



## RACHA

This word is found only in some manuscripts of the New Testament Gospel of Matthew at 5:22, where the King James Version reads:

But I say unto you, that . . . whosoever shall say to his brother, Racha, shall be in danger of the counsel. . . .

The text of the gospel includes no explanatory gloss, as is usual with foreign words that would otherwise have been unintelligible to the Greek reader, and the majority of modern commentators understand the word as Semitic: *raka* = Hebrew *réqā* "empty, emptyheaded, brainless." Yet there is an alternative meaning proposed in 1922 by Friedrich Schulthess, an expert in Syriac and Palestinian Christian Aramaic: he equated the word with Hebrew *rakh*, "soft," which would thus be equivalent to Greek *malakos/malthakos*, which denotes the passive-effeminate homosexual. Further, in 1934 a papyrus was published from Hellenistic Egypt of the year 257 before the Christian era that contained the word *rachas* in an unspecified derogatory sense, but a parallel text suggests that it had the meaning *kinaidos* ("faggot"). It would thus have been a loanword from Hebrew in the vulgar speech of the Greek settlers in Egypt. A modern counterpart is the word *rach*, "tender, soft, effeminate, timid, cowardly" in the Gaunersprache, the argot of German beggars and criminals, which has absorbed many terms from Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic because of social conditions that created a linguistic interface between the Jewish "fence" and the gentile thief.

The import of the Gospel passage is that whereas the old Law forbade only murder, the new morality of the church forbids aggression even in purely symbolic, verbal forms; and the ascending scale of offenses and penalties is tantamount to a prohibition of what is called in Classical Arabic *mufaḥarah*, the ritualized verbal duel that is often the prelude to combat and actual bloodshed. So Jesus is represented as forbidding his followers to utter insults directed at the other party's masculinity—a practice that has scarcely gone out of fashion in the ensuing nineteen centuries, as the contemporary vogue of faggot well attests.

So it cannot be maintained that Jesus "never mentioned homosexuality," as some gay Christian apologists claim. In the sphere of sexual morality Jesus demanded an even higher standard than did contemporary Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism, which uncompromisingly rejected and condemned the homosexual expression that was commonplace and tolerated in the Gentile world. Thus Christianity inherited not merely the Jewish taboo on homoerotic behavior, but an ascetic emphasis foreign to Judaism itself, which has always had a procreation-oriented moral code. What the text in Matthew demonstrates is that he forbade acts of violence, physical and verbal, against those to whom homosexuality was imputed, in line with the general emphasis on self-restraint and meekness in his teaching. The entire passage is not just a legalistic pastiche of Jewish casuistry, but also a polished gem of double entendre and irony.

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Warren Johansson

## RADICALISM

See *Left, Gay*.

## RAPE OF MALES

Rape is a sexual act imposed upon a nonconsenting partner. The method of imposition is often violent, though it may be by threats or intimidation or abuse of positions of authority. Rape is one of the most misunderstood of all crimes, and when the victim is male, the misconceptions are severely compounded. Many legal jurisdictions do not even recognize a crime of rape against a male victim, but instead use terms such as "forcible sodomy" or "child abuse." Nonetheless, rape of males in the non-legal sense is a much more common event than is usually supposed, covered as it is with a blanket of silence. If prisoners are included, on any given day in the United States there may be more males raped than females.

It appears that the rape of females by females, while not unknown, is very rare, and little is known about it.

The rape of males by males is a practice protected by the silence observed by its victims, responding to a set of popular beliefs centering around the notion that a "real man" cannot be raped. The phrase "homosexual rape," for instance, which is often used by uninformed persons to designate male-male rape, camouflages the fact that the majority of the rapists as well as of the victims are generally heterosexual.

*History.* In antiquity, the rape of males was more widely recognized. In Greek mythology, Zeus, king of the gods, abducted *Ganymede* for sexual purposes. In the *Oedipus* myth, *Laius*, king of *Thebes* and *Oedipus'* father, abducted *Chrysis*, son of his host, King *Pelops*; the boy killed himself out of shame, occasioning

*Pelops'* curse on *Laius* that he should be slain by his own son.

