

from Marocco to Egypt. Running eastward the Sotadic zone narrows, embracing Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Chaldea, Afghanistan, the Sind, the Punjab and Kashmir. In Indo-China, the belt begins to broaden, enfolding China, Japan and Turkistan. It then embraces the South Sea Islands and the New World. . . . Within the Sotadic Zone, the [pederastic] Vice is popular and endemic, held at worst to be a mere peccadillo, whilst the races to the North and South of the limits here defined, practice it only sporadically amid the opprobrium of their fellows who, as a rule, are physically incapable of performing the operation." Possibly Burton's exclusion of sub-Saharan Africa contributed to the erroneous modern belief that black people were originally innocent of the "vice," having been corrupted to it by their slave masters.

Burton's theory was an attempt to give a theoretical framework to his own observations of sexual mores in various parts of the far-flung British Empire to which he was posted as a diplomat. Trained as a classicist, he considered pederasty the only form of homosexuality worth investigating. He did not, however, come up with a plausible theory as to the factors responsible for this Sotadic Zone.

The explanation for much of Burton's zone, at least, probably lies in the persistence of ancient Mediterranean pederasty and its diffusion eastwards by Islam; this however does not account for China, Japan, Indo-China, the South Sea Islands and the pre-Columbian New World.

This further extension may indeed lend some credence to Burton's theory if one looks for climatological factors prevalent in his zone. Northern Europeans, seeking to explain the differences between their own sexual mores and those of the southern Europeans, often pointed to the temperature difference between the two areas and ascribed sexual excitement to the warm climate of the South. Terms such as "sultry" and "torrid" have a primary meaning of "hot" but

acquired the secondary sense of "passionate"; the German terms "schwul/schwül" associate hot-humid conditions with homosexuality directly. As yet, there has been little or no scientific investigation of such notions, which remain largely in the realm of folklore.

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SOUTH AMERICA

See Brazil; Latin America.

SOVIET UNION

See Russia and USSR.

SPAIN

Spain is one of the countries with the richest homosexual history, which is gradually becoming better known. An appreciation of same-sex love, along with a cult of beauty and poetry, has been present during many periods of Spain's history.

Antiquity. The rich and mysterious civilization of the pre-Roman south of Spain is known to have been sexually permissive, although evidence on homosexuality in that period is lacking. Hispania was one of the most Romanized provinces, and shared Rome's sexual morality; perhaps it is no coincidence, though, that **Martial**, one of the most homosexual Latin authors, and **Hadrian**, one of the best and gayest emperors, were from Spain. That a special term (*hawī*; see *Encyclopedia of Islam*, "Liwat," pp. 776 and 778) existed in Western Arabic for male prostitutes suggests that such were particularly prevalent there before Islam. The Christian Visigoths, who ruled Spain after the disappearance of Roman authority, were in contrast strongly opposed to homosexuality. Sodomy was outlawed in the seventh century, with castration and exile the punishments; at the same time one finds the emergence of legal measures against Jews. (See *Law, Germanic*.)

Islam. In the eighth century most of Spain became Islamic; the inhabitants were glad to be rid of Gothic rule. Andalu-

sia or al-Andalus, which occupied more of the Iberian peninsula than does the modern Andalusia, was an Islamic country from the eighth through the early thirteenth centuries, and in the kingdoms of Granada and Valencia, Islam survived well into the sixteenth century. Al-Andalus is a missing chapter in the history of Europe. During the caliphate and *taifas* periods (tenth and eleventh centuries), cosmopolitan, literate, prosperous Andalus was the leading civilization anywhere on the coast of the Mediterranean—with the possible exception of Byzantium. It has also been described as the homeland of Arabic philosophy and poetry. The closest modern parallel to its devotion to the intellect (philosophy, literature, arts, science) and beauty is Renaissance Italy. The roots of this cultural supernova are the subject of dispute, as is the related question of the ethnic makeup of the Andalusian population. While the culture was officially Arabic, the number of pure Arabs was small; there was a much larger number of North African Berbers mixed with a native population of Iberian, Phoenician, or other origin. Women captured during raids on the Christian states were also an important demographic element.

