

of demarcation that had so impressed the European forensic psychiatrists. The Kinsey "rainbow" has had considerable influence on the academic discussion of homosexuality, but comparatively little impact on the popular mind.

Conclusion. The intricacies of the formation of the concept of homosexuality illustrate the general principle in intellectual history that key ideas are not forged through a simple conjunction taking place at a single moment in history. That moment represents at most a phase of crystalization, not of creation *ex novo*. Moreover, concepts are not simply the product of an impartial evaluation of data, but rather take shape in human minds already equipped with semantic grids. As Blaise Pascal observed, "Chance smiles only on minds that are prepared." In the realm of thinking about sexuality the theories are almost inevitably contaminated with ideology, the strivings of interested parties, and the wish to preserve an existing value system or replace it with a new one. The world still awaits a conceptual system that overcomes the serious flaws of the one inherited from the nineteenth century.

See also Typology.

Warren Johansson

HOMOSOCIALITY

A neutral term, homosociality designates the patterns and relationships arising from gender-specific gatherings of all sorts. When men or women participate affectively in homosocial situations, one may speak also of male bonding and female bonding.

Basic Features. In the field of lesbian and gay studies, homosociality has become a methodological tool. In 1975 Carroll Smith-Rosenberg ("The Female World of Love and Ritual," *Signs*, 1 [1975]), and then Michel Foucault (interview in *Masques* [13], Spring 1982), outlined the concept of homosociality as a way of broadening the terrain of gay and lesbian stud-

ies. At the international conference "Among Men, Among Women" (Amsterdam 1983) it was stated thus: [With the concept of homosocial arrangements] "we hope to achieve several results at the same time. In the first instance, it can be illuminating to relate sexual relations between members of the same sex to other forms of homosociality, instead of continuing to compare them with sexual relations between men and women. Secondly, it can be a methodological improvement to use the notion of the 'recognitions of masculine and feminine relations' and avoid falling back on the stereotyped notion of 'homosexuality.' Our attempt here is to open perspectives on the enormous diversity in (and types of) masculine and feminine relations which have developed in the past 200 years alone. Thirdly, the study of the relations between members of the same sex can contribute to historical and sociological theory on the development of homosexual arrangements in particular, and homosocial arrangements and their relation to heterosocial arrangements in general."

Homosociality can exist at three levels. First, one finds it at the level of societies, e.g., when social life is sex-segregated with men operating in public and women in private spheres. In this sense, Western society of some centuries ago and many non-Western societies today can be described as strongly homosocial. Secondly, homosociality can exist at the level of institutions—the military, prisons, monasteries, merchant marine (*see Seafaring*), schools, athletic teams and clubs, scouting. Formerly most public bodies in western countries were organized along homosocial lines (law, politics, industry). Thirdly, personal relations can be homosocial, as in friendships, circles, or cliques.

Female Homosociality. The second and third forms have been thoroughly examined in lesbian and women's studies, because of the general interest in the separate spheres of women outside the realm of male dominance, and also because of the

difficulty of finding explicit sexual material with regard to lesbianism. So, female bonding as the affective participation of women in separate spheres has become an important object of research (Smith-Rosenberg, Martha Vicinus, Lillian Faderman, Adrienne Rich).

A lively discussion has ensued on the sexual character of female friendships in history. In this debate is implicated the actual question of whether the sexualization of lesbian relations was a liberation or a new means of subordinating women. Here Radclyffe Hall's novel *The Well of Loneliness* (1928) is an important landmark witnessing the sexualization of women's separate spheres.

Problems of Methodology and Data. For male homosociality, an even more extensive literature exists than for its female counterpart, but it has some major problems. First of all, it scarcely ever focuses on the intimate relations of the men in bonding. Secondly, when male homosociality is discussed, it is mostly seen as an exceptional situation and less commonly as a fundamental structure of societies. Taking the latter viewpoint, however, Lionel Tiger analyzed it from a sociobiological perspective stressing the homoeroticism of male bonding, as did Thorkill Vanggaard from a historical perspective. Bernard Sergent and Eva C. Keuls did the same for classical Greece, for opposed reasons: Sergent to stress the institutional and ancient character of pederastic relations, Keuls to criticize the phallocracy of Athenian "democracy." The histories of soldiering, education, seafaring, and politics have hardly ever been discussed from this homosocial angle—just as women's emancipation is nowadays generally seen as going along heterosocial lines. More specific studies in which attention is paid to homoeroticism have been done on English pirates of the seventeenth century (B. R. Burg), on English public schools (J. Gathorne Hardy, J. R. de Symons Honey, and J. Chandos), on the

military (P. Fussell and P. Parker) and on the eros tradition (G. Dall'Orto and T. Maasen).