In some societies the rape of a defeated male enemy was considered the prerogative of the victor in battle, and served to indicate the totality of the former's defeat. Even in ancient times, we find the widespread belief that an adult male who is sexually penetrated, even by force, thereby "loses his manhood," and hence can no longer be a warrior or ruler. In the twentieth century, the best-known instance of this kind of humiliation occurred when the Englishman *T. E. Lawrence* ("Lawrence of Arabia") was captured by the Turks, who were well known for this custom, during World War I. The subsequent disruption of *Lawrence's* life, while a surprise to his contemporaries, can now be recognized as a typical consequence of male Rape Trauma Syndrome.

Gang-rape of a male was also considered an ultimate form of punishment, and as such was known to the Romans (for adultery) and Iranians (for violation of the sanctity of the harem).

In modern Western societies, until recently, rape of one male by another was considered rare outside of the special context of incarceration. Virtually all the non-penological literature on rape assumes that the victim is female; police did not (and usually still do not) even collect statistics on "male rape."

When the feminist movement led to the establishment of rape crisis centers in the United States in the 1970s, however, it became obvious that there was a large number of hidden cases of male rape. Most of these came to the attention of rape counselors owing to injuries inflicted on the victims (usually anal) which could not be hidden from medical personnel. Rape crisis centers willing to deal with male victims found that anywhere from three to forty percent of their counselees were male, with the higher figures resulting from specific efforts to publicize the availability of the centers for male victims.

This development led to research aimed at discovering the extent of male rape, and in 1982 to an anthology on the subject, Anthony M. Scacco, Jr.'s *Male Rape*. The results of this research have surprised virtually everyone by indicating the vast extent of rape of males in North America.

*Extent of Male Rape "in the Community."* Students of sexual abuse, drawing upon a wide number of studies conducted in the 1980s which sought to overcome the reluctance of the abused to discuss their experiences, have now concluded that boys and girls up to the early teen years have an *equal chance* of being sexually victimized; a summary of these studies was published by Eugene Porter in 1986.

For the later teens and adult males, figures are harder to come by, but a consensus appears to be forming that "in the community" (a phrase excluding incarceration facilities) between one-seventh and one-fourth of all rapes involve male victims. A household survey conducted for the United States Bureau of Justice Statistics stated that the rapes of males reported to their interviewers were 25.9 percent of the number of completed rapes reported by females in the same survey; when applied to the national population that would be about 12,300 rapes of males per year. These figures are believed to be underestimates owing to a reluctance of male victims to identify themselves to the interviewers.

*Phenomenology of Male Rape.* Research in America indicates that the most common sites for male rape involving post-puberty victims "in the community" are outdoors in remote areas and in automobiles (the latter usually involving hitchhikers). Boys in their early and mid teens are more likely to be victimized than older males (studies indicate a median victim age of 17). The form of assault usually involves penetration of the victim anally and/or orally, rather than stimulation of the victim's penis.

Comparing rapes of females with rapes of males, it has been found that in cases involving male victims, gang-rape is more common, multiple types of sexual acts are more likely to be demanded, weapons are more likely to be displayed and used, and physical injury is more likely to occur, with the injuries which do occur being more serious than with injured females.

Whereas cases of sexual assault of young girls usually involves a relative or family friend, young boys are more likely to be sexually abused by strangers or authority figures in organizations such as church, school, athletics, or scouting. It is also noteworthy that men who rape boys, according to one study, have on the average well over three times as many victims each as men who rape girls. One perpetrator kept records showing he had sexually assaulted over three hundred boys in one summer, mostly hitchhikers; he was arrested only when one of the boys complained to the police, the rest having remained silent.

While gay males are also raped, there is no evidence that they are victimized in appreciably greater numbers than their proportion of the general population; most male rape victims are heterosexual.

What is even more surprising to the average man is that, according to several studies, most rapes of males are committed by men who are heterosexual in their consensual sexual preference and self-identity; only 7 percent of the rapists of men in the Groth-Burgess study were homosexual. (Indeed, it has been reported that homosexual men are far less likely to engage in rape than heterosexual men.) Half or more of these rapists choose victims from both genders.

Theorists have sought to explain this as rooted in the nature of rape as primarily a crime of power and domination through violence rather than a sexually motivated act, though it is clear that sexuality has something to do with it. The exact relationship between the quest for

power and dominance on the one hand and sexual drive on the other is little understood, and probably varies a great deal from one rapist to another. It is clear that rapists are often not erotically attracted to their victims, and examples of sexual dysfunction (impotence, inability to ejaculate) are common in "community" rape. On the other hand, one can cite instances of "marital rape" among gay couples where an erotic element is clearly present.

