

He asserted that "Christ and Mary were both virgins, and this consecrated the pattern of virginity for both sexes."

St. Augustine, who towered over all the Greek and Latin fathers, developed doctrines that held sway throughout the Dark Ages, were challenged and modified by Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century, but revived again by Protestantism in the sixteenth century. Leaning heavily on the Old Testament and rejecting Manichaeism to which Augustine had once adhered, he taught that all non-procreative modes of sexual gratification were wrong because pleasure was their sole object.

St. Benedict of Nursia withdrew from the licentiousness at Rome, where he was educated, for a cave at Subiaco. He organized the monks attracted to his hermitage into twelve monasteries but in 525 moved to Monte Cassino where the "Patriarch of Western Monasticism" composed his rule by altering and shortening "The Rule of the Master" and also drawing freely upon those of Sts. Basil, John Cassian, and Augustine. Chapter 22 of his Rule prescribed that monks should sleep in separate beds, clothed and with lights burning in the dormitory; the young men were not to sleep next to one another but separated by the cots of elders.

From a noble family that fled Cartagena when it was destroyed by the Arian Goths, St. Isidore (d. 636), who had entered a monastery ca. 589, succeeded his brother as Archbishop of Seville in 600. Presiding over several councils in Visigothic Spain, the only Germanic realm whose laws punished homosexual acts, he founded schools and convents and tried to convert Jews. His often fanciful *Etymologies* (such as *miles quia nil molle faciat*, "miles [soldier] because he does nothing molle [effeminate]") became the encyclopedia of the Dark Ages. In his theological writings, Isidore borrowed from Augustine and Gregory the Great, condemning non-procreative sexuality and approving mar-

riage hesitantly and solely for the begetting of children.

Adopted *in toto* from such Hellenistic Jewish authors as Philo Judaeus and Flavius Josephus, the homophobia of the early fathers was never contradicted or opposed by any Christian thinker accepted as an authority by later generations. The Third Lateran Council in 1179 prescribed for sodomitical clerics only degradation or penitential confinement in a monastery. This was carried out according to canon law, but secular legislation under clerical influence usually prescribed burning alive. Gratian in the *Decretals* devoted little space to homosexual and other "unnatural" sex acts but clearly considered such sins more heinous than fornication or adultery. The final triumph of homophobic thought and practice within the Western church occurred only in the thirteenth century, when at the Fourth Lateran Council under Pope Innocent III (1215) the Church attained its all-time height of power and influence over European society. From the close of the century onward, all expression of homosexual feeling and activity was forbidden and penalized not just by criminal sanctions, but by ostracism and social infamy.

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PEDERASTY

Pederasty is the erotic relationship between an adult male and a boy, generally one between the ages of twelve and seventeen, in which the older partner is attracted to the younger one who re-

turns his affection, whether or not the liaison leads to overt sexual contact. It is probably the most characteristic, if not normative, form of male homosexual relationship in the majority of human societies throughout history, though not in Western Europe and North America in modern times.

In contemporary writings on the subject of age-asymmetrical relationships there is an increasing tendency to merge pederasty into a larger context of **pedophilia**, comprising all adult-child relationships. Although it is common today, this trend has the disadvantage of suggesting that the adolescent partner in a pederastic relationship is a child, with all the connotations of vulnerability and innocence that such a term conveys. However this may be, it is best to examine the phenomenon, at least initially, in a nonjudgmental manner.

There is also reason to consider the attraction to young men of ages roughly eighteen to twenty-one as a separate phenomenon, termed **ephebophilia**.

Phenomenology. In tribal and premodern societies pederasty occurred chiefly as a form of initiation into the world of male adulthood through sexual intimacy between the older partner who serves as patron, protector, and mentor, and the younger, who is the pupil or protégé. Like marriage, the pederastic relationship may assimilate the junior partner to the status of the senior one, may incorporate him into the structure of a society dominated by aristocratic families and their clients and servitors. In terms of psychological functioning, the liaison can allow the younger male to experience sexuality in a nonprocreative mode (the "homosexual phase"), as it were a "dry run," before he masters the heterosexual aggressiveness of adult manhood, and at the same time to eroticize the tasks of the mature male in such a way that they are experienced not as a chore and a burden, but in a context of sexual pleasure and fulfillment. It also allows the older individual to trans-

mit his cultural identity to the younger one in a manner paralleling the bequest of genetic identity through marriage and fatherhood.

