosexual behavior is meant thereby. Most prosecutions, it is true, were for either male homosexuality or bestiality, criminal proceedings against lesbians and heterosexuals guilty of fellation or anal intercourse were rare at all times, though an occasional case figures in the [admittedly fragmentary] reports from the pre-modern era. The legal definition of the term—what constituted an “indictable offense”—has also differed from country to country and from century to century down to our own time. Eighteenth-century Poland even recorded an instance in which sexual intercourse between a male serf and a girl of noble birth was punished as “sodomy”—because it had supposedly resulted in a crop failure on the estate where it occurred. As a practical definition one may say that a “sodomite” was one whose aberrant sexual activity had become known to the Christian community and
SODOMY

its authorities; the word should not be
confounded with the later psychiatric
notion of "homosexual," which stems from
a different conceptual scheme strongly in-
fluenced by the writings of the homophile
apologists Ulrichs and Kertbeny in the
1860s. However, the lay public on learning
the new term then superimposed it upon
the semantic field occupied by the familiar
expression "sodomite," so that the after-
glow of the older set of associations has
never been fully dispelled.

The verb to sodomize, which was
rare in European languages until the last
third of the nineteenth century, usually
has the meaning of anal penetration,
whether homosexual or heterosexual. In
England it is a more learned variant of the
common verb to bugger.

Historically, the legend of the de-
struction of the Cities of the Plain served
to tinge sodomy with the aura of a fathom-
less abyss of depravity, of the unspeakable,
the monstrous, of "unnatural vice" that
provokes the wrath of God against its
perpetrators. The associations were rein-
forced by the sight of the barren terrain on
the shores of the Dead Sea, which genera-
tion after generation of pilgrims from
Western Europe described in their travel
accounts. As has been mentioned, the scope
of the term expanded to include "unnatu-
ral" heterosexual activity and intercourse
with animals—not even implied in the
tale in Genesis 19 from which it derived.
As a result of these manifold enhance-
ments, the diabolical intimations of the
notion came to seem perversely glamorous
for a few wayward spirits.

Even now sodomy evokes from
the unsophisticated a shudder of horror,
though Biblical criticism long ago demoli-
ished the credibility of the composite
narrative in Genesis, analyzing it as the
Judaic amplification of a local myth that
explained the barrenness and salinization
of the shores of the Dead Sea. From the
time of Justinian (reigned 517–565) on-
ward, however, the legend was deployed as
a theological and pseudo-historical justifi-
cation for laws intended to stamp out
"ungodly practices" that would expose
Christian society to divine retribution.
Recent legislation has tended to avoid the
term because of its ambiguity, its older
definitions, and strongly affective charac-
ter, not to mention the archaic ties with
the Bible that would ill become a secular
code of law.

Warren Johansson

SOLICITATION

American law contains various provisions
for the action of soliciting, or seeking to
obtain by earnest request, entreaty, petition,
or diligent and importunate asking, of the
person of the opposite or same sex for
sexual favors. The concept derives from
English law.

Basic Features. Statutes have been
employed to make arrests for solicitation
to commit sexual acts in private between
consenting adults which are no longer ille-
gal in those American states that have
decriminalized sodomy. This practice on
the part of the police results in inconsist-
tency vis-à-vis the consenting adult acts,
violates the First Amendment, and is often
supported solely by the uncorroborated
testimony of a plainclothes member of the
vice squad. If such solicitation contains no
offer of or request for money and thus does
not involve prostitution or the corruption
of minors, its criminalization nowhere
antedates the English act of 1898. This act
punished with a maximum of two years' imprisonment any "male person who in
any public place persistently solicits or
importunes for immoral purposes," and
thus does not specifically mean homosex-
ual conduct. It was aimed originally at
pimps and procurers, but soon became the
recognized English vehicle against all forms
of homosexual solicitation. A number of
American jurisdictions soon adopted the
concept. The provision of the old New
York Criminal Code (superseded in 1965
by Section 722) was representative, pun-
ishing as a "disorderly person" anyone
"who, with intent to provoke a breach of the peace . . . frequents or loiters about any public place soliciting men for the purpose of committing a crime against nature or other lewdness." The English statute had required "persistent" importuning, intending to limit its criminal sanctions to those who refused to take "no" for an answer and thereby threatened a breach of the peace, thus extending the common law concept that underlay the notion of "open or public lewdness," a danger because it could incite violence.

Modern legislators such as those of New York in 1965 have conveniently forgotten that the maintenance of public peace was the purpose of the older laws. They do not insist that the importuning be persistent or continued, rather they emphasize the affront and disgust experienced by the "innocent" bystanders to homosexual solicitation. They meant to protect the public from offensive behavior. Yet it is inconsistent that the locus per se [the place itself] converts a conversation otherwise private into a public one unless overheard by others. Rather, most men cruising for partners employ ambiguous glances, gestures, and words, often not even noticed by a disinterested heterosexual, to evoke a receptive response before unequivocally soliciting. If not encouraged, they usually desist and seek another partner. Circumspect and cautious as it usually is, homosexual solicitation subtly using innuendo and subterfuge belies the myth of flagrant homosexuals brazenly accosting defenseless and abashed respondents. Instead it is normally plainclothes decoys who entice and entrap those allegedly open and brazen as to constitute an affront to public decency. Most convictions are secured exclusively on the arresting officer's allegation, particularly in past decades when pocket recording devices did not exist at all; complaints by private citizens are rare, indeed virtually non-existent for solicitation, in contrast with indecent exposure. Such unsavory practices encourage shakedowns and extortion.

Solicitation and Sexual Criminalization. Where sodomy committed in private between consenting adults has been decriminalized, as it has been in 25 of the 50 states, solicitation to commit it should ipso facto have also been decriminalized. But this has not always been the case. In Illinois, the first state to decriminalize sodomy in 1961, arrests actually increased in the next year or so. Over 95 percent of those convicted for sex-related crimes are not convicted of sodomy or of other felonies difficult to prove such as rape, statutory rape, gross indecency, or incest, but for prostitution or lesser crimes and misdemeanors such as solicitation, public or open lewdness, battery, indecent exposure, gross indecency between males, and [until its limitation in recent years] loitering.

Need for Reform. The crime of "solicitation for sexual activity" should be stricken from the codes in its entirety. It flies in the face of modern legal thought, is inconsistent with the remainder of most penal codes, and is of doubtful constitutionality. On many occasions it has been argued that if someone who is solicited, so long as the behavior involves only consenting adults in private, is not interested in the proposal, he need only say "no" to the solicitor. In punishing solicitations to commit crimes, the law may even infringe freedom of speech. It might be a matter for the legislature to decide "whether the punishment of solicitations should be curtailed in order to protect free speech," and allow sexual liberty. If "a solicitation to commit a crime" constitutes "a substantial step in a course of conduct planned to culminate in" the "commission of the crime," the solicitation in those 25 states that have not decriminalized sodomy is treated as a criminal attempt and is punished accordingly. But some codes limit the "definition of crimes of attempt to those situations where the offense attempted is a crime."
Solicitation

attempt to commit a disorderly persons offense is . . . not sufficiently serious to be made the object of the penal law. Many disorderly persons offenses are too innocuous or themselves too far removed from the feared result to support an attempt offense.” Codes punish solicitations to commit prostitution, but prostitution, by definition, is an offense, while private sexual activity between consenting adults is in 25 states no offense at all. Under some codes, any young man loitering on a park bench who asks a girl to go to bed with him could be sent to prison.

A number of states, including Illinois, Connecticut, Hawaii, and North Dakota, have eliminated such provisions in the course of adopting new criminal codes. New Mexico has managed to live quite comfortably without ever having had a sexual solicitation law on its statute book. These changes are the result of a growing recognition that such laws are nothing but relics of a puritanical past and serve merely to make criminals of otherwise law-abiding people without carrying out any useful social purpose. “To remove criminal sanctions from the conduct itself, yet to continue to punish solicitations to engage in the now licit conduct is not only a masterpiece of inconsistency, but provides blackmailers, extortionists, and others disposed to violence against homosexuals with a substantive vehicle for their operations.”

A solicitation to commit a lewd act may be lewd or not depending on its character, not on the nature of the act solicited. Speech is not automatically rendered obscene by its subject matter. More than 30 years ago, Mr. Justice Brennan said: “Sex and obscenity are not synonymous.” Neither is a solicitation automatically “fighting words” and hence a threat to public peace and order. Solicitations are thus neither automatically legal or illegal and should not be indiscriminately punished. The crime of solicitation is a relic of attempts by the state to suppress sexual activity on the part of its citizens, attempts legitimate enough under the Old Regime, but without justification in the modern liberal state whose constitution guarantees freedom of conscience and of action to those who reject the tenets of an ascetic morality.


William A. Percy and Arthur C. Warner

SOLON

Poet, lawgiver, and chief archon (magistrate) of Athens in 594–93 B.C. Overpopulation had caused the exploitation of Attica’s poor, who were enserfed or even sold abroad into slavery for debt. Solon canceled all debts secured by land or liberty and ended serfdom but did not redistribute all land as the radicals demanded. He standardized coinage, weights and measures, extended citizenship to immigrant craftsmen, encouraged export of olive oil, and took other measures to improve the economy. He divided the citizens into four classes according to wealth, apportioning political power so that only the rich could serve as archons and areopagiti (councillors and judges), but also strengthened the ecclesia (assembly of citizens).

Having visited Crete to study its laws, Solon institutionalized pederasty in Athens. Copying the spectacularly successful reforms recently introduced to Sparta from Crete by Lycurgus to limit the increase of their hoplites (foot soldiers) so that their estates would not become overly subdivided, Solon ordained that men should marry between ages 28 and 35, in the fifth seventh of their lifespan. Setting the example himself, he copied the Cretan and Spartan system of having each aristocratic young man at about age 22,

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when released from alert for military service, take a 12-year-old upper-class boy as eromenos (beloved) and train him until he was 18 and with a beard. Then ready for military service, he was often stationed in barracks. At this time the erastes (lover), nearing 30, was eligible for marriage. Solon also imported gymnasia and palestra, where citizens exercised nude, the exclusion of upper-class women, which later in Athens was to become more pronounced than elsewhere in Greece; and symposia, all-male dinner clubs that encouraged pederastic affairs and, in Athens, became, like the gymnasia, foci of learning. He invited the Cretan “musician” (i.e., sage, lover of the Muses) Epimenides to Athens to quell the plague and perhaps to promote the reforms. When one of Solon’s eromenoi, his cousin Peisistratus, overthrew his reforms and established a tyranny, Solon traveled abroad for a decade, visiting Crete again.

Peisistratus and his sons Hippias and Hipparchus ruled from about 545 B.C. until the revolution of 510, which was headed by an old family, the Alcmeonidae. This family produced Cleisthenes, Pericles, and Alcibiades. The Peisistratids furthered Solon’s economic and social reforms. After the collapse of Samos, when the Persians in 522 crucified the pederastic tyrant Polycrates, who out of fear of plots hatched in them had ordered all gymnasia burned, the Peisistratids enhanced Athens’ economic and political rise to dominance in the Aegean. Hipparchus had Homer recited annually at the Panathenaion, establishing the text, cementing it to emphasize the importance of Athens. Hipparchus also patronized immigrant poets, exiles and émigrés from Samos and the Ionian states seized by the Persians, including Anacreon, and others fleeing tyranny in Magna Grecia. Some of these myth-makers may have invented the fable that Theseus, after slaying the Minotaur, abandoned Ariadne in Naxos and took an eromenos, thus creating a “founder” of pederasty for Athens. Most Peisistratids were eromenoi and erastes in turn, but Hipparchus, the chief patron, was exclusively drawn to boys. When Harmodius, beloved and cousin of the poor but honest citizen Aristogiton, spurned Hipparchus’ persistent advances, the pair decided to assassinate the tyrant brothers. The desperate lovers, intent on overthrowing the overbearing tyrants, succeeded in slaying only Hipparchus and were in turn killed (514). Four years later, when the tyranny was overthrown with Spartan help, these “tyrannicides” (Harmodius and Aristogiton) remained heroes of the democracy, and were always toasted at symposia. Their descendants were accorded the right to dine for all time at public expense at the Prytaneum, and their statues in bronze with an inscription composed by Simonides were prominently displayed as models of civic virtue. Thus male lovers became associated with tyrannicide and the defense of self-government.


William A. Percy

SOTADIC ZONE

In an attempt to sketch the geography of the prevalence of homosexual relations, Sir Richard Burton introduced the expression “sotadic zone” in the famous Terminal Essay appended to his translation of The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night (commonly known as the “Arabian Nights”; 1885–88). Somewhat arbitrarily, Burton took his term from Sotades, an Alexandrian poet of the third century B.C. who wrote seemingly innocuous verses that became obscene if read backwards.

In Burton’s words, “There exists what I shall call a ‘Sotadic Zone,’ bounded westwards by the northern shore of the Mediterranean [N. lat. 43] and by the southern [N. lat. 30], including meridional France, the Iberian Peninsula, Italy and Greece, with the coast-regions of Africa.

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from Morocco to Egypt. Running eastward the Sotadic zone narrows, embracing Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Chaldea, Afghanistan, the Sind, the Punjab and Kashmir. In Indo-China, the belt begins to broaden, enfolding China, Japan and Turkestan. It then embraces the South Sea Islands and the New World. . . . Within the Sotadic Zone, the [pederastic] vice is popular and endemic, held at worst to be a mere peccadillo, whilst the races to the North and South of the limits here defined, practice it only sporadically amid the opprobrium of their fellows who, as a rule, are physically incapable of performing the operation." Possibly Burton's exclusion of sub-Saharan Africa contributed to the erroneous modern belief that black people were originally innocent of the "vice," having been corrupted to it by their slave masters.

Burton's theory was an attempt to give a theoretical framework to his own observations of sexual mores in various parts of the far-flung British Empire to which he was posted as a diplomat. Trained as a classicist, he considered pederasty the only form of homosexuality worth investigating. He did not, however, come up with a plausible theory as to the factors responsible for this Sotadic Zone.

The explanation for much of Burton's zone, at least, probably lies in the persistence of ancient Mediterranean pederasty and its diffusion eastwards by Islam; this however does not account for China, Japan, Indo-China, the South Sea Islands and the pre-Columbian New World.

This further extension may indeed lend some credence to Burton's theory if one looks for climatological factors prevalent in his zone. Northern Europeans, seeking to explain the differences between their own sexual mores and those of the southern Europeans, often pointed to the temperature difference between the two areas and ascribed sexual excitement to the warm climate of the South. Terms such as "sultry" and "torrid" have a primary meaning of "hot" but acquired the secondary sense of "passionate"; the German terms "schwül"/"schwül" associate hot-humid conditions with homosexuality directly. As yet, there has been little or no scientific investigation of such notions, which remain largely in the realm of folklore.

Wayne R. Dynes

South America
See Brazil; Latin America.

Soviet Union
See Russia and USSR.

Spain
Spain is one of the countries with the richest homosexual history, which is gradually becoming better known. An appreciation of same-sex love, along with a cult of beauty and poetry, has been present during many periods of Spain's history.

Antiquity. The rich and mysterious civilization of the pre-Roman south of Spain is known to have been sexually permissive, although evidence on homosexuality in that period is lacking. Hispania was one of the most Romanized provinces, and shared Rome's sexual morality; perhaps it is no coincidence, though, that Martial, one of the most homosexual Latin authors, and Hadrian, one of the best and gayest emperors, were from Spain. That a special term [haw; see Encyclopedia of Islam, "Liwat," pp. 776 and 778] existed in Western Arabic for male prostitutes suggests that such were particularly prevalent there before Islam. The Christian Visigoths, who ruled Spain after the disappearance of Roman authority, were in contrast strongly opposed to homosexuality. Sodomy was outlawed in the seventh century, with castration and exile the punishments; at the same time one finds the emergence of legal measures against Jews. (See Law, Germanic.)

