ON THE CONNECTION BETWEEN HOMOSEXUALITY AND DIVINATION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE INTERMEDIATE SEXES GENERALLY IN EARLY CIVILIZATIONS.

BY EDWARD CARPENTER.

A curious and interesting subject is the connection of the Uranian temperament with prophetic gifts and divination. It is a subject which, as far as I know, has not been seriously considered—though it has been touched upon by Elie Reclus, Westermarck and others. The fact is well known, of course, that in the temples and cults of antiquity and of primitive races it has been a widespread practice to educate and cultivate certain youths in an effeminate manner, and that these youths in general become the priests or medicine-men of the tribe; but this fact has hardly been taken seriously, as indicating any necessary connection between the two functions, or any relation in general between homosexuality and psychic powers. Some such relation or connection, however, I think we must admit as being indicated, and the question is what it may be.

In the account given in the Bible of the reforming zeal of King Josiah (2 Kings XXIII) we are told (v. 4) that "the King commanded Hilkiah the high priest, and the priests of the second order, and the keepers of the door, to bring forth out of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal, and for the grove, and for all the host of heaven; and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron. . . . And he brake down the houses of the Sodomites, that were by the house of the Lord, where the women wove hangings for the grove."

The word here translated "Sodomites" is the Hebrew word Kedeshim, meaning the "consecrated ones" (males), and it occurs again in 1 Kings XIV, 24; XV, 12; and XXII, 46. And the word translated "grove" is Asherah. There is some doubt, I be-
lieve, as to the exact function of these Kedeshim in the temple ritual, and considerable doubt as to whether the translation of the word given in our Authorized Version is justified. It is clear, however, that these men corresponded in some way to the Kedeshoth or sacred women, who were—like the Devadasis of the Hindu temples—a kind of courtesan or prostitute dedicated to the god, and strange as it may seem to the modern mind, it is probable that they united some kind of sexual service with prophetic functions. Dr. Frazer, speaking of the sacred slaves or Kedeshim in various parts of Syria, concludes that "originally no sharp line of distinction existed between the prophets and the Kedeshim; both were 'men of God,' as the prophets were constantly called; in other words they were inspired mediums, men in whom the god manifested himself from time to time by word and deed, in short, temporary incarnations of the deity. But while the prophets roved freely about the country, the Kedeshim appears to have been regularly attached to a sanctuary, and among the duties which they performed at the shrines there were clearly some which revolted the conscience of men imbued with a purer morality."

As to the Asherah, or sometimes plural Asherim, translated "grove," the most accepted opinion is that it was a wooden post or tree stripped of its branches and planted in the ground beside an altar, whether of Jehovah or other gods. Several biblical passages, like Jeremiah II, 27, suggest that it was an emblem of Baal or of the male organ, and others (e. g., Judges II, 13 & III, 7) connect it with Ashthoreth the female partner of Baal; while the weaving of hangings or garments for the "grove" suggests the combination of female with male in one effigy. At any rate we may conclude pretty safely that the thing or things had a strongly sexual signification.

Thus it would seem that in the religious worship of the Canaanites there were male courtesans attached to the temples and inhabit-

1See Frazer's Adonis, Attis and Osiris, 2nd edition 1907, pp. 14, 64 note, etc.
2Ibid., p. 67.
3See Frazer's Adonis, pp. 14, note, etc.
4See a full consideration of this subject in Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism, by Thomas Inman. (2nd edition 1874.) p. 120 et seq.
ing their precincts, as well as consecrated females, and that the
cessories connected with these cults were of a markedly sexual
character. These ceremonies had probably originated in an ancient
worship of sexual acts as being symbolical of, and therefore favo-

rable to, the fertility of Nature and the crops. But though they
had penetrated into the Jewish temple they were detested by the
more zealous adherents of Jehovah, because—for one reason at any
rate—they belonged to the rival cult of the Syrian Baal and Ash-
toreth, the Kedeshim in fact being “consecrated to the Mother of the
Gods, the famous Dea Syria.”1 And they were detestable, too, be-
cause they went hand in hand with the cultivation of ‘familiar spirits’
and ‘wizards’—who of course knew nothing of Jehovah! Thus we
see (2 Kings XXI) that Manasseh followed the abominations of
the heathen, building up the high places and the ‘groves’ and the
altars for Baal. “And he made his son pass through the fire, and
observed times, and used enchantments,2 and dealt with familiar
spirits and wizards, and wrought much wickedness. . . . and he
set a graven image of the ‘grove’ in the house of the Lord.” But
Josiah his grandson reversed all this, and drove the familiar spirits
and the wizards out of the land, together with the Kedeshim.

So far with regard to Syria and the Bible, in the matter of the
apparent connection of homosexuality with prophecy and priest-
hood. But Dr. Frazer points out the curious likeness here to cus-
toms existing to-day among the Negroes of the Slave Coast of West
Africa. In that region, women, called Kosio, are attached to the
temples as wives, priestesses and temple prostitutes of the python-
god. But besides these “there are male Kosio as well as female
Kosio, that is there are dedicated men as well as dedicated women,
priests as well as priestesses, and the ideas and customs in regard
to them seem to be similar.”3 “Indeed,” he says, “the points of re-
semblance between the prophets of Israel and of West Africa are
close and curious.”4 It must be said, however, that Dr. Frazer

2All this suggests the practice of some early and primitive science, and much
resembles the accusations made in the thirteenth century against our Roger Bacon,
pioneer of modern science.
3Adonis, etc., p. 60.
4Ibid., p. 66.
does not in either case insist on the inference of homosexuality. On the contrary, he rather endeavours to avoid it, and of course it would be very unreasonable to suppose any invariable connection of these "sacred men" with this peculiarity. At the same time the general inference in that direction—particularly in view of later facts brought forward in this paper—is strong and difficult to evade.

