

There are also reports of cross-dressing shamans scattered elsewhere (Borneo, Vietnam).

Lesbians. The only relatively clearly documented instance of institutionalized lesbianism in Melanesia comes from Malekula Island in the New Hebrides. A. B. Deacon was able to learn that among the Big Nambas of the northern part of the island lesbianism was "common": "Between women, homosexuality is common, many women being generally known as lesbians, or in the native term *nimomogh iap nimomogh* ('woman has intercourse with woman'). It is regarded as a form of play, but, at the same time, it is clearly recognized as a definite type of sexual desire, and that women do it because it gives them pleasure" (p. 170).

Blackwood suggested something close to ritualized lesbian behavior: homosexual play during the coming-of-age (menstruation) celebration in the Solomon Islands. Such reports are uncommon. One should be wary of the general lack of data on lesbian behavior, however, since most Melanesianists have been males studying males. Whether lesbian activity existed elsewhere in Melanesia will probably never be known because of the increasing tempo of westernization.

From the Philippines, Hart described females who cross-dressed and engaged in male occupations. These females were sometimes referred to with the term for male cross-dressers (*bayot*), sometimes with their own: *lakin-on*, and sometimes pass as men away from their natal village (pp. 223-26).

In Tahiti, "Transient homosexual contacts between women are said to be frequent. These are said to involve mutual mouth-genital contact or mutual masturbation. These contacts are not considered particularly abnormal or signs of altered sexuality. They involve women who also engage in ordinary heterosexual behavior" (Levy, p. 141). There is lesbian behavior, but "no evidence for a full homosexual role corresponding to the *mahu*. . . *Mahu*

[as a term] is considered by many to be misused for describing female homosexuals" (Ibid.). The term *raerae* [see above] is sometimes used, also *vahine pa'i'a* which means "woman rubbing together genitals without penetration" (Levy, p. 140). Scattered, inconclusive reports from the Indonesian archipelago exist but contain nothing that would parallel the profession-defined male homosexuality.

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PAINTING

See Art, Visual; Nude in Art.

PALEO-SIBERIAN PEOPLES

Several anthropological accounts of the indigenous peoples of eastern Siberia and Alaska describe a widespread practice of same-sex marriage between gender-mixed and gender-consistent males, and to a lesser extent, females. Sexual relations between men and between women fall into the *berdache* pattern common among circum-Pacific cultures from Indonesia and Polynesia to North and South

America, but the Paleo-Siberian peoples also associate gender-mixed individuals with **shamanism**. Though not unique to this cultural area, in that gender-mixed shamans have been noted among the Araucanians of Chile, the Sea Dyaks of Kalimantan, and the Sami of Lapland, these Siberian and Alaskan people present a consistent cultural pattern.

The transition to gender-mixed or cross-gender status may take the form of a profound spiritual-psychological experience at any point during the life course from childhood to old age or may be an identity experienced virtually from birth. The form of the transition varies as well from assuming a token trait of the other gender to a complete shift in comportment, dress, and location in the division of labor. Waldemar Bogoras noted the example of a Chukchee widow of middle age with three children who cut her hair, assumed masculine attire and speech, and learned to use a spear and a rifle. She subsequently married a girl who bore two sons. A male may make a similar gender transition, then "seeks the good graces of men, and succeeds easily with the aid of 'spirits.' Thus he has all the young men he could wish for striving to attain his favor. From there he chooses his lover, and after a time takes a husband." (1909, p. 450).

The association of special powers with interstitial or ambiguous persons is a widespread human idea and among foraging societies where the division of labor is often only by gender, it is gender-mixed individuals who present occupational innovations often as proto-artist or intellectual. Mircea Eliade notes that "the poetic vocabulary of a Yakut shaman contains 12,000 words, whereas the ordinary language—the only language known to the rest of this community—has only 4,000. [The shaman is] singer, poet, musician, diviner, priest, and doctor, appears to be the guardian of religious and popular traditions, preserver of legends several centuries old." (p. 30). Just as gender-mixed individuals bridge gender boundaries, they

are called to bridge between the sacred and the profane. Chukchee shamans show virtuosity in ventriloquism, spells, and divination in calling forth spirit voices. The Koryak and Kamchadal berdache is regarded as a magician and interpreter of dreams, who is "inspired by a particular kind of guardian spirits called *eien* [?], by the help of which he treats patients, struggles with other shamans, and also causes injury to his enemies." (Jochelson, p. 420).

Homosexuality is a frequent but not indispensable socially recognized component of the shaman identity among the circumpolar Samoyed, Ostyak, Tungus, Buryat, Aleut, Kodiak and Tlingit. It is noteworthy that in keeping with the gender cosmology, the gender-consistent marital partners of berdaches and shamans are not thought peculiar or worthy of differentiation from their counterparts who marry heterosexually.

Homosexuality among Paleo-Siberian peoples, then, is culturally recognized as an element in a social constellation of characteristics including "mixed" or anomalous placement in the division of labor and gender expectations, which sets certain persons apart as "special," "destined," or "gifted."

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PANIC, HOMOSEXUAL

The condition known as homosexual panic was first posited by Edward J. Kempf in the book *Psychopathology* (1920) and hence is sometimes styled *Kempf's*