Islam. In the eighth century most of Spain became Islamic; the inhabitants were glad to be rid of Gothic rule. Andalu-
sia or al-Andalus, which occupied more of the Iberian peninsula than does the modern Andalusia, was an Islamic country from the eighth through the early thirteenth centuries, and in the kingdoms of Granada and Valencia, Islam survived well into the sixteenth century. Al-Andalus is a missing chapter in the history of Europe. During the caliphate and taifas periods (tenth and eleventh centuries), cosmopolitan, literate, prosperous Andalus was the leading civilization anywhere on the coast of the Mediterranean—with the possible exception of Byzantium. It has also been described as the homeland of Arabic philosophy and poetry. The closest modern parallel to its devotion to the intellect (philosophy, literature, arts, science) and beauty is Renaissance Italy. The roots of this cultural supernova are the subject of dispute, as is the related question of the ethnic makeup of the Andalusian population. While the culture was officially Arabic, the number of pure Arabs was small; there was a much larger number of North African Berbers mixed with a native population of Iberian, Phoenician, or other origin. Women captured during raids on the Christian states were also an important demographic element.

Al-Andalus had many links to Hellenistic culture, and except for the Almoravid and Almohade periods (1086–1212), it was hedonistic and tolerant of homosexuality, indeed one of the times in world history in which sensuality of all sorts has been most openly enjoyed. Important rulers such as Abd al-Rahman III, al-Hakem II, Hisham II, and al-Mutamid openly chose boys as sexual partners, and kept catamites. Homosexual prostitution was widespread, and its customers came from higher levels of society than those of heterosexual prostitutes. The poetry of Abu Nuwas was popular and influential; the verses of poets such as Ibn Sahl, Ibn Quzman, and others describe an openly bisexual lifestyle. The superiority of sodomy over heterosexual intercourse was defended in poetry. Some of the abundant pederastic poetry was collected in the contemporary anthologies *Darat-tiraz* of Ibn Sana al-Mulk and *Rayat al-mubarrizin* of Ibn Said al-Maghribi (*The Banners of the Champions*, trans. James Bellamy and Patricia Steiner, Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1988). Under the Muslim rulers of al-Andalus, Jewish culture reached its highest peak since Biblical times; the poetry of Sephardic Judaism suggests that pederasty was even more common among the Jews than among the Muslims.

**Medieval Christian Spain.** The small northern kingdom of Castile viewed itself as the inheritor of the Visigothic claim to rule over Spain. With encouragement from France, French-born queens of Castile, women elsewhere in Europe, and the papacy, it gradually won economic and then political control over the entire peninsula. In contrast and to some extent in reaction to the hedonism of al-Andalus, Castile was puritanical, although its puritanism was very reluctantly and half-heartedly accepted in the southern and eastern sections of the country. Even within Castile, there was much resistance to the imposition of clerical celibacy at the end of the eleventh century, which Spain had until that time resisted. This change, not fully implemented for 500 years, was from the beginning seen as unwanted meddling from the other side of the Pyrenees.

The *Fuero real*, an early medieval law code, ordered that the “sin against nature” be punished with public castration, followed by death by hanging from the legs and without burial (the corpse, thus, eaten by animals). The *Siete partidas* of King Alfonso the Wise (later thirteenth century) also specified the death penalty, except for those under 14 or victims of rape. Documented executions of sodomites begin in the fifteenth century; the cases known are from Aragon and Mallorca, although this may simply reflect better records in those kingdoms. In fifteenth-century Castile Juan II, his administrator
Álvaro de Luna, and his son Enrique IV were primarily homosexual, and homosexuality was predictably used by their enemies as a political issue. Writers of Juan II's court created Castilian lyric poetry, which was absent, ascetically, from previous Castilian literature.

The Renaissance. With the incorporation of Naples into the crown of Aragon in 1443, Aragon came into close contact with an Italian city in which homosexuality was treated indulgently, at least in aristocratic circles. The great king and patron Alfonso V, who moved his court to Naples, was at the very least tolerant. He employed as secretary, librarian, and historian the famous Sicilian bisexual Antonio Beccadelli, as falconer the founder of Catalan poetry Ausias March, who is linked with homosexuality in a single document, and Pere Torroella, fifteenth-century Iberia's archmisogynist, also spent time in his court. Naples was not just the center for Renaissance Latin poetry but a major Aragonese political center, through which passed "Spain's best nobles, politicians, and soldiers." Yet there is no evidence of any reform of what in Spanish are called costumbres until the introduction of the Inquisition—seventy years after it had been introduced in Spain—brought widespread revolt against Spanish authority.

Several decisive steps in the formation of modern Spain were taken by Isabella with her husband Ferdinand, "the Catholic Monarchs" (1474–1516). Through their marriage Castile and Aragon became ruled by the same sovereigns, and Catholicism became even more linked with marriage in the nation's consciousness. Christianity was seen in Castile, more strongly than elsewhere, as a system for controlling sexual behavior. Female prostitution, however, was always tolerated; it was located in the Moorish quarter, a predecessor of the "zona de tolerancia" of the modern Hispanic city.

Granada was conquered in 1492, its baths, described as the citizens' entertainment, closed shortly thereafter. [Alfonso VI had destroyed Castile's baths two centuries before, believing that the "vices" practiced there made for poorer soldiers.] Jews were expelled the same year, although a majority chose conversion to Christianity and remained in Spain; anti-Jewish propaganda shortly before the order of expulsion identified Jews with sodomy ("sodomy comes from the Jews"). In 1497 Ferdinand and Isabella, presumably responding to the continued existence of sodomites in Spain, ordered that those found be burned, with confiscation of possessions by the crown.

The Hapsburg Era. Hapsburg Spain of the next two centuries was similarly repressive, and records survive of many public executions of sodomites, intended to instill terror into the populace. Yet there were ups and downs, with more freedom in Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, and Andalusia than in Castile, and more among the economically privileged than among the peasantry. The most oppressive period was the reign of Felipe II (1555–1598), which saw a renewed emphasis on marriage; the prudish Counterreformation, which he championed, opposed sensual pleasure of any sort. Just before his death Felipe II reaffirmed the death penalty for sodomy, and made conviction easier. Felipe III and IV (1598–1665) were more liberal, though only by comparison. Testimony in legal cases, among them those of Felipe II's secretary Antonio Pérez and the Count of Villamediana, is the largest body of information that survives on homosexual life in Spain during the period. In Valencia, Inquisition testimony reveals the existence in the seventeenth century of a clandestine homosexual ghetto. It should be remembered, in studying modern Spanish society, that pressures toward marriage were so strong that except for ecclesiastics, most of those who engaged in homosexual activities did marry. At the same time, opposition to the Catholic church could be so intense as to make anything Catholicism opposed,
such as non-procreative sexuality, seem especially appealing. It should also be noted that homosexuality could be ascetic, rejecting all sexual activity, a purity of which, according to misogynist literature, men were thought more capable.

As Castile took on a world role for the first time, the official morality interpreted the world in terms of sexual behavior and religion. Protestants instituted divorce and clerical marriage, and closed monasteries. New World Indians were sodomites (see Andean Societies), and needed Christianity. The Turkish empire, of which the Spaniards were terrified, was likewise seen as a land of sexual license, where Christians were slaves. Italy was decadent and effeminate, and Spain undertook its defense. There were substantial colonies of expatriate Spaniards in Italy, the Turkish empire, France, and Holland. Just as those who rejected medieval Castile’s sexual morality could and did emigrate to the Islamic south and east, in the Hapsburg period there were many among the expatriates who left in search of greater sexual as well as religious freedom. The expatriates were sometimes influential in reinforcing the sexual freedom and anti-Catholicism of their new countries.

Homosexuality appears in classical Spanish literature in subtle forms. In the world of sixteenth-century pastoral and chivalric romance an atmosphere of freedom was established, and sex-variant characters, especially women in male roles, appear. Anonymous chronicles of famous homosexuals (Juan II, Álvaro de Luna, very possibly also the “Gran Capitán” Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba) were published in the sixteenth century. Cervantes presents, through same-sex friendships, relationships with many homosexual overt-ones. In drama, a wide variety of interpersonal and psychological problems were examined. Female roles were sometimes played by boys. Female characters often used male disguise, and men in female dress are not unknown; Tirso de Molina is especially noted for the use of cross-dressing and female protagonists.

Homosexuality was also treated through the use of classical mythology. The most important, difficult, and innovative poet of seventeenth-century Spain is Luis de Góngora y Argote. In his masterpiece, the Solitudes, the alienated young protagonist is described at the outset as more beautiful than Ida’s ephebe (“garzón”); the allusion is to Ganymede. The Solitudes started a furious controversy; the tormented conservative Quevedo repeatedly called Góngora a sodomite and Jewish, although he is not known to have been either. An important follower of Góngora was Pedro Soto de Rojas, author of a lengthy poem on Adonis; another was Villamediana; another was the brilliant feminist Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. On homosexuality in religious literature and monastic institutions much work remains to be done. In some of the most famous poems in Spanish, San Juan de la Cruz took the female role in fantasized mystical lovemaking with Christ, and the Mercedarian order, to which Tirso de Molina belonged, had the reputation, at least in some quarters, of enjoying sodomy.

Executions of sodomites continued, through in reduced number, into the eighteenth century. The death penalty for homosexual acts was removed in 1822 with the first Spanish penal code, which referred only to “unchaste abuses” (abusos deshonestos). In 1868 the crime of causing public scandal was added, but no homosexual cases have been discussed.

* The Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. New contact with mainstream Europe, especially Germany, exposed Spain in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to ideas from which it had long been sheltered. There ensued a great campaign of intellectual and cultural renewal; this movement was anti-Catholic, libertarian, and often Arabophile; some of the leading figures spent time in Granada. The founder is the revered, celibate educator Francisco Giner
de los Ríos, called “the Spanish Socrates,” whose Institución Libre de Enseñanza had a great influence until its demise with the Spanish Civil War. The Hellenism of Giner and his disciples remains unstudied.

A focus of homosexual life was the liberal Residencia de Estudiantes, an offshoot of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza and much more than what its name would imply. Its small campus, with buildings in Hispano-Arabic style, opened in 1915, and it was in the 20s and 30s a center of the artistic vanguard in Madrid. Among its residents were Federico García Lorca, the poet Emilio Prados, and the painter Salvador Dalí.

In the early twentieth century there was little open or published discussion of homosexual topics, but there were many coded allusions. Figures interested in homosexuality, at least during part of their lives, include Giner’s nephew and disciple Fernando de los Ríos, the Greek professor, essayist, and fiction writer Unamuno, the novelist Baroja, and the poets Manuel Machado and Rubén Darío (the former the foremost Spanish dandy; the latter, a Nicaraguan, the author of the first published discussion in Spanish of Laurenciano). The Biblioteca Renacimiento, whose literary director was the playwright Gregorio Martínez Sierra, published the works of Spanish homosexual authors along with translations of Freud.

Writers more openly homosexual were not able to deal with the topic in their works. These include the conservative dramatist Jacinto Benavente (Nobel Prize, 1922), the chronicler of Madrid life Pedro de Répide, the short story writer Antonio de Hoyos y Vinent, and the music critic and historian Adolfo Salazar. Many Spaniards escaped to Paris, among them Gregorio and María Martínez Sierra and the composer Manuel de Falla. Little magazines, such as Grecia of Adriano del Valle, Medicina of Joaquín Romero Murube, and Renacimiento of Martínez Sierra, remain incompletely studied. Even into the 1920’s the situation for homosexuals was oppressive, as can be seen from the reticence of the Espasa-Calpe encyclopedia and the comments of Gregorio Marañón. It was foreigners living in Spain, the Uruguayan Alberto Nin Frías [Marcos, amador de la belleza, 1913; Alexis e o significado del temperamento urano, 1932; Homosexualismo creador, 1933], the Chilean Augusto d’Halmar [Pasión y muerte de cerra Deusto, 1924], and the Cuban Alfonso Hernández Catá [El ángel de Sodoma, 1928] who published the first books on the topic.

One type of covert treatment of homosexuality was study of Andalusian culture or homosexual figures, among the latter the Count of Villamediana. An important event was the tercentenary of the Góngora in 1927; the commemoration gave the name to the famous “generation of 1927.” This was a celebration of poetry, of Andalusia (Góngora was from Córdoba), an exuberant revolt against Spain’s cultural establishment, and also an affirmation of Spain’s homosexual tradition. Among those participating were the poets Lorca, Prados, Luis Cernuda, Vicente Aleixandre (Nobel Prize, 1977), and the bisexual poet and printer Manuel Altolaguirre; Altolaguirre and Prados published in Málaga the magazine Litoral (1926-29). Especially important was the role of the great bisexual love poet Pedro Salinas, called the “inventor” of that poetical generation. Salinas, who introduced his student Cernuda to Gide’s writings, was translator of and much influenced by Proust.

Pressures for liberalization were building. Besides Freud, Oscar Wilde’s works were available in Spanish, as was Frank Harris’ life of Wilde and Iwo Bloch’s Vida sexual contemporánea. Gide’s Co-rydon and an expurgated version of Lautréamont’s Cantos de Maldoror appeared in the 1920’s, translated by Julio Gómez de la Serna; Ramón Gómez de la Serna wrote a long prologue to the latter. Young Spaniards studied in Germany, returning with knowledge of its sexual
freedom. Contact with the writings of Magnus Hirschfeld is certain. Emilio García-Gómez's *Poemas arábigo-andaluces*, which included pederastic poetry, caused a stir when published in 1930. Also contributing to a much changed climate were the lectures and publications on gender identity by Spain's most famous physician, Gregorio Marañón. Marañón believed that homosexuality was a congenital defect, and claimed that "Latin races" were superior because they allegedly had less of it than did Germany and England. Yet he strongly and publicly advocated tolerance, and "treatment" was to be just as voluntary as for any other medical condition. [Impressed by the newly discovered role of hormones in sexual desire, Marañón expected a hormonal therapy to be developed.] Besides *Los estados intersexuales en la especie humana* (1929) and other writings on sexual medicine, Marañón wrote an introduction for Hernández Catá's *Ángel de Sodoma*, a prologue for the translation of Bloch, an "antisocratic dialogue" accompanying the second Spanish edition of *Corydon* (1931), and a historical diagnosis of the homosexual king Enrique IV.

The pressures came to fruition in 1931 with the proclamation of the liberal Second Republic. The fervently anti-Catholic Manuel Azañá was president; minister of education and later ambassador to the United States was Fernando de los Ríos; and the author of Spain's new constitution, Luis Jiménez de Asúa, had published in defense of sexual and reproductive freedoms *Libertad de amar y derecho a morir* (1928; an epilogue to Hernández Catá's *Ángel de Sodoma*). The first few years of the republic were very happy times. The Chilean diplomat Carlos Morla Lynch kept a cultural salon, but published only heavily censored excerpts from his diary. A Hispano-Arabic institute was created and it launched the journal *Al-Andalus*, surprisingly, both survived the Civil War. Even more surprising, they produced as offshoots, in fascist Spain at the peak of Nazi Germany's campaign to free Germany and the world of Jews, a Hispano-Jewish institute and its journal *Sefarad*.

Homosexuality moved toward open appearance in Spanish literature: while the *Ode to Walt Whitman* of Lorca was privately published in Mexico (1933), Cernuda published *Where Oblivion Dwells* in 1934, *The Young Sailor and The Forbidden Pleasures* in 1936, and Lorca's *Sonnets of Dark Love* and *The Public* were being read to friends shortly before his assassination. As with the Nazis, a motive of the Catholics who began the Civil War in 1936 was to free Spain of homosexuals, although one of their heroes, the assassinated José Antonio Primo de Rivera, is reputed to have been a homosexual and a friend of Lorca.