To proceed. Among the tribes in the neighborhood of Bering’s Straits—the Kamchadales, the Chukchi, the Aleuts, Inoits, Kadiak islanders, and so forth, homosexuality is common, and its relation to shamanship or priesthood most marked and curious. Westermarck, quoting (Moral Ideas Vol. 1, p. 458) from Dr. Bogoraz, says:—"It frequently happens that, under the supernatural influence of one of their shamans, or priests, a Chukchi lad at sixteen years of age will suddenly relinquish his sex and imagine himself to be a woman. He adopts a woman’s attire, lets his hair grow, and devotes himself altogether to female occupation. Furthermore, this disclaimer of his sex takes a husband into the yurt (hut) and does all the work which is usually incumbent on the wife, in most unnatural and voluntary subjection. . . . These abnormal changes of sex imply the most abject immorality in the community, and appear to be strongly encouraged by the shamans, who interpret such cases as an injunction of their individual deity. "Further," Westermarck says "the change of sex was usually accompanied by future shamanship; indeed nearly all the shamans were former delinquents of their sex.” Again he says, "In describing the Koriaks, Krasheninnikoff makes mention of the Ke’yer, that is men occupying the position of concubines, and he compares them with the Kamchadale Koe’kcuc, as he calls them, that is men transformed into women. Every Koe’kcuc, he says, "is regarded as a magician and interpreter of dreams. . . . The Koe’kcuc wore women's clothes, did women's work, and were in the position of wives or concubines.” And (on p. 472) "There is no indication that the North American aborigines attached any opprobrium to men who had intercourse with those members of their own sex who had assumed the dress and habits of women. In Kadiak such a companion was on the contrary regarded as a great acquisition; and the effeminate men, far from being despised, were held in repute by the people, most of them being wizards."
Intermediate Sexes in Early Civilization

This connection with wizardry and religious divination is particularly insisted upon by Elie Reclus, in his Primitive Folk (contemporary Science Series). Speaking of the Inoits (p. 68) he says:—"Has a boy with a pretty face also a graceful demeanor? The mother no longer permits him to associate with companions of his own age, but clothes him and brings him up as a girl. Any stranger would be deceived as to his sex, and when he is about fifteen he is sold for a good round sum to a wealthy personage. 'Choupans,' or youths of this kind are highly prized by the Konyagas. On the other hand, there are to be met with here and there among the Esquimaux or kindred populations, especially in Youkon, girls who decline marriage and maternity. Changing their sex, so to speak, they live as boys, adopting masculine manners and customs, they hunt the stag, and in the chase shrink from no danger; in fishing from no fatigue."

Reclus then says that the Choupans commonly dedicate themselves to the priesthood; but all are not qualified for this. "To become an angakok it is needful to have a very marked vocation, and furthermore a character and temperament which every one has not. The priests in office do not leave the recruiting of their pupils to chance; they make choice at an early age of boys or girls, not limiting themselves to one sex—a mark of greater intelligence than is exhibited by most other priesthoods." (p. 71.) The pupil has to go through considerable ordeals:—"Disciplined by abstinence and prolonged vigils, by hardship and constraint, he must learn to endure pain stoically and to subdue his bodily desires, to make the body obey unmurmuringly the commands of the spirit. Others may be chattering; he will be silent, as becomes the prophet and the soothsayer. At an early age the novice courts solitude. He wanders throughout the long nights across silent plains filled with the chilly whiteness of the moon; he listens to the wind moaning over the desolate floes;—and then the aurora borealis, that ardently sought occasion for 'drinking in the light,' the angakok must absorb all its brilliances and splendors. . . . And now the future sorcerer is no longer a child. Many a time he has felt himself in the presence of Sidne, the Esquimaux Demeter, he has divined it by the shiver

1See also Bancroft's Native Races of the Pacific States., Vol. I, p. 82.
which ran through his veins, by the tingling of his flesh and the
bristling of his hair. . . . He sees stars unknown to the profane:
he asks the secrets of destiny from Sirius, Algol, and Altair; he
passes through a series of initiations, knowing well that his spirit
will not be loosed from the burden of dense matter and crass igno-
rance, until the moon has looked him in the face, and darted a
certain ray into his eyes. At last his own Genius, evoked from the
bottomless depths of existence, appears to him, having scaled the
immensity of the heavens, and climbed across the abysses of the
ocean. White, wan and solemn, the phantom will say to him: 'Be-
hold me, what dost thou desire?' Uniting himself with the Double
from beyond the grave, the soul of the angakok flies upon the wings
of the wind, and quitting the body at will, sails swift and light through
the universe. It is permitted to probe all hidden things, to seek
the knowledge of all mysteries, in order that they may be revealed
to those who have remained mortal with spirit unrefined.'" (p. 73.)

Allowing something for poetic and imaginative expression, the
above statement of the ordeals and initiations of the angakok, and
their connection with the previous career of the Choupan are well
based on the observations of many authorities, as well as on their
general agreement with similar facts all over the world. There is
also another passage of Reclus (p. 70) on the duties of the angakok,
which seems to throw considerable light on the already mentioned
kedeshim and kedeshoth of the Syrian cults, also on the kosio of the
Slave Coast and the early functions of the priesthood in general:—
"As soon as the choupan has moulted into the angakok, the tribe con-
fi de to him the girls most suitable in bodily grace and disposition;
he has to complete their education—he will perfect them in dancing
and other accomplishments, and finally will initiate them into the
pleasures of love. If they display intelligence, they will become
seers and medicine-women, priestesses and prophetesses. The
summer kachims (? assemblies), which are closed to the women of the
community will open wide before these. It is believed that these
girls would be unwholesome company if they had not been purified
by commerce with a man of God.'"

