

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*

disease. In the moralizing language of the period, he there defined it as "panic due to the pressure of uncontrollable perverse sexual cravings," ascribing its importance to the frequency with which it occurred whenever men or women had to be grouped apart from the opposite sex "for prolonged periods, as in army camps, aboard ships, on exploring expeditions, in prisons, monasteries, schools and asylums."

According to Kempf, the homosexual cravings threaten to overcome the individual's ego, his sense of self-control, which has been weakened by fatigue, debilitating fevers, loss of love object, misfortunes, homesickness, the seductive pressure of some superior, or erotic companions. The affective homosexual desires cause delusions about situations, objects, and persons that tend to gratify the craving, or even hallucinations of them. When the erotic hallucination is felt to be an external reality and the subject can find no defense, panic ensues. The erotic affect may be symbolized as visions, voices, electric injections, "drugged" feelings, "poison" and "filth" in the food, seductive and hypnotic influences, irresistible trance states, crucifixion, and the like. It may be more or less severe, lasting from a few hours to several months, and the metabolic disturbances attending such dissociations of the personality, because the autonomic reactions produced by fear may be quite serious. When the subject's compensatory striving to retaliate or escape increases his liability to punishment, a tendency to lowering of blood pressure, irregularity of pulse, difficulty in breathing, and a tendency to assume a catatonic attitude seem to follow, as in young monkeys, puppies, terrified soldiers, and catatonic patients. Further, the individual incarcerated in a mental hospital may be caught in a vicious circle, because the deteriorating, monotonous existence forced upon him reduces his powers of adaptation and social competition. The panic state may be the first acute episode in schizophrenic disorders, and is more

frequent in males than in females. The prognosis in such cases depends largely upon the extent of the defensive systematization of the delusions, and whether or not the patient is reacting with hatred. The presence of hatred is always to be considered as dangerous and certain to prevent the development of insight. Instead of overt sexual delusions, the individual suffers anxiety on account of fears of undue malignant influence, physical violence, or impending death. Such an episode is termed *acute aggression panic*. Prognosis is usually favorable, but a relapse is liable to occur if the individual does not make a successful heterosexual adjustment. The recurrence of panic results from inability to control or repress the homosexual tendencies, which may eventually become dominant and incurable. Such was the psychiatric discourse generated to deal with a problem that, in the socially repressive atmosphere of the period, undoubtedly possessed a certain reality.

It is significant that the concept of homosexual panic emerged in the United States just after World War I, when for the first time since 1865 large numbers of men were brought together in training camps and military bases with no members of the opposite sex present. While homophobic literature makes much of the alleged tendency of one-sex institutions to cause homosexual behavior, just the opposite reaction can and does occur. The fear of being socially defined as "homosexual" was in the past so intense that the perception of homosexual desires within oneself could precipitate the symptoms described above, particularly since the popular mind failed to grasp the psychiatric distinction between exclusive homosexuality and homosexual attraction of a sporadic or episodal kind, and the religious sanctions could attach even to erotic desires, independent of any overt activity. The anxiety created by this confusion and by the affective character of the imagined homosexual identity was demoralizing for

the patient and perplexing for the therapist. The phenomenon of homosexual panic stems in no small part from the internalization of society's futile attempt to stigmatize and prohibit homosexual behavior.

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Warren Johansson

PAPACY

Given the custom of monastic sex-segregation and the extension of celibacy to the priesthood in the Western church beginning in the eleventh century, it is not surprising that a number of Roman pontiffs should have been involved in homoerotic sentiments and behavior. Details of the personal biographies of the early Christian popes are scanty, but beginning with the so-called dark age of the papacy (ninth–eleventh centuries) we begin to find information on wayward and self-indulgent behavior on the part of the bishops of Rome.

John XII (938–964) was the son of Alberic II, the civil ruler of the eternal city, and connected to other patrician families. On being elected pope at the age of eighteen, he modeled himself on the scandalous Roman emperor **Heliogabalus**, holding homosexual orgies in the papal palace. To counter opposition to his rule, he invited the German ruler Otto the Great to Rome, where he was crowned emperor in 962. John was thus instrumental in establishing the Holy Roman Empire, an institution that lasted in a formal sense until 1806. Benedict IX (1021–ca. 1052) was the son of the count of Tusculum. He imitated John XII in staging licentious orgies. These and other excesses caused such indignation that Benedict was deposed in 1045, but then reinstated, only to be deposed again. He disappeared into such deep obscurity that his actual date of death is unknown. John's activities may have helped to incite the reaction of the puri-

tanical theologian Peter **Damian** (1007–1072), whose *Liber Gomorrhianus* is an attack against all kinds of sexual irregularities among the clergy. Under his associate Pope Gregory VII (ca. 1021–1085) reform ideas triumphed, and clerical celibacy was made obligatory for the Catholic priesthood, an injunction that remains in force to this day. The licentious "Pope Joan," who is supposed to have lived during this period, is entirely mythical.

As might be expected, it is the **Renaissance** period, with its revival of classical antiquity and love of art, that sees the greatest number of sexually active popes. The Venetian Paul II (1417–1471) was so vain that he had originally intended to take the name Formosus ("beautiful"). He was a collector of statuary, jewelry, and (it was said) of handsome youths. Given to the most sumptuous ecclesiastical drag, he was lampooned by his enemies as "Our Lady of Pity." His successor, Sixtus IV (1414–1482), is remembered for his art patronage, which included the erection and first decorations of the Sistine chapel. Among the artists most prominent in his reign was the Florentine homosexual **Bot-ticelli**. This pope favored his scheming nephews, one of whom himself became pope under the name of Julius II. However, Sixtus was most devoted to another nephew, Raffaele Riario, whom he made papal chamberlain and bishop of Ostia. He elevated to the cardinalate a number of other handsome young men.

The Borgia pope, Alexander VI (1431–1503) was believed to have reduced Rome to unparalleled depths of depravity, and the city teemed with assassins and prostitutes of both sexes. Alexander was himself much given to womanizing, having sired eight or more children, but he was apparently not averse to the charms of young men as well. His successor Julius II (1443–1513) positioned himself for high office during the reign of his uncle Sixtus IV. A lover of art, he patronized both **Mich-elangelo** and Raphael, and in 1506 he laid the foundation stone for the magnificent