One of the most interesting findings of recent research on rape has profound implications for public policy regarding male rape: anywhere from 80 to 100 percent (depending on the study) of adult male rapists (of women) have a history of childhood sexual victimization themselves. The implication is that rape is a vicious cycle in which boys, unable to even discuss their own rape traumas, much less find effective treatment for them, grow up to take revenge on others in the same fashion.

*Public Attitudes Toward Male Rape.* Generally speaking, rape of males is a taboo subject for public discussion, so that for most women and many men, it does not exist. On the popular level, however, there are numerous mistaken beliefs which are common among the male population. These include the notions that male rape is very rare; that to be raped indicates a weakness which is not to be found in a "real" male, hence "real men" cannot be raped; that rapists of males are necessarily homosexual; that being raped turns the victim into a homosexual; and most importantly, that for a man to be raped is to "lose his manhood" permanently.

It is because of these attitudes, which surround male rape with an aura of total humiliation for the victim, that it is rare for a male rape victim (especially past the early teens) to acknowledge his victimization even to his family or friends, much less to the police. If ever there was a crime hidden by a curtain of silence, it is male rape. For the same reason, most vic-

tims outside of jail consider themselves to be almost unique, and loathe to call attention to themselves.

Given such pervasive silence, there is no demand for treatment programs for male victims as there is for female victims; there is no pressure for law enforcement activity; and the perpetrator is usually protected from even being accused, much less convicted. So powerful is the suppression of knowledge of male rape that criminals such as burglars and robbers sometimes rape their victims as a sideline solely to prevent them from going to the police.

*Rape Trauma Syndrome.* Rape is an extremely traumatic experience centering on the total loss of control of one's own body and usually the inside of that body, the most intimate sanctum of self. On top of this trauma, which is common to all rape victims, the heterosexual male survivor must deal with the experience of sexual role inversion and the pervasive popular mythology revolving around "loss of manhood" and homosexuality. The psychological devastation of rape is difficult to imagine for a male who has not been through such an experience.

Survivors of rape, and often of rape attempts, usually manifest some elements of what has come to be called Rape Trauma Syndrome (RTS), a form of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The effects of RTS often last for years or decades, and can be lifelong. Apart from a small number of therapists and counselors specializing in sexual assault cases, few psychotherapists are familiar with the literature on RTS. For this reason, a rape survivor is usually well advised to consult with a rape crisis center or someone knowledgeable in this area rather than relying on general counseling resources. The same applies to those close to a rape victim, such as a lover or parent; these people are termed "secondary victims" by rape crisis counselors.

Typically, the first stage of RTS involves a phase of denial and disbelief.

Child victims commonly experience amnesia, partial or total, regarding the assault; memory, however, may return years later and initiate a psychological crisis.

A sense of guilt, shame, and humiliation is commonly found, exacerbated by the common tendency of those who should be supportive to instead "blame the victim." The sense of stigma, whether internalized or reinforced by others (in the case of public knowledge of the rape), is pervasive. Heterosexual male survivors typically show enormous anxiety and confusion regarding issues of masculine identity and homosexuality. The survivor's sexuality may show severe distortions and malfunctions. Serious depression is likely and suicide may result. The victim's rage may explode under unpredictable circumstances.

Other manifestations of RTS include a sense of heightened vulnerability, anxiety, powerlessness, helplessness, nightmares, paranoia, sleep disturbances, fixation on the incident, inability to concentrate, dependency, fear of intimacy, chaotic relationships, multiple personality development, drug and alcohol abuse, and revictimization.

Survivors of childhood sexual assault and of rape in institutional surroundings often have to contend not with a single incident, but with a continuing series of involuntary sexual activities which may stretch over years. In such cases, the adaptation process by which the victim learns to live with the continuing pattern of assault further complicates and strengthens the RTS pattern.

As mentioned above, a certain number of male rape survivors become rapists themselves. It is not known how large this number is, though it appears to be more common among those victimized as boys than as adults.

It has also been suggested that "queer-bashers," violently homophobic males, are likely to be survivors of childhood sexual abuse, laboring under the

usually mistaken idea that the male who assaulted them must have been homosexual.