"Among the Illinois Indians," says Westermarck (Vol. II,
p. 473), "the effeminate men assist in [i.e.] are present at all
the juggleries and the solemn dance in honor of the calumet or
sacred tobacco-pipe, for which the Indians have such a deference. . . but they are not permitted either to dance or to sing. They are called into the councils of the Indians, and nothing can be decided without their advice; for because of their extraordinary manner of living they are looked upon as manitous, or supernatural beings, and persons of consequence." "The Sioux, Sacs, and Fox Indians," he continues, "give once a year, or oftener, a feast to the Berdashe, or I-coo-coo-a, who is a man dressed in women's clothes, as he has been all his life." And Catlin (North American Indians Vol. II, p. 214) says of this Berdashe:—"For extraordinary privileges which he is known to possess, he is driven to the most servile and degrading duties, which he is not allowed to escape; and he being the only one of the tribe submitting to this disgraceful degradation is looked upon as medicine and sacred, and a feast is given to him annually; and initiatory to it a dance by those few young men of the tribe who can—as in the illustration—dance forward and publicly make their boast (without the denial of the Berdashe) that' [then follow three or four unintelligible lines of some native dialect; and then] "such and such only are allowed to enter the dance and partake of the feast."

In this connection it may not be out of place to quote Joaquin Miller (who spent his early life as a member of an Indian tribe) on the prophetic powers of these people. He says (Life among the Modocs, p. 360) "If there is a race of men that has the gift of prophecy or prescience I think it is the Indian. It may be a keen instinct sharpened by meditation that makes them foretell many things with such precision, but I have seen some things that looked much like the fulfillment of prophecies. They believe in the gift of prophecy thoroughly, and are never without their seers."

The Jesuit father Lafitau, who published in 1724 at Paris an extremely interesting book on the manners and customs of the North American tribes among whom he had been a missionary,1 after speaking of warlike women and Amazons, says (Vol. 1, p. 53):— "If some women are found possessing virile courage, and glorying in the profession of war, which seems only suitable to men; there

1 *Moeurs des Savages Ameriquains, comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps, par le P. Lafitau, Paris, 1724.*

exist also men so cowardly as to live like women. Among the Illinois, among the Sioux, in Louisiana, in Florida, and in Yucatan, there are found youths who adopt the garb of women and preserve it all their lives, and who think themselves honored in stooping to all their occupations; they never marry; they take part in all ceremonies in which religion seems to be concerned; and this profession of an extraordinary life causes them to pass for beings of a superior order, and above the common run of mankind. Would not these be the same kind of folk as the Asiatic worshippers of Cybele, or those Easterns of whom Julius Firmicus speaks (Lib. de Errore prof. Relig.), who consecrated to the Goddess of Phrygia, or to Venus Urania, certain priests, who dressed as women, who affected an effeminate countenance, who painted their faces, and disguised their true sex under garments borrowed from the sex which they wished to counterfeit."

Certainly this belief in some kind of relation between homosexuality and divination or sorcery (or the priestly office) is very widespread. Westermarck (p. 477) mentions the ancient Scandinavians as regarding passive homosexuals in the light of sorcerers; and refers (p. 484 note) to Thomas Falkner, who in his Description of Patagonia, p. 117, says that among the Patagonians "the wizards are of both sexes. The male wizards are obliged (as it were) to leave their sex, and to dress themselves in female apparel, and are not permitted to marry, though the female ones or witches may. They are generally chosen for this office when they are children, and a preference is always shown to those who at that early time of life discover an effeminate disposition. They are clothed very early in female attire, and presented with the drum and rattles belonging to the profession they are to follow."

With regard to the attribution of homosexuality also to female wizards or witches I believe that, rightly or wrongly, this was very common in Europe a few centuries ago. Leo Africanus (1492) in his description of Morocco¹ says, "The third kind of diviners are women-witches, which are affirmed to have familiarity with divels. Changing their voices they fain the divell to speak within them:

then they which come to enquire ought with great fear and trembling (to) ask these vile and abominable witches such questions as they mean to propound, and lastly, offering some fee unto the devil, they depart. But the wiser and honester sort of people call these women Sahacat, which in Latin significeth Fricatrices, because they have a damnable custom to commit unlawful venery among themselves, which I cannot express in any modester terms. If faire women come unto them at any time, these abominable witches will burn in lust towards them, no otherwise than lustie youngsters do towards young maides, and will in the devils behalf demande for a reward, that they may lie with them; and so by this means it often falleth out that thinking thereby to fulfill the devils command they lie with the witches. Yea some there are which being allured with this abominable vice, will desire the companie of those witches" (and to that end, he explains, deceive their husbands). Whether this is all true or not—and probably it is quite vulgarly exaggerated—it shows the kind of thing that was believed at that time about witches.

No doubt this list of cases connecting homosexuality with sorcery and priesthood might be somewhat indefinitely extended, but we need not attempt to cover the whole ground. In some cases the customs are accompanied by a change of dress, but not by any means always.

Speaking of the Pelew Islanders, Dr. Frazer\(^1\) attributes the adoption by the priests of female attire to the fact that "it often happens that a goddess chooses a man, not a woman, for her minister and inspired mouthpiece. When that is so, the favored man is thenceforth regarded and treated as a woman." And he continues—"This pretended change of sex under the inspiration of a female spirit perhaps explains a custom widely spread among savages, in accordance with which some men dress as women and act as women through life."