*Toward the Present.* From 1939 to 1975 Spain was ruled by the joyless clerical-fascist regime of Franco, during which all nonprocreative sexuality was again furtive, although there was liberalization in the 60s. Any positive treatment of homosexuality in the media would itself have been a criminal offense. A criminalization of "homosexual acts" in 1970 produced an embryonic gay movement, and the first gay magazine in Spanish, *Ag hoops* (1972–73). Founded by Armand de Fluvia, *Ag hoops* was prepared in Barcelona, then sent clandestinely to Paris, where it was reproduced and mailed. The Franco criminalization was itself repealed in 1978.

Poetry, especially difficult poetry, attracted the least attention and was, therefore, the preferred homosexual genre. Literary figures of this period are Aleixandre, Aleixandre's protégé the poet and critic Carlos Bousoño, the poets and literary scholars Luis Rosales and Francisco Brines, and the less secretive, and thus more marginal, poets Jaime Gil de Biedma and Juan Gil-Albert (*Heraclés*, written 1955, publ. 1981). From voluntary exile in Paris came the major voice of Juan Goytisolo, who in his novel *Count Julien* presents an Arabophile interpretation of Spanish history and a trip through the vagina of Queen
Isabella. His *En los reinos de taifas* is the first public discussion by a Spanish author of his arrival at a homosexual identification.

After the death of Franco in 1975, Spain entered its most liberal period since the end of the Middle Ages; Catholicism has again been deposed from its position as state religion. While there is not a self-consciously or publicly gay culture, a gay *movement* is now well-established. It is primarily based in Barcelona, home of the Institut Lambda. Bilbao has had a gay center since 1980, and *Gay Hota*, the most important gay magazine in Spain, is published there.

Major cultural figures are more or less openly gay-identified. Authors emerging or flourishing during this period include, besides Goytisolo, the novelist Terencí Moix, the playwright Antonio Gala, the poet and essayist Luis Antonio de Villena, translator of the Greek anthology *La musa de los muchachos*, Madrid, 1980), the Bohemian, self-publishing poet Manuel Gámez Quintana (*Apuntes sobre el homosexual*, Madrid, 1976), the bisexual philosopher Fernando Savater, and, from Paris, the novelist Agustín Gómez-Arcos (*The Carnivorous Lamb*, Boston, 1984). A film renaissance has produced two major gay filmmakers, Eloy de la Iglesia (*Hidden Pleasures; The Deputy; Pals*) and Pedro Almodóvar (*Law of Desire; Dark Habits*), both of whom have been acclaimed abroad; also gay is the country's leading and most admired pop singer, Miguel Bosé. Spain has become a favorite destination of gay tourists, with gay resorts located in Ibiza, Sitges, and the Costa del Sol. Gay tourists also go to Barcelona and Valencia, and to a lesser degree Madrid and Seville. AIDS has not had a large impact in Spain, and the majority of reported cases are intravenous drug addicts.

*Lesbians*. Little is known about Lesbianism in Spain. Female-female sexuality is believed to have been enjoyed, along with many other forms of pleasure, by the eleventh-century courtesan and poet Wallada; presumably it flourished among the concubines and multiple wives of Andalusia, but other documentation is lacking. (Later Turkish practice would suggest that eunuchs served as cooperative partners for lengthy sessions of cunnilingus and intercourse.) In Christian Spain, the protagonist of the very popular *Celestina* of Fernando de Rojas (1499) enjoyed lovemaking with women. There is a single report of a woman sentenced to exile for "attempted sodomy" in 1549, and there is also mention of women in prison who strapped on a phallus. Women were simply less cause for concern, perhaps because, as an inquisitor said, they did not have the "instrument" with which to commit sodomy. Women were able to live for years in male dress without detection, even serving in the army. Two well-known cases, Catalina de Erauso (1592–1650) and Elena "Elena" de Céspedes (late sixteenth century)—the second, possibly a true hermaphrodite, married first as a woman and then as a man—were only discovered by chance.

The role of lesbians in the early twentieth century and Civil War remains to be examined. The actress Margarita Xirgu was at the center of a sympathetic body of theatre people. The *Songs of Bilitis* were published in Spanish translation by 1913; that they were the work of Pierre Louÿs was not yet known. In the contemporary period a number of women writers have dealt with lesbian topics, without, however, making public their own sexual orientation. Among the most important of these are the novelists Esther Tusquets, who also directs a libertarian publishing house, and Ana María Moix.


Sparta

Ancient Greek Sparta was the chief city-state of the Peloponnesus in the archaic and classical ages. Inspired by the Dorian ancestral hero Heraclès, who loved Iolaus and taught him to hunt and fight, Spartans developed the strongest Hellenic society under the Eunomia [good order], laws given by an oracle to the semi-mythical regent Lycurgus, but actually promulgated just after the Second Messenian War. Victorious under its peculiar constitution that early provided for two hereditary kings but evolved during the First (735–715 b.c.) and Second (635–615 b.c.) Messenian Wars, Sparta enslaved its neighbors, assigning a certain number of these helots to work the 9,000 cleroi [plots of land], each assigned to a Spartan. Thus relieved of work, each male citizen devoted his days from six to sixty to gymnastics and military training to become a perfect hoplite, as the new-style warrior for the phalanx was called.

Pederasty. The semilegендary Lycurgus banned money except for iron spits and ordered periodic redistribution of cleroi. Faced with the need to limit the population of “equals” so that each would possess a clerοι, the reformers after 615 b.c. imported the Cretan customs of delayed marriages for men, training nude in gymnasia, common messes for citizens, and pederasty. Provided only with one rude cloak annually, boys roved in herds [agelai], as in Crete, each under an older boy—an “eiren” of 20–22—slept outdoors, stole food from helots and harassed and even murdered them. If caught stealing they were flogged publicly, not infrequently to death in order to teach them to steal more craftily and to endure greater physical hardship. At 12 each boy was taken by a 22-year-old “inspirer,” who trained him for the next eight years. Then, as the “listener” began to sprout facial and body hair, he went on active full-time military duty and was assigned to a barracks where he had to sleep until he was 30, continuing to return to dine with his messmates until the age of 60. At 30 the inspirer married a girl of 18, who on her wedding night lay face down in a dark room in boy’s attire with close-cropped hair, and henceforth he slept at home. Eighteen- to 20-year-old eirens and 20- to 22-year-old eirens, being constantly together, made the transition from “listeners” to “inspirers.”

That Lycurgus borrowed Cretan institutions is attested not only by Ephorus, Herodotus, Plato, and Plutarch, who state that he traveled in Crete to study its constitution, but also by the fact that common messes in Sparta were at first called by the Cretan term andreia [men’s house] before it became the classical syssitia. The Spartan gymnasia and palestra, from which, as in Crete, helots were excluded and citizens trained nude, were modeled on Cretan δρομοί, running tracks. Also Thaletas, the Cretan musician [devotee of the Muses, hence poet and scholar] and disciple of the Cretan Onomacritus, who had institutionalized pederasty on Crete ca. 650, came at Lycurgus’ request to help improve the Spartan constitution and introduced there from Crete the Dance of the Naked Youths. After institutionalizing pederasty and the related reforms, neither Sparta nor
Crete sent out any colonists, unlike the other poleis.

The Spartan Apogee. After implementing the eunomia, Spartans became the greatest warriors and athletes in Greece. Their earlier poets, like Tyrtaeus (fl. ca. 630), had not described pederasty (nor had any other earlier surviving authors) but afterwards other Greeks, except those in the most backward areas such as Macedonia, quickly adapted Spartan institutions though in a less severe form. Solon, for example, with the help of the Cretan musician Epimenides, institutionalized pederasty in Athens.

All famous Spartans personally practiced pederasty, but much debate raged in antiquity as in modern times over whether inspirers physically loved their boys. Defenders of the so-called “pure” Dorian form (because Cretans and Spartans were the most famous branch of the Dorians, they and other modern scholars assumed pederasty to be a prehistoric institution common to the “Dorian race”) of pederasty range from Xenophon to Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840) and the contemporary Harald Patzer. The majority, however, adhere to the skepticism of Cicero: “Only a thin veil [the tunic separating the lovers who reclined side by side on a couch at symposia] preserves their virtue” (De Republica IV, 4). Many charged the Spartans with homosexual and/or even heterosexual promiscuity because Spartans secluded their women far less than did other Greeks, even letting them exercise nude in public as the males did and not marrying them until they were 18 whereas most other Greeks of 30 took brides of 15. Aristotle accused the Spartans, like the Celts and other “warlike” races, of being dominated by their women and given to pederasty. Alcman’s Pantheneia indicates that coryphes [love of maidens] was practiced between women and girls, both classes of the population less restricted than elsewhere and, according to Aristotle, women owned two-fifths of the property in Sparta as a result of inheritance from warriors slain in its constant wars.

As the Spartans heroically led in repelling the Persians in 480–479 B.C., their reputation soared. Even at their maritime rival Athens, a pro-Laconian, anti-democratic party, mainly composed of aristocrats, existed during the bitter Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.), pitting Sparta’s Peloponnesian League against Athens’ Delian League. Socrates’ most famous pupils allied en masse with him in praise of Sparta: Alcibiades, Critias, who had headed the “Thirty Tyrants” installed by the Spartans after their victory to control Athens, Plato, and Xenophon. This factor plus his questioning the wisdom of the war and the existence of the gods led an Athenian jury to condemn Socrates to death.

Decline. After Sparta’s victory, its commanders and harmosts [governors] often became corrupt, taking bribes and ravishing boys in the territories they controlled. Great inequality of wealth resulted from such plunder as well as from inheritances and many unable to contribute as required to syssitia lost their status as equals. At battles in 371 and 362 B.C. thebans led by the “Sacred Band” of lovers organized by Epaminondas overthrew Spartan hegemony and liberated Messenia, slaying so many Spartan warriors that the city never fully recovered, hampered, some say, by a low birth rate caused by pederasty. Two pederastic kings, Agis III (244–241 B.C.) and Cleomenes III (235–219 B.C.), revived the old constitution, redistributing wealth and restoring discipline, but they were defeated by the Romans, in alliance with the Achaean League, in 222 B.C.

Conclusion. The Spartan system of education discouraged intellectual development and fostered “Laconic” brevity of speech. But when the mercantile societies of Ionia, the Aegean Islands, and Athens, following Sparta’s lead, copied and intellectualized pederasty, it became the driving force of the Greek miracle.
Each boy eromenos had as a distinguished private tutor his erastes or lover.

Sparta was to the Greeks themselves and remains the eternal model of an aristocratic warrior society whose unwritten law combined male bonding with an especially virile, austere form of homosexuality. Neglecting the cultural endeavor that was the particular glory of Athens, Sparta nonetheless made its own contribution to the Greek miracle. Inspired by man–boy love, the heroism of Spartan warriors shielded nascent Hellenic civilization from the menace of Persian despotism.

See also Greece, Ancient.


William A. Percy

SPICER, JACK (JOHN LESTER; 1925–1965)

American poet. Stemming from a Minnesota family, Spicer spent most of his life in California. As a freshman at the University of Redlands (1944) Spicer became interested in Calvinism; later he took a Ph.D. in linguistics. Glimpses of his personal life are found in his letters, whose whimsical style testifies his keen sense of language, and in recollections of friends.

The earliest published verses date from 1946, when poems appeared in Occident, the Berkeley student magazine. In later years Spicer repudiated his early verses, calling them "beautiful but dumb." They are tender and lyrical, qualities attributable to Spicer's study of Yeats.

For the poet Robin Blaser, his close friend and literary executor, Spicer's poetic career actually begins in 1957 with the appearance of After Lorca. This is the first of the books written after he changed his approach to creativity and accepted the notion of "divine poetic infusion," a method he traced to the Greek writer Longinus. Blaser writes, "It is indicative of a new consciousness of the power and violence of language, and in Jack's work, it becomes an insistent argument for the performance of the real by way of poetry." With the publication of After Lorca in 1957, Spicer began a steady production of verse in his new style. During this creative phase Spicer exercised a charismatic sway over his San Francisco circle. Among the poets he influenced are Robin Blaser, Harold Dull, Robert Duncan, and Richard Tagett.


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George Klawitter

SPORTS

See Athletics.

STEIN, GERTRUDE (1874–1946)

American writer. Born in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, Stein spent much of her youth in Oakland, California, where her father had business interests. As an undergraduate at Harvard's Radcliffe College she was influenced by the psychology classes of William James. She then pursued medical studies in Baltimore, where she had an affair with a woman named May Bookstaver. This experience provided the basis for the novel Q.E.D., the only work in which Stein wrote explicitly of a lesbian relationship; she did not allow the book to be published during her lifetime.

In 1903 Gertrude Stein left for Europe, in due course settling into a Paris apartment with her brother Leo. The two
had a keen interest in avant-garde art, and began a pioneering collection of contemporary paintings. Gertrude became friends with Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso—then regarded as an enfant terrible, but about whom she wrote with insight. In 1905 her Baltimore friend Etta Cone came to Paris for some months; she and Gertrude had an affair, while Cone typed the manuscript for Stein’s book *Three Lives*. Etta soon came to share the Steins’ passion for contemporary art, and after her return to America she and her sister Claribel built up a collection of modern masterpieces, which later entered the Baltimore Museum of Art. Etta continued to rely implicitly on the aesthetic advice and judgment of Gertrude Stein, and in this way the bonding of the two women was to play a role in the introduction of modern art to the United States.

At the end of 1907 Alice B. Toklas arrived in Paris. Toklas, who came from a similar upper-middle-class Jewish family of the Bay Area of California, had an almost immediate rapport with Stein. They were to be together for 38 years. Their relationship was a version of the butch-fem dyad: Alice did the cooking and kept house, while Gertrude concentrated on her writing. When heterosexual couples would visit, Gertrude would talk to the men, while Alice made the women feel at home. In her forties Stein wrote love poetry reflecting her relationship with Toklas; although sexual particulars are noted in a private code, this can be deciphered without too much difficulty. Like *Q.E.D.*, these poems were not published in her lifetime.

After World War I, Stein’s Rue de Fleurus apartment—in competition with the nearby establishment of Natalie Clifford Barney—became a favorite gathering place of the American and English writers of the so-called “Lost Generation,” including Robert McAlmon, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Ernest Hemingway. Although Hemingway acquired some of his own style through studying Stein’s more experimental work, he was later to write harshly about her—as she seemed to have struck a tender nerve in his own sexual self-concept. For a fellow Harvard graduate, the homosexual composer Virgil Thomson, Stein wrote an opera libretto, *Four Saints in Three Acts* in 1927; it was successfully produced in Hartford in 1934 with sets by Florine Stettheimer.

In 1933 Stein published *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, deliberately composed in an accessible style. The next year she followed this book with a triumphant tour of America—her only trip home. While her literary eminence was assured, her artistic judgment in this period seemed less certain; she became very interested in a minor English gay painter Francis Rose, and acquired a number of his undistinguished works.

During the Occupation years of World War II, Stein and Toklas lived undisturbed at their country home in the south of France. After the liberation Gertrude Stein was able to return to her Paris apartment, where she delighted in receiving the visits of American soldiers. She died of cancer in 1946, leaving her manuscripts to Yale University, where they have been gradually brought to publication.

Continuing to live in the Paris apartment surrounded by the paintings, Alice B. Toklas became renowned for her cookbook. After converting to Roman Catholicism, perhaps in the hope that somehow it would assist her in being reunited with Gertrude, Toklas died in 1967.

Stein’s writings have acquired a reputation for being difficult and opaque. She sought to develop a literary parallel to her cherished Cubist paintings, with their fragmented presentation of reality. An early interest in automatic writing, which grew out of her classes with William James, fused with the stream-of-consciousness techniques that she shared with James Joyce, Dorothy Richardson, and Virginia Woolf to produce work of striking modernity. Apart from these innovative concerns, the obscurity of much of her writing...
is probably also linked with her desire to advert to aspects of her lesbianism, but without openly avowing it. While Gertrude Stein will probably never become a popular writer, she was a pivotal figure in the development of literary modernism, and as such has exercised considerable indirect influence. Her first-hand responses to the work of modern artists, and the little museum of major works that so many saw in her Paris apartment, earned her a secondary role as a tastemaker in the field of modern painting.