*Jail Rape.* While rape of males is a serious problem in the community, it is in the institutions of confinement (**prisons and jails**, reformatories, mental institutions) and, to a markedly lesser extent, in other all-male residential settings (boarding schools, hobo camps, the military) that male rape is most common, even an accepted part of institutional life.

Rape of males in confinement differs from male rape in the community in that it is generally open, is accepted if not condoned by the prisoner subculture, usually involves repeated patterns of sexual assault following the initial rape, is far more likely to be interracial, and serves a social function in converting heterosexual young prisoners into sexual slaves to be acquired by more powerful men. Thus, once raped, the victim is forced into a pattern of perpetual sexual abuse which may in time appear consensual to a casual observer, but which is rooted in the need for protection of the rape survivor from further mass assaults.

Confinement institutions furthermore have the effect of legitimizing to their graduates the use of rape as a means of validating their masculinity, and of converting non-violent offenders, by raping them, into ex-convicts full of rage and potential for violence (often rape) once released. In these ways the institutions help perpetuate the practice of rape of women and of men.

*Conclusion.* Rape of males, while a widespread and extremely serious problem, has escaped the attention of society because of deep taboos springing from popular conceptions that to be raped is to forfeit one's masculinity. The actual dynamics of rape are only beginning to be explored, and very little of what is known to students of the phenomenon has penetrated the public consciousness.

Rape crisis centers in the United States have developed much of what is

known about rape and its effects, including Rape Trauma Syndrome, yet many if not most such centers, run by feminist women, still see rape as a "women's issue" only and have made little or no effort to reach out to boys and men who have experienced rape. The public media have continued to treat rape of males as a taboo subject.

Until this taboo is broken, there can be little hope that survivors of male rape will be enabled to deal constructively with rape trauma or that the vicious cycle of rape will be effectively undermined.

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Stephen Donaldson

**RAUCOURT, STAGE NAME  
OF FRANÇOISE MARIE  
ANTOINETTE JOSEPH  
SAUCEROTTE  
(1756-1815)**

French tragédienne and foremost lesbian of her time. Daughter of a third-rate actor, she served an apprenticeship in the provinces before making her debut at the Comédie française in 1772 as Dido. It was a prodigious success, owing to her beauty, expressive mime, melodious voice and "prodigious intelligence," as well as to

a short-lived reputation for virtue. Within two years she was embroiled in scandals that made her notorious. She and the Opera soprano Sophie Arnould (1740-1802) vied for lovers of both sexes; virtually bankrupt, she and her inseparable companion, the German Jeanne-Françoise-Marie Souck or Sourques, were summoned for bad conduct, insolence, and threats to creditors. Her early popularity faded and she was hissed in 1776. Expelled from the Comédie for absenteeism, she went to Russia but was recalled to the Comédie to take on the *emploi* of tragedy queens and mothers. Her new masculine manner and coarsened voice enabled her to do so with magnificence, but without tenderness. When she made a hit as a captain of hussars in *Le Jaloux*, her rival Mlle. de Saint-Val remarked, "What a pity she persists in wishing to play women's roles."

According to the scandal-sheets, Raucourt was president of the sapphic Sect of Anandrynes, founded in 1770 by Thérèse de Fleury; it met in the Rue des Boucheries-Saint-Honoré, where novices were stripped and examined for the seven marks of beauty that would ensure them membership. Surviving documents suggest that the Anandrynes subscribed to Enlightenment principles. A quarrel arose between Arnould and Raucourt over the admissions policy: the former insisted on women exclusively, the latter wanted to admit as voyeurs men who practiced women's ways (she had in mind the homosexual Marquis de Villette). Arnould's rallying-cry "Either whores or tribades" signaled the dissolution of the Sect in 1784. By then Raucourt had become synonymous with lesbianism and was exploited as a character in erotic fictions such as Pidansat de Mairobert's *Confessions of a Young Girl*.

A rabid royalist, Raucourt was imprisoned by the Jacobins in 1793, but released thanks to former actor Charles Labussière, a clerk of the Committee of Public Safety. She inaugurated the Second Théâtre Français in 1796, and when the Comédie was reconstituted, returned to it.