Al-Andalus had many links to Hellenistic culture, and except for the Almoravid and Almohade periods (1086–1212), it was hedonistic and tolerant of homosexuality, indeed one of the times in world history in which sensuality of all sorts has been most openly enjoyed. Important rulers such as Abd al-Rahman III, al-Hakem II, Hisham II, and al-Mutamid openly chose boys as sexual partners, and kept catamites. Homosexual prostitution was widespread, and its customers came from higher levels of society than those of heterosexual prostitutes. The poetry of Abu Nuwas was popular and influential; the verses of poets such as Ibn Sahl, Ibn Quzman, and others describe an openly bisexual lifestyle. The superiority of sodomy over heterosexual intercourse was defended in poetry. Some of

the abundant pederastic poetry was collected in the contemporary anthologies *Dar at-tiraz* of Ibn Sana al-Mulk and *Rayat al-mubarrizin* of Ibn Said al-Maghribi (*The Banners of the Champions*, trans. James Bellamy and Patricia Steiner, Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1988). Under the Muslim rulers of al-Andalus, Jewish culture reached its highest peak since Biblical times; the poetry of Sephardic Judaism suggests that pederasty was even more common among the Jews than among the Muslims.

Medieval Christian Spain. The small northern kingdom of Castile viewed itself as the inheritor of the Visigothic claim to rule over Spain. With encouragement from France, French-born queens of Castile, women elsewhere in Europe, and the papacy, it gradually won economic and then political control over the entire peninsula. In contrast and to some extent in reaction to the hedonism of al-Andalus, Castile was puritanical, although its puritanism was very reluctantly and half-heartedly accepted in the southern and eastern sections of the country. Even within Castile, there was much resistance to the imposition of clerical celibacy at the end of the eleventh century, which Spain had until that time resisted. This change, not fully implemented for 500 years, was from the beginning seen as unwanted meddling from the other side of the Pyrenees.

The *Fuero real*, an early medieval law code, ordered that the "sin against nature" be punished with public castration, followed by death by hanging from the legs and without burial (the corpse, thus, eaten by animals). The *Siete partidas* of King Alfonso the Wise (later thirteenth century) also specified the death penalty, except for those under 14 or victims of rape. Documented executions of sodomites begin in the fifteenth century; the cases known are from Aragon and Mallorca, although this may simply reflect better records in those kingdoms. In fifteenth-century Castile Juan II, his administrator

Álvaro de Luna, and his son Enrique IV were primarily homosexual, and homosexuality was predictably used by their enemies as a political issue. Writers of Juan II's court created Castilian lyric poetry, which was absent, ascetically, from previous Castilian literature.

The Renaissance. With the incorporation of Naples into the crown of Aragon in 1443, Aragon came into close contact with an Italian city in which homosexuality was treated indulgently, at least in aristocratic circles. The great king and patron Alfonso V, who moved his court to Naples, was at the very least tolerant. He employed as secretary, librarian, and historian the famous Sicilian bisexual Antonio Beccadelli, as falconer the founder of Catalan poetry Ausias March, who is linked with homosexuality in a single document, and Pere Torroella, fifteenth-century Iberia's archmisogynist, also spent time in his court. Naples was not just the center for Renaissance Latin poetry but a major Aragonese political center, through which passed "Spain's best nobles, politicians, and soldiers." Yet there is no evidence of any reform of what in Spanish are called *costumbres* until the introduction of the Inquisition—seventy years after it had been introduced in Spain—brought widespread revolt against Spanish authority.

Several decisive steps in the formation of modern Spain were taken by Isabella with her husband Ferdinand, "the Catholic Monarchs" (1474–1516). Through their marriage Castile and Aragon became ruled by the same sovereigns, and Catholicism became even more linked with marriage in the nation's consciousness. Christianity was seen in Castile, more strongly than elsewhere, as a system for controlling sexual behavior. Female prostitution, however, was always tolerated; it was located in the Moorish quarter, a predecessor of the "zona de tolerancia" of the modern Hispanic city.

Granada was conquered in 1492; its baths, described as the citizens' enter-

tainment, closed shortly thereafter. (Alfonso VI had destroyed Castile's baths two centuries before, believing that the "vices" practiced there made for poorer soldiers.) Jews were expelled the same year, although a majority chose conversion to Christianity and remained in Spain; anti-Jewish propaganda shortly before the order of expulsion identified Jews with sodomy ("sodomy comes from the Jews"). In 1497 Ferdinand and Isabella, presumably responding to the continued existence of sodomites in Spain, ordered that those found be burned, with confiscation of possessions by the crown.