*Evelyn Gettone*

**STEREOTYPE**

The term stereotype had its origin in the printing trade, where it meant a solid metal plate, a printing surface that could be used for thousands of identical impressions without need of replacement. The American journalist Walter Lippmann introduced the concept to the social sciences in his book *Public Opinion* (1922), in which he argued that in a modern democracy political leaders and ordinary voters are required to make decisions about a variety of complex matters which they do not understand, but judge on the basis of stereotypes acquired from some source other than direct experience. The inflow of new empirical data fails to correct the situation because the individual who has embraced a stereotype sees mainly what he expects to see rather than what is really present.

The esteem in which Lippmann was held by Americans in public life furthered the adoption of the term essentially in the meaning he gave it. When a concept is designated a stereotype, it is implied that (1) it is simple rather than nuanced or differentiated, (2) it is erroneous rather than accurate, (3) it has been acquired through secondhand rather than direct experience, and (4) it resists modification by later experience. Very little systematic investigation of the dimensions of stereotyping has been done, apart from the dimension of resistance to change. In empirical research the term has usually been restricted to a pejorative designation for commonly held beliefs about ethnic groups. This "group concept" usage was established in a classic study by Katz and Braly of 1933. The questionnaire asked the subject to select from a list of 84 traits the ones he considered characteristic of each of ten ethnic groups, then to choose the five "most typical" traits for each group. This procedure has been repeated many times, for many ethnic groups, and in many different countries. While most of the studies have dealt with beliefs about ethnic groups, a considerable number have probed attitudes toward occupational groups, social classes, the differences between the sexes, and like topics.

One conclusion that may be drawn from this research is that most individuals are willing to make at least a guess about the traits of almost any defined social group on the basis of information that a social scientist would consider inadequate. Opinions are derived first of all from the mass media, which today by electronic means reach even the uneducated and barely literate masses in backward countries, as well as educated publics in advanced ones. Other individuals and fortuitous personal contact supply further bases for opinion-forming. The circumstances under which stereotypes are likely to be accurate or inaccurate are the object of many hypotheses. A widely held belief which Lippmann himself propagated is that the stereotypes of the educated are in general more accurate than those of the uneducated, and that concepts formed by social scientists are the most accurate of all. This view, however plausible, has never been demonstrated. A secondary problem is a group's self-image,
which may be as stereotypical as any other. If the self-image of a collective and a second group's image of it largely coincide, this fact is usually taken as evidence for a "kernel of truth" in both sets of stereotypes.

Stereotypes of Homosexuality. Research on attitudes toward homosexuality is relatively recent, and the dimensions of the stereotyping of homosexuals are not fully defined. Several general observations may, however, be made on the basis of the extant findings and of more theoretical presuppositions. The first is that there are diachronic layers of stereotypes. In the West, the oldest layer, inherited from antiquity and the early Middle Ages, is that homosexuals behave like members of the opposite sex, or conversely that they violate the appropriate norms of behavior for their genital sex. Thus terms like "effeminate" and "swish" are applied to male homosexuals by some if not always many of the subjects questioned. Conversely, lesbians are perceived as mannish, crude, and aggressive. Another archaic layer, attested in the Greek comedies of Aristophanes, is that male homosexuals and bisexuals are constantly thinking about sex, and even (in many cases) almost indiscriminate in their choice of sex objects. The third layer derives from the central and late Middle Ages, when the church systematically defamed homosexual activity and those who engaged in it, with the outcome that terms such as "immoral," "repulsive," "dangerous," and "sinful" are stereotypical responses to questionnaire studies. The fourth layer is the one propagated by psychiatry and psychoanalysis from the late nineteenth century onward, to the effect that the homosexual is "sexually abnormal," "perverted," "mentally ill," "maladjusted," "insecure," and "lacking self-control." The most recent layer, and the one characteristic of individuals who have overcome the traditional social distance from homosexuals, holds them to be "sensitive," "individualistic," "intelligent," "imaginative," "sophisticated," and "artistic." Undoubtedly the standard movement propaganda about the homosexuality of great men and women, and also the image of the creative writer or artist as homosexual, have contributed mightily to the diffusion of the last layer. Although it would appear to be a rare example of positive stereotyping (and to a considerable extent it is), the notion of creativity has been traditionally associated—at least in American culture—with lack of manliness.

Such stereotypes are harbored and propagated not only by members of the host culture (the "heterosexual majority"), but also—to a degree that may seem surprising in the era of homosexual liberation—by many homosexuals themselves. As part of the coming-out process, the tyro homosexual or lesbian may display "obvious" mannerisms and dress, even in an exaggerated form, to gain adhesion to the group. Later these flaunting signals are likely to be toned down, as the need for them decreases. In a more subtle way, traits redolent of stereotypes may be selectively unfurled in order to signal one's orientation nonverbally to other gay people. Such communication serves a specific function, but it also lends a specious validity to the more baneful stereotypes. Dilemmas of this kind are probably inseparable from the experience of a stigmatized minority as such.

Class Differences. There is a class aspect to stereotyping: the lower social classes, being less educated and more given to concrete than abstract thinking, incline more to stereotypic responses because their thinking is in imagery rather than in logical concepts, and their mental life more affective than intellectual. Moreover, the uneducated may cherish a random set of stereotypes that contradict one another, as when the male homosexual is thought inordinately aggressive and "a danger to every boy on the streets," but also timid and wanting in masculinity. Also, in the lower classes far more importance is attached to sex roles that are
rigidly and unequivocally defined. A man must be masculine, a woman feminine, and there is a relatively low level of toleration for deviant behavior. In this situation, if a man is homosexual and therefore behaves sexually "like a woman," his whole personality is expected to conform to this model. Hence the stereotype—or more precisely the most archaic layer of stereotypes—is reinforced by the majority of lower-class homosexuals who opt for a female identity and then project that identity through overtly effeminate behavior. Conversely the upper-class individual exposed to homophile propaganda may form his stereotypical notion from the biography of a famous novelist or painter, or from literature that stresses the "positive achievements" of homosexuals in history. In general, the more educated part of the population in a society that prides itself on its individualism can tolerate—if not accept—a deviation in sexual character so long as it is not patently disharmonious or incongruent with other societal norms.

Correlations of Stereotypes. A further question is the correlation of negative stereotypes of the homosexual with attitudes toward other outsider, minority groups. In the wake of the findings of Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno and his associates in The Authoritarian Personality (1950), investigators have sought a common denominator in a personality type that relies on authority, is unable to tolerate ambiguity, and is deeply immersed in the specific value system of the ethnic group and social class in which it has been reared. A heterosexual having such traits is likely to be even more intolerant of the homosexual than of other deviant groups, and to perceive homoerotic behavior as threatening to his own sexual identity and potentially harmful to society. That is why the effeminate homosexual may be disliked because he violates the norm of masculinity, but conversely the masculine homosexual may provoke even more anxiety because of the ambiguity which his even subtler departure from maleness entails. It is also a fact that homosexual behavior is often believed to have originated with, or to be characteristic of, another ethnic group, as when Frenchmen call homosexuality "le vice allemand" (the German vice). The very terms sodomite and bugger are in English the legacy of such labeling of a people or dissident sect as guilty of "unnatural vice." This general tendency to ascribe undesirable characteristics to disliked groups is termed ethnophaulism.

The centuries-long stigmatization of the sodomite as a criminal and an outcast in Western civilization has left behind a negative residue of stereotypes that only an equally lengthy process of education and positive-image building can efface. A conference of gay movement leaders held in 1988 placed the creation of a positive image of the homosexual at the head of its agenda for future activity.

See also Authoritarian Personality, Discrimination, Homophobia, Myths and Fabrications.


Warren Johansson
STEVENSON, EDWARD
IRENAEUS PRIME-
("XAVIER MAYNE"; 1868–1942)
American novelist and scholar. Born in Madison, New Jersey, and educated in the United States, he began to write for the press while still in school. He was admitted to the New Jersey bar but never practiced. Stevenson was a member of the staff of the Independent, Harper's Weekly, and other magazines, and gained a wide reputation as musical, dramatic, and literary critic. He specialized in foreign, including European and Oriental literatures and claimed fluency in nine languages. Down to 1900 he divided his time between the United States and many parts of Europe, then settled permanently abroad out of dislike for the homophobia of contemporary American society, ultimately dying in Europe in 1942. He wrote many novels and short stories, several of which broach the homosexual theme but in the innocuous guise of "male friendship." In a boys' book about Bonnie Prince Charlie, White Cockades (1887), there is "half-hinted" an erotic liaison between the prince and a rustic youth.

Under the pseudonym "Xavier Mayne" he published in Naples in 1908 what was perhaps the first explicit homosexual novel by a native-born American: Imre: A Memorandum. The novel's simple plot describes the love affair between the thirty-year-old Oswald who is spending a leisurely summer of language study in Hungary and the twenty-five-year-old Imre, a Hungarian cavalry officer.

More important was his nonfiction book The Intersexes: A History of Similisexualism as a Problem in Social Life (Rome, 1908), the first large-scale survey in the English language of the subject of homosexuality from all aspects. It was based not just upon his reading of nearly everything that had been published until then in the homophile movement press and in the psychiatric literature, but also upon his first-hand observations of the homosexual scene in the major cities of Europe and the United States, with much folklore and gossip thrown in for good measure. The author describes the mores of the gay subculture of that era, from the nobleman in his salon to the hustler on the street, with an objectivity that is free of both polemic and condemnatory bias. He alludes to many all-but-forgotten incidents and scandals that made the metropolitan newspapers, and names scores of illustrious figures of the past and present as Uranians or Uranians (lesbians). Stevenson adheres to the line of Magnus Hirschfeld and the Scientific-humanitarian Committee that homosexuality is inborn and unmodifiable, that homosexuals should not be forced to don "masks" to hide from would-be persecutors, and that religion and the law are powerless to extinguish a predisposition of human nature. So thorough is the volume that not a few of the topics broached on its more than 600 pages have yet to be investigated by modern scholars. As the work of a participant observer, The Intersexes remains a precious collection of fact and commentary that anticipates Donald Webster Cory's The Homosexual in America of 1951, its first American successor.


Warren Johansson

STOICISM
Founded by Zeno of Citium (335–263 b.c.), Stoicism became the leading philosophical school under the Roman emperors, until the triumph of Neoplatonism in the third century. Insisting in the trying times of the Hellenistic monarchies that even poverty, pain, and death are as nothing to the eternal soul, Stoics vanquished their materialistic rivals, the
Epicureans, who stressed pleasure rather than virtue as the aim of life.

Almost all earlier Stoics, sometimes labeled the First Stoic, praised homosexual love and shocked most Greeks by claiming that, contrary to the convention that one should cease loving a boy once he sprouted a beard, one should keep one’s eromenos until he reached his twenty-eighth year. Paenarius and other Greeks introduced Stoic doctrines, which appealed to the Latin sense for gravitas and endurance of hardships, to the Scipionic circle in Rome. Perhaps fearing the wrath of old-fashioned patresfamilias, who disapproved of Greek love and arranged the marriage of their sons during their teens to girls of 12 or 13, in contrast to the practice of upper-caste Greeks to postpone marriage to 30 and then take brides whose ages ranged from 15 to 19, they omitted the emphasis on boy-love. Aristocratic Roman women lived with their husbands and circulated in society, in contrast to Greek women who were secluded, shut away in gymnaikeia [women’s quarters]. Aristocratic Roman women thereby attained a far higher status than Greek women had and fostered the emphasis of later Stoics on marriage. Often designated the Second Stoic, most of the later Stoics de-emphasized homosexual love and some, notably the Roman Musonius Rufus in the first century, demanded reciprocal fidelity to one’s wife. Others, however, like the Emperor Marcus Aurelius [reigned 161–180], remained bisexual. The slave philosopher Epictetus [ca. 50–ca. 135] demonstrated the Stoic doctrine that one’s station in life was indifferent, only one’s virtue mattered.

Many have seen Stoic emphasis on the soul and on virtue and restraint of appetites as a harbinger of Christianity. Indeed, Patristic writers from Clement of Alexandria (150–215) to St. Augustine (354–430) dressed up Christian doctrine in Stoic phrases to convert the upper classes. But while Stoic philosophers, like pagan physicians, recommended moderation in sexual activity as in diet and exercise to improve the body and mind, most Christian Fathers advocated complete chastity and total sexual abstinence. Christians wished to transcend nature, while Stoics preferred to live in harmony with it. To control sexual urges, Christians mortified the flesh, often in the deliberate attempt to achieve male impotence and female frigidity, states that Greco-Roman physicians treated as diseases to be cured. Christians condemned sodomy with the Stoic phrase, “against nature.” The evolution from uninhibited pagan sexuality through Stoic restraint to Christian asceticism and chastity that some philosophers and historians claim to detect is thus more apparent than real, more superficial than fundamental, one of a vocabulary rather than essence.


William A. Percy

STONEMWALL REBELLION

This event, which took place in New York City over the weekend of June 27–30, 1969, is significant less for its intrinsic character than as a symbol of self-assertion for the gay liberation movement. So successfully has the symbol been propagated that it has largely, though not completely, obscured the history of the preceding century of heartbreakingly slow and arduous work on behalf of homosexual emancipation. The Stonewall Rebellion was a spontaneous act of resistance to the police harassment that had been inflicted on the homosexual community since the inception of the modern vice squad in metropolitan police forces, but it sparked a much greater, indeed national phenome-
non—a new, highly visible, mass phase of political organization for gay rights that far surpassed the timid, semi-clandestine homophile movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

**What Occurred.** The event began with a police raid on the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar at 51–53 Christopher Street just east of Sheridan Square in New York’s Greenwich Village on the night of June 27–28. A police inspector and seven other officers from the Public Morals Section of the First Division of the New York City Police Department arrived shortly after midnight, served a warrant charging that liquor was being sold without a license, and announced that employees would be arrested. Over the preceding two decades such raids had become almost routine for the police, and they were confident that with a little strong-arm and menace the “queers” would go quietly, as usual. The Stonewall was a dimly lit dance bar in a neighborhood that abounded in homosexuals with flamboyant, unconventional lifestyles, including transvestites known as “street queens.” Partly because their overt non-conformity gave them little to lose, as the patrons were being ejected from the bar by the police others lingered outside to watch the proceedings, and were joined by passers-by, including many street people. Some were attracted from the nearby MacDougal Street entertainment area. It was the arrival of the paddywagons that changed the mood of the crowd from passivity to defiance. The first vehicle left without mishap, though there came a chorus of catcalls from the crowd. The next individual to emerge from the bar was a woman in male costume who put up a struggle which galvanized the bystanders into action. As if prompted by a signal, the crowd erupted into heaving cobblestones and bottles. Some officers had to take refuge inside the bar, where they risked being burned to death. Others turned a firehose on the crowd, while they called reinforcements which in turn managed to clear the streets. During the day the news spread, and the following two nights witnessed further violent confrontations between the police and gay people.

**Underlying Causal Factors.** To understand why this riot occurred, and why it came to have such resonance, it is necessary to recall that the nationwide wave of opposition to the American intervention in Vietnam, which had culminated in the student uprising at Columbia University on April 23, 1968, and in riots in the streets of Chicago during the Democratic National Convention in the summer of 1968, had replaced the conservatism of the Eisenhower era with a mood of radicalism that through the “youth culture” of the late 1960s fed into the subterranean world of the hippies and beatniks of the bohemias in the large cities. There was among the young, the outsiders, the aggrieved of the land a sense of mounting opposition to an establishment headed by President Richard M. Nixon that persisted in maintaining an American presence in Indo-China, but also embodied “straight” society and everything that stood in the way of the liberation for which the rebellious generation of the late 1960s yearned.