Traditionally, the pederast begins to lose sexual interest in his adolescent partner with the first signs of the growth of the beard. Some modern pederasts also report aversion to the inception of adult male pheromones, the "man scent" that the boy still lacks. Finally, some are erotically concerned with the hip-shoulder ratio, which is more nearly equal in the willowy adolescent youth than in the well-developed adult male with his V-chest configuration. Choosing adults as his sexual objects, the **androphile** typically likes prominent pectorals; the pederast does not.

In its most archaic forms, pederasty was an outgrowth of the comradeship in arms of warrior societies in which the older male instructed the younger in the arts of combat and self-defense. Even now in many primitive cultures the rite of passage into manhood entails pederastic activity that is obligatory for every member of the tribe. This aspect of pederasty is in itself a proof of the capacity for homosexual arousal and activity that is part of the macroevolutionary heritage of homo sapiens. Pederasty has also flourished in a number of high cultures, including ancient Greece, medieval Islam, Japan, and Korea.

Ancient Greece. The most celebrated model of man-boy relationship is the *paiderasteia* of the ancient Greeks, whose culture was thoroughly permeated by the institution. The pederastic element in Hellenic culture was part of the whole system of *paideia*, the education that is intended to make a boy a good soldier, a good father, a good citizen, a good statesman—to endow him with the combination of qualities which Greek civilization cherished and admired in the adult. While the Greeks practiced several varieties of pederasty, a particularly admired form was that of Sparta with its military culture; Plutarch's life of Lycurgus mentions edicts of that archetypal lawgiver to the effect

that a man was obligated to form such a union, and that a boy was disgraced if he could not find an honorable lover who was in turn held responsible for his conduct on the battlefield. The actual origins of the pederastic institution in Greece are lost in the mists of prehistory. At the point that our sources allow us to monitor the phenomenon (the sixth century B.C.), pederasty flourished in the Greek city-states with varying degrees of emphasis on the content of the ethical/educational basis, from mere athletic prowess to training for leadership in the boy's later public career.

The myth of the abduction of **Ganymede** by Zeus served as the prototype of such a relationship, which was commemorated in Crete by a symbolic ravishment of the youth who then spent two months in the house of his lover, finally being sent home with legally prescribed gifts symbolic of the liaison. Such an attachment supplemented the rather limited content of the education imparted in school, which was confined to rote learning reinforced by severe discipline. The principal concern of the Greeks was that the youth should choose a worthy lover and ever after be faithful and devoted to him, instead of engaging in the selfish conduct typical of the kept boy or "hustler" of today. It is worthy of note that a slave could not be a pederast, just as he could not contract a legal marriage: the older party had to be a free citizen who could inspire the boy to perform his duties to the city-state in an outstanding manner.

The aesthetic emphasis in pederasty, then and now, was on the ephemeral, **androgynous** quality of the youth that is lost the moment he crosses the developmental threshold of manhood—the negative event to which the Greek poets devote no little attention. The transient "bloom" (*anthos*) of the adolescent is a union of male and female beauties, a work of Eros and an object of adoration. The pederast, it should be stressed, has no interest in proselytizing for androphile (adult-adult) homosexuality; he is nor-

mally repelled by adult males and has no wish to be the object of their sexual attention. It is solely the charm of the youth in his mid-teens that attracts and captivates him.

While allusions to pederasty are found in many of the surviving works of Greek literature (distinct from the clearly negative attitude toward effeminacy in the plays of **Aristophanes**), the largest single collection of such writings is the twelfth book of the **Greek Anthology**, the so-called *Musa paidike* (Boy-Love Muse) of Strato of Sardis, who lived in the middle of the second century of the present era. The 250 poems of this work—and others scattered throughout the Anthology—reveal the customs of pederasty down to the smallest detail. It is remarkable that in the face of this unambiguous evidence—supplemented by the countless works of art consecrated to the beauty of the adolescent male—some recent authors have tried to claim that the "boy" (*pais*) of Greek literature was the adult male courted by the homosexual of today.

As known to us in literary sources, the Greek institution presents pederasty in a particularly elaborate form, with not only aesthetic and personalistic dimensions, but also those of state-building and military preparedness. Because of the lasting prestige of Greek civilization this type of pederasty has continued to occupy scholarly attention, though modern sensibilities sometimes present it in an altered version that is not true to the historic reality. Still the Greek phenomenon, however misunderstood, has been a tracer element revealing the permutations of the Western tradition of male same-sex love.

Cross-Cultural Manifestations.

