

*Their Contacts with Men: A Study of Sexually Expressed Relationships*, New York: Global Academic Publishers, 1987.  
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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 "korophile") 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,

when accepted by a society, generally carries a socially constructed meaning related to the acculturation process for boys.

Several studies of the Melanesian societies of the Pacific describe the role played by institutionalized sexual relations between pubertal boys and the man or men responsible for the boys' preparation for initiation into full participation in these societies. Several of these societies believe that without receiving the man's semen through fellatio the boy cannot physically mature.

In pre-modern Japan, among the Samurai warriors, knights took boys as pages and trained them in their ideology and military arts. The popular literature of the day idealized such relationships, which included a sexual component.

A military pattern similar to that of the Samurai was found in Central Africa among the Azande, where warriors took boy-wives who accompanied them during military campaigns, and were in return trained and provided with military equipment by the man upon their "graduation" to adult status in the late teens.

In the above instances, where pedophilia exists in relation to education, initiation or acculturation for boys, it is generally not an exclusive sexual orientation for the adult, but co-exists with the fulfillment of marriage and family responsibilities. In other societies, including our own, man/boy relationships—not sanctioned by the society and viewed with various degrees of intolerance—reflect affective choices of the individuals involved. These relationships may have a generalized educational function, but can be constructed around companionship, substitute parenting, recreation, or simply sexual pleasure. While for some of these pedophiles these relationships do not exclude marriage and family responsibilities, where pedophilia is a personal rather than a socially sanctioned phenomenon, for a higher percentage it will be their only form of sexual contact.

Man/boy pedophile relationships have taken many forms in Islam, including religious significance among the Sufis. Arabic, Persian, and Urdu literature contain a rich tradition of man/boy love in both sacred and secular forms.

*The West.* Western cultural traditions were heavily influenced by ancient Greece, a society in which man/boy love was the normative form of male homosexuality. Classical scholars, examining the oldest strata of Greek mythology, have established that Greek pederasty originated in a situation where a man was responsible for preparing the boy to fulfill his adult civic and military responsibilities, through a relationship which involved both educational functions and sexual activity. After the initial military necessity for the practice receded, it remained a central cultural institution; the role it played, the social system surrounding it, and its influence on Greek art and thought have been amply documented. Although relations between males of the same generation existed—what Bernard Sergent calls "Homeric love" and defines as "homosexuality in all but name"—man/boy relationships were clearly the dominant form of same-sex relations, and rhetorical criticism of or comic attacks on individuals who persisted in such relations beyond the culturally sanctioned age limits make it clear that androphile [adult-adult] relations were dimly regarded.

Pederastic traditions remained influential through Hellenistic and Roman times, though freer from educational goals and more oriented to pleasure. It is symptomatic of this shift that while by law in Greece only free-born boys, who could attain citizenship, could be the younger partner in a relationship, in late Roman times it was illegal for a free-born boy to be the object of the relationship. Yet, as shown by the case of Hadrian and Antinous (a relationship which began when the boy was eleven or twelve), man/boy relationships retained much of their vigor and meaning as late as the first two centu-

ries of the Christian era. As the function of same-sex relationships increasingly became hedonistic, the age limits broke down: we find increasing references to homosexuality between men (particularly in the satiric poets, who make it clear that this was still scorned) and, to a lesser extent, to the sexual use of very young children.

By the beginning of the Middle Ages a pattern of pedophilia was in place which remained until rather recent times. Despite strong attempts of the church, and later, at the behest of the church, of civil law, to suppress all homosexuality, man/boy relationships continued to exist both in forms reflecting the Greek pederastic model (attested in medieval Latin poetry written to their pupils by Alcuin, Hilary, Baudri, and other monastic figures), and in relationships outside of lofty educational contexts, often between masters and apprentices. That the latter remained a frequent form of male homosexuality among common people, coexisting with androphile relations, is demonstrated by the persistence of legal charges involving such activity on into the nineteenth century, in Venice, the Netherlands, and England and its maritime empire.

During the Renaissance, the culture temporarily became more open to pedophile relationships. The symbol of **Ganymede** in literature and art reflects this development. Re-entering European culture with the rediscovery of the classics, both love between men and boys and the Ganymede image burst forth in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, appearing in the work of such varied figures as **Michelangelo**, Correggio, Parmigianino, and Cellini in Italy, and Richard Barnfield and Christopher Marlowe in Tudor England. By the time the symbol lost its power by the end of the seventeenth century, there had been a flowering of boy imagery in the work of artists including Pontormo, **Caravaggio**, and the Flemish sculptor Jérôme Duquesnoy. That Ganymede was more than an artistic convention is shown

by the number of artists who were charged with sodomy with boys, especially their studio assistants. Histories of the Renaissance record similar charges involving popes, poets, and nobles.

