

rough-and-tumble sports. Such boys were found to be much more likely to become homosexual than a control group. This finding, though it has been supported by several other scholars, probably cannot be generalized, since a large proportion of adult homosexuals report no effeminacy in childhood, while others were without excessive difficulty able to suppress the traits, becoming masculine in appearance while still homosexual.

Correlations and Ulterior Motives. Whatever the etiology proposed by a given author, the political correlation has been fairly clear. With a bare handful of exceptions, those who believed in the genetic or constitutional determination of homosexuality have been supporters of gay rights, Conversely, many who upheld the theory of the neurotic or environmental origin of the condition (which they tended to regard as a "disease") have, historically, been antagonistic to the homophile movement. More recently, however, many anthropologists and sociologists, even if they profess that human behavior is by and large culturally rather than biologically conditioned, have expressed toleration for a plurality of lifestyles. The old school racked its brains to discover rationalizations for refusing to abolish the medieval laws, to recognize gay organizations, or to grant plaintiffs in court cases the rights which they sought. In not a few instances a kind of ideological shadow boxing occurs; those who insist upon the neurotic causes of homosexuality in reality think of it as depravity, while those who champion the genetic origin are obliquely dismissing the moral condemnation that derives from Christian theology with its absolute rejection of all "non-procreative" sexual activity.

Future Directions. A valid account of the causes of homosexual behavior must take account of the dialectic of sexual dimorphism. In so doing it must attempt a unified-field theory of sexual development that will account for the whole spectrum of orientation, including

shifts within a single individual's lifetime. Thus heterosexual behavior demands an explanation as much as homosexual conduct. Also, a distinction must be drawn between the macroevolutionary causes of homosexuality (Why do homosexual behavior and response occur in *homo sapiens*? Why does exclusive homosexuality occur?) and the microevolutionary causes (Why do homosexual response and behavior occur in a particular individual? Why is a given individual exclusively homosexual?). Not only must teleological conceptions of the "purpose" of sexuality be discarded in order to reach a scientific answer to the above questions, but the perspectives of different disciplines must be brought to bear to separate the phylogenetic from the ontogenetic (the species-wide phenomenon from the individual case history).

A solution to the question of causes will involve a rethinking and revision of the confusions introduced by the older concepts of etiology, fraught as they are with the insinuation that homosexual behavior is tainted with pathology. No progress can be made as long as research is hobbled with such an a priori judgment. The answer will also require integration of new scientific perspectives and findings which are still unfolding.

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ETRUSCANS

The Etruscans were the dominant people in central and northern Italy from the ninth to the second centuries B.C. Their civilization stood at its prime from the sixth to the third century B.C., but the language has not for the most part been

interpreted, so that our knowledge of them must rest at present on an examination of their art.

Most of what has been discovered is the contents and decorations of tombs. As the goods found in them show, the Etruscans had close cultural and commercial ties with the ancient Greeks. Indeed, Otto Brendel states that "Etruscan is a branch of the civilization which we call classical," going on to say that "it constitutes the only known case of a contemporary classical art apart from the Greek." The achievement of the Etruscans has been obscured by their conquerors, the Romans, whom they greatly influenced.

Etruscan civilization incorporated an unmistakable male homosexual element, readily seen in tomb frescoes, bronze sculptures, utensils, urns (*cistae*), and mirrors. This is not to say that Etruscan art does not celebrate heterosexuality (which it does); but rather that homosexual components are strongly present, as with both the Greeks and the Romans.

The earliest homosexual image appears on the fresco of the rear wall of the so-called Tomb of the Bulls at Tarquinia (one of the earliest tombs excavated to date, from ca. 540 B.C.), showing what is almost certainly one man anally penetrating another who has horns and who is, in turn, being charged by a bull. The iconography of this tomb has not been satisfactorily interpreted but it may have religious connotations. **Symposium** scenes were popular in the fifth century; they frequently featured naked and semi-naked male dancers and musicians in an all-male setting and bring to mind similar contemporary scenes on Greek vases, which have been found massively in Etruscan graves.

Bronze sculptures celebrating the **nude** male body inaugurated an Italian sculptural tradition which continues to the present day. These statues show close links with Etruscan terracotta sculptures and with Greek sculpture. Naked males frequently appear on Etruscan candelabras and incense burners in the form of satyrs or

sportsmen. They become an elaborate motif on the handles of the lids of *cistae* dating from the early fourth century B.C.; these were apparently toilet boxes and were buried with the owner. Some of the earliest examples feature two clothed warriors carrying a dead warrior (also wearing clothes); but later all three figures are naked. By the late third century they become even more openly homoerotic—as on a *cista* in the Museo Archeologico, Palestrina, which shows **Dionysus** and a satyr.

