

appointment that awaits the boy himself when age overtakes him; and fear of the loss of the boy's affection, expressed in the mythological guise of Zeus' abduction of Ganymede.

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

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

Conclusion. If we include its prolongation into the Roman period, the

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

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GREECE, MODERN

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

History. The modern Greeks derived their sexual mores, like their music, cuisine, and dress, from their overlords the Turks rather than from ancient Greece. During the long Ottoman domination from the fall of Byzantium in 1453 to 1821 and in Macedonia and Crete until 1911, and in Anatolia and Cyprus even today, the descendants of the Byzantines who did not convert to Islam preserved their language and religion. Orthodox bishops were given

wide political authority over their flocks whom they helped the Turks fleece. The black (monastic) clergy were forbidden to marry, and they were often inclined to homosexuality. Greeks, like Armenians, often rose in the hierarchy at the Sublime Porte, sometimes as eunuchs. Also they served as Janissaries in the Ottoman regiments which were taught to revere the Sultan as their father, the regiment as their family, and the barracks as their home. Forbidden to marry, they engaged in sodomy, particularly pederasty, and in such Ottoman vices as opium and bribery. Along with the Armenians, Greeks became the chief merchants of the Empire, especially dominating the relatively backward Balkan provinces where they congregated in the cities and towns as Jews did in the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth.

After being inspired by the French Revolution and Napoleon, Greek nationalists sought to revive their ancient traditions. The war for independence, in which Lord Byron died fighting, began in 1821 and triumphed in 1829 with much support from Hellenophiles in Western Europe inspired originally by J. J. Winckelmann. The German art historian was murdered in Trieste while waiting for a ship to carry him to Venice on his return to Rome; he never reached Greece itself as he wished.

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

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

Homosexuality over the age of seventeen is not criminal in Greece, but public disapproval is sometimes expressed.

The socialist government headed by Andreas Papandreou engaged in some harassment of meeting places and organizations during the 1980s. Apart from Athens, gay tourists flock to Mykonos, while the island of Mytilene, home of Sappho, understandably attracts lesbians. Three gay magazines have been active: *Bananas* (now defunct), *Amphi* (1978-), and *To Kraksimo* (1984-), while the literary review *Odos Panos*, though not strictly gay, often publishes works of a homophile nature.

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

Literary Achievements. As in ancient Greek literature, homosexual themes figure prominently in the work of several twentieth-century writers. With his special linguistic gifts and his interest in both ancient and modern reality, the poet Constantine P. Cavafy (1863-1933), considerably influenced modern Greek verse. His specifically homoerotic themes have inspired such contemporaries as Dinos Christianopoulos. Born in 1931 in Salonika, Christianopoulos was abandoned by his parents at the age of one and a half, then adopted. In 1945 the poet began to use the pseudonym "Christianopoulos," which suggests "son of a Christian" or "little Christian." He studied literature at Aristotle University in Salonika, receiving his degree in 1954. In 1958 he founded the literary review *Diagonal* and in 1962 opened his own publishing firm under the same name. In his earliest poems, he began dealing with what was to become his major theme: homosexual love. His first collection, *Season of the Lean Cows* (1950), includes several historical poems in the Cavafy mode. The juxtaposition of situations and details from diverse periods and sensuality in conflict with Christian faith reveals T. S. Eliot's influence. In *Knees of Strangers* (1954), *Defenseless Craving*

(1960), *Suburbs* (1969), and *The Cross-Eyed* (written between 1949 and 1970), Christianopoulos discards historical settings for *erotika piimata*, "erotic poems" or "love poems," which, although similar to Cavafy's in their directness and simplicity, being void of metaphor, move beyond them in their even greater boldness and contemporaneity. The poems commemorate emotions, corporal sensations, rendezvous, chance encounters, nights spent searching for love in city parks, evenings spent in a lover's embrace far beyond the city limits. In 1960 Christianopoulos began writing what he calls *mikra piimata*, "short poems," cryptic epigrams based on puns and psychological paradoxes. In his later work the poet deplors the influence of the American and European gay movement entailing the evanescence of the strict Middle Eastern division of roles into "active" and "passive." His previous collections of verse are now published in one large volume, *Poems* (1985), which is regularly updated and reprinted.

Andreas Angelakis (born 1940) has written a series of poems based on the life of Cavafy (*Cavafy on the Way*, 1984), several homosexual plays, and compiled and translated an anthology of American gay poetry (1982), the first such to appear in Greece. Also influenced by Cavafy, the poet Yiannis Ritsos (born 1909) in the several volumes of his fictionalized autobiography, *Iconostasis of Anonymous Saints*, has written more frankly of his own homosexuality than he had earlier. An early poet who wrote explicitly homoerotic poetry was Napoleon Lapathiotis; more discreet was Mitsos Papanikolaou. Two contemporaries are Loukas Theodorakopoulos and Yiorghos Khronas.

Kostas Taksis' (1927–1988) novel *The Third Wedding Crown* (1963), now considered a classic of twentieth-century fiction, and a few stories in the collection *The Leftover Chance* (1972) deal in particular (though as minor themes) with homosexual incest and transvestism. First shocked by the divorce of his parents and

moved by his mother from Salonika to Athens where he was raised by a half-crazed grandmother, then settling by accident into a building inhabited by female prostitutes, he took some of their customers for himself. Influenced by Rimbaud, he won recognition in Greece after his works were translated into French and English. He was found strangled to death on his bed in Athens. Taksis discussed homosexuality in a long interview included in his *My Grandmother Athens and Other Texts* (1979).

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

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

Such writers depict traditional Greek (or Middle Eastern) or **Mediterranean homosexuality** in terms of strict role opposition: "active" counterposed to "passive" partners, as well as each writer's views on the coming to contemporary Greece of "European" homosexual mores—the "Gay Movement"—in which sexual roles are not so strictly defined, because "identity" has taken the foreground. Greek readers by no means con-

sider the work of many of these writers, some of whom were or are major figures in Greek literature, to exemplify a specific literary genre designated "homosexual" or "gay" literature (though the more explicit work of certain contemporary writers may modify this situation). Whether eros is depicted in its homosexual or its heterosexual manifestation is secondary in importance to the literary power with which it is depicted.

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GREEK ANTHOLOGY

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

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