*The Romantic Movement.* A "Grecian" ideal of friendship, as interpreted by the German idealists, also influenced the Romantic movement in the late eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries. In addition to the cult of friendship between males, the movement's orientalism also exhibited strong pedophilic influences.

Although also found in androphile figures, these currents were expressed by, among others, Lord **Byron**, with his relations with young teenagers. **William Beckford** was ostracized from society for the scandal of his relationship with William Courtenay, commencing when the boy was eleven. **André Gide**, although today regarded as androphile, is revealed in his diaries as a pedophile. **Stefan George**, a Symbolist poet, was leader of an aesthetic cult centered around the fourteen-year-old Maximin. The pioneer photographers **Wilhelm Baron von Gloeden**, whose imagery was not restricted to adult male nudes, and **F. Holland Day** both produced highly romanticized images of boys.

Besides individuals there were the circles of writers and artists, such as the Uranian poets in England, the circle that produced *Men and Boys* (America's first anthology of homosexual poetry), and the circle around **Adolf Brand's** magazine *Der Eigene*, all of which included androphiles and pedophiles alike.

Between 1880 and 1920 there was a flowering of boy imagery in painting and sculpture, including work by H. S. Tuke, Lord Leighton, Georges Minne, Charles Filiger, Ferdinand Hodler, Joaquín Sorolla, and Elisàr von Kupffer. In education, pedophilia contributed to the formulation of pedagogical eros, with its discussion of the role of a man's erotic love in nurturing and educating boys. Perhaps symbolic of the destruction of all of the Romantic notions

of "friendship" by the growing intellectual and political power of forensic medicine and its theories of sexual pathology was the 1920 trial of the German educator Gustav Wyneken. He and his supporters defended his actions as expressions of Pedagogical Eros, based on cultural models, but the trial ended in his conviction for sexual indecency, based on the medical model.

*Activism.* Arising within the Romantic movement, but in sharp contrast to it, was "Sagitta," John Henry Mackay, the German anarchist, poet, and propagandist for man/boy love in his *Bücher der Namenlose Liebe* (1913). Refusing to drape his love in a toga, Mackay's was the first voice to speak for liberation for "the love of the older male for the younger" (and, by extension, of all sexual orientations) in political terms, and for its own sake, rather than offering any cultural justifications. Although his publications were suppressed, and it would be half a century before pedophiles began to organize as pedophiles, his work prefigured present pedophile activism.

The homosexual movement has had an ambiguous relation to pedophile activism. On the one hand, since Mackay's time it has served as an inspiration for pedophiles and, in both the Netherlands and pre-Stonewall America, provided a supportive context; in 1969, the Youth Committee of the North American Conference of Homophile Organizations (NACHO), chaired by Stephen Donaldson, issued a manifesto calling for the elimination of all age-of-consent limitations, though the adults at the NACHO plenary session rejected it. On the other hand, there has been a tendency on the part of some "respectable" homosexual leaders to sacrifice and denounce pedophiles for political goals. It has been particularly obvious in contemporary American gay politics, but present from the earliest days in Magnus Hirschfeld's efforts, denounced by Mackay, to trade an age of consent for legalization of adult homosexuality. This

rejection has served to spur independent pedophile organizing.

Among the earliest separate pedophile organizing attempts were those in the Netherlands, beginning in the late 1950s, a decade later developing into still ongoing national and local workgroups for pedophiles and the sexual emancipation of youth within the Netherlands Association for Sexual Reform, and the Vereniging Martijn, with its information and support publication *O.K. (Ouderen-kinderen-relaties)*. Similar groups have been formed in Scandinavia, West Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland. The North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), formed in response to prosecutions and hysteria in Boston in 1978, has been successful in fighting off attempts by American authorities to suppress it, and continues to publish its *Bulletin* and to organize. Other groups were less fortunate. The Pedophile Information Exchange (P.I.E.), organized in England in 1974, was crushed by vicious press attacks and the conviction and imprisonment of its leaders for conspiring to corrupt public morals, and disbanded in 1985.

Incarcerated pedophiles continue to be subject to coercive procedures to alter their sexual interest or reduce its level. Although surgical castration is no longer employed, chemical dosages and aversion therapy may be used without the subject's consent.

*Research Perspectives.* Much of the "research" that exists on pedophilia today reflects a predetermination that adult-child sexual contacts are evil or pathological, and merely documents the point of view with which the authors began. There has been no lack of evidence by which such negative pre-suppositions could be supported, because in the same way that studies of homosexuality until quite recently were limited by the source of their research subjects, resulting in a portrayal of homosexuals as criminal, troubled, and unhappy, most studies of pedophilia examine only cases which have

come before either courts or psychiatrists, precisely those where the subjects are most under stress or disturbed. In many countries, research into pedophile relationships under other circumstances is legally impossible: if a researcher should find a healthy, quietly functioning relationship he or she would be required to report it for prosecution under "child protection" laws. These factors, plus the sensationalism surrounding the topic, assure that much of what is written on the subject is, and will continue to be, worthless.