The Hapsburg Era. Hapsburg Spain of the next two centuries was similarly repressive, and records survive of many public executions of sodomites, intended to instill terror into the populace. Yet there were ups and downs, with more freedom in Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, and Andalusia than in Castile, and more among the economically privileged than among the peasantry. The most oppressive period was the reign of Felipe II (1555–1598), which saw a renewed emphasis on marriage; the prudish Counterreformation, which he championed, opposed sensual pleasure of any sort. Just before his death Felipe II reaffirmed the death penalty for sodomy, and made conviction easier. Felipes III and IV (1598–1665) were more liberal, though only by comparison. Testimony in legal cases, among them those of Felipe II's secretary Antonio Pérez and the Count of Villamediana, is the largest body of information that survives on homosexual life in Spain during the period. In Valencia, Inquisition testimony reveals the existence in the seventeenth century of a clandestine homosexual ghetto. It should be remembered, in studying modern Spanish society, that pressures toward marriage were so strong that except for ecclesiastics, most of those who engaged in homosexual activities did marry. At the same time, opposition to the Catholic church could be so intense as to make anything Catholicism opposed,

such as non-procreative sexuality, seem especially appealing. It should also be noted that homosexuality could be ascetic, rejecting all sexual activity, a purity of which, according to misogynist literature, men were thought more capable.

As Castile took on a world role for the first time, the official morality interpreted the world in terms of sexual behavior and religion. Protestants instituted divorce and clerical marriage, and closed monasteries. New World Indians were sodomites (*see Andean Societies*), and needed Christianity. The Turkish empire, of which the Spaniards were terrified, was likewise seen as a land of sexual license, where Christians were slaves. Italy was decadent and effeminate, and Spain undertook its defense. There were substantial colonies of expatriate Spaniards in Italy, the Turkish empire, France, and Holland. Just as those who rejected medieval Castile's sexual morality could and did emigrate to the Islamic south and east, in the Hapsburg period there were many among the expatriates who left in search of greater sexual as well as religious freedom. The expatriates were sometimes influential in reinforcing the sexual freedom and anti-Catholicism of their new countries.

Homosexuality appears in classical Spanish literature in subtle forms. In the world of sixteenth-century pastoral and chivalric romance an atmosphere of freedom was established, and sex-variant characters, especially women in male roles, appear. Anonymous chronicles of famous homosexuals (Juan II, Álvaro de Luna, very possibly also the "Gran Capitán" Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba) were published in the sixteenth century. Cervantes presents, through same-sex friendships, relationships with many homosexual overtones. In drama, a wide variety of interpersonal and psychological problems were examined. Female roles were sometimes played by boys. Female characters often used male disguise, and men in female dress are not unknown; Tirso de

Molina is especially noted for the use of cross-dressing and female protagonists.

Homosexuality was also treated through the use of classical mythology. The most important, difficult, and innovative poet of seventeenth-century Spain is Luis de Góngora y Argote. In his masterpiece, the *Solitudes*, the alienated young protagonist is described at the outset as more beautiful than Ida's ephebe ("garzón"); the allusion is to **Ganymede**. The *Solitudes* started a furious controversy; the tormented conservative Quevedo repeatedly called Góngora a sodomite and Jewish, although he is not known to have been either. An important follower of Góngora was Pedro Soto de Rojas, author of a lengthy poem on Adonis; another was Villamediana; another was the brilliant feminist Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. On homosexuality in religious literature and monastic institutions much work remains to be done. In some of the most famous poems in Spanish, San Juan de la Cruz took the female role in fantasized mystical lovemaking with Christ, and the Mercedarian order, to which Tirso de Molina belonged, had the reputation, at least in some quarters, of enjoying sodomy.

Executions of sodomites continued, through in reduced number, into the eighteenth century. The death penalty for homosexual acts was removed in 1822 with the first Spanish penal code, which referred only to "unchaste abuses" (*abusos deshonestos*). In 1868 the crime of causing public scandal was added, but no homosexual cases have been discussed.

The Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. New contact with mainstream Europe, especially Germany, exposed Spain in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to ideas from which it had long been sheltered. There ensued a great campaign of intellectual and cultural renewal; this movement was anti-Catholic, libertarian, and often Arabophile; some of the leading figures spent time in Granada. The founder is the revered, celibate educator Francisco Giner

de los Ríos, called "the Spanish Socrates," whose Institución Libre de Enseñanza had a great influence until its demise with the Spanish Civil War. The Hellenism of Giner and his disciples remains unstudied.

