

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

567. VEYNE, PAUL. "L'homosexualité à Rome," **Communications**, no. 35 (1982), 26-33.

Brief synthesis by a noted French historian.

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.

569. WILKINSON, L. P. "Classical Approaches. IV: Homosexuality," **Encounter**, 51:3 (September 1978), 20-31.

A fairly traditional survey of Greece and Rome by an English classical scholar.

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: Altertumswissenschaftliche 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.

571. ANSEN, JOHN. "The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: The Origin and Development of a Motif," **Viator**, 5 (1974), 1-32.

Interprets material from the lives of the saints.

572. BARBER, MALCOLM. **The Trial of the Templars**. Cam-

bridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978. 312 pp.
Concluding that the charges of sodomy made against the
Templar Order in 1308 are unproven, exposes the use of
antihomosexual prejudice in late-medieval politics.

573. BERNARDINO OF SIENA, ST. **Le prediche volgari.**
Edited by Piero Bargellini. Milan: Rizzoli, 1936.
1173 pp.

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).

574. BIELER, LUDWIG (ed.). **The Irish Penitentials.**
Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1963. 367
pp.

The early medieval penitentials, or confessional formular-
ies, 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.

575. BLEIBTREU-EHRENBERG, GISELA. **Tabu Homosexual-
ität: die Geschichte eines Vorurteils.** Frankfurt am
Main: S. Fischer, 1978. 444 pp.

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

576. BLOCH, IWAN. "Die Homosexualität in Köln am Ende
des 15. Jahrhunderts," **Jahrbuch für Sexualwissen-
schaft**, 1 (1908), 528-35.

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

577. BOLOGNA, CORRADO (ed.). **Liber monstrorum de
diversis generibus: libro delle mirabili diffor-
mita.** Milan: Bompiani, 1979. 221 pp.

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

578. BOSWELL, JOHN. **Christianity, Social Tolerance and
Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from
the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Four-
teenth Century.** Chicago: Chicago University Press,
1980. 424 pp.

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

W. Johansson et al., below.

579. BOSWELL, JOHN. **Rediscovering Gay History: Archetypes of Gay Love in Christian History.** London: Gay Christian Movement, 1982. 21 pp. (Michael Harding Memorial Address)

Offers some oblique answers to criticisms of the work cited above, and unveils a "gay marriage" thesis.

580. BULLOUGH, VERN. "Transvestites in the Middle Ages," **American Journal of Sociology**, 79 (1974), 1381-94.

Analyzes material from the lives of the transvestitic saints (Margaret-Pelagius, Marina, Athanasia, et al.). Reprinted with changes in the following collection.

581. BULLOUGH, VERN, and JAMES BRUNDAGE (eds.). **Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church.** Buffalo: Prometheus, 1982. 289 pp.

Eighteen papers, some reprinted with revisions from earlier publications. Opens new institutional perspectives.

582. BYNUM, CAROLINE WALKER. **Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages.** Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. 282 pp.

See pp. 110-69 for "Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Writing." Compare Rudolf Berliner, "God is Love," **Gazette des Beaux-Arts**, ser. 6, 42 (1953), 9-26.

583. CLEUGH, JAMES. **Love Locked Out: A Survey of Love, License, and Restriction in the Middle Ages.** London: Anthony Blond, 1963. 320 pp.

Dated, semipopular panorama covering a bit of everything, including homosexuality.

584. CROMPTON, LOUIS. "Sodomy and Civil Doom: The History of an Unchristian Tradition," **Vector** (November 1975), 23-27, 57-58.

Overview of Christian hostility to homosexual behavior. The writer is preparing a book-length treatment of the subject.

585. CURTIUS, ERNST ROBERT. **European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages.** Translated by Willard R. Trask. New York: Pantheon, 1953. 662 pp.

In this major work by a great German humanistic scholar, see "Sodomy" (p. 113ff.), which offers a succinct analysis of some leading themes.

586. DAMIAN, PETER, ST. **Book of Gomorrah.** Translated by Pierre J. Payer. Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1982. 108 pp.

