ANCIENT NEAR EAST AND EGYPT

(Egyptian Protestation of Guiltlessness), p. 181 (Middle Assyrian Laws), and p. 196 (Hittite Laws: father-son incest is a capital offense).


455. RIEFSTAHL, ELIZABETH. "An Enigmatic Faience Figure," in: Miscellanea Wilbourianae (Brooklyn Museum), vol. 1, p. 137ff. An ithyphallic figurine found in a tomb at Lisht is cautiously interpreted as a catamite for the enjoyment of the deceased.

456. THORBJORNSRUD, BERIT. "What Can the Gilgamesh Myth Tell Us about Religion and the View of Humanity in Mesopotamia?" Temenos, 19 (1983), 112–37. Interprets the relationship of Gilgamesh and Enkidu as a homosexual friendship that entails the rejection of Ishtar, the female principle. Much later, the Assyrians prohibited male homosexuality and abolished the cult prostitution connected with the shrines of Ishtar.


C. GREECE AND ROME

Interest in Greek and Roman homosexuality as a subject begins with the Renaissance, as part of the learned enterprise of humanistic philology, which provided "cover" for the exploration of pederastic themes. In the 18th century, neoclassicism sparked a new wave of interest, as seen in the career of J. J. Winckelmann, who is often regarded as the first modern art historian. With new critical methods and the beginnings of field archaeology, the 19th century revolutionized the study of the ancient past. Classical philology played an important part in the
formation of the ideas of such homosexual scholars as J. A. Symonds and K. H. Ulrichs. Since about 1965 there has been a fresh wave of classical scholarship throwing light on (homo)sexuality by profiting from the removal of taboos. See also Ancient Art (VI.B), for the important subject of vase painting, a medium that also yields social and historical data. For ancient medicine, see XXIII.D. The classical sources themselves, which exist in many editions, are not listed here as such; see the bibliographies in the monographs of K. J. Dover (491), F. Buffière (477), and S. Lilja (536), as well as the Personal Names Index.


460. ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, HENRI D.' La famille cel- tique. Paris: Bouillon, 1905. 221 pp. The appendix (pp. 187-199) treats the question: were the ancient Celts homosexual?


462. BAIRD, LORRAYNE Y. "Priapus gallinaceus: The Role of the Cock in Fertility and Eroticism in Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages," Studies in Iconography, 7-8 (1981-82), 81-111. Extensively documented study on the erotic connotations of the rooster. "In ancient Greece and surrounding areas, the most common erotic association of the cock ... seems to have been with homosexual affairs."


464. BERNAY, JÉRÔME. "Folies romaines: les homosexuels dans l'oeuvre de Juvenal," Arcadie, no. 259-60 (July-August 1975), 356-64. Characters in the poet's satires. See also his: "La
465. BETHE, ERICH. "Die dorische Knabenliebe: ihre Ethik und ihre Idee," Rheinisches Museum, 62 (1907), 438-75. This influential study by a noted philologist offers an imaginative reconstruction of the dynamics of the relation between the male lover and his beloved in ancient Greece. Yet Bethe's attribution of the origins of the Greek institution of pederasty to the Dorian influx has been weakened by recent criticisms by Sir Kenneth Dover. The paper was reissued in 1983 in Berlin (Verlag Rosa Winkel) as an independent brochure (48 pp.), with an introduction by Wolfram Setz.

466. BEYER, RUDOLF. Fabulae graecae quaternus quae aetate puerorum amore commutatae sint. Weida, Thuringia: Thomas und Hubert, 1910. 77 pp. This published dissertation in Latin is an important source for Greek myths of affairs between gods and their beloved boys.


473. BRISSON, LUC. "Aspects politiques de la bisexual-

On a legend found in Phlegon of Tralles and Proclus concerning the birth of an androgynous monster. See also his: Le mythe de Tirésias (Leiden: Brill, 1976; 189 pp.).


Sex and love in the epigrams of Martial.


The period of the triumph of the Theban Band, whose homosexual character is regrettably scanted by Buckler.


Monumental survey of Greek homosexuality, including its prolongation into Hellenistic and Roman times, with numerous textual analyses and translations. Sometimes uncritical. Note esp. the full index of ancient authors (pp. 660-71).