A focus of homosexual life was the liberal Residencia de Estudiantes, an offshoot of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza and much more than what its name would imply. Its small campus, with buildings in Hispano-Arabic style, opened in 1915, and it was in the 20s and 30s a center of the artistic vanguard in Madrid. Among its residents were Federico García Lorca, the poet Emilio Prados, and the painter Salvador Dalí.

In the early twentieth century there was little open or published discussion of homosexual topics, but there were many coded allusions. Figures interested in homosexuality, at least during part of their lives, include Giner's nephew and disciple Fernando de los Ríos, the Greek professor, essayist, and fiction writer Unamuno, the novelist Baroja, and the poets Manuel Machado and Rubén Darío (the former the foremost Spanish dandy; the latter, a Nicaraguan, the author of the first published discussion in Spanish of **Lautréamont**). The Biblioteca Renacimiento, whose literary director was the playwright Gregorio Martínez Sierra, published the works of Spanish homosexual authors along with translations of Freud.

Writers more openly homosexual were not able to deal with the topic in their works. These include the conservative dramatist Jacinto Benavente (Nobel Prize, 1922), the chronicler of Madrid life Pedro de Répide, the short story writer Antonio de Hoyos y Vinent, and the music critic and historian Adolfo Salazar. Many Spaniards escaped to Paris, among them Gregorio and María Martínez Sierra and the composer Manuel de Falla. Little magazines, such as *Grecia* of Adriano del Valle, *Mediodía* of Joaquín Romero Murube, and *Renacimiento* of Martínez Sierra, remain incompletely studied. Even into the 1920's

the situation for homosexuals was oppressive, as can be seen from the reticence of the Espasa-Calpe encyclopedia and the comments of Gregorio Marañón. It was foreigners living in Spain, the Uruguayan Alberto Nin Frías (*Marcos, amador de la belleza*, 1913; *Alexis o el significado del temperamento urano*, 1932; *Homosexualismo creador*, 1933), the Chilean Augusto d'Halmar (*Pasión y muerte del cura Deusto*, 1924), and the Cuban Alfonso Hernández Catá (*El ángel de Sodoma*, 1928) who published the first books on the topic.

One type of covert treatment of homosexuality was study of Andalusian culture or homosexual figures, among the latter the Count of Villamediana. An important event was the tercentenary of the Góngora in 1927; the commemoration gave the name to the famous "generation of 1927." This was a celebration of poetry, of Andalusia (Góngora was from Córdoba), an exuberant revolt against Spain's cultural establishment, and also an affirmation of Spain's homosexual tradition. Among those participating were the poets Lorca, Prados, Luis Cernuda, Vicente Aleixandre (Nobel Prize, 1977), and the bisexual poet and printer Manuel Altolaguirre; Altolaguirre and Prados published in Málaga the magazine *Litoral* (1926-29). Especially important was the role of the great bisexual love poet Pedro Salinas, called the "inventor" of that poetical generation. Salinas, who introduced his student Cernuda to Gide's writings, was translator of and much influenced by Proust.

Pressures for liberalization were building. Besides Freud, Oscar Wilde's works were available in Spanish, as was Frank Harris' life of Wilde and Iwan Bloch's *Vida sexual contemporánea*. Gide's *Corydon* and an expurgated version of Lautréamont's *Cantos de Maldoror* appeared in the 1920's, translated by Julio Gómez de la Serna; Ramón Gómez de la Serna wrote a long prologue to the latter. Young Spaniards studied in Germany, returning with knowledge of its sexual

freedom. Contact with the writings of Magnus Hirschfeld is certain. Emilio García-Gómez's *Poemas árabe-andaluzes*, which included pederastic poetry, caused a stir when published in 1930. Also contributing to a much changed climate were the lectures and publications on gender identity by Spain's most famous physician, Gregorio Marañón. Marañón believed that homosexuality was a congenital defect, and claimed that "Latin races" were superior because they allegedly had less of it than did Germany and England. Yet he strongly and publicly advocated tolerance, and "treatment" was to be just as voluntary as for any other medical condition. (Impressed by the newly discovered role of hormones in sexual desire, Marañón expected a hormonal therapy to be developed.) Besides *Los estados intersexuales en la especie humana* (1929) and other writings on sexual medicine, Marañón wrote an introduction for Hernández Catá's *Ángel de Sodoma*, a prologue for the translation of Bloch, an "antisocratic dialogue" accompanying the second Spanish edition of *Corydon* (1931), and a historical diagnosis of the homosexual king Enrique IV.