Comparative study discloses many societies in which the principal homosexual love object for males is the adolescent boy. The Far East provides the closest parallels to the elaborated form of Greece. In Korea in the first millennium the *hwarang* were pages chosen for their beauty and military prowess alike. In Japan the *samurai* class,

arising in the late twelfth century, fostered an idealized love between the older warrior and his young protégé. There are many accounts of one partner dying to preserve the other's honor. Japanese Buddhism also permitted the admission of young novices who became the lovers of older priests. In China a more aesthetic variety of pederasty flourished, and there are a number of accounts of royal favorites, as well as everyday boy prostitution. The seclusion of women in Islamic countries led to an almost universal diffusion of boy love. Yet only in some regions of that civilization—as in Mamluk Egypt and modern Afghanistan—did the practice take on a military and state-building character.

Evidence from tribal cultures, though often obscured by inadequate reports, suggests that several modes approximating pederasty were prevalent. In New Guinea, as among other Pacific cultures where the matter has been carefully studied, a number of tribes believe that younger boys can become men only if their bodies are "primed" through the ingestion or insertion of the semen of older partners. In most cases the active partners seem themselves to be boys in their late teens, who were then expected to marry and lead a totally heterosexual life. A participant may be a receiver one year and the giver the next. Thus this initiatory homosexuality fits the pederastic pattern somewhat imperfectly, since the sexual connection is not truly intergenerational.

Modern Perspectives. The dominance of androphilia, the erotic relation between two post-adolescent males, is of comparatively recent origin, emerging among the Germanic-Celtic populations of northwestern Europe. Its characteristic subculture—the bars, bathhouses, and similar trysting places that flourish in the anonymity of the large city—lacks the educational/initiatory function of pederasty. The merits attaching to the latter are, however, the theme of much traditional apologetic literature on behalf of homosexuality. In harking back to ancient

Greece, the androphile advocate of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries appealed to the glories of a tradition which his own culture did not share or continue. As a recurring trait of Western civilization, Neo-classicism involves much editing and refashioning of the Hellenic sources. Such adaptive changes are usually ignored by the modern Hellenist, who insists that he is following the ancient models with complete fidelity. The evocation of Greek pederasty has not been immune to this process of adaptation and idealization—a process that makes it difficult to understand the character of ancient and modern pederasty alike. Ironically, Western civilization ultimately derived its negative official attitude toward homosexuality from the "evil empire" with which the Greeks had to wage their heroic wars—the Persia that had Zoroastrianism as its state religion. As a client-ethnos living under Persian rule, the Jews adopted an antihomosexual moral code which they exported in the guise of Christianity to the Greco-Roman world that had tolerated if not glorified pederasty.

The modern pederast suffers from the double obloquy that is visited not just upon the homosexual, but also upon the age-asymmetrical relationship in which he is implicated. From the very outset of the modern homophile movement, its leaders sought to distance themselves from the pederast (not without criticism, for example, from the Youth Committee of the North American Conference of Homophile Organizations at its 1969 convention), even urging an age of consent so high as to exclude the boy-lover from any benefit accruing from the law reform which was their goal. Hence the pederastically oriented part of the movement has had to found its own organizations, beginning with the *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* (Community of the Exceptional) in Wilhelmine Germany, and create its own literature. The first writer of note in this field was the anarchist John Henry Mackay, who from 1905 onward under the pseudo-

nym of Sagitta composed a whole series of works (*Die Bücher der namenlosen Liebe*) in defense of man-boy love. Others who defended the pederastic tradition were Adolf Brand and Benedict Friedlaender, and to a lesser extent Hans Blüher, who laid stress upon the role of homoerotic ties in what he called the "male society," as opposed to the family with its basis in procreative heterosexuality. He singled out the *Wandervogelbewegung* (the German equivalent of the Boy Scout movement) as a modern expression and institutionalization of the initiatory relationship.

In the English-speaking world the pederastic ideal inspired a whole coterie of minor poets in Late Victorian England (the Calamites), where the public school had a curiously pederastic ambience that undercut the official taboo. But the first major treatment of the subject was J. Z. Eglinton's *Greek Love* (1964) which, in contrast to the defense of homosexuality "between consenting adults" that followed the publication of the *Wolfenden Report* in 1957, reasserted the right of the pederast to the love-object of his choice and affirmed the value of the man-boy relationship in modern society. In Italy, the Netherlands, West Germany, and other countries, pederasts have formed their own groups, separate from the androphile organizations that dominate the gay movement at the present day. Yet even if the pederast cherishes the aristocratic ideal of being the lover and mentor of a promising youth, he remains obliged to live in a furtive, clandestine, semi-criminal subculture, hiding his attachments with chance partners from the prying eyes of the neighbors and the police. Although the police may no longer prosecute androphile homosexuals, they can still engage in frequently questionable tactics to deliver the pederast to courts that can impose draconian sentences for what is consensual behavior, if the adolescent has not yet reached the artificially high "age of consent."

