

by one community member would be regarded as threatening and immoral by other members, unless extremely discreet and covert, and therefore restricted in frequency. But in the modern era, and especially after the *Stonewall Rebellion* (1969), the gay male population of large urban centers became the base for development of a system of sexual marketplaces where impersonal sex was both welcomed and frequently facilitated.

These places offered relative safety from view and harassment by the forces of conventional morality, as well as opportunities for encounter on a basis of casual entry and exit, without the need to identify oneself or seek the permission of others (as would be required, for example, in a private heterosexual "swinger's club"). Preeminent among such social facilities were the gay bar and the gay baths, but these were soon joined by the gay disco, where dancing with strangers was a means of recruiting new partners for both casual and impersonal sex.

These and similar social institutions of the emerging gay community differed importantly from earlier facilities for impersonal sex such as the public toilet, cruising park, movie theatre back row, and highway rest area. The gay bar, disco, and bath are businesses with an economic base and linkages, thus providing an infrastructure with vested interest in the facilitation of impersonal sex, within an organized and institutionally complex gay community.

"Ideology." It was only a short step to the development of ideology arguing the legitimacy of such institutions, and of impersonal gay sex. But it should hardly be assumed that the voices for legitimation are only of modern origin. The first "handbook" for guidance of those seeking the right attitudes and favorable opportunities for casual and impersonal sex was published by Ovid in the year A.D. 1: *The Art of Love*.

The modern gay ideology of impersonal sex spilled over into the heterosexual culture, and even produced publi-

cations on "how to pick up men" for women readers. But casual heterosexuality was almost always linked with negative moral outcomes. Alfie and his male peers might seek sex merely for pleasure, but were condemned to the same fate as their patron saint, Don Juan. Women might pick up Mr. Goodbar, but were sure to be injured or murdered.

The social structures of impersonal sex have been affected dramatically by the onset of AIDS. Indeed, much of the moralistic sentiment that AIDS is a punishment of homosexuals can be traced to conventional morality's outrage at the earlier sexual liberation ideology of impersonal sex.

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John Alan Lee

INCARCERATION MOTIF

This term refers not to literal incarceration or confinement but to an aspect of gender dysphoria—the idea that a human body can contain, locked within itself, a soul of the other gender. In their adhesion to this self-concept, many pre- and postoperative transsexuals unknowingly echo a theme that has an age old, though recondite history.

The pioneer in the struggle for homosexual rights Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1824-1895) formulated the notion that the Urning, as he called the male individual attracted to his own sex, was endowed with *anima muliebris corpore virili inclusa*, "a female soul trapped in a male body." He took the notion from *Eros: die Männerliebe der Griechen* (Glarus and St. Gall, 1836-38) by Heinrich Hoessli. This Swiss homosexual writer had in turn pur-

loined it from an article in the *Beilage* to the Munich *Allgemeine Zeitung* that discussed the kabbalistic belief in the transmigration of souls (*gilgul naphshot*).

Foreign as this idea is to the rationalistic Jew of the twentieth century, and to the Biblical and Talmudic periods of Judaism as well, it is first mentioned by Saadiah Gaon (882–942), the spiritual leader of Babylonian Jewry, who rejected it as an alien doctrine that had found its way into Judaism from the Islamic cultural milieu. However, the belief in transmigration took firm hold in the earliest center of Kabbalistic thinking in Spain, Gerona in Catalonia, and the notion that a female soul might be reincarnated in a male body is first expressed by Jacob ben Sheshet Gerondi (about 1235) in a work entitled *Liqqūtē shikhḥāh ū-phē'āh* [Gleanings of the Forgotten and Unharvested], printed at Ferrara in 1556. Later, Isaac ben Solomon Luria (1534–1572), the head of the kabbalistic center at Safed in Galilee, made it an essential part of his doctrine. His oral teaching was incorporated in a book written by his disciple Ḥayyim Vital between 1573 and 1576 entitled *Sha'ar ha-gilgūlim* (The Gate of Transmigrations).