This explanation is certainly not very convincing—though it is just possible that in certain cases of men of this kind in early times, the feminine part of their natures may have personified itself, and presented itself to them as a vision of a female spirit or goddess;

\(^1\) Adonis, etc., p. 428.
and thus the explanation might be justified. But anyhow it should
not be overlooked that the same impulse (for men to dress as
women, and women to dress as men) perseveres to-day in quite a
large percentage of our modern civilized populations; and whatever
its explanations, the impulse is often enormously powerful, and its
satisfaction a source of great delight. It must also not be overlooked,
in dealing with this complex and difficult subject, that the mere fact
of a person delighting to adopt the garb of the opposite sex does not
in itself prove that his or her love-tendency is abnormal—i.e., cross-
dressing does not prove homosexuality. There are not a few cases
of men in the present day (and presumably the same in past times)
who love to dress as women, and yet are perfectly normal in their
sex-relations; and therefore too sweeping generalizations on this
subject must be avoided.¹

On the whole, however, cross-dressing must be taken as a general
indication of, and a cognate phenomenon to, homosexuality; and
its wide prevalence in early times, especially in connection with the
priesthood, must give us much matter for thought. Dr. Frazer in his
Adonis, Attis and Osiris, continuing the passage I have just quoted.
says:—"These unsexed creatures often, perhaps generally, profess
the arts of sorcery and healing, they communicate with spirits and
are regarded sometimes with awe and sometimes with contempt, as
beings of a higher or lower order than common folk. Often they are
dedicated or trained to their vocation from childhood. Effeminate
sorcerers or priests of this sort are found among the Sea Dyaks of
Borneo, the Bugis of South Celebes, the Patagonians of South
America. . . . In Madagascar we hear of effeminate men who wore
female attire and acted as women, thinking thereby to do God
service. In the kingdom of Congo there was a sacrificial priest who
commonly dressed as a woman and gloried in the title of the grand-
mother."

And so on. We need not, I think, delay further over the evi-
dence, but proceed to discuss the meaning and explanation of the
facts presented.

¹See, in these connections, Dr. Hirschfeld's remarkable book "Die Transvestiten" (Berlin 1910); also Die Konträre Sexual-empfindung by Dr. A. Moll, edition 1893, pp. 82-90.
There seem to me to be two possible and not unreasonable theories on the subject. The first is that there really is a connection between the homosexual temperament and divinatory or unusual psychic powers; the second is (that there is no such particular connection, but) that the idea of sorcery or witchcraft naturally and commonly springs up round the ceremonials of an old religion when that religion is being superseded by a new one. This is of course a well-recognized fact. The gods of one religion become the devils of its successor; the poetic rites of one age become the black magic of the next. But in the case of the primitive religions of the earth their ceremonials were—for reasons which we need not now consider—very largely sexual, and even homosexual. Consequently the homosexual rites, which were most foreign to the later religionists and most disturbing to their ideas, associated themselves most strongly with the notion of sorcery and occult powers.

For myself I am inclined to accept both explanations, and—leaving out of course the clause in brackets in the second—to combine them. I think there is an organic connection between the homosexual temperament and unusual psychic or divinatory powers; but I think also that the causes mentioned in the second explanation have in many cases led to an exaggerated belief in such connection, and have given it a sorcerous or demoniac aspect.

To take the second point first. Just as, according to Darwin, the sharpest rivalry occurs between a species and the closely allied species from which it has sprung, so in any religion there is the fiercest theological hatred against the form which has immediately preceded it. Early Christianity could never say enough against the Pagan cults of the old world (partly for the very reason that it embodied so much of their ceremonial and was in many respects their lineal descendant). They were the work and inspiration of the devil. Their Eucharists and baptismal rites and initiations—so strangely and diabolically similar to the Christian rites—were sheer black magic; their belief in the sacredness of sex mere filthiness. Similarly the early Protestants could never say malignant things enough against the Roman Catholics; or the Secularists in their turn against the Protestants. In all these cases there is an
element of fear—fear because the thing supposed to have been left
behind lies after all so close, and is always waiting to reassert itself—
and this fear invests the hated symbol or person with a halo of dev-
ilish potency. Think, for instance, what sinister and magical
powers and influence have been commonly ascribed to the Roman
Catholic priests in the ordinary Protestant parlors and circles!

It is easy, therefore, to understand that when the Jews established
their worship of Jehovah as a great reaction against the primitive
nature-cults of Syria—and in that way to become in time the germ
of Christianity—the first thing they did was to denounce the
priests and satellites of Baal-Peor and Ashtoreth as wizards and
sorcerers, and wielders of devilish faculties. These cults were frank-
ly sexual—probably the most intimate meaning of them, as relig-
ions, being the glory and sacredness of sex; but the Jews (like the
later Christians) blinding themselves to this aspect, were constrained
to see in sex only filthiness, and in its religious devotees persons in
league with Beelzebub and the powers of darkness. And of course
the homosexual elements in these cults, being the most foreign to
the new religion, stood out as the most sorcerous and the most magi-
cal part of them. Westermarck points out (Moral Ideas, II, 489)
that the Mediæval Christianity constantly associated homosexuality
with heresy—to such a degree in fact that the French word herite
or heretique was sometimes used in both connections; and that bougre
or Bulgarian was commonly used in both, though to begin with it
only denoted a sect of religious heretics who came from Bulgaria.
And he thinks that the violent reprobation and punishment of
homosexuality arose more from its connection in the general mind
with heresy than from direct aversion in the matter—more in fact
from religious motives than from secular ones.