The first multi-disciplinary study in English of pedophilia was J. Z. Eglinton's *Greek Love* (New York: Oliver Layton Press, 1964). As indicated by the title, the author views man/boy relationships in light of the Greek model, and the book is limited by a "pederast" politics that defends relationships with teenagers while declining to consider them for younger boys. Nonetheless, it remains the starting point for study of the cultural history of pedophilia, and a vital source of information. The fullest edition of Frits Bernard's study *Pedophilia* is available in German (*Kinderschänder! Pädophilie—von der Liebe mit Kindern*, Berlin: Foerster, 1982); the Dutch original was not updated, and the English version (Rotterdam: Enclave, 1985) is only a summary. His study concentrates on the psychological dimensions of the phenomenon, with attention to both partners. Parker Rossman's sociological study *Sexual Experience Between Men and Boys* (New York: Association Press, 1976) is less academically rigorous and more popular in its presentations; it is however reliable and far superior to other popular books by Banis or Dodson. In Dutch, Monique Moeller's *Pedofiele relaties* (Deventer: van Loghum Slaterus, 1983) is a fair and thorough sociological treatment. The first volume of Edward Brongersma's *Loving Boys* (Amsterdam: Global Academic, 1986), like Eglinton's book, is as much a defense as a study, and has the largest bibliography

to date, which provides starting points for further study. Though his conclusions about "sickness" seem gratuitous, Morris Fraser's *Death of Narcissus* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1976) is a perceptive Jungian analysis of images and themes in pedophile literature. Kenneth Plummer's article "Pedophilia: Constructing a Sociological Baseline" (in *Adult Sexual Interest in Children*, M. Cook and K. Howells, eds., London: Academic Press, 1981) reviews the sources available at the time and argues for an assessment of pedophilia free from prejudice and stereotyping. *Paidika: The Journal of Paedophilia*, which began publication in Amsterdam in 1987, is a scholarly, cultural magazine examining the phenomenon from the perspective of various disciplines.

Three studies of pedophiles which are both academically rigorous and value-free can be recommended. In Dutch, there is Monica Pieterse's *Pedofielen over Pedofilie* (Zeist: NISSO, 1982), a survey-study of the background and attitudes of a sample of Dutch pedophiles, including women. *The Child Lovers*, by G. D. Wilson and D. N. Cox (London: Owen, 1983), was the result of personality tests administered to 77 English pedophiles contacted through P.I.E. They found that the men were not notably more neurotic or psychotic than any other sample of the general population; nevertheless, their conclusion, based on "moral considerations," is that pedophilia should be suppressed. Australian sociologist Paul Wilson is author of *The Man They Called a Monster* (North Ryde, New South Wales: Cassell, 1981), a study of the case history of Clarence Osborne, a 61-year-old court clerk who committed suicide upon public exposure of his more than two thousand sexual contacts with boys, which he had thoroughly documented. After studying Osborne's history and relationships, and interviewing some of the boys—now adults—Wilson concludes that the condemnation that drove Osborne to suicide was entirely unwarranted.

In addition to Dr. Bernard's work, there are two major sources dealing with the experience of the younger partner in pedophile relationships. The work of the Dutch social psychologist Theo Sandfort, presented in *The Sexual Aspect of Pedophile Relations* (Amsterdam: Pan/Spartacus, 1981) and *Boys on their Contacts with Men* (Amsterdam: Global Academic, 1987), collects and analyzes the attitudes of 25 boys during their participation in pedophile relationships. R. H. Tindall's "The Male Adolescent Involved With a Pederast Becomes an Adult" (*Journal of Homosexuality* 3:4 [1978]) presents data from longitudinal studies. Though the evidence assembled by these sources is slim, they establish that these relationships can be, both at the time and in retrospect, considered consensual, and often beneficial, by the younger partner, and disprove the assumption that such relationships are invariably harmful in either the short or long term. The latter conclusion is supported by "The Effects of Early Sexual Experiences," by L. L. Constantine (in *Children and Sex*, Constantine and F. M. Martinson, eds., Boston: Little, Brown, 1981), a survey of literature concerning childhood sexual experiences (including incest), in which he notes that many studies have reported neutral or even positive reactions to intergenerational sexual experiences, and suggests that the positive evaluations correlate with the degree of mutuality and voluntariness of the child's participation.

*Issues.* A number of themes recur in debates about pedophilia. Several obviously involve issues the significance of which is not limited to pedophilia.