Why did the event occur in New York City? After all, Los Angeles had been the birthplace of the American gay movement, and other significant social disturbances took place in the 1960s in San Francisco and Berkeley, California. Reinforced by creative exiles and émigrés, New York City during the 1940s had become a major center of avant-garde culture, which had brought with it from Europe a bohemian tradition of mockery of authority, revivifying Greenwich Village’s reputation for innovative non-conformity. The paintings of New York’s Abstract Expressionists, championed by poet-critic Frank O’Hara, horrified the establishment with their seemingly anarchic “drip” style. Pop art appeared with its principal shrine in Andy Warhol’s “factory.” New York was also the home of the experimental New American Cinema, whose “Baudelairean” films, some of them
made by gay directors, explored aspects of the underground in a highly disjunctive, poetic style. MacDougall Street, the vibrant, often raucous center of the folk music scene, was only two blocks away from the Stonewall Inn. Finally New York, together with London, was the home of a new spirit of innovation in the theatre; scores of Off-off-Broadway theatres, some accommodating only a score of patrons, sprang up as sites of sometimes daring excursions into novelty, including nudity and obscenity. The Stonewall Rebellion, which involved some of the same transvestites who hovered around the avant-garde theatre, reflected the confluence of these cultural trends.

Although it had played virtually no role in the first fifteen years of the American homophile movement, New York City—as perhaps nowhere else in the country—sheltered a long radical tradition. In the late 1960s this tradition merged with a counterculture—whose geographical center and symbol was Greenwich Village—that openly rebelled against the values of “respectable” American middle-class society and fostered a state of mind that could successfully challenge even so long-standing and unquestioned a taboo as the intolerance of homosexuality. That youthful nonconformity, reinforced by the growing sexual freedom and the drug culture that had taken firm hold of the college generation in the mid-1960s, led to the loss of inhibitions and unreflecting bravado which inspired the spontaneous resistance to police harassment. The experience of having their privacy invaded and their civil rights violated, of being the victims of entrapment and of perjured testimony brought home to many heterosexuals the kind of injustice that homosexuals had long suffered at the hands of the police. This overall pattern of assaults—not simply the arrest of bar patrons—was the grievance against the police shared by the youth culture and the homosexual subculture alike, both sensing the officers of the law as villains because of their persecution of drug users, student radicals—and gay people.

Significance. If the Stonewall Rebellion was not self-consciously political, it was still an intensely felt refusal to endure any longer the humiliation, the constant insults, the rightlessness that had been the traditional lot of the homosexual in Western society as long as anyone living could remember. Craig Rodwell, who stumbled upon the crowd in front of the Stonewall Inn—named after the legendary Confederate General “Stonewall” Jackson—tried to set up a chant of “Gay Power!” but almost no one joined in.

But times were changing rapidly. Partisans of the New Left saw an opportunity to enlist homosexuals for their movement, and the homophile activists of such groups as the Mattachine Society began to rethink their positions in the light of the left’s critique of the oppressive and exploitative character of American society. After two days, members of New York Mattachine were in the West Village handing out leaflets hailing “the Christopher Street Riots” as “the Hairpin Drop Heard around the World,” echoing Emerson’s lines of 1835 on the patriots at Lexington who “fired the shot heard round the world.”

The American media, centralized in New York City, diffused and reshaped the image of the event. And the Stonewall Rebellion, however brief and local, however apolitical it may have been, did echo around the globe. Enveloped in legend like the Easter Sunday Uprising of 1916 in Dublin, it has been commemorated by a parade held each year in New York City on the last Sunday in June, following a tradition that began with the first march on June 29, 1970, and by parallel events throughout the United States. From a score of organizations cowering in the shadowy bohematics of the large cities, the gay movement expanded into the Gay Liberation Front, Gay Activists Alliance, and many other groups with chapters the length and breadth of the land. Stonewall became the symbol of an oppressed and invisible mi-
nority at last demanding its place in the sun and the freedoms which Americans had been taught since childhood were the right and heritage of everyone. The gay subculture that outlasted this radical episode in American politics—a radicalism which quickly faded once the Vietnam War ended, at least provisionally, in 1973—has been the archetype of a wave of political and cultural innovation throughout the world, so that the modern phase of the gay movement can truly be said to have begun on those June nights in Greenwich Village outside the Stonewall Inn.


Warren Johansson

STRACHEY, (GILES) LYTTON (1880–1932)

English biographer and critic. The son of a general in the Indian Army, Strachey attended Abbotshulme School, Leamington College, Liverpool University College, and Trinity College, Cambridge. As a boy at Leamington he experienced homosexual crushes, which left him with an abiding vision of his need for ideal male companionship. At Cambridge Strachey, whose gawky and unattractive figure was no bar to recognition of his brilliance, was elected a member of the exclusive Apostles group, together with John Maynard Keynes and Leonard Woolf. He embarked on his first grand passion, with the painter Duncan Grant, whom he was shortly to lose to Keynes.

After taking his degree at Cambridge, Strachey settled in London, where he was almost immediately integrated into the Bloomsbury group. The first years of his literary career were difficult and, apart from reviews, produced only a textbook, Landmarks in French Literature (1912). In 1917 he settled into a country house with the painter Dora Carrington, who had fallen in love with him. After the war, they were joined by an ex-officer Ralph Partridge in a ménage à trois. This arrangement gave Strachey the serenity and support he required to complete his biographical works, Eminent Victorians (1918), Queen Victoria (1921), and Elizabeth and Essex (1928). Written with great panache, these books effected a revolution in biography through their ironic, often mocking distance from their subjects. Strachey’s last years were enlivened by several successful affairs with young men, notably Roger Senhouse. After his death from cancer, his companion Carrington committed suicide.

As a result of the reaction against aestheticism occasioned by the Depression and World War II, Strachey’s work went out of fashion, along with Bloomsbury itself. In the freer climate of the 1960s, however, this attitude changed, and Strachey’s sexual unorthodoxy, which had been largely hidden, became an asset. The major factor in the restoration of his reputation came in the 1,200-page life story by Michael Holroyd, the homage of one major biographer to another.


Wayne R. Dynes

STUDENTS, GAY

Until the end of the 1960s the plight of the gay college student on an American college campus was a difficult, sometimes even a tragic, one. Confronted with the growing consciousness of his own sexual orientation, he found himself in a society where negative attitudes toward homosexuality were reinforced by peer pressure, where the obligations and opportunities of undergraduate life were all cast in a heterosexual mold, and where confidences made to a psychologist or psychiatrist could be betrayed to the college authorities. Such betrayal would entail disastrous consequences: further disclosure to his parents and family, forced psychia-
ric treatment, or even expulsion. The few courses in which homosexuality might have been mentioned usually treated the subject with evasion or disdain; the books available in the college library relegated the topic to the realm of the pathological or criminal. If the student was fortunate, he could make the acquaintance of another individual who had accepted his homosexuality, found a modus vivendi in the midst of an intolerant society, and begun the arduous task of fashioning a mask to deceive the unfriendly heterosexuals around him. If he failed to make contact with the gay subculture that existed on some campuses or the nearby bohemian milieu, he could be doomed to lead a lonely life of silent alienation from the world of the rest of the undergraduates. Opportunities for social- sexual contact with others of his age such as the dances and fraternity-sorority life offered the heterosexual were unavailable to the homosexual student.

The introduction of war veterans on American campuses in the late 1940s (through legislation known as the "GI Bill of Rights") might have changed matters, for many of these older students had experienced freer sexual lifestyles in North Africa, Europe, and the Pacific. Though generally credited with pioneering a new seriousness that competed with the pre-war model of late adolescent hedonism ("Joe College"), the veterans were generally too preoccupied with economic struggles and grades to accomplish much social innovation on campus.

The First Campus Groups and Their Vicissitudes. Only toward the end of the 1960s did this situation begin to change, reflecting a new mood among American youth. Robert A. Martin (b. 1946), a student at New York's Columbia University (which in 1945 had suspended undergraduate Allen Ginsberg for suspected homosexuality), conceived the idea of a student group that would create a movement presence on the campus. Martin, better known under the name Stephen Donaldson, had been a member of the Mattachine Society of New York since the spring of 1965 and had spent the summer of 1966 living with Mattachine Society of Washington president Frank Kameny.

Returning to the campus as a bisexually-identified sophomore in September 1966, Donaldson discussed the idea with interested students and, finding resistance within New York Mattachine to an autonomous group on campus, he chose the name Student Homophile League (SHL). The incipient group, which mixed both gender and orientation, found a protector in the courageous Episcopal Chaplain of the University, John Dyson Cannon. In October 1966 the chaplain arranged a meeting in Earl Hall to introduce the organization to the administration and the religious and psychological counselors. A certain amount of opposition was voiced, and to gain official standing the group was required to submit a list of names of members to the university administration—which could have been ordered to disclose them to the government. This proved an insuperable barrier until a set of prominent student leaders agreed to become the official charter members in April 1967.

With this list in hand, the university capitulated, and when the resultant story printed in the Columbia Spectator came [a week later] to the attention of the New York Times, on May 1, 1967 the front-page news was broken to an astonished world: "COLUMBIA CHARTERS HOMOSEXUAL GROUP." The reaction was all the more violent in that college administrations had everywhere clung to the concept of in loco parentis, that they replaced the parents as moral guardians of the students and their sex lives, and often held that students needed "protection" from such corrupting influences as homosexuality. The Columbia administration was flooded with letters from indignant alumni, many of whom assured the school that they would never give it another penny.
The newly recognized Student Homophile League was primarily interested in educating the campus, in promoting gay rights, and in counseling. Lectures and panels drew hundreds, while some 15 to 30 people attended the business meetings, and informal parties were held, though at first no public dances. Many students still in the process of “coming out” needed peer counseling, while frequent, informal discussions in the dormitories had the aim of enlightening the rest of the student body. A series of leaflets taking uncompromising positions foreshadowing gay liberation ideas was issued.

Two other SHL chapters were formed at New York University (under Rita Mae Brown, later author of the lesbian novel *Rubyfruit Jungle*) and at Cornell University (under Jearld Moldenhauer, subsequently an editor of Toronto’s *The Body Politic*, and with the sponsorship of well-known anti-Vietnam War activist Rev. Phillip Berrigan), and in the fall of 1968 an independent organization called FREE was established at the University of Minnesota. The fledgling gay student movement participated in the North American Conference of Homophile Organizations (NACHO) and its Eastern Regional Conference as a radicalizing force, with Donaldson holding several offices at various times.

On April 23, 1968 (coincidentally the same day radical students began a week-long occupation of campus buildings), the SHL, denied participation on a psychiatric panel on homosexuality held at the Columbia medical school, picketed the event and distributed over a thousand multipage statements to members of the audience, many of whom turned over their tickets to the protesters, who proceeded to dominate the question period. This was the first demonstration against the psychiatric establishment’s “medical model” of homosexuality.

The Columbia uprising of April 1968 did not involve the gay movement immediately, as the radical groups on campus—following the Old Left and Maoist rejection of sexual reform—kept their political distance from it. The Columbia SHL did, however, join the student strike after a few days and issued its own set of demands.

By the spring of 1969 the gay student organizations were beginning to integrate school dances and sponsor their own, while their ideological positions, originally heavily influenced by Kameny through Donaldson, who broke away in 1968, became even more assertive in enunciating what were to become known as “gay liberation” doctrines.

Then the radical wave of the late 1960s, within which the Columbia revolt had become a worldwide symbol of the rebellion of alienated youth, sparked the Stonewall Rebellion of June 1969, which marked the beginning of a new, far more aggressive and activist phase of the homosexual emancipation movement. Following the lead of the antiwar protesters who occupied campuses, marched through the streets with huge banners, and constantly agitated for their cause, the supporters of the Gay Liberation Front defied centuries-old conventions and taboos and “came out” for gay rights. With this model, the student groups multiplied across the country, and by the end of the 1970s virtually every major campus in the country had one. To be sure, the end of the draft for the Vietnam War in 1973 saw student activism fade, but the gay student movement remained, constantly renewed as new generations of homosexual students entered the colleges and universities. The activities of the groups were mainly social, with a certain amount of peer counseling as a sideline. Gay dances became a feature of campus life, the organizations were able to sponsor lectures and public discussions, and each year on Gay Pride Day in June the groups would march behind their banners in the parades held in major cities from Boston to San Diego.

*Stabilization.* By 1975 at least 150 gay and lesbian groups had been estab-
lished on American college campuses. They tended to be concentrated in the Northeast and on the West Coast and to be most vigorous in older private universities and major state institutions. A decade later the number had at least doubled, and the groups were well represented in the midwest and south as well as the older areas. Even many religious colleges had their groups, though the gay students at Georgetown University in Washington DC (Catholic) had to take their case to the federal courts. Although the gay groups were sometimes resented by insecure heterosexually identified students (and feared by administrations as a potential focus of alumni grumbling), the new associations fit well enough into the existing kaleidoscope of campus clubs which catered to blacks and Asians, to vegetarians and chessplayers. A new factor is diversification: twenty years after the founding of the Student Homophile League, Columbia University boasted fifteen separate groups spread out among the affiliated institutions on Morningside Heights instead of just one. Some schools even provided special counseling services for gay and lesbian students, though funding shortages tended to make the future of these uncertain.

Gay student groups sprang up in other English-speaking countries, notably Canada and Australia. On the European continent the American model did not take root, because European universities do not usually have campuses as such. In a few countries gay youth groups fulfilled some of the same functions.

A number of North American campus groups sponsored annual conferences attended by hundreds of students from their respective areas, which were an opportunity to hear talks by prominent activists and leaders of the national gay movement, as well as to discuss the problems of coping with enemies on the campus and around it. In recent years regional conferences with a long list of workshops and speakers have been held at major schools in the Northeast and elsewhere.

In the history of the gay movement, the student groups have been significant as pioneers of intellectual innovation, as seminars for leaders who went on to mainstream organizations, and as a source of "out front" militants willing to take risks their job-holding seniors were reluctant to undertake.

Gay studies as a unified academic discipline have not fared so well, after some promising beginnings in the 1970s they largely disappeared from college curricula, and the Gay Academic Union founded in New York City in 1973 was unable even to produce a textbook for an introductory course, while in the same time women's studies were able to take root and create institutes for research and teaching. In 1987 two separate projects for similar institutions that would promote academic investigation of homosexuality were launched at Yale University and the City University of New York; the future of both is problematic. While the social needs of the gay undergraduate and graduate student are far better served than before the late 1960s, the academic side of the movement faces many tasks and challenges in coming decades.

See also Education; Public Schools; Youth.


SUBCULTURE, GAY

The term "subculture" (introduced as recently as 1936 by the sociologist Ralph Linton) applies to ethnic, regional, economic, and social groups showing special worlds of interest and identification which serve to distinguish them within the larger culture or society.
Basic Features of the Subculture Concept. A subculture differs from a category of people or a common behavior by virtue of its heightened sharing of values, artifacts, and identification. It is intensified by the degree of social separation between its members and the rest of the larger society. This formulation implies a two-level analysis, society and subculture, but in fact there are multiple layers, so that subcultures themselves have what might cumbersomely be labeled subsubcultures, subsubsubcultures, and so on, almost ad infinitum; in practice the definition of a particular subculture must be seen as relative to the larger context in which it is set by the definer.

There is, furthermore, a range of emotional attitudes between the larger society and the subculture; for the former they range from acceptance (e.g., of yachtsmen) through disdain (gamblers) to hostility (heroin addicts). This range appears also in the response of the subculture, which may support the larger society (radio hams) or actively oppose it (bikers). In the latter case, the term “counterculture” is often used; here the sense is of a more broadly applied and more conscious emphasis on an alternative to the larger society rather than an enclave within it. In general, there seems to be a relationship between the degree of alienation from the larger society and the relative powerlessness of the subculture members. Social separation tends to correlate with alienation, so that the more emotional distance between the subculture and the larger society, the stronger the subculture becomes, developing independent values, beliefs, roles, status systems, communications networks, and even economic structures. Conversely, as a larger society attenuates its hostility to a subculture and becomes more accepting (in modern consumer societies often exploiting the subculture as a ready-made market), the hold of the subculture on its members tends correspondingly to weaken; at some point an expanding subculture crosses the line over into mass culture.