The pressures came to fruition in 1931 with the proclamation of the liberal Second Republic. The fervently anti-Catholic Manuel Azaña was president; minister of education and later ambassador to the United States was Fernando de los Ríos; and the author of Spain's new constitution, Luis Jiménez de Asúa, had published in defense of sexual and reproductive freedoms *Libertad de amar y derecho a morir* (1928; an epilogue to Hernández Catá's *Ángel de Sodoma*). The first few years of the republic were very happy times. The Chilean diplomat Carlos Morla Lynch kept a cultural salon, but published only heavily censored excerpts from his diary. A Hispano-Arabic institute was created and it launched the journal *Al-Andalus*; surprisingly, both survived the Civil War. Even more surprising, they produced as offshoots, in fascist Spain at the peak of

Nazi Germany's campaign to free Germany and the world of Jews, a Hispano-Jewish institute and its journal *Sefarad*.

Homosexuality moved toward open appearance in Spanish literature: while the *Ode to Walt Whitman* of Lorca was privately published in Mexico (1933), Cernuda published *Where Oblivion Dwells* in 1934, *The Young Sailor* and *The Forbidden Pleasures* in 1936, and Lorca's *Sonnets of Dark Love* and *The Public* were being read to friends shortly before his assassination. As with the Nazis, a motive of the Catholics who began the Civil War in 1936 was to free Spain of homosexuals, although one of their heroes, the assassinated José Antonio Primo de Rivera, is reputed to have been a homosexual and a friend of Lorca.

Toward the Present. From 1939 to 1975 Spain was ruled by the joyless clerical-fascist regime of Franco, during which all nonprocreative sexuality was again furtive, although there was liberalization in the 60s. Any positive treatment of homosexuality in the media would itself have been a criminal offense. A recriminalization of "homosexual acts" in 1970 produced an embryonic gay movement, and the first gay magazine in Spanish, *Aghois* (1972-73). Founded by Armand de Fluvià, *Aghois* was prepared in Barcelona, then sent clandestinely to Paris, where it was reproduced and mailed. The Franco criminalization was itself repealed in 1978.

Poetry, especially difficult poetry, attracted the least attention and was, therefore, the preferred homosexual genre. Literary figures of this period are Aleixandre, Aleixandre's protégé the poet and critic Carlos Bousoño, the poets and literary scholars Luis Rosales and Francisco Brines, and the less secretive, and thus more marginal, poets Jaime Gil de Biedma and Juan Gil-Albert [*Heracles*, written 1955, publ. 1981]. From voluntary exile in Paris came the major voice of Juan Goytisolo, who in his novel *Count Julian* presents an Arabophile interpretation of Spanish history and a trip through the vagina of Queen

Isabella. His *En los reinos de taifas* is the first public discussion by a Spanish author of his arrival at a homosexual identification.

After the death of Franco in 1975, Spain entered its most liberal period since the end of the Middle Ages; Catholicism has again been deposed from its position as state religion. While there is not a self-consciously or publicly gay culture, a gay movement is now well-established. It is primarily based in Barcelona, home of the Institut Lambda. Bilbao has had a gay center since 1980, and *Gay Hotsa*, the most important gay magazine in Spain, is published there.

Major cultural figures are more or less openly gay-identified. Authors emerging or flourishing during this period include, besides Goytisolo, the novelist Terenci Moix, the playwright Antonio Gala, the poet and essayist Luis Antonio de Villena, translator of the Greek anthology (*La musa de los muchachos*, Madrid, 1980), the Bohemian, self-publishing poet Manuel Gámez Quintana (*Apuntes sobre el homosexual*, Madrid, 1976), the bisexual philosopher Fernando Savater, and, from Paris, the novelist Agustín Gómez-Arcos (*The Carnivorous Lamb*, Boston, 1984). A film renaissance has produced two major gay filmmakers, Eloy de la Iglesia (*Hidden Pleasures; The Deputy; Pals*) and Pedro Almodóvar (*Law of Desire; Dark Habits*), both of whom have been acclaimed abroad; also gay is the country's leading and most admired pop singer, Miguel Bosé. Spain has become a favorite destination of gay tourists, with gay resorts located in Ibiza, Sitges, and the Costa del Sol. Gay tourists also go to Barcelona and Valencia, and to a lesser degree Madrid and Seville. AIDS has not had a large impact in Spain, and the majority of reported cases are intravenous drug addicts.