The Socialization of Masculinity. In many cultures the standards of masculinity are learned in such all-male situations. For many tribal cultures, the men's houses are the centers for male initiation; in modern cultures sex-segregated schools, armies, sports groups, and student societies were until recently and sometimes still are the institutional sites of male socialization. Even where such homosocial sites still exist, they are more integrated into heterosocial society. The strictures governing such enclaves tend nowadays to be much looser, because of the better possibilities of transportation, the extension of free time, the abolition of corporal punishments, and the informalization of discipline in most institutions. Where in recent decades such institutionalized frameworks are declining, groups of pubertal boys become more important for sex-specific socialization and the youngsters define for themselves their norms of manliness outside institutional frameworks.

The norms of masculinity are thus purveyed, from the time of puberty onwards, in all-male situations. But it was also the environment in which men had their most intimate (sexual and non-sexual) relationships. In novels, letters, diaries, and book dedications written prior to World War I, the importance of male bonding was underlined: men had their most expressive, intimate and strong attachments from puberty up until marriage with other men. Adulthood meant mostly responsibility, respectability, and thus boredom. Old ties of friendship could be revived in men's clubs and pubs or on festive occasions, but they could not surpass the emotional bonds of a younger age.

This world of male bonding and male intimacies is in decline with the heterosocialization of society. The rise of explicit homosexual identities and com-

munities can be seen as a byproduct of this process of declining homosociality. Whereas in former times much homosexual behavior existed under the cover of homosociality, with the decline of male bonding, homosexual situations are standing more apart and are thus becoming more visible (and as such, more threatening to the homosocial groups).

With the advent of the homosexual identity, the homosocial male (soldier, seaman, cowboy, outlaw, fireman, cop) became the typical object of desire for homosexual men, and when in the last decades this border traffic between gay and straight society diminished, some gay men in their "clone" stereotypes tried to realize these homosocial types in themselves.

Conclusion. The subject of homosociality, and more specifically, of female and male bonding, has great relevance for gay and lesbian studies. First, as a sphere where forms of homosexual pleasure are engendered, and secondly, because it broadens as well as changes the perspective of gay and lesbian studies. As a concept, it alerts researchers to the differences existing between gay and lesbian culture. Finally, it is an extremely rich field which is insufficiently studied, especially the male variants, and one in which gay studies can display its strengths.

See also Friendship, Female Romantic; Friendship, Male.

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Gert Hekma

HORACE (65–8 B.C.)

Latin lyric and satiric poet of the Golden Age. Quintus Horatius Flaccus was the son of a freedman who cared for his education. In Athens he studied philosophy and ancient Greek literature. As a supporter of Brutus he fought at Philippi, then returned to Rome, where in the spring of 38 Vergil and Varius Rufus introduced him to Maecenas, the great patron of Latin literature, who after nine months admitted him to his intimate circle. Horace thereafter lived withdrawn, dining out only at Maecenas' invitation. The friendship lasted to the end of their lives, and in 32 Horace received from Maecenas a Sabine estate.

As a poet Horace is remembered for his *Odes*, *Epodes*, and *Satires*. The *Odes* are modeled on the Greek poems of Alcaeus, Sappho, Pindar, and Bacchylides, with the added refinement which the Hellenistic era gave to the short poem. The *Satires* are inspired by Lucilius, but composed in hexameter verse, though freer than in epic poetry. The subject matter—as befitted the son of a freedman—was not ruthlessly personal and political, but apolitical and universal: the vices and follies of private life, stoic paradoxes, and his own friendship with Maecenas are the themes. The *Epistles* in verse are philosophical and literary discourses modeled on Lucilius, Mummius, and Catullus. The language of the poems ranges from the popular to the most literary and formal; it is rich in imagery and symbolism.

In his private life Horace was certainly bisexual, with a preference in the homosexual direction. The love poems to women—to Lalage, Chloe, Lydia, or Pyrrha—strike the modern reader as artificial and insubstantial, despite the severe