

psychoanalysis continued to assert that polymorphous perverse adults were either psychotic or unable to form stable human relationships, and therefore driven from one sexual episode to the next. With the gradual decline of the influence of psychoanalysis the term no longer occurs in general writing with any frequency, being replaced by more neutral designations, such as "sexual pluralism."

Wayne R. Dynes

POLYNESIA

See Pacific Cultures.

POPPERS

See Drugs.

PORNOGRAPHY

Originally referring mainly to writings, today pornography includes a whole range of sexually explicit cultural artifacts intended to produce immediate sexual arousal. The term first appeared in eighteenth-century France, a coinage from Greek *pornographos*, "a painter of prostitutes." It is documented in English from the mid-nineteenth century.

Definition. Considerable thought has been devoted to the definition of pornography. Proposed definitions are of three types. The first is by content: the portrayal or discussion of genitalia or specific sexual acts is pornographic; this definition fails because sexual acts and genitalia may be portrayed for medical purposes, or in educational material, without the intent to arouse. A second approach is by the observer's use of the materials: those materials which produce sexual arousal are pornographic. This approach fails because images not intended for arousal, and not found arousing by most, can be used to produce sexual arousal; conversely, some are not stimulated by scenes which the majority finds intensely erotic. Finally, there is the intent of the producer: those materials which are intended to arouse the viewer, reader, or listener are pornographic. As a legal criterion this approach also fails, because intent can be disguised or denied,

and can never be established directly or with absolute certainty. However, it is sufficient for critical purposes and is the definition used in this article.

Value of Pornography. Pornography has often been considered a symptom of societal illness, and its demise predicted. That the gradual removal of restrictions on sexual activities has not produced a parallel decline in pornography, but rather the reverse, suggests that it satisfies a deep need. While animal sexual excitement is produced by odors, a consequence of the estrus cycle, human beings use their minds. The separation of sexuality from reproduction, the increased lifespan civilization has brought, and the anti-erotic trends in modern society mean that glandular impulses toward sexual activity are insufficient. Hence the production and consumption of pornography as a stimulant of sexual activity.

The production of pornography, then, is a naturally human activity, stemming from the same sorts of inner drive that lead to the production of music, art, and literature. It has been found among many tribal peoples. That sexual excitement, like laughter, is contagious lies at the root of pornography's power.

Pornography is, for many people, pleasurable, directly and indirectly producing orgasm, and that alone is a powerful argument for it. It relieves guilt over sexuality, encourages **masturbation** and **fantasy**, and is a substitute for risky sexual encounters; as such, it can be relationship-enhancing. Through pornography the creator and consumer can explore and accept aspects of their sexuality which cannot be acted upon. Although some pornography transmits misinformation, on the whole it provides education about sex and contributes to public acceptance of sexuality. Through pornography society does its thinking about sex and to some extent about relationships. Pornographers and the legal struggles they have fought have made it possible for non-pornographic sex education materials to circulate freely. Por-



nography also provides the historian and anthropologist with evidence of sexual activities and attitudes.

Homosexual Pornography. It has been argued that almost all pornography is homosexual. Save for those small portions consumed by women, or created by women for consumption by men, pornography has been created by men in order to stimulate other men. Even if heterosexual activities are described or portrayed, even if the producer and consumer are heterosexually identified, the intent and, in some way, the true nature of such pornography is homosexual. That homosexuality and pornography tend to be accepted or condemned together gives further support to a probable deep relationship, perhaps that they both encourage and require societal tolerance of non-procreative sexuality. There has also been significant involvement of homosexuals in the production and sale of materials directed to the heterosexual public.

However, pornography is usually considered homosexual if it has homosexual content or subject matter. While erotic portrayals of men, and descriptions or expressions of homosexual love, are widely found, homosexual pornography is much more restricted. Where it exists it shows an acceptance by society, however begrudging and limited, of homosexuality and homosexual sexual relations. The occasional exposure of non-homosexuals to it has in turn contributed to further societal acceptance of homosexuality.

History. Pornography is exceptionally subject to destruction, homosexual pornography doubly so, and the following discussion is presumably incomplete. The earliest homosexual pornography occurs in Greek vase paintings, which show much sexually explicit homosexual activity (oral, anal, and intercrural intercourse). Primarily pederastic, these depictions constitute a body of work unsurpassed in artistic value and positive attitude toward sex.