It is generally recognized that the possibility for adults to have sexual relationships with children is dependent on the right of children to make choices about expressing their sexuality. Pedophile organizations have linked their arguments to support of the rights of children. While emphasizing that these rights most certainly include the power to say no to any

unwanted sexual contact as well as the opportunity to say yes to contacts children desire, some groups go further than others in espousing a broad range of children's liberation issues.

Related to the question of legal rights for children is the issue of the child's consent in pedophile relationships. Those speaking for the protection of children frequently assert that children are incapable of consenting to such sexual relationships, sometimes justifying this assertion by the child's lack of experience or knowledge of long-range consequences of an act. It has been answered that children can and do consent, or at least are quite capable of rejecting experiences they find distasteful, and that the proper response is to empower children to be able to say no effectively. This impasse raises the issue of what consent means—freedom to refuse, simple assent, or an "informed" consent that is probably not realized in most human relationships. Closely related to this is the issue of power, and the assertion that the power imbalance between the adult and the younger partner in a pedophile relationship is so great that it inevitably leads to coercion and exploitation. Various responses have been made: either that the power imbalance is not so clear-cut as the critics state, particularly citing the power of the child to terminate the relationship; or that while power imbalances are inherent in all human relationships, they do not necessarily lead to exploitation, but can be used for benevolent ends, and the real issue is not the power imbalance but the use of power.

"Child pornography" is the sharpest point of attack on pedophilia and pedophiles. Included in this attack are the imputation that children are always abused in the production of such images, and the fear that such images will stimulate the abuse of children. It has been shown that this issue has been exploited for political purposes, and the statistics on the amount of such material exaggerated beyond proportion. Despite rhetoric, it has not been

demonstrated that any more connection exists between pedophilia and child pornography than between any other sexuality and its pornography: either to show that pedophiles are more likely to create or use pornography than other persons, or that child pornography encourages sexual contacts with children. Indeed, the Kutshinsky study of the Danish experience with pornography, which has never been refuted, demonstrated that sexual assaults on children declined with the availability of pornography. Pedophiles who have responded to this issue have noted that there is no reason that depictions of children nude or even engaged in sexual actions should be any more or less objectionable than such depictions of adults, and argue that the true issue, as with all pornography, is whether coercion actually is employed in making it.

The issues of child prostitution and the sexual exploitation of children in Third World countries have also been used to attack pedophiles and, by implication, pedophilia. Once it is acknowledged that pedophiles are by no means the only persons who engage in "sex tourism" or patronize prostitutes, the debate again seems to resolve itself into issues of power and consent. A defense has been offered that the right of self-determination in sexual behavior for the individual choosing prostitution should apply here. Poverty, however, may diminish the individual freedom of choice in these situations.

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Joseph Geraci and Donald H. Mader

### PÉLADAN, JOSÉPHIN (1859–1918)

French novelist and mystic. Péladan was the son of a schoolmaster who edited a fanatically Catholic and royalist

paper called *Le châtement* and was constantly trying to find new meanings in the Apocalypse. His elder brother Adrien, a homeopathic physician and student of the Kabbala, introduced him to the literature of mysticism. As early as 1880 Péladan's Catholic convictions brought him into conflict with the law, when he was arrested for demonstrating against the prohibition on unauthorized religious congregations, but fined a mere fifteen francs because his action was ascribed to eccentricity.

In 1883 he arrived in Paris where he quickly penetrated literary circles. His criticism of the Salon of 1883 created a sensation with its text "I believe in the Ideal, Tradition, and Hierarchy." His aesthetic ideas, though akin to those of the pre-Raphaelites in England, were attuned to their own time and place. He declared that "all artistic masterpieces are religious, even among unbelievers" and "for nineteen centuries artistic masterpieces have always been Catholic, even among Protestants." Both in the aesthetic and in the occult worlds he stood squarely at the extreme of Catholic reaction. His first book, *Le Vice suprême* (1884), prefaced by Barbey d'Aureville, prophesied the fall of the Idea into materialism. The hero, Mero-dack—a name culled from Assyrian mythology—is a magician whose vocation compels him to conquer all natural vices.

Péladan further developed his mystical and anti-materialist philosophy in a vast "éthopée" of nineteen volumes called *La Décadence latine* (1885–1907), of which the eighth and ninth volumes (1891) were entitled *L'Androgyne* and *La Gynandre*. In the occult circles where Péladan reigned as *sâr* (king), the figure of the *Androgyne* possessed a recondite significance. Part of the seventh treatise in Péladan's *Amphithéâtre des sciences mortes* expounds the theory of the *Androgyne* under the heading *Erotologie de Platon*; the *Androgyne* is the artistic sex par excellence, realized in the creations of Leonardo da Vinci, "it confounds the two