Diatribes by an 11th-century rigorist against "unnatural

- vice" in the medieval church. An improved edition of the Latin text appears in Kurt Reindel (ed.), **Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani**, 1. (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1983; 509 pp.)
587. DEMURGER, ALAIN. **Vie et mort de l'ordre du Temple**. Paris: Le Seuil, 1985. 336 pp.
Traces the whole history of the Templar Order, situat-
ing the sodomy charges brought against the Templars in
their contemporary political context.
588. DRONKE, PETER. **Medieval Latin and the Rise of
European Love-Lyric**. Second ed. Oxford: Clarendon
Press, 1968. 2 vols. (603 pp.)
In this landmark work of philology, see vol. 1, pp. 195-
201, 218-19; vol. 2, 495.
589. EVANS, ARTHUR. **Witchcraft and the Gay Countercul-
ture**. Boston: Fag Rag Books, 1978. 180 pp.
This seemingly scholarly book paints a fantastic picture
of a benign Old Religion in which homosexuals and women
were honored. Counterculture utopian revery disguised
as research.
590. GOODICH, MICHAEL. **The Unmentionable Vice: Homosex-
uality in the Later Medieval Period**. Santa
Barbara: Ross-Erikson, 1979. 164 pp.
Useful essays on attitudes toward homosexuality in Western
Europe from the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries.
Many references from legal and ecclesiastical sources;
literary and artistic evidence is scant.
591. GREENBERG, DAVID. F., and MARCIA H. BYSTRYN.
"Christian Intolerance of Homosexuality," **American
Journal of Sociology**, 88 (1982), 515-48.
Surveys evidence, mainly as conveyed by secondary sources,
concluding that intolerance was "variable."
592. HERMAN, GERALD. "The 'Sin against Nature' and Its
Echoes in Medieval French Literature," **Annuaire
mediaevale**, 17 (1976), 70-87.
Discusses a number of authors, including Gilles de Cor-
beil, John of Salisbury, Gautier de Coincy, and Marie
de France, who tend to be hostile to homosexual behavior.
593. HORN, WALTER, and ERNEST BORN. **The Plan of
St. Gall**. Berkeley: University of California
Press, 1979. 3 vols.
This monumental commentary on the ninth-century monastic
plan includes a discussion of the Benedictine regula-
tions designed to prevent sexual contacts with young
monks, and their architectural embodiment.
594. IVO OF CHARTRES. **Decretum**. In: J.-P. Migne (ed.),
Patrologia Latina, 161 (ca. 1860), cols. 47-1022.
See cols 681-82 for denunciations of sodomy and lesbian-

ism. The issuance of a number of ecclesiastic collections of this type from ca. 850 onwards shows that opposition to homosexuality was by no means stilled among clerical authorities during this obscure period.

595. JENKINS, ROMILLY J. H. **Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries, A.D. 610-1071.** New York: Random House, 1967. 400 pp.

As yet little research has been done on Byzantine homosexuality; see pp. 88, 165-66, 198-99, and 301 for some suggestive aperçus. For the survival of Greek genres of erotic writing, see Hans-Georg Beck, **Byzantinisches Erotikon: Orthodoxie-Literatur-Gesellschaft.** Munich: 1984. 174 pp. (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 1984, no. 3)

596. JOHANSSON, WARREN. "London's Medieval Sodomites," **Cabirion**, 10 (1984), 6-7, 34.

Using a text of Richard of Devizes, Johansson uncovers a homosexual subculture in late 12th-century London.

597. JOHANSSON, WARREN, et al. **Homosexuality, Intolerance and Christianity: A Critical Examination of John Boswell's Work.** New York: Scholarship Committee, Gay Academic Union, 1981. 22 pp. (Gai Saber Monograph no. 1)

Contains: "**Ex parte Themis:** The Historical Guilt of the Christian Church" by Warren Johansson; "Christianity and the Politics of Sex" by Wayne Dynes; "**Culpa ecclesiae:** Boswell's Dilemma" by John Lauritsen. The conclusions of the essays are convergently negative towards the book. An enlarged edition of this critique appeared in 1985, with an annotated bibliography of responses to the Boswell monograph.