But connecting with all this, we must not neglect the theory so
ably worked out by Prof. Karl Pearson among others—namely that
the primitive religions were not only sexual in character but that
they were largely founded on an early matriarchal order of society,
in which women had the predominant sway—descent being traced
through them, and tribal affairs largely managed by them, and
in which the chief deities were goddesses, and the priests and
prophets mainly females. Exactly how far such an order or society
really extended in the past is apparently a doubtful question; but
that there are distinct traces of such matriarchal institutions in certain localities and among some peoples seems to be quite established. Karl Pearson, assuming the real prevalence of these institutions in early times points out, reasonably enough, that when Christianity became fairly established matriarchal rites and festivals, lingering on in out-of-the-way places and among the peasantry, would at once be interpreted as being devilish and sorcerous in character, and the women (formerly priestesses) who conducted them and perhaps recited snatches of ancient half-forgotten rituals, would be accounted witches. "We have, therefore," he says,1 "to look upon the witch as essentially the degraded form of the old priestess, cunning in the knowledge of herbs and medicine, jealous of the rites of the goddess she serves, and preserving in spells and incantations such wisdom as early civilization possessed." This civilization, he explains, included the "observing of times and seasons," the knowledge of weather-lore, the invention of the broom, the distaff, the cauldron, the pitchfork, the domestication of the goat, the pig, the cock and the hen, and so forth—all which things became symbols of the witch in later times, simply because originally they were the inventions of woman and the insignia of her office, and so the religious symbols of the Mother-goddess and her cult.

The connection of all this with homosexual customs is not at once clear; but it has been suggested—though I am not sure that Karl Pearson himself supports this—that the primitive religions of the Matriarchate may have ultimately led to men-priests dressing in female attire. For when the matriarchal days were passing away, and men were beginning to assert their predominance, it still may have happened that the old religious customs lingering on may have induced men to simulate the part of women and to dress as priestesses, or at least have afforded them an excuse for so doing.2 In this way it seems just possible that the pendulum-swing of society from the matriarchate to the patriarchy may have been accompanied by some degree of crisis and confusion between the functions of the sexes, homosexual customs and tendencies may have come to

2See above, pp. 13 and 14.
the fore, and the connection of homosexuality with the priesthood may seem to be accounted for.

This explanation, however, though it certainly has a claim to be mentioned, seems to me too risky and insecure for very much stress to be laid upon it. In the first place the extent and prevalence of the matriarchal order of society is a matter still very much disputed, and to assume that at any early period of human history the same was practically universal would be unjustified. In the second place, granting the existence of the matriarchal order and its transmutation into the patriarchal, the connection of this change with the development of homosexual customs is still only a speculation and a theory, supported by little direct evidence. On the other hand, the facts to be explained—namely, the connection of homosexuality with priesthood and divination—seem to be world-wide and universal. Therefore, though we admit that the causes mentioned—namely the attribution of magical qualities to old religious rites, and the introduction of feminine inversions and disguises through the old matriarchal custom—may account in part for the facts, and in particular may in certain localities have given them a devilish or sorcerous complexion, yet I think we must look deeper for the root-explanations of the whole matter, and consider whether there may not be some fundamental causes in human nature itself.

III.

I have already said that I think there is an original connection of some kind between homosexuality and divination; but in saying this of course I do not mean that everywhere and always the one is connected with the other, or that the relationship between the two is extremely well marked; but I contend that a connection can be traced and that on a priori grounds its existence is quite probable.

And first with regard to actual observation of such a connection, the fact of the widespread belief in it which I have already noted as existing among the primitive tribes of the earth; and their founding of all sorts of customs on that belief, must count for something. Certainly the mere existence of a widespread belief among early and superstitious peoples—as for instance that an eclipse is caused by a dragon swallowing the sun—does not prove its truth; but in the
case we are considering the matter is well within the range of ordinary observation, and the constant connection between the choupan and the angakok, the ke'yev and the shaman, the berdashe and the witch-doctor, the ganymede and the temple-priest, and their correspondence all over the world, the basir among the Dyaks, the boy-priests in the temples of Peru, the same in Buddhist temples of Ceylon, Burma and China—all these cases seem to point to some underlying fact, of the fitness or adaptation of the invert for priestly or divinatory functions. And though the tendency already alluded to, of a later religion to ascribe devilish potency to earlier cults, must certainly in many instances shed a sinister or sorcerous glamour over the invert, yet this exaggeration need not blind us to the existence of a residual fact behind it; and anyhow to a great many of the cases just mentioned it does not apply at all, since in them the question of one religion superseding another does not enter.

To come to more recent times, the frequency with which accusations of homosexuality have been launched against the religious orders and monks of the Catholic Church, the Knights Templars, and even the ordinary priests and clerics, must give us pause. Nor need we overlook the fact that in Protestant Britain the curate and the parson quite often appear to belong to some 'third sex' which is neither wholly masculine nor wholly feminine!

Granting, then, that the connection in question is to a certain degree indicated by the anthropological facts which we already possess—is there, we may ask, any rational ground for expecting this connection a priori and from psychological considerations? I think there is.

In the first place all science now compels us to admit the existence of the homosexual temperament as a fact of human nature, and an important fact; and not only so, but to perceive that it is widely spread among the various races of the earth, and extends back to the earliest times of which we have anything like historical knowledge. We can no longer treat it as a mere local and negligible freak, or put it in the category of a sinful and criminal disposition to be stamped out at all costs. We feel that it must have some real significance. The question is what that may be. The following is a suggestion that may cover part of the ground, though not I think, the whole.
In the primitive societies the men (the quite normal men) are the warriors and hunters. These are their exclusive occupations. The women (the normal women) attend to domestic work and agriculture, and their days are consumed in those labors. But in the evolution of society there are many more functions to be represented than those simple ones just mentioned. And we may almost think that if it had not been for the emergence of intermediate types the more or less feminine man and similarly the more or less masculine woman—social life might never have advanced beyond these primitive phases. But the non-warlike men and the non-domestic women necessarily sought new outlets for their energies. They sought different occupations from those of the quite ordinary man and woman—as in fact they do to-day; and so they became the initiators of new activities. They became inventors and teachers of arts and crafts, or wizards (as they would be considered) and sorcerers; they became diviners and seers, or revealers of the gods and religion; they became medicine-men and healers, prophets and prophetesses; and so ultimately laid the foundation of the priesthood, and of science, literature and art. Thus—on this view, and as might not unreasonably be expected—it was primarily a variation in the intimate sex-nature of the human being which led to these important differentiations in his social life and external activities.