478. Burnett, Anne Pippin. "Desire and Memory (Sappho frag. 94)." Classical Philology, 74 (1979), 16-27.

On the poet's poignant lyric of parting. In general, see Jeffrey Duban, Ancient and Modern Images of Sappho (Lanham, MD: Classical Association of the Atlantic States/University Press of America, 1983; Classical World Special Series, 2).


See vol. 2 esp. for evidence from Alcman's poems on lesbian aspects of girls' initiation rites in early Greece.


Useful, but somewhat inconclusive review of the evidence.


Useful study of the Roman playwright's most homosexual work.

Detailed study of a kind of male-male marriage under religious auspices, citing not only Juvenal but many other Latin authors.

The most detailed commentary on the Roman poet's text. See satirae 2, 7, and 9; also 5:56-62; 6:33-37; 11:145-98; and 15: 135-37. See also J. Gerard, Juvenal et la réalite contemporaine (Paris, 1956).

485. CROMPTON, LOUIS. "What Do You Say to Someone Who Claims that Homosexuality Caused the Fall of Greece and Rome?" Christopher Street (March 1978), 49-52.
Useful concise demolition of such myths.

Magico-religious elements in Greek pederasty.

A standard work on the varied aspects of the hermaphrodite myth in Greco-Roman times. See also her complementary work, stressing archaeology and art: Hermaphrodités: recherches sur l'être double promoteur de la fertilité dans le monde classique (Brussels: Latomus/Revue d'Etudes Latines, 1966; 76 pp.).

Curious period document introducing the term "philopede"
derived from Greek philopair.


Includes a concise account of pederasty in the gymnasium, and of Christian objections thereto. See also Delorme's book: Gymnasion: Etude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1960; 530 pp.).

490. DEVEREUX, GEORGE. "Greek Pseudo-homosexuality and the 'Greek Miracle.'" Symbolae Osloenses, 42 (1967), 69-92.


An attempt to correct the traditional overintellectualized picture of Greek attitudes, including those pertaining to sex, by retrieving the views of the man and woman in the street.


Revising an interpretation of Jacques Derrida, seeks to show that Plato appropriated maternity to the male philosopher. See also: Dorothea Wender, "Plato: Misogynist, Paedophile, and Feminist," Arethusa, 6 (1973), 75-90.

494. DUGAS, LUDOVIC. L'amitié antique d'après les
moeurs populaires et les theories des philosophes.
Reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1976. In this comprehensive work concerning ancient ideas of friendship, see esp. "L'amour grec" (pp. 94-104), on pederasty. A more recent synthesis is Jean Fraisse, Philia: la notion d'amitié dans la philosophie antique (Paris: J. Vrin, 1974; 504 pp.).


496. DYOIR, EUGÈNE. "Dialogues sur l'amour." Arcadie, no. 67-68 (July-August 1959), 397-405.

Granting that in young Romans the expression of homosexual impulses was stimulated by the school, the gymasia and the army, Eyben tends to overstate negative attitudes (see esp. pp. 197, 475-79). There is a 29-page English summary.

Claims (unconvincingly) that the love names on Greek vases are in honor of deceased youths; useful appendix of texts, pp. 158-79.

Essays on the archaic Greek poet and the associated corpus (the Theognidea). See esp. Daniel B. Levine, "Symposium and the Polis" (pp. 176-96), John M. Lewis, "Eros and the Polis in Theognis Book II (197-222), and Walter Donian, "Pistos Philos Hetairos" (223-45).

500. FINLEY, MOSES I. The World of Odysseus. Second


514. HERMANN, ALFRED. "Antinous infelix: Zur Typologie

Early Christian transformations of the image of Hadrian’s favorite Antinous into that of an "unsaint," a demonic counter-figure to the Christian saint.


Important learned article on effeminacy and androgyny in Greco-Roman and early Christian civilization, and the explicit condemnation of the effeminate "lifestyle" by the Church.


Stresses the centrality of the Greek family in relation to the acceptance of homosexual behavior.


518. HUBERT, CURT. *De Plutarchi amatoria.* Kirchhain: Max Schmersow, 1903. 98 pp.

Philological commentary on the essay on love attributed to Plutarch.


Valuable concise lexicon of Greco-Roman mythology, providing not only the essentials of the myths and their sources, but also lists of later works using them as themes. See entries for Ganymedes, Hyakinthos, Hylas, etc.


On fellation from evidence in literary works and graffiti.