It has also been noted that subcultures play major roles in the process of social change, being both powerful agents for change and bulwarks against it. Examples of the latter would include religious fundamentalists and ecological conservationists. The concept of the subculture remains, however, a somewhat amorphous one, and for that reason perhaps, has resisted attempts to provide a general theoretical explanation accepted by a wide range of scholars.

Sexual Implications. The homosexual subculture is often regarded as constituting the individuals who have come out or emerged from the closet and are openly pursuing a gay lifestyle, often in the setting of the urban gay ghetto. In keeping with the preceding discussion, emphasis should, however, be laid rather on the self-identification of the participants (as “gay” or “lesbian”) and on their common interests (same-gender sex, opposition to homophobia), artifacts (publications, jewelry, buttons), and values (sexual autonomy, social pluralism). In this sense, the homosexual subculture is much smaller than the aggregate of those engaging in homosexual acts, or even those who consciously define themselves as homosexual, inasmuch as many of these do not participate in group activities or acquire artifacts. Sociological theory also has difficulty in accounting for people who identify themselves not as homosexual but as bisexual (or even, in some cases, such as with many male prostitutes, as heterosexual), but who are otherwise seen to participate widely in major aspects of the “homosexual subculture.”

Even conceding these limitations, it is apparent that the description of an overall “gay subculture” remains problematic, particularly in respect to common values and interests, and retains validity primarily when placed in the context of social separation from the majority.
(heterosexual) society. The gay subculture or community is far from homogeneous, its members have widely varying individual power positions and attitudes toward the larger society, and the latter displays a considerable spectrum of attitudes [compare those toward, say, a pair of macho cowboys and those toward promiscuous pedophiles]. An even stronger argument can be made against the grouping of lesbians and gay males in the same subculture. For many purposes it seems more helpful to think of the gay or lesbian social worlds as collections of subcultures or subsubcultures: participants in the leather "scene," street transvestites (drag queen), bar-goers, call boys, opera buffs, and so forth.

Stephen Donaldson

Historical Perspectives. Some light is thrown on the origins of European homosexual subcultures by a debate between the social constructionist scholars and their opponents. A major thesis of the social constructionist school is that the "modern homosexual" began only in the last two decades of the nineteenth century in response to the psychiatric concept of homosexuality as a psychological state differentiating a minority of individuals from the remainder of the population.

This view can be challenged on a number of grounds. The major argument against the social constructionist thesis is that there is sound evidence for homosexual cliques and groupings as far back as the Middle Ages. The question is rather, how did they define themselves in relation to the enquiring society? This question can best be answered in three time segments:

1) 1280–1780. In this period the homosexual groupings probably defined themselves, or would have been defined by Christian society, as part of a heretical or criminal subculture. In not a few respects they paralleled such historical phenomena as the Marranos, the crypto-Jews in Spain and Portugal after the Reconquesta, the Recusants, who were secret Catholics in Elizabethan England; the Nicodemites, secret Protestants in countries where the Counterreformation triumphed over the opponents of the Church; the crypto-Christians in the Ottoman Empire after the conquest of the former Byzantine possessions and the Balkan peninsula; and the crypto-Catholics in Japan between 1630 and 1865. All these are instances of clandestine rejection of the official religion of the state and obstinate adherence to proscribed beliefs and practices—often, if not always, at the risk of death if their covert activities came to the attention of the secular authorities.

2) 1780–1880. Following the penal reforms of the Enlightenment and the granting of religious tolerance, the death penalty for heresy receded into the past, but the homosexual subculture now took on the character of an erotic freemasonry, with its rites, passwords, and traditions known only to a limited circle of initiates. Their counterparts in the political macrosom were the Freemasonic lodges, the Rosicrucians, the Illuminati, and similar bodies that played a signal role in the modernization of European life at the end of the eighteenth century—as nuclei of the "new society" within the old. This is the situation attested by the Don Leon poems in England, and by August von Platen's poem of January 31, 1823, with the line "Was Vernünft'ge hoch verehren/ Taugte jedem, der's verstände" ("What gay people greatly honor/ Well served all who understood it"); in this poem vernünftig, "rational" was a code word meaning "gay."

3) 1880–present. This so-called modern period was inaugurated not by the work of the psychiatrists, but by the vanguard of homophile propagandists beginning with Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and Károly Mária Kertbeny in the 1860s, and continuing with Magnus Hirschfeld and the Scientific-humanitarian Committee in the late 1890s. The "new homosexual" saw himself as a member of an aggrieved minority, and therefore as a political activist, one who not simply gratified his sexual drive...
with members of his own sex, but openly called for the emancipation of all individuals so oriented from the taboos and prejudices of Christian society, and above all from its restrictive laws. From 1918 onward, the view formulated by Kurt Hiller, that such individuals were a minority entitled to the same protection accorded ethnic groups in Central and Eastern Europe by the "minority treaties" appended to the peace settlement in the spirit of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, gained sway among politically conscious homosexuals first in Germany and then in other countries. [Psychiatrists—apart from those who endorsed the homosexual emancipation movement—did little or nothing to encourage or promote this view, as they preferred to argue that homosexuals were mentally ill and should be compelled to undergo treatment, not that they had rights of any kind.] The gay liberation organizations that sprang up in the English-speaking countries inherited this political tradition, in many cases in the indirect form adopted by racial and ethnic groups struggling for equality, and on it have based their own demands and aspirations for justice, to which only a few countries have thus far adequately responded.

It can be stated categorically that always, even in times of the worst intolerance, beneath the surface of society there has lurked a gay subculture, for the simple reason that the anathemas of the church could no more abolish homosexual activity than they could have altered the function of an internal organ of the human body. Such matters are the outcome of human macroevolution, which probably ended some 57,000 years ago, and certainly would not undergo major change even in a hundred generations. The historical differences lie in the mode of adaptation to the religious and political beliefs and practices of the environment, hence they belong to social and cultural history rather than to sexual psychology.

Warren Johansson

Conclusion. As currently being conducted, the debate between the social constructionists and their opponents masks problems of definition that have been insufficiently addressed. It is necessary to distinguish whether one is dealing with [a] homosexual networking—patterns of association and meeting places, together with a rudimentary argot and "semiotics" as facilitators; or [b] consciousness of belonging to a distinctive segment of society, of being in short a "homosexual" (or "sodomite" in earlier days); or [c] a complementary sense of not belonging to the larger society with its obligatory heterosexuality.

It is evident that [a] can precede (b) and (c), and almost certainly did. Those in quest of the origins of subculture, looking for earlier versions of the contemporary gay scene, tend to confuse these separate aspects. Moreover, what is termed the homosexual subculture in the first sense was, in early modern Europe, immersed in the larger sphere of deviance or marginalization, so that homosexuals formed part of an underground comprising thieves, vagabonds, entertainers, cardsharps, sorcerers, and so forth.

Even in recent years the degree of social separation (c, above) exhibited by gay people has displayed considerable fluctuation. Until the late 1960s, the general tint of social rejection was considerably attenuated by the widespread practice of "passing," and this worked against the development of a strong subculture. In the "gay liberation" period of the seventies, social separation increased as large numbers of homosexuals "came out," joined gay baseball teams, attended gay churches, read gay periodicals, marched in gay parades, voted against homophobic politicians, and swelled the "gay ghettos." The proliferation of gay special interest groups and the radical stance of movement activists in this period tended to push the subculture toward the counterculture pole. In the latter part of the decade, however, the
pull of greater acceptance by the larger society and the attractions of increased power [political and financial] for the members of the subculture acting together were already evident. We may expect that a continuation of that trend, once the AIDS crisis has ebbed, will tend to undermine the cohesion of the gay subculture further, while conversely strengthening the internal unity of such emerging subcultural-type groupings as sadomasochists and pederasts.


Stephen Donaldson

SUETONIUS (BORN CA. 69)

Roman biographer. Suetonius led a largely uneventful life as a bureaucrat, but his access to the records of the imperial palace lends his writings authenticity. Of the books that he wrote the only one to survive in full is the Lives of the Twelve Caesars, presenting biographies of Roman emperors from Julius Caesar through Domitian.

Suetonius’ Lives have been criticized for their lack of chronological organization, making it hard for later historians to date the anecdotes he presents. In comparison with his contemporary Tacitus, whose powerful moral vision caused him to edit and shape the material to make points, Suetonius presents facts without any particular tendency.

Of the rulers he profiles, only one, Claudius, seems to have been purely heterosexual. Often criticized by earlier generations for the profusion of racy details, his sexual material is used to illustrate the character of his subjects. In the case of Julius Caesar, his affair with Nicomedes of Bithynia shows his charm and resourcefulness. But in the Life of Nero, the “marriages” with Sporus and Doryphorus reveal the wilful profligacy of that emperor’s later years. In a period in which imperial power was absolute, it is not surprising that the emperors should have been tempted to have their way with the attractive bodies that surrounded them at every turn. The mores presented are those of the highest society rather than of the people, whose lives must have remained more prosaic and conventional. Refraining from making such contrasts, in his attitudes Suetonius is a naturalist rather than a moralist.

Much read through the centuries, Suetonius’ portraits have—probably contrary to his intention—contributed to the image of the decadence of Rome. In fact he treats the rising age of Roman rule, with its very height—the second century—still to come. The material he provides therefore represents sidelines on an era of exuberant prosperity and imperial ostentation, rather than object lessons of the decline that was to come two centuries later.


Ward Houser

SUFI SM

Sufism, Islamic mysticism, is that aspect of Islamic belief and practice in which believers seek to find the truth of divine love and knowledge through direct personal experience of God. A difficult term to define, it consists of a great variety of mystical paths that give rise to different kinds of personal feelings and experiences. All paths are aimed at culmination in the ultimate union of lover and beloved, signifying the abandonment of the personality (or self) of the mystic in the Absolute Reality. The western term “Sufism”
(Arabic *tasawwuf*) derives from the Arabic word for mystic (*sufi*), which in its turn is derived from ‘wool’ (*suf*), referring to the woolen garments of early Islamic ascetics. Sufis are also known as “the poor,” yielding the words “dervish” and “fakir.”

**Basic Features.** The origins of Sufism can be found in Islamic asceticism, which developed in the seventh and eighth century in reaction to the increasing worldliness of the expanding Muslim community and to the purely dogmatic and non-emotional trend of orthodox Islam. Love mysticism took the place of asceticism in the ninth century and reached its height in the thirteenth century. Sufism still exists among the Muslim communities around the world, often organized, as in earlier days, in mystical orders centering on a mystical guide (*shaykh* or master).

Strict obedience to the religious law, especially to the inner aspects, is basic to Sufism, although some mystics attracted public contempt by acting outwardly contrary to the law, while hiding their inner devotion to God. The absolute indifference of some Sufis to socially accepted norms and values led to a mostly unjustified reputation for Sufism in general as being licentious and libertinistic, which was further strengthened by the use of intoxicants (wine and hashish) and illicit love as symbols in Sufi writings and talk.

Because mystical and intuitive feelings and experiences were hard to express and therefore difficult to convey to others, Sufis used metaphors derived from worldly experiences, especially those of love and intoxication. Love and wine both led to drunkenness, to loss of reason, to an absolute indifference to the world, and ultimately to a loss of self. The cupbearer (*saki*), often a beautiful youth, symbolized the spiritual guide, who helped the lover on his way by making him drunk with love. The use of worldly images in Sufi symbolism led to a fascinating ambiguity, intensified by the fact that non-mystical writers, such as the famous Persian poet Hafiz (ca. 1325–1390), tended also to use mystical symbols. It is especially this ambiguity, combined with the dominating theme of love, which continues to make Sufi literature so attractive and charming.

**Forms of Love.** Love was essential for all mystics. Some Sufis even explained themselves solely in terms of love, and that is why they have been called the “School of Love,” of which Rumi is the most famous example.

Mystical reasoning about love and beauty was somewhat like the following: because God in his Absolute Essence could not be known, he created the world as a reflection of it, shining through forms so that lovers could realize part of his Essence through its manifestation in forms. The most perfect manifestation of the Divine Reality on earth was man, “created after His own image,” and especially the beardless boy was considered to be the purest witness (*shahid*) of God. As in a saying of the Prophet: “I have seen my Lord in the form of greatest beauty, as a youth with abundant hair.” Looking at beautiful faces was considered a religious activity, as Rumi said: “Behold that face on whose cheeks are the marks of His face, contemplate him on whose brow shines the Sun.” Looking at beauty would inevitably lead to love, “wherever beauty dwelt in dark tresses, love came and found a heart entangled in their coils.”

Some Sufis practiced *shahid bazi*, the game of love with the witness of God’s beauty on earth, in which contemplation of its beauty was a central form of meditation. Shahid bazi consisted primarily of looking at the face and form of the beloved, with possibly some embracing and kissing, while the meditation was sometimes accompanied by music and dance, which could lead to ecstatic experiences. Famous Sufi shaykhs who practiced shahid bazi were Ahmad al-Ghazzali (d. 1126), Awhad ad-Din Kirmani (1164–1238), and Fakr ad-Din Iraqi (1213–1289).
The ideal witness was generally a beardless youth because of his almost perfect beauty and purity. His beauty was often described in Sufi literature in lyrical terms: He was as beautiful as Joseph, with a face for love of whom the moon turned upside down, and for which the sun trembled like an epileptic before the new moon. One look at him and day would break in the midst of the night. The fresh down on his cheeks was like calligraphy, and his curls like ambergris rolling over the face of the moon. The lasso of his locks cast over the earth, while his lips caused confusion into the heavens. His eyes were like two Negro children caught in a snare; each Negro child with a bow to shoot arrows in the hearts of desperate lovers. In short, he was the paragon of God’s beauty and creative power. Sufis often were misogynistic, and looked upon women as symbols of the material world, caught up in forms, while boys were seen as innocent and pure, unconscious of their attraction, and of course much more available.

Worldly love, also known as the love of outward forms, was considered an education experience which prepared the lover for his path of passion and yearning, suffering and submission, and could serve as a bridge to Real Love. In Sufi literature, stories of worldly love relationships were used to teach mystics what kind of behavior and feelings were expected of real lovers. Apart from some male–female couples, one of the exemplary loves was the legendary relation between Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (969–1030) and his faithful slave Ayaz [d.1057].

Shahid bazi and worldly love in general were considered positively when chaste and spiritual, and striving for the higher love of God; aimed at the Reality that was reflected, and not at the beautiful form itself, which was only illusory and relative. Mystics were not supposed to linger on the bridge of worldly love, while they should definitely not become entangled in sensual love. The latter was rejected as a desecration of love, leading to unlawful sex, for example with boys. Feelings of lust and desire, the so-called “sinful self,” were sometimes designated as “the menstruation of men,” signifying the uncleanliness resulting from such feelings, which would make union with God impossible. Therefore the “sinful self” had to be shackled and controlled, struggling against the seductive snares and devilish temptations of worldly entanglements, which diverted from the road to God. Only those mystics who had conquered their “sinful selves” were capable of enduring the irresistible beauty of beardless boys or the seductiveness of women, while loving them. Shahid bazi was therefore only allowed to masters and advanced mystics. Paradise was promised for those who stayed chaste, but were not able to cope with their passionate feelings, and died because of them as “martyrs of love.”

Controversial Aspects. There were also mystics, however, who fell victim to sin, and although some of them repented and mended their ways, for which God had promised forgiveness, it gave Sufism a bad name. Even worse for the reputation of mysticism were people who behaved as if they were mystics, but did not follow the rules at all, and only reaped the fruits of behaving indifferently to the world. All this confirmed the orthodoxy in their criticism of Sufism, and was cleverly exploited.