In various ways we can see the likelihood of this thesis, and the probability of the intermediate man or woman becoming a forward force in human evolution. In the first place, as just mentioned, not wholly belonging to either of the two great progenitive branches of the human race, his nature would not find complete satisfaction in the activities of either branch, and he would necessarily create a new sphere of some kind for himself. Secondly, finding himself different from the great majority, sought after by some and despised by others, now an object of contumely and now an object of love and admiration, he would be forced to think. His mind turned inwards on himself would be forced to tackle the problem of his own nature, and afterwards the problem of the world and of outer nature. He would become one of the first thinkers, dreamers, discoverers. Thirdly, some of the Intermediates (though certainly not all) combining the emotionality of the feminine with the
practicality of the masculine, and many other qualities and powers of both sexes, as well as much of their experience, would undoubtedly be greatly superior in ability to the rest of their tribe, and making forward progress in the world of thought and imagination would become inventors, teachers, musicians, medicine-men and priests; while their early science and art (for such it would be)—prediction of rain, determination of seasons, observation of stars, study of herbs, creation of chants and songs, rude drawings and so forth, would be accounted quite magical and divinatory.

Finally, and in the fourth place, I believe that at this stage an element of what might really be called divination would come in. I believe that the blending of the masculine and feminine temperaments would in some of these cases produce persons whose perceptions would be so subtle and complex and rapid as to come under the head of genius, persons of intuitive mind who would perceive things without knowing how, and follow far concatenations of causes and events without concerning themselves about the why—diviners and prophets in a very real sense. And these persons—whether they prophesied downfall and disaster, or whether they urged their people onward to conquest and victory, or whether by acute combinations of observation and experience they caught at the healing properties of herbs or determined the starry influences on the seasons and the crops—in almost all cases would acquire and did acquire a strange reputation for sanctity and divinity—arising partly perhaps out of the homosexual taboo, but also out of their real possession and command of a double-engine psychic power.

The double life and nature certainly, in many cases of inverts observed to-day, seems to give to them an extraordinary humanity and sympathy, together with a remarkable power of dealing with human beings. It may possibly also point to a further degree of evolution than usually attained, and a higher order of consciousness, very imperfectly realized of course, but indicated. This interaction in fact, between the masculine and the feminine, this mutual illumination of logic and intuition, this combination of action and meditation, may not only raise and increase the power of each of these faculties, but it may give the mind a new quality, and a new power of perception corresponding to the blending of subject and object in consciousness. It may possibly lead to the development of
that third order of perception which has been called the cosmic consciousness, and which may also be termed divination. "He who knows the masculine," says Lao-tsze, "and at the same time keeps to the feminine, will be the whole world's channel. Eternal virtue will not depart from him, and he will return again to the state of an infant." To the state of an infant!—that is, he will become undifferentiated from Nature, who is his mother, and who will lend him all her faculties.

It is not of course to be supposed that the witch-doctors and diviners of barbarian tribes have in general reached to the high order of development just described, yet it is noticeable, in the slow evolution of society, how often the late and high developments have been indicated in the germ in primitive stages; and it may be so in this case. Very interesting in this connection is the passage already quoted (page 7) from Elie Reclus about the initiations of the Esquimaux angakok and the appearance to him of his own Genius or Double from the world beyond, for almost exactly the same thing is supposed to take place in the initiation of the religious yogi in India—except that the god in this latter case appears to the pupil in the form of his teacher or guru. And how often in the history of the Christian saints has the divinity in the form of Jesus or Mary appeared to the strenous devotee, apparently as the culminating result of his intense effort and aspiration, and of the opening out of a new plane of perception in his mind! It may be that with every great onward push of the growing soul, and every great crisis in which as it were a sheath or a husk falls away from the expanding bud, the new order within, the new revelation, the new form of life, is seen for a moment as a Vision in glorious state of a divine being or God.1

IV.

This leads to another consideration, which ought not to be omitted here, as germane to the subject—namely, the frequency with which, among early peoples, the gods are represented—both in their forms and in their manners and customs—as hermaphrodite

1It is probable also that the considerable degree of continence, to which many homosexuals are by nature or external necessity compelled, contributes to this visionary faculty.
or bisexual. For clearly bisexuality links on to homosexuality, and the fact that this characteristic was ascribed to the gods suggests that in the popular mind it must have played a profound and important part in human life. I will therefore, in conclusion, give some instances of this divine bisexuality.

Brahm, in the Hindu mythology, is often represented as two-sexed. Originally he was the sole Being. But, "delighting not to be alone he wished for the existence of another, and at once he became such, as male and female embraced. He caused this his one self to fall in twain." Siva, also, the most popular of the Hindu divinities, is originally bi-sexual. In the interior of the great rockhewn Temple at Elephanta, the career of Siva is carved in successive panels. And on the first he appears as a complete full-length human being conjoining the two sexes in one—the left side of the figure (which represents the female portion) projecting into a huge breast and hip, while the side right is man-like in outline, and in the centre (though now much defaced) the organs of both sexes. In the second panel, however, his evolution or differentiation is complete, and he is portrayed as complete male with his consort Sakti or Parvati standing, as perfect female beside him. There are many such illustrations in Hindu literature and art, representing the gods in their double or bi-sexual role—e.g., as Brahma Ardhanarisa, Siva Ardhanarisa (half male and half female). And these again are interesting in connection with the account of Elohim in the 1st chapter of Genesis, and the supposition that he was such an androgynous deity. For we find (v. 27) that "Elohim created man in his own image, in the image of Elohim created he him, male and female created he them." And many commentators have maintained that this not only meant that the first man was hermaphrodite, but that the Creator also was of that nature. In the Midrasch we find that Rabbi Samuel-bar-Nachman said that "Adam, when God had created him, was a man-woman (androgyne);" and the great and learned Mai-