522. KEULS, EVA C. *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual
Argues that there is a close bond between the Athenian fixation on the phallus and the exploitative domination of women and slaves, on the one hand, and ruthless imperial aggression, on the other. Overstated and sometimes inaccurate, as when it claims that pederasty involved prepubertal boys.

A somewhat routine compilation, but occasionally quite useful. Translated by Gilbert and Helen Higet from Kiefer's Kulturgeschichte Roms (1933).

Seeks to relate the ancient Greeks to today's sociosexual movements.

A pioneering investigation (1786), using archaeological and literary evidence. In this edition Knight's work—originally titled A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus—is followed by Thomas Wright's The Worship of the Generative Powers (1866).

Review of sources on male prostitution in ancient Greece and Rome, arguing that the boundaries between ordinary relations and prostitution are fluid. See also his: "Fellatio und irrumatio," ibid., 29 (1980), 77-88; and "Masturbation in der Antike," ibid., 28 (1979), 159-78.

527. KROLL, WILHELM. Freundschaft und Knabenliebe. Munich: Ernst Heimeran, 1927. 39 pp. (Tusculum-Schriften, 4)

Sensitive retelling of the most famous homoerotic love affair in antiquity. A more explicitly fictionalized version is Marguerite Yourcenar's celebrated Hadrian's Memoirs (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1954; 313 pp.).
Somewhat rambling essay on ancient Greek Eros as god and concept; for pederasty, see p. 78ff.

Seeks to downplay the physical side of Greek homeroticism.

Collected essays on (homo)eroticism by the greatest scholar of the subject of his time (1875-1929).


Critical-biographical study of Sappho that utterly fails to deal with the evidence for her lesbianism.

Several times reprinted, including New York: Barnes and Noble, 1953. This encyclopedic work, a landmark in its time, has not entirely been replaced by the recent contributions of D. Dover and F. Buffière. There are some minor cuts from the original German text, whose sumptuous plate volume (now rare) was not retained: *Sitten- und Geschichtliche Griechenlands* (Dresden, 1923-28, 3 vols., with some 500 plates).
536. LIDA TARAN, SONYA. "Eisi triches: An Erotic Motif in the Greek Anthology," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 105 (1985), 90-107. Discusses the theme of transitoriness in the pederastic poems of Book XII, as exemplified by the motif to the growth of hair, which marks the end of the short span of sexual attractiveness.


539. MACMULLEN, RAMSAY. "Roman Attitudes to Greek Love," *Historia*, 31 (1982), 484-502. Reviews some negative attitudes toward homosexuality found in Roman sources.


541. MARROU, HENRI-IRENEE. *A History of Education in Antiquity*. Translated by George Lamb. New York: New American Library, 1956. 600 pp. In Chapter 3, "Pederasty in Classical Education" (pp.50-62), the noted French scholar points out that Greek homosexuality was associated not only with military comradeship, but also with idealized pedagogy. The English translation has been criticized, and it is preferable to use the original: *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1948).


Lesbian insights.


548. PATZER, HARALD. *Die griechische Knabenliebe*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982. 131 pp. (Sitzungsberichte der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main) Rambling, sometimes obtuse reflections on some modern works on Greek pederasty, concluding that there were two successive types, the Dorian and the classic, and that in each the sexual element was secondary. See critical remarks by Detlev Feiling, *Gaomon*, 57 (1985), 116-20.

549. PETERS, E. BROOKS. "Freud's Blind Spot," *Christopher Street*, 7:5 (June 1983), 38-42. On Oedipus' homosexual father Laius, and the occultation of his character in Freud's theory. See also G. Devereux, above.

550. POGEY-CASTRIES, L. R. DE. (pseud. of Georges Herelle). *Histoire de l'amour grec dans l'antiquité*. Paris: Stendhal, 1930. 316 pp. This book, which has been several times reprinted, is a revised and enlarged version of a comprehensive German article by M. H. E. Meier in *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Kunste*, 9 (1837), 149-88. Though dated and sometimes inaccurate, this book is still useful for aspects not covered by other authors. The unpublished papers of Herelle, which contain drafts for a supplementary volume, are preserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Troyes.

Despite a mild psychoanalytic bias, useful as a refutation of the common scholarly view that Petronius' masterwork is essentially a parody of the heterosexual love romance tradition. See also Cecil Wooten, "Petronius and 'Camp,'" Helios, N.S., 11 (1984), 133-39.