598. KAY, RICHARD. **Dante's Swift and Strong: Essays in Inferno: Essays in Inferno XV.** Lawrence: Regent's Press of Kansas, 1978. 446 pp.

Argues that the "sodomy" depicted in Canto XV is meant in a broader, spiritual sense, rather than in an exclusively sexual one. See also his "The Sin of Brunetto Latini," **Medieval Studies**, 31 (1969), 262-86; as well as: Sally Mussetter, "'Ritornare a lo suo principio': Dante and the Sin of Brunetto Latini," **Philological Quarterly**, 63 (1984), 431-48; and A. Pézard, below.

599. KUSTER, HENDRIKUS JOHANNES. **Over homoseksualiteit in middeleeuws West-Europa (Some Observations on Homosexuality in Medieval Western Europe).**

Utrecht: The author, 1977. 175 pp.

Doctoral dissertation offering an overview, but depending too much on incompletely assimilated secondary sources. See the critical review by A. H. Bredero, **Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis**, 91 (1978), 256-62.

600. LEA, HENRY CHARLES. **A History of the Inquisition**

- of the Middle Ages.** New York: Harper, 1887. 3 vols.
- Dated and with a Protestant bias, but still worth consulting. See vol. 1, pp. 32-34, 85, 101; vol 2, pp. 150, 335, 408; vol. 3, p. 639.
601. MCALPINE, MONICA. "The Pardoner's Homosexuality and How It Matters," **Publications of the Modern Language Association**, 95 (1980), 8-22.
Argues that the phrase "a mare" in Chaucer's portrait of the Pardoner should be translated as "a homosexual."
See also Jill Mann, **Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973, pp. 145-52; Beryl Rowland, "Chaucer's Idea of the Pardoner," **Chaucer Review**, 14 (1979), 140-54 (holds that the Pardoner is a "testicular pseudo-hermaphrodite of the feminine type"); and Melvin Storm, "The Pardoner's Invitation: Questor's Bag or Beckett's Shrine," **Publications of the Modern Language Association**, 97 (1982), 810-18 (emphasizes sterility).
602. MCCALL, ANDREW. **The Medieval Underworld.** London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979. 319 pp.
Chapter 7, "Homosexuality" (pp. 199-209), is a superficial compilation from other sources. Nonetheless this book is of some interest for the overall context.
603. MCNEILL, JOHN THOMAS, and HELENA M. GAMER (eds.). **Medieval Handbooks of Penance.** New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. 476 pp.
The largest collection of these materials in English. For analysis, see P. Payer, below.
604. MARCHIELLO-NIZIA, CHRISTIANE. "Amour courtois, société masculine et figures de pouvoir," **Annales ESC** (November-December 1981), 969-82.
Courtly love as a disguised expression of homoeroticism.
605. MARTÍNEZ PIZARRO, JOAQUÍN. "On Nid against Bishops," **Medieval Scandinavia**, 11 (1978-79), 149-53.
Cites texts that show four instances in which "[t]he principles and models of behavior of the Christian church clashed strongly with Germanic values of honor and virility." See also T. L. Markey, "Nordic **nidvisur**: An Instance of Ritual Inversion," *ibid*, 5 (1972), 7-19.
606. MEULENGRACHT SORENSSEN, PREBEN. **Unmanly Men: Concepts of Sexual Defamation in Early Northern Society.** Odense: Odense University Press, 1983. 115 pp.
Thorough analysis of textual evidence in Old Norse for homosexual behavior and defamatory accusations thereof.
607. PARTNER, PETER. **The Murdered Magicians: The Templars and Their Myth.** London: Oxford University Press, 1982. 209 pp.

Suggests, in effect, that where there is smoke there is fire; that is, that the charges of sodomy leading to the arrest of the French Templars in 1307 were not entirely baseless.