Little is known in the West about the homosexual pornographic writings (*mujun*) of the classical Islamic cultures or the pederastic paintings of Persia. In China the Ming period (1368–1644) saw the appearance of sexually explicit literature and prints, including same-sex material. Despite the disapproval of the rulers, these interests continued in the succeeding Manchu dynasty, when China's greatest novel, *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, which has a bisexual hero and many homosexual episodes, appeared. One of Japan's major writers, Saikaku Ihara, specialized in frank writing about both amorous women and the male-male loves of the Samurai.

Until the nineteenth century, homosexual pornography in the West was often combined with defenses of sodomy. Such works include *Alcibiade fanciullo a scola*, an erotic defense of pederastic love from seventeenth-century Italy; the bisexual, philosophical fiction of the Marquis de Sade; and *The Sins of the Cities of the Plain, or the Recollections of a Mary-Anne* (1881), the earliest such work that survives in English and the first that is unabashed masturbatory fiction, with brief appended essays on "Sodomy" and "Tribadism." Pornographic scenes are found in the famous *Teleny* (1893), a novel falsely attributed to Oscar Wilde. The number of published works, however, was small. Well into the twentieth century pornographic stories, such as *Seven in a Barn*, circulated in typewritten form.

The Pulp Novel. The vast majority of written gay male pornography in the United States is issued in the form of paperback novels printed on pulp. Most of this material is of no literary value whatsoever, being typically composed at a rate of over 50 pages a day by writers who often have little or no understanding of the settings (interstate trucking, rodeos, the Navy, etc.) involved. Typical pay for a full book is \$250. Writers may churn out scores of books using the same basic ingredients: several pages of sexual description fol-

lowed by several pages of "plot/character" in a pattern repeated throughout the book. Occasionally, however, one finds well-written pornography, often by professional writers "moonlighting" under pseudonyms, in which a talent for almost poetically concise description of characters and setting is clearly visible, and sometimes an exotic setting is portrayed with such telling detail that one must presume the author is drawing on personal experience or thorough research.

A wary consumer is well advised to browse such novels before purchase, as the title and cover illustration may have no relation to the contents. Until the 1970s, novels invariably were introduced by pseudo-scientific statements, supposedly from psychiatrists or clergymen, often denouncing the behavior depicted therein, and intended to provide the "redeeming social value" then required by the American courts, but actually providing no little humor in a genre seldom noted for a comic touch.

The sexual scenes in these books are surprisingly varied, given their mass-production origins, and reflect the great diversity of exotic styles and tastes among their readers and writers. While male organs are invariably huge, ejaculations copious, and recuperation of potency instantaneous, and there is a definite bias in favor of youthful characters and settings (teenagers being most popular, perhaps reflecting *ephebophilia*), working-class occupations, and *macho* rather than refined or effeminate characters, nevertheless a considerable age range, a rainbow of racial types, and a wide palette of sexual styles is to be found in these novels.

Among writers who have sought to find a place in the territory between purely ephemeral pornography and literature are Richard Amory (*Song of the Loon* trilogy), Casimir Dukahz, Gordon Merrick, John Preston, John Rechy, Samuel M. Steward ("Phil Andros"), Larry Townsend, Dirk Vanden, and Marco Vassi.

Modern Visual Pornography. The invention of **photography** in the nineteenth century provided a new medium for the pornographer. The best-known creator of sexually stimulating male portraits was the Baron von **Gloeden**, although there were others in both England and Germany. Sexual activity was often the subject of photographs, though legal restrictions kept them underground.

Twentieth-century homosexual visual pornography in the United States and Germany, other than that which was underground, began as an offshoot of the naturalist and physical-culture movements. Erotic "physique" magazines, picture sets, and films were published under the pretense of non-sexual interest in body development. More explicit were the drawings of "Blade" (Carlyle Kneeland Bate; 1917-1989). The devastation of German culture by the Nazis and World War II left the United States as the principal center of gay erotica. Eight and 16mm homosexual films, progressively more straightforward in subject matter and more open in their circulation, were made and screened. A major figure is Bob Mizer, who founded the Athletic Model Guild in Los Angeles in 1945.

The last two generations have seen a continual attack through the courts on **ensorship** of pornography. Supported by an ever more tolerant public, these efforts have gradually brought upholdable convictions for publication or distribution of pornography to an end in most of the United States (except for child pornography). However, legal harassment and prosecutions have continued, and increased toward the end of the Reagan years. The freeing of the mails to pornography in the 1970s was an influential step; another was the Danish decision, in the late 60s, to end all legal restrictions on pornography.