553. ROSENBAUM, JULIUS. The Plague of Lust. Paris: Charles Carrington, 1898. 2 vols. This work, an anonymous translation from the German Geschichte der Lustseuche im Alterthume (1839 and successive editions), has been several times reprinted. The treatment of the "feminine disease" of the Scythians (vol 1, pp. 143-256) is still worth consulting, as well as the discussion of other aspects of Greek homosexuality.


556. SHACKLETON-BAILEY, D. R. Profile of Horace. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982. 142 pp. Refutes the claim of Gordon Williams and others that the Roman poet's homoerotic references are a mere "literary exercise."


559. STIGERS, EVA. "Sappho's Private World," Women's Studies, 8 (1981), 47-63. Argues that Sappho's poetry is "fundamentally different from that of the male lyric poets."

560. SYMONDS, JOHN ADDINGTON. A Problem in Greek Ethics. London: n. p., 1901. 73 pp. Only 100 copies of this first edition were printed for private circulation; the text has been several times reprinted, sometimes in truncated form. See now the anthology of Symonds' work edited by John Lauritsen, Male Love (New York: Pagan Press, 1983). The noted scholar's discrete but forceful defense of the ideals of Greek homosexuality is a landmark in the English-language discussion of the subject.


564. UNGARETTI, JOHN. "Pederasty, Heroism, and the Family in Classical Greece," JH, 3 (1978), 291-300. Argues that the concept of the ideal warrior documented from Homer onwards is essential to the understanding of homosexual relations in Greece.


Holds that more than any other institution, slavery places its stamp on male homosexual relations in ancient Rome.


568. WILHELM, FRIEDRICH. "Zu Achilles Tatius," Rheinisches Museum, N.S. 57 (1902), 55-75. A still useful article on the sources of the Greek genre of debating the worth of the two genders as sexual objects.


570. WISEMAN, T. P. Catullus and His World: A Reappraisal. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. 305 pp. Although discussion of Catullus' homosexual poems forms only a small portion of the text, this book is useful for understanding Roman sexuality as a whole. See also: Brian Arkins, Sexuality in Catullus (Hildesheim: Altartumwis- senschaftliche Texte und Studien [8], 1982); and the commentary of John Ferguson, Catullus (Lawrence, KN: Coronado Press, 1985).

D. MIDDLE AGES

Until recently the subject of homosexuality in this period was neglected. Perceiving a parallel to the witch craze, lay persons tended to view medieval homophobia as a vast, but undifferentiated rage for persecution of homosexuals, or simply as a subject about which little was known (the "Dark Ages"). Recently, considerably more data have become available, in large part funneled through the controversy surrounding John Boswell's book (578). These studies emphasize the Mediterranean heritage to which most of the evidence pertains, yet Scandinavian sources also disclose an important but independent tradition. Homosexuality in Byzantium and the Slavic middle ages has scarcely begun to be explored. See also "Religion," VII.Bff.


572. BARBER, MALCOLM. The Trial of the Templars. Cam-
Concluding that the charges of sodomy made against the Templar Order in 1308 are unproven, exposes antihomosexual prejudice in late-medieval politics.

In this collection of vernacular sermons by the fifteenth-century monk, there are two vituperative ones against sodomy: predica 35 (pp. 795-797) and predica 39 (pp. 893-919). Other references occur in his Latin works (e.g., sermons 11 and 15, in: Opera omnia, Florence, 1950).

The early medieval penitentials, or confessional formularies, are an important source for attitudes towards sodomy and sexual variation in general. This edition tends somewhat to obscure the matter; see P. J. Payer, below.

Traces the history of prejudice against homosexuals from early German times, marshalling an abundance of documentary evidence. May overstate the Germanic contribution to antihomosexual sentiment.

Analyzes a Low German text showing the existence of a sodomite subculture in late 15th-century Cologne.

Example of a genre of medieval literature evoking marvels and monsters; this specimen begins with a description of a homosexual.

An ambitious, erudite, and much-acclaimed treatment of: the meaning and exegetical destiny of the main Biblical proof-texts (controversial); the Roman heritage; the sexual lore of the hare, the hyena, and the weasel; continuity of themes of passionate friendship and boy-love in Christian writers; the concept of Nature as sexual norm; and the putative social causes of toleration and repression of homosexual behavior. For criticism see