Lesbians. Little is known about Lesbianism in Spain. Female-female sexuality is believed to have been enjoyed, along with many other forms of pleasure, by the eleventh-century courtesan and poet

Wallada; presumably it flourished among the concubines and multiple wives of Andalusia, but other documentation is lacking. (Later Turkish practice would suggest that eunuchs served as cooperative partners for lengthy sessions of cunnilingus and intercourse.) In Christian Spain, the protagonist of the very popular *Celestina* of Fernando de Rojas (1499) enjoyed lovemaking with women. There is a single report of a woman sentenced to exile for "attempted sodomy" in 1549, and there is also mention of women in prison who strapped on a phallus. Women were simply less cause for concern, perhaps because, as an inquisitor said, they did not have the "instrument" with which to commit sodomy. Women were able to live for years in male dress without detection, even serving in the army. Two well-known cases, Catalina de Erauso (1592-1650) and Elena/"Eleno" de Céspedes (late sixteenth century)—the second, possibly a true hermaphrodite, married first as a woman and then as a man—were only discovered by chance.

The role of lesbians in the early twentieth century and Civil War remains to be examined. The actress Margarita Xirgu was at the center of a sympathetic body of theatre people. The *Songs of Bilitis* were published in Spanish translation by 1913; that they were the work of Pierre Louÿs was not yet known. In the contemporary period a number of women writers have dealt with lesbian topics, without, however, making public their own sexual orientation. Among the most important of these are the novelists Esther Tusquets, who also directs a libertarian publishing house, and Ana María Moix.

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Daniel Eisenberg

SPARTA

Ancient Greek Sparta was the chief city-state of the Peloponnesus in the archaic and classical ages. Inspired by the Dorian ancestral hero Heracles, who loved Iolaus and taught him to hunt and fight, Spartans developed the strongest Hellenic society under the Eunomia (good order), laws given by an oracle to the semi-mythical regent Lycurgus, but actually promulgated just after the Second Messenian War. Victorious under its peculiar constitution that early provided for two hereditary kings but evolved during the First (735-715 B.C.) and Second (635-615 B.C.) Messenian Wars, Sparta enslaved its neighbors, assigning a certain number of these helots to work the 9,000 cleroi (plots of land), each assigned to a Spartan. Thus relieved of work, each male citizen devoted his days from six to sixty to gymnastics and military training to become a perfect hoplite, as the new-style warrior for the phalanx was called.

Pederasty. The semilegendary Lycurgus banned money except for iron spits and ordered periodic redistribution of cleroi. Faced with the need to limit the population of "equals" so that each would possess a cleros, the reformers after 615 B.C. imported the Cretan customs of de-

layed marriages for men, training nude in *gymnasia*, common messes for citizens, and *pederasty*. Provided only with one rude cloak annually, boys roved in herds (*agelai*), as in Crete, each under an older boy—an "ciren" of 20-22—slept outdoors, stole food from helots and harassed and even murdered them. If caught stealing they were flogged publicly, not infrequently to death in order to teach them to steal more craftily and to endure greater physical hardship. At 12 each boy was taken by a 22-year-old "inspirer," who trained him for the next eight years. Then, as the "listener" began to sprout facial and body hair, he went on active full-time military duty and was assigned to a barracks where he had to sleep until he was 30, continuing to return to dine with his messmates until the age of 60. At 30 the inspirer married a girl of 18, who on her wedding night lay face down in a dark room in boy's attire with close-cropped hair, and henceforth he slept at home. Eighteen- to 20-year-old epebes and 20- to 22-year-old eirens, being constantly together, made the transition from "listeners" to "inspirers."

That Lycurgus borrowed Cretan institutions is attested not only by Ephorus, Herodotus, Plato, and Plutarch, who state that he traveled in Crete to study its constitution, but also by the fact that common messes in Sparta were at first called by the Cretan term *andreaia* (men's house) before it became the classical *syssitia*. The Spartan *gymnasia* and *palestra*, from which, as in Crete, helots were excluded and citizens trained nude, were modeled on Cretan *dromoi*, running tracks. Also Thaletas, the Cretan musician (devotee of the Muses, hence poet and scholar) and disciple of the Cretan Onomacritus, who had institutionalized pederasty on Crete ca. 650, came at Lycurgus' request to help improve the Spartan constitution and introduced there from Crete the Dance of the Naked Youths. After institutionalizing pederasty and the related reforms, neither Sparta nor