The sides of *cistae* were frequently engraved with scenes from Greek mythology. The Chrysispos *cista* (ca. 350 B.C.; Villa Giulia, Rome) features the homosexual abduction of Chrysispos by Laios. The largest and finest *cista*, the so-called Ficorini *Cista* (ca. 400 B.C.; Villa Giulia), signed Novios Plautus in Latin, is virtually a symphony to the nude male body showing it in seventeen separate poses (two other figures are clothed). One naked figure, with his back to us and one arm tantalizingly covering his anus, puts his arm around the neck of another unconcealed male, who wears only a helmet and gazes longingly at him. Another, by contrast, offers his backside to the viewer: a pose which was to be repeated in frescoes in Pompeii and later in oil paintings from the **Renaissance** on and was to become a classic motif suggesting homosexuality. The eroticism of this *cista* suggests that the artist was homosexual.

Engravings behind Etruscan bronze mirrors also celebrate the male body in homoerotic terms. Some, such as a mirror displaying Hercules and Atlas (ca. 460 B.C.), are little more than an excuse for depicting the naked male body. In another mirror, a naked youth reaches up to kiss a rather mannish woman while another gazes longingly at the youth's body (ca. 450 B.C.); while such a mirror may have been used by a woman, its underlying male homoeroticism is undeniable. Some bronze mirrors were cast in relief: one late-fifth-century example depicts the homo-

sexual abduction of Cephalos by Eos; another, one of the most tantalizing objects in Etruscan art, depicts two naked winged males, one of whom holds what is apparently a dildo, flanking a naked frontal youth.

The largest collection of Etruscan art adorns the Villa Giulia in Rome, a museum entirely devoted to artefacts of this ancient people. The monograph of Otto G. Brendel discusses the major surviving objects.

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ETYMOLOGY

The discipline of etymology seeks to explain the origin of words, whether they are inherited from a reconstructed parent language, borrowed from a known foreign tongue, or simply invented in historic time. The etymologist examines the earliest attestations of a word, variations in its form, explanatory glosses or comments in early texts, parallels in other languages, and terms derived from the same root or related in meaning to ascertain what was the source of the word. A secondary matter is the history of a word or word family, the changes in meaning or frequency of use over centuries or even millennia, and the role which a particular term may play in the political or cultural life of the speech community to which it belongs, or in the case of international terms, even of the entire world.

The word *lesbian*, for example, serves in all the modern languages of Europe to designate a woman erotically attracted to her own sex; it is derived from the Greek island of Lesbos, where the poetess Sappho lived in the sixth century before our era. *Sodomite*, the term used in medieval Europe for the sinner guilty of unnatural vice, comes from the city of Sodom, which according to Genesis 19 was destroyed by a rain of brimstone and

fire on account of the depravity of its inhabitants. *Bugger*, a word attested in English beginning with the law of Henry VIII in 1533, stems from the Old French *bougre*, "heretic", then "sodomite" and even "usurer," which in turn came from Medieval Latin *Bulgarus*—the name of the Slavic people who called themselves *bŭlgarinŭ*—because their land was a center of the Bogomil heresy akin to the Catharism of Southern France. *Tribade*, the older word for "lesbian" in European languages, came from the Classical Greek *tribein* "to rub," hence tribades were women who obtained erotic satisfaction by friction against each other's bodies. *Homosexual*, by contrast, is a modern term invented by the German-Hungarian translator and bibliographer Károly Mária Kertbeny in 1869 from the Greek *homo*, "same," and Medieval Latin *sexualis*, "sexual," on the model of French *unisexual* and *bisexual* which had been introduced as terms of botany in the 1790s. *Pederast*, a word whose meaning differs from language to language in modern times, is the Classical Greek *paiderastes* which unambiguously denoted "boy-lover."

An ancient doctrine, now discarded, maintained that similarities in the form of words are not accidental, but offer a key to understanding. Thus Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636) referred the Latin name of the kite, *milvus*, to *mollis*, "soft, effeminate," attesting to the supposed homosexual proclivities of the bird. The search for such links probably stems from a quasi-magical world view, in which knowledge of the true meanings of words gives the privileged knower control over things.

Such associative techniques, resting on foundations as old as Plato's dialogue *Cratylus*, are not unlike folk etymologies, which stem from the effort of naive and uneducated speakers to explain unfamiliar terms by relating them to the lexical core of a language. At times these folk etymologies can lead to the deformation of a word in popular speech which ultimately