608. PAYER, PIERRE J. **Sex and the Penitentials: The Development of a Sexual Code, 550-1150.** Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1984. 219 pp.
Careful study of the surviving body of documents compiled to aid early medieval confessors in Western Europe. As regards homosexuality, Payer reaches substantially more negative conclusions than does Boswell; see esp. pp. 135-39.
609. PÉZARD, ANDRÉ. **Dante sous la pluie de feu (Enfer, chant XV).** Paris: J. Vrin, 1950. 468 pp. (Etudes de philosophie médiévale, 40).
On the sodomites in Inferno 15, especially Brunetto Latini. See also R. Kay, above.
610. ROBY, DOUGLASS. "Early Medieval Attitudes toward Homosexuality." **Gai Saber**, 1 (1977), 67-79.
An introductory sketch, now dated.
611. ROSELLÓ VAQUER, RAMÓN. **L'homosexualitat a Mallorca a la edat mitjana.** Barcelona: Olaneta, 1978. 32 pp.
Discusses several cases of executions in the 15th century on the island of Majorca.
612. ROTH, NORMAN. "Deal Gently with the Young Men: Love of Boys in Medieval Poetry in Spain," **Speculum**, 57 (1982), 20-51.
Comprehensive study of Hebrew pederastic poetry in Moorish Spain citing many examples.
613. ROUGEMONT, DENIS DE. **Love in the Western World.** Translated from the French by Montgomery Belgion. New York: Pantheon, 1956. 336 pp.
Influential argument that romantic love is unknown before the rise of **amour courtois** in Western Europe in the 11th century. Strongly criticized by Peter Dronke (see above) and others.
614. ROUSSELLE, ALINE. **Porneia: de la maîtrise du corps à la privation sensorielle--IIIe-IVe siècles de l'ère chrétienne.** Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983. 254 pp.
Seeks to trace the rise of ascetic and sex-negative attitudes in late antiquity through patristic, medical, and other texts.
615. SCHIRMANN, JEFIM. "The Ephebe in Medieval Hebrew Poetry," **Sefarad**, 15 (1955), 54-68.
An introduction to Hebrew pederastic poetry in Moorish Spain inspired by Arabic models; treated more extensively

by N. Roth, above.

616. SCHRÖTER, MICHAEL. "Staatsbildung und Triebkontrolle: zur gesellschaftlichen Regulierung des Sexualverhaltens vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert," *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift*, 8 (May 1981), 48-90.
On the intensification of state intervention to control sexuality from the 13th to the 16th century.
617. "Spuren von Kontrarsexualität bei den alten Skandinaviern: Mitteilungen eines norwegischen Gelehrten," *JfsZ*, 4 (1902), 244-63.
Pioneering article by an anonymous Norwegian scholar on evidence for homosexuality in medieval Scandinavia.
618. STEHLING, THOMAS (ed.). *Medieval Latin Poems of Love and Friendship*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1984. 167 pp.
Comprehensive anthology of 127 items; English translations with Latin *en face*. See also his "To Love a Medieval Boy," *JH*, 8:3/4 (1983), 151-70, which analyzes poems by Marbod of Rennes, Baudri of Bourgueil, and Hilary the Englishman.
619. STROM, FOLKE. *Nid, Ergi and Old Norse Moral Attitudes*. London: University College, 1974. 20 pp. (Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture)
Analyzes use of accusations of passive homosexuality as insults. In addition to verbal attacks, "fighting words," small sculptures were carved for this purpose.
620. VANGGAARD, THORKIL. *Phallos: A Symbol and Its History in the Male World*. New York: International Universities Press, 1973. 231 pp.
Arguing for the generalized existence of a "homosexual radical" in men, the author of this semipopular work takes much of his historical material from medieval Scandinavia.
621. ZIOLKOWSKI, JAN. *Alan of Lille's Grammar of Sex: The Meaning of Grammar to a Twelfth-Century Intellectual*. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1985. 171 pp. (*Speculum* Anniversary Monographs, 10)
Includes discussion of the use of grammatical metaphors to castigate sexual deviation, including homosexuality. See also John A. Alford, "The Grammatical Metaphor: A Survey of Its Use in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, 57 (1982), 728-60; and Richard Hamilton Green, "Alan of Lille's *De plancu naturae*," *Speculum*, 31 (1956), 649-74.