1Quoted from the Yajur-Veda. See Bible Folk-lore: a study in Comp. Mythology. London 1884, p. 104.
2See Adams Peak to Elephanta, by E. Carpenter, 1903, p. 308.
monides supported this, saying that "Adam and Eve were created together, conjoined by their backs, but this double being God divided and taking one half (Eve) gave her to the other half (Adam) for a mate." And the Rabbi Manasseh-ben-Israel, following this up, explained that when "God took one of Adam's ribs to make Eve with," it should rather be rendered "one of his sides"—that is, that he divided the double Adam, and one half was Eve.¹

In the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad (1 Adhyaya, 4th Brahmana) the evolution of Brahm is thus described—"'In the beginning of this [world] was Self alone, in the shape of a person. . . . But he felt no delight. . . He wished for a second. He was so large as man and wife together [i.e., he included male and female]. He then made this his Self to fall in two; and thence arose husband and wife. Therefore, Yagnavalkya said: "We two are thus (each of us) like half a shell [or as some translate, like a split pea]." The singular resemblance of this account to what has been said above about the creation of Adam certainly suggests the idea that Jehovah, like Brahm (and like Baal and other Syrian gods), was conceived of as double-sexed, and that primitive man was also conceived of as like nature. The author (Ralston Skinner) of The Source of Measures says (p. 159) "The two words of which Jehovah is composed make up the original idea of male-female of the birth-originator. For the Hebrew letter Jod (or J) was the membrum virile, and Hovah was Eve, the mother of all living, or the procreatrix Earth and Nature."

The tradition that mankind was anciently hermaphrodite is world-old. It is referred to in Plato's Banquet, where Aristophanes says:—"'Anciently the nature of mankind was not the same as now, but different. For at first there were three sexes of human beings not two only, namely male and female, as at present, but a third besides, common to both the others—of which the name remains, though the sex itself has vanished. For the androgynous sex then

¹These and some other references are taken from the learned and careful study "Ueber die androgynische Idee des Lebens" by Dr. von Römer of Amsterdam, which is to be found in Vol. 5 of the Jahrbuch für Sezuelle Zwischenstufen. Leipzig, 1903.

existed, both male and female; but now it only exists as a name of reproach." He then describes how all these three sorts of human beings were originally double, and conjoined (as above) back to back; until Jupiter, jealous of his supremacy, divided them vertically "as people cut apples before they preserve them, or as they cut eggs with hairs"—after which, of course, these divided and imperfect folk ran about over the earth, ever seeking their lost halves, to be joined to them again.

I have mentioned the Syrian Baal as being sometimes represented as double-sexed (apparently in combination with Astarte). In the Septuagint (Hos. II, 8, and Zeph. I, 4) he is called Ἄ Baal (feminine) and Arnobius tells us that his worshippers invoked him thus! "Hear us, Baal! whether thou be a god or goddess." Similarly Bel and other Babylonian gods were often represented as androgyne. Mithras among the Persians is spoken of by the Christian controversialist Firmicus as two-sexed, and by Herodotus (Bk. I, c. 131) as identified with a goddess, while there are innumerable Mithraic monuments on which appear the symbols of two deities, male and female combined. Even Venus or Aphrodite was sometimes worshipped in the double form. "In Cyprus," says Dr. Frazer in his Adonis, etc. (p. 432, note), "there was a bearded and masculine image of Venus (probably Astarte) in female attire: according to Philochorus the deity thus represented was the moon, and sacrifices were offered to him or her by men clad as women, and by women clad as men (see Macrobius Saturn III, 7. 2)." This bearded female deity is sometimes also spoken of as Aphroditus, or as Venus Mylitta. The worship of this bearded goddess was mainly in Syria and Cyprus. But in Egypt also a representation of a bearded Isis has been found,—with infant Horus in her lap; while again there are a number of representations (from papyri) of the goddess Neith in androgyne form, with a male member (erected). And again, curiously enough, the Norse Freya, or Friga, corresponding to Venus,

3Ibid., p. 307.
was similarly figured. Dr. von Römer says:—"Just as the Greeks had their Aphroditos as well as Aphrodite so the Scandinavians had their Friggo as well as their Friga. This divinity, too, was androgyne. Friga, to whom the 6th day of the week was dedicated, was sometimes thought of as hermaphrodite. She was represented as having the members of both sexes, standing by a column with a sword in her right hand, and in her left a bow."

In the Orphic hymns we have:—

"Zeus was the first of all, Zeus last, the lord of the lightning;
Zeus was the head, the middle, from him all things were created;
Zeus was Man, and again Zeus was the Virgin Eternal."

And in another passage, speaking of Adonis:—

"Hear me, who pray to thee, hear me O many-named and best of deities,
Thou, with thy gracious hair . . . both maiden and youth, Adonis."

