

The feminine, "passive" lesbian is a "fem[me]," "fluff," "fairy-lover," and "lady-lover." This last is used generically.

Conclusion. Language and particularly slang mirrors salient facts about the society in which it is used, and this is true of all the slang names for homosexuals that have accumulated over the past two centuries. They show in their meaning and derivation the popular understandings of homosexuals and homosexual behavior and sexual activity. That the understanding and perceptions involved are so frequently wrong makes the task of overcoming prejudice and ill-will so much harder, for the detritus remains embedded in the language. It is no accident that English has so few slang terms that mean homosexual, pure and simple, without reference to sexual roles and acts.

Studies of the slang vocabularies of other Western European languages have shown that they are as rich as English. In all modern languages, apparently, money, inebriation, and sex are all especially productive of popular terms. However, homosexual vocabularies are highly insular: even Spanish and Portuguese, so similar in other ways, show hardly any commonality in their slang terms for gay men and lesbians. Nonetheless, the whole group of Western languages displays some common semantic elements: gender reversal (imputation of effeminacy to gay men and masculinity to lesbians); use of **women's names** as generic terms for male homosexuals; inheritance of medieval Christian words of the "bugger" and "sodomite" families; and adaptations of psychiatric and medical terms. Occasionally slang terms migrate from one language to another, as French *tante* to German (also variant: *Tunte*), and (probably) in loan-translation form to English as *aunt(ie)*. In recent years the English word "gay" has entered these languages, and others as well.

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SLAVERY

The institution of slavery, under which one human being was the property of another and his labor power could be exploited by the owner with no remuneration beyond bare subsistence, existed from the dawn of history down to modern times. In some countries of the New World the agricultural sector abandoned slavery only in the second half of the nineteenth century. Most studies of slavery have concentrated on the economic aspect, fewer on the social and political. Only a very few have entered into the sexual exploitation that slavery entailed, and these tended to focus on the problems of marriage and childbearing rather than on the homosexual side.

General Considerations. The person of the slave belonged to the master, and could be used for sexual gratification as well as for economic gain. The slave could not in most cases refuse the master's advances, whether they were heterosexual or homosexual. The inferior status of the slave translated into the passive role in homosexual intercourse, which was always assigned to the party of lower rank. In ancient city-states the free citizen was forbidden to prostitute himself without loss of status, so that the profession of prostitute could be exercised only by slaves or foreigners and sometimes by freedmen. For this reason handsome young males captured in battle or in slavehunting raids were likely to find their way into **brothels**, a fate preferable to the hard labor imposed on slaves in the mines and latifundia of the magnates and great landowners. It was no disgrace for the slave to be subordinated sexually to the master, but simply part of

his function as an "animated tool," an instrument of pleasure. The slave in ancient Greece was forbidden to be a pederast, that is, to take the active role with a boy. In situations of this kind, as in relationships between male slaves and upper-class women, the law and society could be harshly punitive.

So extensive was the sexual abuse of captives and slaves that it was assumed, tacitly and even explicitly in law codes, that any woman who had been in a city taken by force or had been a slave had been sexually violated. The same was to a lesser extent true of males taken prisoner, who were exposed to the aggression of their captors in a world where homosexual activity was considered part of everyday life. The slavemonger engaged in practices typical of the modern call-boy service, grooming and depilating his wares, concealing their physical blemishes as best he could, and falsifying their ages and other personal data. Such behavior earned the slave dealer the contempt of polite society, an inferior status that lingered as long as slavery itself.

At the same time intimacy with the master could afford a slave a relatively comfortable existence, the superiority of the personal or household servant over the one who toiled in the fields or in the mines. In the ancient world particularly, slaves were educated for all occupations, even the highest in the administrative hierarchy, so that the condition of slave did not imply intellectual inferiority or lack of culture. It has even been asserted that the market in slaves provided for a rational distribution of labor power in ancient society, and the ability to provide "intimate personal services" must have contributed to the overall value of a boy offered for sale.