Napoleon, an admirer, sent her with two troupes to Italy to spread French culture, but she had scant success. Retiring to her estate on the banks of the Loire, she devoted herself to horticulture and died of an inflammation. Her funeral caused another scandal, for the curé of St. Roch, who had benefitted financially as her almoner in her lifetime, refused to admit her body to the church. A mob of over 15,000 persons broke in bearing her coffin, and an order of Louis XVIII assured her the last rites. She is buried in Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris.

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Laurence Senelick

## RECRUITMENT CONCEPT

Recruitment is a military term referring to the outreach whereby soldier candidates are solicited for enlistment. As applied to homosexuality, it represents, on the one hand, a heterosexual fantasy or myth, on the other, a recognition that rites of passage are part of the process of joining any group. There are no "recruiting stations" for homosexual behavior, but individuals may seek to join their fellows and, in this sense only, become recruits.

*The Myth.* The recruitment myth is the notion that since homosexuals for the most part, and exclusive homosexuals by definition, do not reproduce, they must constantly recruit new acolytes to their forbidden practices from the ranks of the society in which they live. This assertion then becomes the basis for the claim that young people need to be "protected" from homosexuals and even kept in ignorance of the facts of homosexual behavior as long as possible. Also, the pederast is in the light of this assumption seen as an "aggressive homosexual" vigorously recruiting adolescents for the gay subculture that flourishes in the large cities of every Western country.

The truth of the matter is otherwise. Most of those who are predominantly or exclusively homosexual as adults become aware of their feelings long before they make their first contact with the world of gay bars and bathhouses, homophile groups and organizations, the vast majority of which are composed solely of adults. It is principally on the college campuses that student organizations are active, and these serve as a focus of social life for those who are already fully aware, at seventeen or later, of the direction of their sexual interests.

*Initiation.* Because of the semi-clandestine nature of the gay subculture, even in recent times, there is a phase of initiation in which the newcomer learns the rules of behavior, the argot of the group, and the fund of information that permits him to interact with other members of the subculture in the manner of his choice. But this is true of any social group that differs in some degree from the dominant, mainstream culture of the nation in whose midst it is located. The most important single fact is that the individual who cannot experience sexual relations with members of his own sex pleasurably will be repelled by such contacts, and even if he experiments with them, will decide never to return.

*Religious Analogues.* The analogy that is undoubtedly present, at some level of consciousness, in the minds of those who cherish the recruitment myth is with religious conversion and apostasy. It is perhaps not fortuitous that **pervert** in English was originally the antonym of *convert*, hence "religious apostate," and that the modern meaning appears only in the 1880s under the influence of German *perverts* as used by forensic psychiatrists. But all the evidence shows that the homosexual orientation emerges in individuals who have been exposed from the beginning of their lives to every form of direct and indirect promotion for heterosexuality. If any "recruitment" occurs, it

is to heterosexuality. The apologetic discourse of the homophile movement serves in most cases to give the subject a political identity and a sense of pride and self-worth that he could never extract from writings in which his sexual feelings are branded an **abomination**. That many homosexuals still cling to the religious faith of their upbringing, despite official refusal to accept them into the organized churches and synagogues, proves the element of apostasy to be absent.

*The Pederastic Subculture.* Another crucial point is that the pederastic subculture is totally distinct from the main gay subculture of the late twentieth century; in many respects the two are in watertight compartments. The **pederast** has no sexual interest in adult males and does not wish to be the object of their attention; even the handsomest college athlete has no appeal whatever for him. He does not frequent the bars, baths, clubs, and other rendezvous of the **androphile** (adult-oriented) homosexual, because he can find there no one for whom he would feel the slightest attraction. Moreover, the androphile political groupings generally, though not always, bar the North American Man-Boy Love Association and similar organizations of boy-lovers from membership and participation in their activities. And finally, the pederast usually has an upper age limit after which he has no further erotic feelings for the boy and does not care if as an adult the latter gravitates toward exclusive heterosexuality.

*Biological Aspects.* The homosexual is a good and true member of the racial and ethnic group to which he belongs; in **demographic** terms, the protoplasm of his ancestors is continued in him, even if not by him. In each generation a certain percent of the offspring of heterosexual unions are homosexually oriented, but this fraction does not diminish the vitality or the evolutionary capacity for survival of the race. The variations in the birth rate in modern times, just as in antiq-

uity, are explained by economic and cultural factors, not by the occurrence of homosexuality. In early modern China the number of reported male births was almost twice that of female, but this is explained simply by the practice of infanticide on unwanted female babies. Likewise the low birth rates of some strata of the intelligentsia in contemporary society result from the deliberate choice of married couples to employ birth control devices and techniques rather than to have one child after another, as was the norm among all classes well into the nineteenth century.