Pornographic Filmmaking. Gay porno films typically have much lower budgets than their heterosexual counterparts, being limited to a smaller market, and pay their actors less: a few hundred

dollars for a couple of days' work is typical. In the heterosexual business, actresses are paid much more than actors, but for gay films their absence helps keep expenses down. The primary requirement for a male pornography actor is the ability to maintain an erection while being aware of such technical matters as camera angle, director's instructions, soundtrack, and so forth. This is no mean feat, and a production can be held up for many hours for lack of an erection; sometimes skillful editing can disguise this failing.

Filmed pornography has always been "safe sex" in that, by convention, ejaculation is always external (in order to be visual). Producers may, however, resort to such tricks as using beaten egg-white to simulate semen.

Early films tended to have rock-bottom budgets and were intended only for cinematic use; as home videos became more popular, budgets expanded to the point where lush background scenery is common and even special effects are used.

Leading recent gay pornographers of films and videos include Jean-Daniel Cadinot, Jack Deveau (Hand in Hand Films), Joe Gage, Sal Grasso ("Steve Scott"), Fred Halsted (d. 1989), William Higgins, Christopher Rage, and Peter de Rome.

The Porno Film Theatre. In the United States, the gay pornographic cinema arose in the late 1960s, originally featuring "soft-core" films but switching over to "hard-core" features in the more tolerant 70s. These movie houses soon came to be features of the gay subculture in all major cities, serving not only as places of visual entertainment, but often as sites for sexual activity as well. Spaces behind the screen or off to a side were sometimes in effect reserved as orgy rooms, while other activities took place in the seats of the theatre. Some cinemas added dance floors, bars, and other facilities so that they came to rival the bathhouses as leisure centers. With the development of the AIDS crisis, overt activity came to be

frowned upon, but **cruising** remained a major activity.

Long before the opening of specifically gay cinema houses, theatres showing heterosexual pornographic films had become sites for homosexual cruising, being particularly favored by those homosexuals attracted to "straight trade," heterosexual males who, upon arousal by the images of females on the screen, became less choosy about their means of relief. Even if the gay cinema should disappear in favor of home videos, this tradition is likely to endure.

Recent Developments. Increased gay self-awareness and self-acceptance, greater public acceptance of homosexuality, and the dropping of most legal barriers to the publication and circulation of pornography have all helped homosexual pornography to grow explosively. It has today a major role in the gay male world, in which it is not controversial; few legal cases have involved homosexual pornography. While figures are unavailable, anecdotal evidence suggests that per capita consumption is higher in the gay than in the straight community. It has shown a classic sign of economic health, the division into specialties, and the conservatism which has come to characterize part of the pornographic industry is also a sign that it is well-established. Inexpensive video equipment has made it easier for new pornographers to enter the field, although to date there has been more straight amateur pornography than gay. A number of glossy monthly magazines, following the model of *Playboy* and its successors, have strong pornographic components in pictures and text (*Blueboy*, *Honcho*, *In Touch*, etc.); *Stroke* proclaims openly that it is and wants to be pornographic and masturbatory.

In the 1980s there has been a renewed interest in written and drawn pornography, in which fantasies are not limited by what models can actually do and in which laws, as on intergenerational sex, can be broken without consequence.

The new **phone sex** industry offers personalized, oral pornography. The division between pornography and high art loses its rigidity as painters, photographers, and authors of fiction and poetry produce works which stimulate sexually, and pornographers exceed the limits of popular art.

The New York editor and publisher Boyd McDonald pioneered the collection, for pornographic ends, of confessional, reader-written material, an undeterminable but large proportion of which is not fantasy but reports of authentic sexual adventures; his magazine *Straight to Hell* has been succeeded by *First Hand* and *Friction*. Most of McDonald's magazine material has been reprinted in book form by Gay Sunshine Press (now Leyland Publications of San Francisco), and there are original books of the same type from that publisher, from Gay Presses of New York, and from Bright Tyger Press. Jack Fritscher, before turning to "documentary" erotic videos (Palm Drive Video), wrote and edited stories and confessions (*Man 2 Man* magazine). Among the other pornographic titles published by Leyland Publications is Mike Shearer's *Great American Gay Porno Novel* (1984). David Hurles ("Old Reliable") has recorded, first on audio and then on video tape, hustlers and ex-convicts, often filled with anger. Two leading pornographic visual artists are Tom of Finland and Rex. Pornographic comics have been collected and reprinted by Leyland Publications. In the 1980s a gay pornographic industry emerged outside the United States, first in France, then in Japan and on a smaller scale, for export only, in Thailand, Brazil, and Mexico. Just as American pornography has had considerable influence in the spreading and homogenization of gay male culture, foreign pornography has the potential for broadening American gay eroticism.