Because a mystical current deviates from the established, dogmatic path, and therefore threatens the authority of orthodoxy, a clash will become inevitable, often leading to accusations of immorality and heresy. According to orthodox Muslims, the only way to seek knowledge of God was through his words (the Koran) and through the example of the Prophet (hadith, Tradition); their path was one of obedience and not one of love.

Looking at and loving beautiful forms was considered immoral and sinful, and a devilish diversion of real love, because it would inevitably lead to passionate love that, in its turn, would give rise to
sexual desire and unlawful sex. They maintained it was common knowledge that no healthy man was capable of resisting the seductiveness of a beautiful boy.

Even when chaste, the orthodox argued, passionate love led to an idolization of the beloved, which was blasphemous because there was only one God, and besides, all worldly love had to be subordinated to real love. The orthodox viewed practices like shahid bazi as typical of the hypocrisy of Sufism, which used religion as a cover for sexual debauchery and lustful and perverse activities. The continuing self-criticism among Sufis about the paths taken, intensified out of fear of persecutions because of seemingly heretical ideas, gradually led the mystics to become more careful in their expressions and practices. The path of love became more hidden and discrete, which it still is.


Maarten Schild

SUICIDE

Suicide is the voluntary termination of one’s own life, either to escape unbearable pain or humiliation, or because one’s toleration of grief or disappointment is exhausted. Both types of suicide are known in homosexuals. The constant need to hide and falsify one’s sexual identity, the burden of leading a double life, the gnawing fear of discovery and social ruin, if not actual prosecution, were motives enough for the homosexual to think of ending his own existence.

Earlier Data. In 1914 Magnus Hirschfeld claimed that of the ten thousand homosexual men and women whose case histories he had collected, no fewer than 75 percent had thought of suicide, 25 percent had attempted it, and 3 percent had actually taken their own lives. Similar figures, albeit more fragmentary, were reported by other investigators from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Hirschfeld frequently observed wounds left by suicidal attempts, such as knife wounds on the wrists or bullet wounds in the vicinity of the heart or the temples. Many homosexuals, he indicated, carried poison on them at all times so that they could end their lives on the spot if arrested or similarly compromised.

The chief cause of suicide in Hirschfeld’s time was threat of legal prosecution, double suicides of lovers were second in frequency, and blackmail was third. Other motives were family conflicts, depression over one’s homosexual orientation, grief at the loss of a lover, and the situation of being pressured by one’s family into a heterosexual marriage that entailed an impossible sexual role. Hirschfeld conceded that in many cases the threat was exaggerated and the situation not so hopeless as the homosexual subject imagined, and he did his best to console his patients and make them feel that their lot was at least bearable. However, in his propaganda for repeal of Paragraph 175 he laid great stress upon suicide as a consequence of the legal plight of the exclusive homosexual, and the theme became a usual one in subsequent homophile literature. Today it is seldom mentioned, even if suicides by AIDS patients have figured in
the history of that affliction in the gay male community.

The Present Situation. Eric E. Rofes, in his book of 1983, brings Hirschfeld's findings up to date. He mentions that of the respondents to the questionnaire analyzed in The Gay Report [1977], 40 percent of the men and 39 percent of the women stated that they had attempted or seriously considered suicide, and 53 percent of the men and 33 percent of the women who had considered or attempted suicide said that their sexual orientation was a causal factor. For many years there was a virtual convention that any novel with a homosexual character had to show him committing suicide, if not being murdered by one of his partners. Since the homosexual had sinned in the eyes of the world, his death was a fitting retribution.

Young homosexuals confronted with the trauma of the discovery that their sexual interests set them apart from others of their age and unable to find trustworthy or sympathetic counsel are especially prone to suicide. The late adolescent years, when one's sexual orientation forces its way into consciousness, despite the indoctrination for obligatory heterosexuality, are often a time of major crisis. The thought of being alienated from one's family and one's peers, of having to lead a perilous and uncertain existence to gratify one's sexual desires, even of loving someone who is totally unable to respond, creates unbearable tensions compounded by guilt and self-hatred.

Even gay activists are not exempt from feelings of alienation and isolation. Rofes recounts several case histories of activists who turned to the movement to resolve their personal conflicts but found these as intense as ever, while the radicalism which they encountered, if not in gay politics, then in the radical organizations that overlapped for a time with the Gay Liberation Front and similar groups, only intensified their sense of helpless rage at a society that inflicted so much suffering and injustice on its homosexual members. The ultimate resolution of the crisis was—suicide. Alcoholism and narcotics abuse can play a role in homosexual suicide, much as in the case of heterosexuals who have become dependent upon addicting substances. To combat such tendencies programs are needed specifically oriented toward the homosexual with problems of this kind, since a program that does not face the special situation of the individual who must cope with a homosexual orientation will often miss the crux of the dependency.

Prevention. Suicide prevention and suicide intervention are strategies for alleviating the distress associated with homosexuality. The first is the long-range planning that will decrease a population's risk for suicide, the second is the immediate counseling and other services that will deter a subject from taking his own life. The homosexual in need of psychological counsel must find a trained individual who is knowledgeable about his special problems and difficulties and not bent upon exacerbating them for religious or other reasons. Hotlines and crisis intervention agencies can be a good source of advice for gay people beset with suicidal tendencies; such services have developed in many parts of the country, though specifically homosexual-oriented ones are confined to urban areas and college towns.

More important in the long run is eliminating the ramifications of intolerance and discrimination that impose intolerable burdens upon the homosexual trying to lead his life within a society that is implacably hostile to his whole personality. Real as this burden is, the conventions of Christian morality until recently forced the subject to endure it in silence, or even to interpret it as his own moral failure that justified the hatred and contempt to which he was exposed. In demanding that society recognize the existence of gay people and the problems that their homosexuality engenders, the gay movement has taken a major step toward ending the
silence and the hypocrisy of the past—potent factors in isolating homosexuals and driving them to self-destruction.

Comparative Perspectives. Social attitudes toward suicide have varied greatly over the centuries. Severely condemned by Christianity, suicide has been in other cultures regarded as a heroic way of ending one's earthly existence, almost as a defiance of the fate that would have doomed the subject to prolonged unhappiness or physical pain. In circles such as the Japanese samurai, with a strongly homoerotic ethos, suicide could even be part of the warrior's code of honor, in particular when a page did not wish to survive the knight whom he had accompanied on the field of battle, or vice versa. Suicide might therefore also be reckoned for situations in which one of a pair of lovers has sought death in war or some especially dangerous mission with the implicit wish that his sacrificial act should reunite him with the other. Suicide missions undertaken for patriotic or ideological motives are the heroic and self-sacrificing facet of the subject, and one that fills the pages of history with deeds of glory.

The literature on suicide includes some classic sociological writings in which the topic of homosexuality never appears, but the invisibility of the motive to outsiders did not mean that it was inoperative. Of course, homosexuals could commit suicide for reasons wholly unrelated to their sexual orientation, just as could others overwhelmed by the difficulties and sorrows of life, or simply the desire not to be a burden to one's family and friends. Suicide is part of the tragedy and the heroism of human existence, and as a resolution of life's dilemmas it will remain a finale of the human condition chosen by homosexuals and heterosexuals alike.

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Warren Johansson

SULLIVAN, HARRY STACK (1892–1949)

American psychiatrist. Throughout his life Sullivan had to struggle with emotional problems in his relationships with other human beings, and these struggles in turn had a marked effect on the psychiatric concepts that he evolved. But for just this reason he was never detached from the problems of the patients he was studying.

Born in Norwich, a small town in upstate New York, to an Irish Catholic family, he had a shy, inept father who dwelt on the margin of his son's life, while his mother poured out on the boy all of her resentment at her unhappiness and low social status. Sullivan was a socially awkward boy who felt rejected and ostracized by other children. Scholastic excellence won him esteem, but it further isolated him from those around him. At the age of eight and a half he formed a close relationship with a boy some five years older who introduced him to sex. Neither Sullivan nor the older boy, who also became a psychiatrist, ever developed into heterosexuals. In 1908 he entered Cornell as an undergraduate, but in June of 1909 was suspended for failure in all academic subjects. He may have had a brief schizophrenic illness, but the result of this obscure episode was that he lost his scholarship and never thereafter attended any college. His lack of a college education handicapped him in later life.

In 1911 he entered the Chicago College of Medicine and Surgery, a diploma mill that was closed down some six years later as part of a campaign to raise the standards of American medicine. As a struggling medical student he lived in poverty, taking odd jobs in order to make ends meet. Only in 1922 did he enter psychiatry through an appointment to St.
Elizabeths, a large federal psychiatric hospital in Washington, D.C. There he learned psychiatry in a haphazard, inaccurate manner, more from contact with the patients themselves than from any book or teacher. He was greatly influenced, however, by Edward J. Kempf, who had written the classic paper on homosexual panic, named after him "Kempf’s disease." In early 1929 Sullivan organized at the Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital the special ward for treating schizophrenics where his success elevated him to the status of a prominent figure in American and then world psychiatry. His therapeutic method focused on fostering comfortable interpersonal relationships with these patients that would enable them to return from the psychotic world into which they had retreated.

Between 1929 and 1933 he composed a book, never published, that acknowledged his own homosexuality, and his belief that a prolonged period of active homosexuality in adolescence is necessary if a person is to have sound mental health in later life. This phase is moreover essential for the later development of heterosexuality, and may protect the individual from other psychiatric disorders. Presumably he had stumbled upon the positive aspect of Greek paiderasteia, though to the American society of his lifetime his views were totally unacceptable.

From 1931 to 1939 Sullivan practiced psychiatry privately in New York, and underwent psychoanalysis (300 hours in all) by Clara Thompson, who stopped the sessions because she was overawed by Sullivan’s intellect. He had ever less patience with colleagues who clung to Freudian concepts in preference to his own. He founded in 1938 the journal Psychiatry, and after much bitter quarrelling with the other editors made it a personal journal. He also elaborated his “interpersonal” theories to emphasize that society itself needed to change in order to create a healthy environment for its members. In 1947 his lecture series, Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry, was published in book form and sold essentially on the basis of word-of-mouth advertising. After 1942 he wrote little, but lectured and taught extensively, and after the war ended, he devoted much time to optimistic efforts at decreasing international tension and avoiding another war. He died in Paris on January 14, 1949.

Sullivan did not have a positive attitude toward adult homosexuality. He felt that the therapeutic task in treating a homosexual was to remove the deep-seated psychic barriers that kept him from genital contact with the opposite sex—a goal he himself seems not to have attained. With this irrational dread removed, the patient would no longer seek partners of his own sex but gravitate toward the opposite one. However, his concepts are useful for evaluating and solving the problems of social groups, since they were developed in the context of social settings and expressed in interpersonal terms. He stressed the removal of interpersonal barriers between hostile groups in order to make close, harmonious contact possible. His work therefore has implications not only for the reduction of ethnic conflicts and the gap between generations, but also for coping with the alienation and isolation of homosexuals in a society that has been taught for centuries to hate and fear them. So, however biased his thinking may have been by the tragic circumstances of his early life, he may yet have bequeathed a psychiatric legacy that can contribute toward the reintegration of the gay community into the environing society.


Warren Johansson

SWEDEN

The Scandinavian kingdom of Sweden lies in Northern Europe between Norway and Finland and contains over 8 million citizens, who enjoy one of the
highest standards of living in the world. Having adopted Christianity as its official religion in the twelfth century, Sweden participated in all the social and intellectual currents of Europe. For the earlier centuries of the country's history our information bears chiefly on the legal situation of same-sex conduct. Only after considerable struggle and educational progress was the country's present enviable state of social enlightenment attained.

Legal Developments. For a long period in its history, Sweden lacked any specific laws against same-sex relations. The all-Swedish law codes from 1350 and 1442 contained no prohibitions concerning sodomy between men (or women). Instead, the newly established Catholic Church exercised its moral (and economic) power through penitential and local statutes. The bishop of Skara, for instance, proclaimed in 1281 that "a person who sins against nature, must pay a fine of nine marks to the bishop."

Thus, "sodomy" between males was not officially a crime worthy of death (but a sin serious enough) when St. Bridget in a politically motivated attack accused King Magnus in 1361: "You have the most indecent reputation inside and outside this land that any Christian male can have, namely that you have had intercourse with men. This seems likely to us, because you love men more than God or your own soul or your own wife."

Despite such religious and political attacks on heretical sexual behavior, it was in fact not the Catholic Inquisition, but the Protestant Reformation that would impose severe punishment for sodomy between men in Sweden.

The Protestant King Erik XIV in 1563 made a list of crimes that had to be punished by death to avoid the "wrath of God" (which implied not earthquakes but "plagues, hunger, poverty and other troubles"). Among such crimes worthy of death were "bestiality with dumb animals and other such vices."

"Other such vices" were probably interpreted as sodomy between men. But the fact that no such cases were brought to trial in Stockholm until the seventeenth century seems to imply that this vague reference served more as a warning than as effective new legislation.

It was not until 1608, when the Swedish law code was published in a new version, that the climate became really severe. The old laws were not changed, but Charles IX added as an "appendix" to the 1608 lawbook a new list of crimes "abstracted from the Holy Scriptures." The appendix stated in section IV (on "fornication," and other like offenses): "Thou shalt not sleep with a boy as with a woman, for this is an abomination. And they both shall die, their blood be upon them." This text, echoing the prohibitions in Leviticus, was assumed to include sodomy between adult males.

It was, however, bestiality and not sodomy between men that mostly occupied the imagination of rural Swedish society. Extremely few court cases of sodomy between men are known. There is no evidence of a sodomitical subculture in Stockholm at this time, and official campaigns against "sodomites" are unknown.

On the female side, the courts had, as in other European countries, some difficulties with cross-dressing women, who supported themselves as soldiers and even married other women. The fact that the courts failed to see any "sodomitical" dangers in such same-sex marriages, but instead concentrated on marriage legislation and the religious crime of cross-dressing, shows that "homosexuality" as such was not yet the concern of the authorities. (Sodomy between women, according to Swedish courts, demanded some physical hermaphroditical peculiarity in the sex organs.) At the highest level, Queen Christina was involved with same-sex sentiments, if not acts.

From 1734 onwards, the official Swedish policy toward sodomy between

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males became one of total silence. The new law code of 1734 contained no such references at all, despite the fact that sodomy in the form of bestiality was still a crime worthy of death. The law commission stated that it was "not advisable to mention more sodomitical sins; it is instead better to keep silent as if they were not known, and if such a bad thing happens that they occur, let them be punished anyway."

This peculiarly lawless state of affairs seems to have led to a paradox: the scope of punishable sodomitical sins widened, and a few very unclear (and very secret) court cases with only one person involved may imply that also individual sins like masturbation from that point on were punished, if found out.

Very few death sentences for sodomitical acts between males are known from this "silent" period in Sweden. And in 1778 King Gustav III, the "enlightened" king who opposed capital punishment as such, issued a new order that all death sentences had to be confirmed by His Majesty. In practice this means that from 1778 on no executions for sexual crimes were carried out in Sweden.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Sweden lacked any laws directly applicable to sexual relations between males (or females), and under the impact of the French Revolution and Code Napoléon, an era of limited and conditional legal freedom for "sodomitical sinners" seems to have begun, and lasted until 1864 (the period is poorly researched, however). There are no traces of a "sodomitical" or "pederastic" subculture, despite this formal freedom. And even if the regime of Gustav III at the end of the eighteenth century, with its Hellenic-classisist ideals, directly or indirectly may have introduced the Greek term "pederasty" into Swedish language, the term surely had lost its Hellenist and poetic overtones by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The "radical" anti-Gustavian military coup in 1809, directed against the son of Gustav III, was followed by antipederastic gossip about the old regime. Such propagandistic gossip of course also discredited "pederasty" as such, referring it to the former sodomitical and "unnatural" context.