A minority of the members of any society will always by virtue of inner predisposition be predominantly or exclusively homosexual, and no "recruitment" is needed to swell the number. The homosexual does not reproduce, but nature reproduces him. The evolutionary dialectic that produced exclusive heterosexuality in homo sapiens has exclusive homosexuality as its necessary antithesis and complement.

Warren Johansson

### REDL, ALFRED (1864–1913)

Chief of espionage and counter-espionage for the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy who divulged military secrets for financial gain to the intelligence service of Tsarist Russia. The seventh of thirteen children born of middle-class parents, Redl possessed an intellect and creativity (along with the pension and special allowances granted upon his father's death in 1875) that quickly led him into a military-school education. From the very outset of his military career, he was rewarded with promotions, and by 1900 Redl had joined the General Staff. During a year spent in Russia (1898–99), learning the language and training as an **espionage** operative, he came to the attention of Russian officials who, since Redl had no private income like many other members of the officer

corps, took advantage of his financial dependence. By 1902 he was functioning as a double agent. His information proved invaluable, for Redl was promoted to Chief of Counter-Intelligence and chief of the Operations Section of the Austro-Hungarian intelligence apparatus.

Alfred Redl maintained his double secret—that of his work for the Russians and that of his homosexuality—until his death. He fell in love with Lt. Stefan Horinka (referred to as Hromodka in some works) and financed his military career. Horinka knew nothing of Redl's involvement with the Russians and kept a certain distance from him on the emotional plane by having a liaison with a woman at the same time he was seeing his protector.

On May 24, 1913, Austrian authorities discovered Redl's treason when he picked up two letters full of cash which the Russians had sent to him under a code name and which had aroused the suspicions of the Austrian postal authorities. The military representatives confronted Redl in his hotel room and left a pistol on the table. He committed suicide in the early morning of May 25. Upon searching Redl's apartment, the authorities discovered the rest of his secret life when they found perfumed letters from men, photographs of nude males, and copies of documents with state secrets.

Redl's treason has been appraised as a major factor in Austria's defeat in World War I, as her enemies knew most of her plans before the outbreak of hostilities. The additional fact that Redl was homosexual was exploited by the opponents of the homosexual emancipation movement which was then growing in the German-speaking countries, and even found mention in a United States Senate subcommittee report of 1950—during the epidemic of **McCarthyism**—as proof that homosexuals were "security risks."

Redl's life has been the subject of several fictionalized treatments, including John Osborne's play *A Patriot for Me*

(1965) and four German-language films (1925, 1930, 1955, 1984).

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James W. Jones

## REFORMATION

See Protestantism.

## REICH, WILHELM (1897-1957)

Psychoanalyst and sexual reformer. Born to an assimilated Jewish family in Galicia in 1897, he suffered a severe trauma when his mother committed suicide, as he feared that he had been unwittingly responsible in revealing her love affair with one of his tutors. His attitude toward his father may be judged from his belief that he was not really his father's son.

After serving in the Austrian army in World War I, Reich studied medicine in Vienna. He spent his internship in the clinic of the Nobel Prize winner Julius Wagner-Jauregg, and married a fellow medical student, Annie Pink, who also became a psychoanalyst. In the Jewish intellectual circles of interwar Vienna, both **Marxism** and **psychoanalysis** were fashionable, and Reich set about the task of synthesizing them. How could the discoveries of Marx and Freud be placed at the service of the masses? He first joined the Austrian Socialist Party and became a clinical assistant at Freud's Psychoanalytic Polyclinic, which gave him close contact with the working class. Reich aspired to put knowledge of sexual hygiene within

the reach of the industrial worker and remove the reproach that psychoanalysis was a middle-class luxury. Five years later, in 1929, he opened the first sex hygiene clinic in Vienna that offered free advice on birth control, child rearing, and sex education.