Women's Pornography. Most allegedly lesbian pornography has consisted of fantasies for heterosexual male consumption. As a genre of sexual fantasy women have had romances, abundant pulp

fiction with a strong sexual component. A development of the 1980s is the birth of a true women's pornographic movement, in which women create and market erotic materials for female consumption, both homosexual and heterosexual. A precedent is the feminist erotica of Anaïs Nin.

There are now published anthologies of women's erotica (*Herotica*, edited by Susie Bright, *The Leading Edge*, edited by Lady Winston, and several other collections), magazines both lesbian (*Bad Attitude*, *On Our Backs*, *Outrageous Women*, *Yoni*) and heterosexual (*Eidos*, *Libido*, *Yellow Silk*), a major novelist, Anne Rice ("A. N. Roquelaure," "Anne Rampling"), and filmmakers (*Fatale Video*; the heterosexual Candida Royalle). Lace Publications has published several volumes of Lesbian erotica, including the adventure fantasies of Artemis Oak Grove and Cappy Kotz' *The First Stroke*. Pat Califia's *Macho Sluts* appeared in 1988 (Alyson Publications). In comparison with men's, women's pornography is less visual, and includes more emotional context for the sexual acts. While pornography has been controversial in the feminist movement, and fantasies of violence or domination especially so, the emergence of women's erotica has helped to defuse the issue. Its continued strong growth seems very likely.

Bisexual Pornography. As many men find lesbian lovemaking stimulating to watch, and the division between homosexual and heterosexual women has not been as rigid as the modern dichotomy between gay and straight men, much pornography has presented women bisexually. The mid-1980s saw the emergence of pornography portraying men bisexually, usually using sexual trios consisting of two men and one woman. Not of "grass-roots" origin, as other forms of pornography have been, it has been a successful creation of the pornographic film industry, with only trivial written precedents, though books have followed in the wake. Although a product of the homosexual rather than the heterosexual branch of the

industry, among non-bisexuals it seems to appeal more to heterosexual men than to the gay-identified.

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Daniel Eisenberg

PORTER, COLE (1891-1964)

American composer and lyricist.

Porter was born to wealthy parents in Peru, Indiana; Cole was his mother's maiden name. After studying music and law at Harvard and Yale Universities, he served in the military in France in World War I. There he met Linda Lee Thomas, and they were married in December 1919. The couple spent most of the following decade conducting a lavish version of the "lost generation" lifestyle in Europe, though Porter occasionally returned to the United States for triumphal productions of his songs in Broadway musicals. On his various travels he was sometimes accom-

panied by his comrade-in-arms Monty Woolley, and the two made no secret of their attraction to handsome young men.

In 1936 Porter wrote the score for the Hollywood musical *Born to Dance*, the first of a number of such films. The following year he suffered a riding accident in which both legs were crushed; in the course of his life he required more than thirty operations to avoid amputation. For long he bore the pain stoically, but in his later years he became reclusive, his days enlivened only—so it has been claimed—by a sadomasochistic relationship with actor Jack Cassidy. In 1946 Cary Grant impersonated Porter in a slick Hollywood film, *Night and Day*, which, true to form, entirely omitted the homosexual aspects of his life.

Porter, who wrote both the lyrics and the music to his songs, chose to operate in the field of commercial music. Through his often sly wit he almost single-handedly raised the medium to an art form. Evidently he relished seeing just how far he could go in an era that exercised strict watchfulness on sexual innuendo. He was not always successful, and such songs as "Love for Sale" and "My Heart Belongs to Daddy" were long kept off the radio, while others underwent bowdlerization. In his 1929 song "I'm a Gigolo," the evidently bisexual character admits that he has "just a dash" of lavender. "But in the Morning, No" disturbed the prurient on several occasions, and alterations were made. Needless to say, these and other songs have enjoyed continuing popularity as cult favorites among homosexual audiences.

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Ward Houser

PORTUGAL

This nation of almost ten million people in the southwestern corner of Eu-