Sweden soon also followed the example of many of the German states, which about the middle of the nineteenth century re-introduced old or obsolete laws against "unnatural behavior" between males. A Swedish law commission in 1832 stated that even if bestiality was a disgusting crime, it was not as dangerous to society as "other unnatural ways of committing fornication, when committed between persons." In 1864 (at the same time as the Swedish parliament was reformed and democratized) a new law against "unnatural" behavior between persons was issued. The new law book stated in paragraph 18:10: "If anyone, with another person, engages in fornication against nature, or if anyone engages in fornication with an animal, he shall be punished with hard labor in prison up to two years."

Paragraph 18:10 was also applicable to relations between women, which however was not officially recognized until 1943, when a few women in a lesbian network were sentenced.

Emergence of Modernity. During the 1880s, when Stockholm (the capital) reached about 200,000 inhabitants, we have the first signs (police records) of a "sodomitical" subculture in parks and public places. At the same time there are on the cultural level expressions of an emerging homosexual identity. In 1879 the popular and highly respected Swedish philosopher, Pontus Wikner (1837–1888), secretly wrote a pamphlet, called "Psychological Confessions," which demands the right for people of the same sex to marry and to have sexual relations on the same terms as men and women.

Wikner unfortunately never published his pamphlet, but a famous lecture he held in Uppsala in 1880 about male and female "borderline people," "The Sacrifi-
cial System of Our Culture," was a subtle attack on sexual-religious hypocrisy and prescribed gender-roles, which caused some alarm in conservative circles.

The author and national poet Viktor Rydberg (1828–1895), who was a friend of Wikner, at the end of the nineteenth century also published poems and essays, where disguised homoerotic Hellenist ideals were brought to a newly formed mass audience of bourgeois readers (who mostly preferred not to understand his homoerotic hints). Vilhelm Ekelund (1880–1949), who was inspired by Count von Platen, wrote brilliant, if enigmatic, poems and essays.

The real "homosexualization" of Sweden does not begin until 1906, when a certain Paul Burger Diether, contact man for the German Scientific-Humanitarian Committee in Stockholm, announced a lecture on homosexuality with the title "The Revolution of the Twentieth Century." The lecture was treated as a public nuisance and was silenced. But the revolution was not to stop: a "scandal" in Stockholm in 1907, involving a well-known factory-owner and designer, Nils Santesson, gave broad circulation to the term "homosexuality," providing the homosexual cause with its first public martyr in Sweden.

Artists such as Eugen Jansson ("blue painting" and athletes), Gösta Adrian Nilsson ("GAN": modernistic and cubistic paintings of sailors and sportsmen), and Nils Dardel ("decadent" dandyism) also expressed hidden and open homoerotic sentiments during and after this period.

A sign of backlash was the book of Martin Koch in 1916, Guds vackra värld ("God's Beautiful World"), which was a crusade not only against social misery, but also against the "sodomites" who seduced, exploited, and corrupted the young.

In 1916, however, Mauritz Stiller and Axel Esbensen also produced the first film with a homoerotic theme, Vingarne ("The Wings"), based on the novel Mikael by the Dane Herman Bang (but having a Ganymede statue instead of a painting at the center of the plot). In 1919 the first Swedish sexology book devoted entirely to homosexuality was published by Dr. Antun Nyström, who was a friend of Magnus Hirschfeld.

During the twenties, a vivid discussion about homosexuality took place in the "yellow press" of Stockholm and Göteborg, and letters from homosexuals were published on page after page [with reprimands and corrections from the editors, of course].

Another phase of homosexual emancipation started in the thirties, when lawyers and doctors and radical philanthropic organizations, such as the National Federation for Sexual Enlightenment, demanded revision of the old paragraph 18:10 "in accordance with new scientific findings." The Swedish iron-mill worker Eric Thorsell at the same time returned from a study period at Hirschfeld’s Berlin Institute in 1932, and started a one-man movement against paragraph 18:10 with public lectures, newspaper articles, and the like.

The campaigns were successful. From 1944 homosexuality in private was declared legal in Sweden, with some discriminating clauses such as a higher age-limit (18 years instead of 15, in the case of prostitution, and 21 for dependent relationships).

Toward Today. In 1950, the first homosexual organization in Sweden was founded by the engineer Allan Hellman. At first it was a Swedish branch of the Danish/Scandinavian Federation of 1948, but soon became an organization in its own right, acquiring its present name RFSL (National Federation for Sexual Equality) in 1952.

The fifties, however, also meant a new wave of anti-homosexuality. In Sweden the gay baters were not right-wing but "radicals" and "anti-fascists." A labor newspaper and the author Vilhelm Moberg
played the role of McCarthy, accusing the authorities of being corrupted by “homosexual leagues.” The campaign was in practice an attack on all homosexuals (and on homosexuality as such). But the RFSL succeeded in strengthening itself in the struggle, and in presenting its goals and aims in the press during a difficult period.

The sixties were politically a silent era for the homosexual movement. But they also meant a consolidation of RFSL and the new indoor subculture: the cafés and small dance halls that had emerged during the fifties.

When gay liberation swept in from the West at the beginning of the seventies, gay life in Sweden was vitalized and radicalized. At the end of the seventies, the first sizable gay demonstrations in Stockholm were held, organized by RFSL. They grew from 400 people in 1977 to several thousand in the eighties. The Stockholm Gay Liberation Week held in August every year during the eighties became one of the biggest social and political gay events in Europe.

One of the achievements in the gay struggle during this period was setting the same age of consent, 15 years, as for heterosexual relations (1978). This followed on a statement from the Swedish Parliament in 1973 that “cohabitation between two parties of the same sex is from the standpoint of society a totally acceptable form of relationship.”

In 1987 Parliament passed two historic laws. The first forbids discrimination against homosexuals by authorities and private enterprises. The second grants homosexuals many of the same economic and legal privileges (and obligations) that unmarried heterosexual couples living together have in Sweden. Thus for the first time a positive homosexual status, homosexuell sambo (“homosexual cohabitant”), has been introduced into the Swedish language and Swedish society, after a struggle of more than a century.


Fredrik Silverstolpe

SYMonds, John Addington (1840–1893)

English scholar. John Addington Symonds was born into a prosperous London family; his father was a renowned physician and the young Symonds was educated at Harrow and at Oxford.

Symonds realized that he was homosexual at a very early age. Even as a child, he had vivid dreams of being in a room surrounded by naked sailors: odd dreams, since he had not seen a nude adult male, much less a nude sailor. According to his Memoirs, the central theme of Symonds’ life was his ongoing attempt to deal with what he felt to be an inborn propensity to love the male sex. His innate timidity and romanticism caused him to be disgusted by the abundant homosexual activity available to students at Harrow. This puzzling rejection (of what he was later to value most highly) culminated in his first adult action on the scene of the wide world: he accused the Harrow headmaster, Dr. Vaughan, of loving one of his pupils, and with the cooperation of his father, procured Vaughan’s removal from the headmastership and subsequent exile to obscurity. This malicious act caused several of his closest friends to cut him off for the rest of his life, and he was deeply troubled by the remembrance of it. What, after all, was the difference between him and Dr. Vaughan, except for Symonds’ vague feeling of spiritual superiority?

He had already, by this time, read Plato and become enthusiastic about the ideals of Greek pederasty; he was, indeed, in love with an English choirboy named Willie Dyer, with whom he twice exchanged kisses which he would remember to the end of his days. This passionate friendship was terminated on the advice of his father, who pointed out that Symonds
might be accused of the same "crime" as his recent victim, Dr. Vaughan.

In his twenties, again at the advice of his father, Symonds married, and eventually fathered four daughters. He never had any passion for his wife. Fortunately, she loathed sex and pregnancy, and soon they were living in separate parts of the house, while Symonds continued to pursue young men as soul mates.

Serious illness made Symonds incapable of any real career, so he turned to literature as an avocation. He pursued another schoolboy named Norman Moor in an ardent Platonic fashion, which eventually culminated in their spending six nights in bed together, nude and kissing, but without doing anything which would offend the laws of the time.

Several things happened in a short space of time, which decisively altered Symonds' life. His father died, he moved to Switzerland for the sake of his health, he had his first "base" homosexual interaction with a nineteen-year-old soldier, his literary output increased substantially, and his health improved. This would perhaps indicate that the beloved father was in fact an obstacle to Symonds' self-actualization.

In any case, he quickly got the knack of making close and passionate friends among the Swiss peasants and Italian gondoliers, and discovered that it was quite possible for two men to share their sexuality, in moderation, without being immediately damned and thrown into jail.

Symonds became one of the foremost men of letters of his time, famed for his reviews, essays, books of art history, and expositions of poetry. He became a cultural arbiter for the Victorian era, and also published several volumes of bad poetry.

Unknown to most of his contemporaries, however, Symonds was pursuing a second career. As he grew more accustomed to his own homosexuality and discovered Walt Whitman, he produced the pioneering essay A Problem in Greek Eth-

ics [1883], published in an edition of 10 copies. As he grew older and read the works of such pioneers as Kraft-Ebing, he realized that he was not alone and wrote the larger essay A Problem in Modern Ethics [1891], issued in 50 copies. He also began a collaboration with Havelock Ellis, which resulted in the publication of Sexual Inversion after Symonds' death. (The family made trouble about the book, and demanded that Symonds' name and life history be removed from the English edition.)

Symonds also committed his memoirs to a distant posterity. The sealed memoirs were handed to his literary executor, H. F. Brown, and were willed to the London Library by Brown on his demise in 1926, with instructions to withhold them from publication for fifty years. They finally appeared in 1984.

As Symonds' respectable Victorian persona retires into obscurity [he is mostly remembered for his enormous Renaissance in Italy], his fame as a homosexual theorist and apologist takes up the failing torch and secures for him a new and perhaps more lasting reputation. He has certainly been a major influence in the cause of social and legal reform, and, with the sad exception of Dr. Vaughan, a valuable ally for homosexual men everywhere.


SYMPOSIA

In ancient Greece, symposia were convivial meetings for drinking, conversation, and intellectual entertainment; they were all-male, upper-class drinking parties that beginning ca. 600 B.C. were held following the evening meal.

After pouring libations to the gods, the guests—usually ten or twelve—began to drink wine diluted with various amounts of water. Often garlanded and
perfumed, they reclined usually two together—often erastes (lover) and eromenos (beloved)—on couches propping themselves up on one arm while servants brought round the calyx, the common drinking cup filled with watered wine. Though some did not drink, others became riotous. Besides drinking and conversing, they told riddles and fables and sang drinking songs (often ribald and pederastic) and recited verses, whether archaic (the most popular being those of Theognis) or of recent composition. Athenaeus preserved a collection of scolia, as the drinking songs were known, from the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. Each sang in turn when he was passed the myrtle branch. Having wrestled nude with his boy in the gymnasion, a gentleman might recline with him in the evening on a couch at a symposium sipping wine together and exchanging glances and singing love songs. Flirtation was the rule, and sometimes kisses and embraces. Going farther in public with one another was considered indecorous, although young girl and boy slaves were often pinched and pummeled, and attending musicians, often slaves themselves, were available and often fondled and groped by intemperate guests, and hetairei (female companions) often attended. But ladies, after 600 B.C., were shut away in the gynaecae (women’s quarters), and children were formally excluded from these parties. They were held in the men’s chamber that each greater house possessed, often furnished with stone couches upon which pads and pillows were placed. One of the more popular games was kottabos (winethrowing) in which, reclining on their left elbows on the couches, the guests threw the last drops of wine from the calyx into a basin set in the middle of the room without spilling any.

In the seventh century, first at Crete, then at Sparta, lawgivers founded men’s houses (andreaia), where upper-class males milled together. The institution was imported to Athens and the rest of Greece after 600 B.C., along with gymnasia, pederasty, and the seclusion of women, but in Athens the eating clubs, often bound together by pederastic relationships, met only occasionally for dinner parties and symposia, many of which became very intellectual. Some ended in komoi, drinking processions revelling through the streets to serenade an eromenos outside his house. Heroes and others whom the state wished to honor, such as the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, were dined at public expense in the Prytaneum, but most upper-class men outside of Crete and Sparta, normally dined en famille. The symposia fulfilled the need of educated Greeks for relaxation and stimulation, as restaurants and night clubs did not exist. They could, however, also degenerate into drunken orgies that brought out the mutual hostility of the participants.

Plato, Xenophon, and many others set dialogues in symposia, which became a recognized literary form that allowed the author to ramble over his choice of barely related themes. Prominent in this genre is the Deipnosophistae of Athenaeus, who had a most artificial arrangement, with 40 guests and a three-day banquet. Vase paintings preserve a vivid picture of the proceedings at such affairs. Crude Roman imitations of the Greek banquets were satirized, more in literary form, by Petronius in the Cena Trimalchionis, the banquet episode of the Satyricon. Christian hostility to such centers of pederasty and intellectual analysis, as well as the loss of wealth and leisure beginning with the third century, led to their decline. In the late fourth century Libanius complained that at Antioch banquets had degenerated, citing an egregious case in which a father regularly prostituted his son.

A survival of the symposium is the Jewish Passover meal, where the guests are formally required to recline in the
manner of upper-class Greeks, proving that they are no longer slaves after being delivered from bondage in Egypt. Also, a ceremonial part of the meal is the *aphikoman*, from Hellenistic Greek *epicomon*, the final course of the banquet.

English colleges created their own, more sedate versions of the symposia. The common room and dining hall arrangements with sherry, port, and other wines, where a variety of opinions are expressed, parallel those of antiquity. Tutorials, though one-on-one, traditionally end with the quaffing of a glass of sherry.

*William A. Percy*

**SZYMANOWSKI, KAROL**

(1882–1937)

Polish composer. The son of Polish landed gentry, Szymanowski was born in Tymoszowka, in eastern Poland (now part of the Soviet Union). He began to play the piano and compose at an early age, and while at the Warsaw Conservatory quickly acquired a reputation as a composer of talent, and a follower of modern musical trends.

Szymanowski’s wide travels [he visited America in 1921] brought him into contact with many European artistic trends. This is reflected in his evolving and somewhat eclectic style, which moves from a Chopin-Scriabinesque early period, through a more Germanic chromaticism, to an impressionist period. His final compositions reflect Polish folk traditions and are more Bartokian in style.

Evidence of Szymanowski’s sexual preference is largely indirect but nonetheless telling. He remained unmarried, and once jokingly remarked that the only woman in his life was his mother. Correspondence with several close male friends is extant, although not published in its entirety [no similar correspondence with women exists]. Contemporaries of the composer make reference to his fondness for men. B. M. Maciejewski, in *Karol Szymanowski: His Life and Music* (London, 1967), states that it was common knowledge throughout European cultural circles that Szymanowski was homosexual. The Polish biographer Stefania Lobaczewska is more circumspect, stating only that Szymanowski was regarded in his youth as *zepsuty* [decadent, immoral] and that his music is marked by a strong erotic drive.

The most direct evidence is the composer’s two-volume novel, *Efebos*, written in 1917. It is described by the composer as an *apologia pro vita sua*. The hero of the novel is a divinely beautiful young man in whom are united physical and divine love. Unfortunately, all but the introduction to the novel was destroyed during the bombing of the Polish National Archives at the beginning of World War II. Contemporary accounts describe it as the composer’s theory of Greek love.

Szymanowski’s musical output spans the gamut from solo piano works [three sonatas, preludes, studies, mazurkas] to songs for voice, orchestral works, symphonies, concerti, ballets, and opera [King Roger, premiered in the United States only in 1988]. Szymanowski was director of the Warsaw Conservatory from 1927 to 1931, and was a strong advocate for contemporary music in prewar Poland. At his death, he was widely heralded as Poland’s greatest composer since Chopin.

*Peter Gach*