Again with regard to the latter, Ptolemaeus Hephaestius (according to Photius) writes:—"They say that the androgyne Adonis fulfilled the part of a man for Aphrodite, but for Apollo the part of a wife."^{1}

Dionysus, one of the most remarkable figures in the Greek Mythology, is frequently represented as androgyne. Euripides in his Bacchae calls him "feminine-formed" (θηγύρομφος) or thelumorphos, and the Orphic hymns double-sexed (διφύς) or diphues; and Aristides in his discourse on Dionysus says:—"Thus the God is both male and female. His form corresponds to his nature, since everywhere in himself he is like a double being; for among young men he is a maiden, and among maidens a young man, and among men a beardless youth overflowing with vitality." In the museum at Naples there is a very fine sculptured head of Dionysos, which though bearded has a very feminine expression, and is remindful of the traditional head of Christ. "In legend and art," says Dr. Frazer,^{2} "there are clear traces of an effeminate Dionysus, and in some of his rites and processions men wore female attire. Similar things are reported of Bacchus, who was, of course, another form of Dionysus. Even Hercules, that most mas-

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^{1}See his study already quoted, Jahrbuch, pp. 735-744.
^{2}See Jahrbuch, as above, pp. 806, 807 and 809.
^{3}Adonis, etc., p. 432.
culine figure, was said to have dressed as a woman for three years, during which he was the slave of Omphale, queen of Lydia. "If we suppose," says Dr. Frazer, 1 "that queen Omphale, like queen Semiraminis, was nothing but the great Asiatic goddess, or one of her Avatars, it becomes probable that the story of the womanish Hercules of Lydia preserves a reminiscence of a line or college of effeminate priests who, like the eunuch priests of the Syrian goddess, dressed as women in imitation of their goddess, and were supposed to be inspired by her. The probability is increased by the practice of the priests of Heracles at Antimachia in Cos, who, as we have just seen, actually wore female attire when they were engaged in their sacred duties. Similarly at the vernal mysteries of Hercules in Rome the men were draped in the garments of women."

Such instances could be rather indefinitely multiplied. Apollo is generally represented with a feminine—sometimes with an extremely feminine—bust and figure. The great hero Achilles passed his youth among women, and in female disguise. Every one knows the recumbent marble Hermaphrodite in the Louvre. There are also in the same collection two or three elegant bronzes of Aphrodite-like female figures in the standing position—but of masculine sex. What is the explanation of all this?

It is evident that the conception of double sex, or of a sex combining the characters of male and female, haunted the minds of early peoples. Yet we have no reason for supposing that such a combination, in any complete and literal sense, ever existed. Modern physiological investigation has never produced a single case of a human being furnished with the complete organs of both sexes, and capable of fulfilling the functions of both. And the unfortunate malformations which do exist in this direction are too obviously abortive and exceptional to admit of their being generalized or exalted into any kind of norm or ideal. All we can say is that—though in the literal sense no double forms exist—certainly a vast number of intermediate forms of male and female are actually found, which are double in the sense that the complete organs of one sex are conjoined with some or nearly all of the (secondary) characters of the other sex; and that we have every reason to believe that these

1Ibid., p. 431.
Jour. Relig. Psych.—5
intermediate types have existed in considerable numbers from the remotest antiquity. That being so, it is possible that the observation or influence of these intermediate types led to a tentative and confused idealization of a double type.

Anyhow the fact remains—that these idealizations of the double type are so numerous. And it is interesting to notice that while they begin in early times with being merely grotesque and symbolical, they end in the later periods by becoming artistic and gracious and approximated to the real and actual. The Indian Siva with his right side masculine and his left side feminine is in no way beautiful or attractive; any more than Brahma with twenty arms and twenty legs. And the same may be said of the bearded Egyptian Isis or the bearded Syrian Aphrodite. These were only rude and inartistic methods of conveying an idea. The later spirit, however, found a better way of expression. It took its cue from the variations of type to be seen every day in the actual world; and instead of representing the Persian Mithra as a two-sexed monster, it made him a young man, but of very feminine outline. The same with the Greek Apollo; while on the other hand the female who is verging toward the male type is represented by Artemis or even by the Amazons.

It may be said:—we can understand this representation of intermediate forms from actual life, but we do not see why such mingling of the sexes should be ascribed to the gods, unless it might be from a merely fanciful tendency to personify the two great powers of nature in one being—in which case it is strange that the tendency should have been so universal. To this we may reply that probably the reason or reasons for this tendency must be accounted quite deep-rooted and anything but fanciful. One reason, it seems to me, is the psychological fact that in the deeps of human nature (as represented by Brahm and Siva in the Hindu philosophy, by Zeus in the Orphic Hymns, by Mithra in the Zend-avesta, etc.) the sex-temperament is undifferentiated;¹ and it is only in its later and more external and partial manifestations that it branches decidedly into male and female; and that, therefore, in endeavoring through religion to represent the root facts of life, there was always a tendency

¹Compare the undifferentiated sex-tendencies of boys and girls at puberty and shortly after.
to cultivate and honor hermaphroditism, and to ascribe some
degree of this quality to heroes and divinities. The other possible
reason is that as a matter of fact the great leaders and heroes did
often exhibit this blending of masculine and feminine qualities and
habits in their actual lives, and that therefore at some later period,
when exalted to divinities, this blending of qualities was strongly
ascribed to them and was celebrated in the rites and ceremonies
of their religion and their temples. The feminine traits in genius
(as in a Shelley or a Byron) are well marked in the present day. We
have only to go back to the Persian Báb of the last century1 or to
a St. Francis or even to a Jesus of Nazareth, to find the same traits
present in founders and leaders of religious movements in historical
times. And it becomes easy to suppose the same again of those
ey early figures—who once probably were men—these Apollos, Bud-
dhas, Dionysus, Osiris, and so forth—to suppose that they too were
somewhat bi-sexual in temperament, and that it was really largely
owing to that fact that they were endowed with far-reaching powers
and became leaders of mankind. In either case—whichever reason
is adopted—it corroborates the general thesis and argument of this
paper.

1Ali Muhammed, who called himself the Báb (or Gate), was born at Shiraz in
1820. In 1844 he commenced preaching his gospel, which was very like that of
Jesus, and which now has an immense following. In 1850 he was shot, at Tabriz,
as a malefactor, and his beloved disciple Mirza Muhammed Ali, refusing to leave
him, was shot with him.