It is also a curious fact that individuals attracted to prepubescent chil-

dren—pedophiles in the narrow sense—have tried to ally themselves with pederasts, as if to claim shelter under the ideological umbrella of pederasty that historically excluded them, since the man-boy relationship was strictly defined by the membership of the latter in the appropriate age cohort. This conflation has even led to the demand for abolition of all age-of-consent laws, a step which would presumably sanction heterosexual pedophilia as well—the activity that provokes the maximum of public condemnation and censure. By and large, organizations with such an impractical program have been rejected by the mainstream homosexual-rights movement and excluded from its coalitions.

Modern society has yet to make the effort to understand the historical and phenomenological significance of pederasty as a mode of human behavior. Having accorded a grudging tolerance to androphile homosexuality, public opinion would still deny it to the boy-lover, ostensibly in the interest of the younger partner. Although genuine ethical questions do arise, much confusion has stemmed from equating intergenerational sexual relations with child abuse per se, and the latter with physical mistreatment and neglect. The resolution, if at all possible, of the entire complex of issues—empirical and political—will be a task for future decades.

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PEDOPHILIA

This article refers to mutually consensual affective relationships between adults, on the one hand, and pre-pubertal children, those undergoing puberty, and adolescents, on the other, occurring outside the family, and which include a sexual component. The adult participant in such a relationship is termed a *pedophile* by the authors. While various forms of such relationships (distinct from those within the family, which are properly incest), with various social meanings, have existed throughout history and worldwide, the term "p[*a*]edophilia" was first used in English only as recently as 1906, by Havelock Ellis. It had previously appeared as a specific form of sexual pathology in a German article of 1896 by Richard von Kafft-Ebing.

Because the term "pedophilia" originated in a medical context and today connotes disease, efforts have been made to replace it. Pederasty is sometimes used as a synonym, or as a term restricted to post-pubescent adolescents, but in the present writers' view, it should properly be restricted to the Greek custom it originally designated, which, though a form of pedophilia as we understand it, is not congruent with it. Apologists for homosexual relations with adolescents who seek to separate "pederasty" from "pedophilia" in hopes that the former might share the social tolerance gained by *androphile* (adult-male-to-adult-male eroticism) homosexuality, and who appeal to the Greek model for support, err in their understanding of it, for these relationships often began before the boy entered puberty. The earlier average age for puberty within the last century also means that classical texts (and even more recent ones) which speak of relations with mid-teenage boys were not necessarily referring to

sexually mature individuals. (The term *ephebophile* has been used to describe erotic attraction to boys in their late teens, who are considered adults in many if not all cultures.) Similar problems are encountered with the expression "Greek love." "Man/boy love," which posits a symmetry in the relationship and stresses its affective nature, refers to only one variant of pedophilia (the homosexual one), and for that reason is rejected by those who seek terminology inclusive of man/girl, woman/boy, and woman/girl (or "korphile") relationships. "Child molestation" or "abuse," terms current in the media, and in psychological and legal discourse, are neither descriptive of the phenomenon, nor value-free, as academic discourse requires.

That variant of pedophilia occurring between men and boys—male homosexual pedophilia—will be the chief focus of this article. This choice is dictated by several considerations, including the context of the article, the dearth of research on *korophile* relationships, and the fact that until very recently man/boy relationships were accepted as a part, and indeed were a major part, of male homosexuality.

Comparative Perspectives. Before beginning a cross-cultural survey of male homosexual pedophilia, Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg's thesis ("The Paedophile Impulse," *Paidika* 1/3, Winter 1988) about the etiology of pedophilia should be mentioned. Based on her survey of animal behavior studies and anthropological literature, she proposes that pedophilia might be considered a remnant, more evident in some persons than others, of the instinct to nurture and protect the young of the species, which in human development has come to serve an educational (including sex-educational) or initiatory purpose in some societies. The attempt to root pedophilia in man's biological inheritance is controversial, but a cross-cultural survey of man/boy pedophilia at least suggests that it is a universal phenomenon, which,