The status of the slave set the parameters of the sexual activity that was obligatory, permitted, or forbidden. The overriding principle in the ancient world was that the active role was reserved to the superior partner and forbidden to the infe-

rior one, while the passive role was prescribed for the inferior partner and forbidden to the superior one. In ancient Athens slaves and boys were often classed and treated similarly, but with this crucial difference: for the upper-class Athenian boy the status was temporary and transitional, the homosexual liaison partook of a rite de passage rather than of an obligation contingent upon the servile role.

Historical Development: Ancient Greece. Among the Greeks the pederastic relationship—the legally and socially sanctioned form of male homosexuality par excellence—did not occur between equals. In Greek vase paintings the passive partner shows no sign of pleasure, has no erection, and usually faces straight ahead during intercourse. For an adult member of the aristocracy, dalliance with a handsome slave boy was a fleeting pleasure, not a serious involvement. On the other hand, the passion of the *erastes* (lover) for the *eromenos* (beloved) could be as intense and enthralling as any of which the individual was capable. In Plato's *Symposium* Parmenides likens the obsession of *erastai* to their young boy friends to that of men "wishing to endure slavery as no slave would," while in the *Phaedrus* Socrates speaks of the lover's soul as "ready to be a slave, to sleep wherever allowed, as near as possible to the beloved." Xenophon's Socrates, in the *Memorabilia*, calls a man such as Critobulus, who has dared to kiss Alcibiades' beautiful son, likely to become a slave forthwith instead of a free man, and in the *Symposium* the *eromenos* who uses his physical beauty may rule the *erastes*. So for the youth in possession of the pride of his adolescence the pederastic relationship could entail a reversal of the role that was imposed upon him as a child; his physical beauty gives him power over his adult lover—the first experience of dominating another male. The slave can never have such power, and Aeschines cites a law forbidding slaves to frequent the palestra—a favorite trysting place for young Athenians and their admirers. A second

law prohibited slaves from using free boys as sexual partners at all. **Plutarch** ascribed the authorship of both laws to Solon, with the significant proviso that he did not ban relations between slaves and free women—as the **Roman emperors** were later to do.

Rome. Roman pederasty never had the educational role which Greek society had assigned to the phenomenon. The same aspect of dominance and submission prevailed: the behavior that is obligatory for the slave is unworthy and demeaning when practiced by a free man. But a Roman of the upper class had abundant opportunity to acquire a male slave as a bed partner if he so chose. The nonchalance with which Roman society judged such matters is demonstrated by **Catullus'** wedding poem in honor of Manlius Torquatus and his new bride Junia, which alludes at length to the groom's liaison with a young male slave of the household in the jocular manner typical of Roman straightforwardness in dealing with sexuality. However, for the Roman, marriage and procreation were duties; homosexual affairs were casual matters or opportunities for relaxation. The male **prostitute** must have been a characteristic figure of the night life of the metropolis, as during the reign of Augustus such hustlers had their own specially designated holiday, duly recorded in the State Calendar. But the mentor-pupil relationship that was the hallmark of Greek *paiderasteia* at its best never found entry into Roman mores, which always fell short of the Hellenic ideal.

From the Introduction of Christianity to Early Modern Times. Christianity influenced the sexual life of slaves by making a breach in the distinction between *matrimonium*, the legal marriage of citizens, and *contubernium*, the union of convenience between slaves. In principle Christian morality upheld a single standard for all, slave or free—which implied that the slave could not be compelled to take the passive role in a homosexual relationship. Byzantine historians record that

after the legislation of Justinian on sodomy, it became "the crime of those to whom no crime could be imputed," and that convictions were obtained solely on the word of a child or a slave. In this way the incipient Christian norms of sexual behavior played into the hands of those who needed a political weapon to strike at their enemies. In a society where overt homosexuality had been a matter of everyday life, the adherents of the "old lifestyle" now exposed themselves to the death penalty if the authorities got wind of what was happening inside their households. The innovation of Christian moralists and legislators lay, in a sense, in equalizing master and slave: extending the old prohibitions on the active homosexual role from the slave to the free man, and those on the passive role from the free man to the slave. It was the former act that led Friedrich Nietzsche to characterize Christianity as having a "slave morality," since it reduced the whole population to the lowest common denominator, even if in practice the slave had little opportunity to bring charges against his master unless he found political protectors outside the household.