According to the Kabbalists, the absolute destiny of the soul is—after developing all those perfections the germs of which are eternally implanted in it—to return to the Infinite Source from which it first emanated. Another term of life must be vouchsafed to those souls that have not yet fulfilled their destiny in the nether world and have not been sufficiently purified for the state of reunion with the Primordial Cause. Hence the soul must inhabit one body after another until after repeated trials it is able to ascend to the “palace of the Heavenly King.” In the second half of the thirteenth century the *Zohar* had declared: “All souls are subject to transmigration,” and Luria further taught that in general, the souls of men transmigrate into the bodies of men, those of women into the bodies of women; but there are exceptions. The soul of the patri-

arch Judah was in part that of a woman, while Tamar had the soul of a man (a fanciful interpretation of the story in Genesis 38: 12–26). Tamar’s soul passed into Ruth, so that the latter could not bear children until God had imparted to her sparks from a female soul. The transmigration of a man’s soul into the body of a woman was considered by some Kabbalists a punishment for the commission of heinous sins, such as man’s refusing to give alms or to communicate his own wisdom to others. The wide diffusion and reception of the Lurianic version of the Kabbala ensured that many Jews of a mystical bent would entertain the belief down to modern times.

Belief in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls, is a characteristic theme of Indian thought, from which the Jewish motif that has been discussed may ultimately derive. Some Hindus today explain male homosexuality by saying that the individual had previously lived as a woman.

Ulrichs’ formulation, strictly speaking, applies only to the “subject homoerotic”—the individual who feels himself a member of the opposite sex and plays the female role in relations with members of his own sex. As a scientific theory such a notion, because of the mind–body dualism which it entails (not to mention the belief in reincarnation, which has been relegated to the realm of the occult), has no standing whatever. Yet the reiteration of Ulrichs’ views in the work of later homosexual apologists kept them alive into the twentieth century, and may have contributed to the rise of the practice of transsexualism and its underlying belief system, which Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935) never encountered even in the enormous casuistic material that he assembled in his lifetime. Pre- and postoperative transsexuals cherish the belief that some quirk of nature has confined them in bodies of the wrong genital sex. In the Hollywood film *Dog Day Afternoon* (1975), which was based upon a real

incident in Brooklyn a few years earlier, the character Leon asserts that "My psychiatrist told me I have a female soul trapped in a male body," and more recently even advertising has taken up the theme, as in a telephone company poster with a cartoon character declaring "I feel that I'm a 516 trapped in the body of a 212." So a doctrine of medieval Jewish mysticism has entered the folklore of the gay subculture, and thence passed into the mainstream of American popular culture as a metaphor for a profound state of alienation.

Warren Johansson

INCEST

Incest means sexual intercourse between closely related individuals, especially when they are related within degrees where marriage is prohibited by law or religious custom. Until recently the sexual abuse of sons by their fathers was considered rare, but in the later decades of the twentieth century a different picture emerged. Statistics drawn from child welfare agencies, hospitals, police reports, and general surveys indicate that considerable numbers of boys are involved in homosexual activity with their own fathers. David Finkelhor's analysis of data derived from 5,809 substantiated cases of child abuse reported by agencies in thirty-one states indicated that 57 percent of the 757 boys in the group were abused by their fathers. It is probable that the twin taboos attaching to homosexuality and incest result in the underreporting of such cases.

Problems of Interpretation. Clinical studies of father-son incest are few, and the reported case histories often lack sufficient data to develop descriptive models. Many cases significantly fail to describe the actual nature of the sexual contact, and the literature on incest equally fails to employ strict criteria. Is the mere touching of the child's genitalia a sexual act, or must the adult's contact with the child's body lead to sexual arousal and

then orgasm in one or both partners? The law often demands a more stringent definition of the act in order to justify conviction.

While sexual contact between fathers and daughters is now recognized as more frequent than most authorities had suspected, the line of demarcation between reality and fantasy remains difficult to draw. The same consideration applies to instances of alleged father-son incest. Several cases have been reported in which homosexual incest occurred in an apparently disorganized family situation where impulsive, physically abusive behavior by the father was the norm. These fathers sexually exploited their children, often both sons and daughters. The age of the son at the time of the initial sexual contact was usually prepubertal.

In one reported case a father with a record of convictions for manslaughter, bootlegging, and sale of pornography promoted sexual relations between the two oldest children and himself and his stepdaughter for pornographic ends. In another, the eldest son in a family of six children confided to his therapist the family secret that his father has sexually molested all six children over a period of ten years. When the father was in a violent temper, the oldest son or daughter would offer his or her sexual favors to protect the younger children from cruelty.

The father's alcoholism is an outstanding feature in some cases. Though often appearing homosexual in orientation, these fathers often do not so define themselves. One reported case describes sexual involvements between a father and his fourteen-year-old son that ranged from genital fondling to anal penetration. The father initiated the sexual activity, each time in a state of intoxication. Both father and son denied any previous homosexual encounters or desires.

Another set of cases in the literature describes the father as having some positive emotional investment in the son with whom he has sexual contact. Aggres-