Reich's political interests soon led him to question the neutrality required of orthodox Freudian analysts. In 1927 his book on *The Function of the Orgasm* was issued by the International Psychoanalytic Publishing House, and in 1928 he published a paper on "Character Analysis" that he subsequently elaborated into a book which is still regarded by many as his most important contribution to the discipline. Idealizing the Soviet Union for the reforms it had undertaken after the Revolution of 1917, he went to Moscow in 1929 expecting to find a new society, but discovered instead that the need to industrialize backward Russia had taken precedence over sexual hedonism, and that under Stalin reaction was slowly but inevitably setting in.

The rapprochement between Marxism and Freudianism for which Reich was striving was doomed to fail, so that in the end he was expelled from both the International Psychoanalytic Association and the Communist Party. Moving to Berlin in 1930, he promoted the German Association for Proletarian Sexual Politics, which advocated abolition of the laws against homosexuality, and also reform of the marriage and divorce laws, free birth control counseling and contraceptive devices, abolition of laws prohibiting sex education, and an end to the restrictions on abortion—all measures that have since won general acceptance by reformers.

After publishing *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* Reich returned to Vienna, but the rise of Nazism in Germany and the complete repudiation of the sexual reform movement in Stalinist Russia marked the onset of a period of trials and reverses that undoubtedly embittered him. Rejected in one country after another, he

found refuge in Norway, where he was able in 1936 to found the International Institute for Sex-Economy to study the way the human body utilizes sexual energy. The unifying principle of his theories was the concept of energy, by which he meant no mystical *élan vital*, but an actual, physical component of man and the universe that could be measured and harnessed. The pursuit of this idea degenerated into an obsession in the last phase of his life.

Advised by a psychiatrist at Columbia University, Theodore P. Wolfe, to emigrate to the United States, he joined the throng of Jewish refugees from Nazi-ruled Europe in New York a few days before the outbreak of war in 1939. In Forest Hills, New York, he established the Orgone Institute, a laboratory and later a hospital. Despite his vicissitudes, he was now convinced that he had found a new kind of energy that could be stored in accumulators and used to strengthen the body against disease. He even ventured to treat cancer patients by placing them in boxes resembling telephone booths which supposedly collected orgone energy. This practice spawned the rumor that orgone accumulators could restore waning potency.

Such activities were not only denounced by the American Medical Association, but also investigated by the Food and Drug Administration, which in 1954 enjoined him from distributing orgone accumulators and operating the Orgone Institute Press. When a court order was issued for the destruction of all accumulators, Reich defied it and soon found himself the defendant in a trial that ended with a verdict of guilty and a two-year prison sentence. In March 1957 he entered Danbury Penitentiary where he was diagnosed as paranoid, but he disdained treatment and died of heart disease in Lewisburg Penitentiary on November 3.

Although Reich has become almost synonymous with "sexual freedom" in some quarters, and his admirers

include some gay activists and theoreticians, there is not a single favorable reference to homosexuality in his writings. He loathed homosexuals, never knowingly accepted a homosexual for treatment, and avoided overt homosexuals in his social and professional life. When a Norwegian physician recommended an individual for training with Reich, no sooner had the latter learned of the candidate's homosexuality than he rejected him with the words, "*Ich will mit solchen Schweinereien nichts zu tun haben*" (I want nothing to do with such filthiness). In a letter to A. S. Neill in 1948, Reich stated that while his discipline of sex economy dealt with the problems of natural genitality, the sexology promoted by the World League for Sexual Reform (Hirschfeld's bailiwick) concentrated on lingams, condoms, and homosexual perversions. He had earlier maintained that homosexuality was a disease of fascism that would "wither away" under socialism. Despite all this, the radical wave of the 1960s and later saw counterculture homosexuals turn to Reich as an authority for repudiating conventional morality and equating socialism with the untrammelled gratification of their own sexual impulses.

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## RENAISSANCE, ITALIAN

In Italy the term Renaissance designates a period somewhat different from that in the rest of Europe: the Italian Renaissance embraces the epoch that stretches from the late fourteenth century through the later decades of the sixteenth century, when the Catholic Counterreformation took hold. On the other side of the Alps, the Renaissance did not commence

until the beginning of the sixteenth century, when it was introduced from Italy; yet it lasted somewhat longer there, at least in Protestant countries.

The word Renaissance (literally: rebirth) alludes to the impression, widespread in the period itself, that the ongoing cultural and artistic flowering was a kind of revival—on a Christian base, to be sure—of the glory of the ancient Romans, a revival attained on the very soil from which Rome itself had arisen.