It is sometimes alleged that the anti-sexual animus of primitive Christianity stemmed from its being a religion of slaves and of the "oppressed" who were forced to submit to their owners, but this view is now being abandoned. The sexual morality of Hellenistic Judaism which the Church ratified and reinforced with an ascetic bias had nothing to do with the institution of slavery, in fact the Mosaic Law held that Israelites should not keep other Israelites in permanent bondage, just as Plato taught that Hellenes should not enslave other Hellenes. The coincidence of the two doctrines led ultimately to the abolition of slavery in the center of Christendom, though not on its periphery, where "barbaric" peoples continued to be enslaved and to be utilized as the labor force of a slaveholding economy from the early middle ages until the suppression of the slave trade in the nineteenth century.

In the eighth to tenth centuries Jewish slave dealers transported Slavic captives from Itil and Kiev in Khazaria to the slave markets of Moorish Spain, but en route at Verdun the males were castrated, with the result that in Arabic the word *saqaliba* meant not just "Slavs" but "eunuchs," who had their own special role in the sexual economy of the time. The eunuchs were employed as harem guards and as part of the military force of the Moorish rulers, but a feminized eunuch could also be the passive partner in a homosexual relationship. The Arab world preserved vestiges of slavery down to the twentieth century, and only international pressure and intervention have terminated the practice in quite recent times.

Relatively little study has been made of homosexual activity among the black slaves of the New World. In the seventeenth century Portuguese sources show, however, that homosexuality was common among the peoples of Angola, from which many Brazilian slaves were recruited. Inquisition reports beginning at the same time show considerable interracial sodomy, in most cases involving free white men and black slaves. There is also evidence of direct transfer of the social forms, including transvestism, documented in Angolan homosexuality to the slave population of Brazil.

Conclusion. In various cultural contexts, slavery augmented the element of dominance and submission implicit in many traditional homosexual relationships, and also enhanced the economic value of offspring in societies where parents could for mere financial gain sell a child into slavery knowing full well that it was destined for a brothel in some distant city. Even today the "sexual paradises" of Western tourists in Southeast Asia continue practices such as these that have survived from pre-modern societies, so that the champions of "sexual freedom" are profoundly wrong in imagining them as utopias of any sort. Rather they perpetuate a legacy of sexual exploitation and bond-

age that is incompatible with modern notions of liberty and self-determination.

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SMYTH, ETHEL, DAME (1858-1944)

British composer and memoirist. The daughter of a Frenchwoman and a British general, Smyth obtained her musical training in Germany. She also spent some time in the multisexual foreign colony in Florence, where she came under the influence of Henry Brewster, who wrote the librettos for some of her compositions. From him she derived a quasi-mystical Neoplatonic philosophy. Her symphonic choral work *The Prison* (1930) bears the epigraph: "I am striving to release that which is divine within us, and to merge it in the universally divine." Her first major work, the *Mass in D Major* (1893), was hailed for its expansive construction, robust enunciation, and rich orchestration—all qualities that were then unexpected in a woman composer. From 1898 to 1925 she wrote and produced six operas. She also composed choral and orchestral works, chamber music, and songs.

An extroverted and even flamboyant personality, Smyth made a significant contribution to the British movement for women's suffrage. For this cause she wrote a "March of the Women," which was much used in demonstrations. Her opera *The Boatswain's Mate* (1916) revolves around a strong female personality, that of the landlady. She battled for equal treatment of women as artists, tirelessly canvassing conductors and executives, and staging grand scenes of temperament when her exacting performance requirements were not met. Smyth also cultivated roy-