A notable feature of the Italian Renaissance was an intense drive to recover the authentic character of classical antiquity. This impulse led to the rediscovery of original texts, chiefly Latin ones—though the study of Greek and Hebrew was also promoted. As a result of this trend, ancient manuscripts thought to have been lost were copied and disseminated, and a new branch of learning, philology, was founded.

The roots of the Renaissance lie in the great upsurge of commerce and industry that occurred in Italy after the year 1000. These advances required cultural changes: merchants needed to know how to read and write and to keep accounts. A surplus of wealth accumulated that sufficed to maintain a number of scholars and investigators in "full-time employment." Since the traditional training that religious schools provided was inadequate, lay schools appeared, from which a number of prestigious Italian universities developed. Becoming famous throughout Europe, the universities were one of the channels that diffused the Italian Renaissance, permanently injecting its values into Western civilization.

*Social Background.* With respect to homosexuality the Renaissance attitude was not uniform. The beginning of the Renaissance—the late fourteenth century—coincided with increased persecution of homosexuals. Toward the middle of the fifteenth century, however, a more tolerant atmosphere began to prevail, and capital punishment became uncommon.

The upper classes—in part under the umbrella of libertine currents of thought—witnessed the spread of a mood of “live and let live,” which did not approve of homosexual behavior, but felt no obligation to condemn it either.

Evidence of the mindset that lies behind this trend is found for instance in the letters Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) and his friend Francesco Vettori (1474–1539) exchanged between 1513 and 1515 commenting about the homosexual behavior of this or that friend as the most natural and obvious thing in the world. Similarly, Baldassare Castiglione (1474–1529) treated homosexuality quite nonchalantly in his famous classic of manners, *Il Cortegiano* (1529).

In short it is not an accident that beginning in the fifteenth century information proliferates on the rise of a sodomite subculture in the major Italian cities. Even in the previous century documents lament the existence of sodomite coteries. That these complaints were not baseless is shown by the documents of mass trials preserved in municipal archives, and in the literary allusions to the existence of specific zones in the cities where the sodomites went to look for sexual partners. The sermons St. Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444) preached against sodomites in 1424–25 seem an almost inexhaustible source of relevant anecdotes.

*Italian Renaissance Literature and Homosexuality.* If society tolerated the subculture, the world of letters did not lag behind. Because of the boundless affection that humanist men of letters cherished for the Ancients, few had the courage to condemn, or even to refuse to condone, the tastes which the great Latin and Greek poets accepted without question. In emulation of the antique there appeared a rich literature of homosexual themes both in Latin and in Italian—so rich that it has no equal in quantity and quality until the twentieth century.

Naturally, one should not conclude that every declaration of homosex-

ual love stemming from the Renaissance corresponds to experiential reality, rooted in the emotional preference of the author. Often writers of the fifteenth century contented themselves with imitating Vergil, Martial, Catullus, and other major figures of the past. A similar trend appeared in Elizabethan England.

Nonetheless, it is a mistake to interpret, as is often done, every homosexual utterance as simply the product of literary convention. In the Italian Renaissance no risk attended the expression of homosexual sentiments and wishes. Hence many, profiting from literary and amatory conventions, took advantage of this freedom to set down their own homosexual feelings, though in the guise of “imitations” of the revered models of antiquity.

For these individuals the coming of the Counterreformation was a real tragedy that effectively ended the Renaissance. Shortly after the middle of the sixteenth century this rigorist trend brought a chill climate of moralism and censure that proved intensely hostile to the expression of homoerotic themes.

*Classical Imitation.* Italian Renaissance homosexual discourse was much given to donning the garments of classical antiquity. Latin Renaissance poetry often shows its proximity to its sources by its choice of terms and themes. On the one hand, one finds recyclings of specific authors, of Martial, as in the case of the *Hermaphroditus* (1425) of Antonio Beccadelli (1394–1471), and of less jocular authors, as in the *Hecathalegium* (1489) of Pacifico Massimo of Ascoli (ca. 1400–1500)—not to mention the invectives that Italian Humanists launched against one another. One finds classical trappings in the accusations of sodomy that Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481) launched against Cosimo de’ Medici in 1448; or in those of Giovanni Pontano (1426–1503) against a certain “Antonino,” or yet again by Andrea Dazzi (1473–1538) against Poliziano. As regards invectives against behavior Juvenal remained the