

ROUTLEDGE REVIVALS

Encyclopedia of Homosexuality

Volume I

Edited by
Wayne R. Dynes



The Encyclopedia of Homosexuality

First published in 1990, *The Encyclopedia of Homosexuality* brings together a collection of outstanding articles that were, at the time of this book's original publication, classic, pioneering, and recent. Together, the two volumes provide scholarship on male and female homosexuality and bisexuality, and, reaching beyond questions of physical sexuality, they examine the effects of homophilia and homophobia on literature, art, religion, science, law, philosophy, society, and history. Many of the writings were considered to be controversial, and often contradictory, at that time, and refer to issues and difficulties that still exist today.

This volume contains entries from A-L.

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The Encyclopedia of Homosexuality

Volume I

Edited by
Wayne R. Dynes

Associate Editors
Warren Johansson and William A. Percy

With the Assistance of Stephen Donaldson



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Clarification

Please note that the names Evelyn Gettone and Ward Houser are pseudonyms. These entries were written by male authors.

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
HOMOSEXUALITY

EDITED BY WAYNE R. DYNES

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
WARREN JOHANSSON
WILLIAM A. PERCY

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF
STEPHEN DONALDSON

V O L U M E 1

A - L

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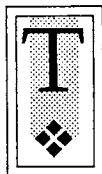
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The interdisciplinary, transcultural, and transhistorical scope of this enterprise rests on a tradition of pioneering scholarship initiated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by Heinrich Hoessli, Magnus Hirschfeld, and Ferdinand Karsch-Haack. Many concepts utilized in the *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality* were developed at meetings of the Scholarship Committee of the Gay Academic Union, New York, during the decade 1976–85. The Scholarship Committee also began a program of exchange with foreign scholars which has been invaluable in broadening our international coverage. Among those especially helpful in this regard have been Javier Aroz (Euskadi/Spain), Massimo Consoli (Italy), Giovanni Dall'Orto (Italy), Jürgen Geisler (Germany), Júlio Gomes (Portugal), John Grube (Canada), Gert Hekma (Netherlands), Manfred Herzer (Germany), Paul Knobel (Austra-

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To all the contributors, whose names appear in a separate list, we owe a special debt for sharing their expertise. The following authors have been so generous, individually and collectively, that they deserve the status of contributing editors: Giovanni Dall'Orto, Daniel Eisenberg, Stephen O. Murray, and Kathy D. Schnapper. The Index and Reader's Guide were created by Stephen Donaldson, who has been an indefatigable researcher and whose eagle-eyed editing has benefited the language and often the content of most of the major entries.

A long-standing debt is owed to Jim Kepner, International Lesbian and Gay Archives, West Hollywood, and to Don Slater, Homosexual Information Center, Los Angeles and Bossier City, Louisiana.

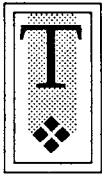
From his vantage point as Editor of the *Journal of Homosexuality*, Professor John De Cecco provided a heartening example. Professor Eugene Rice of Columbia University offered sage advice. In Boston, Richard Dey of the International Homophilics Institute and Pedro J. Suárez

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rendered editorial help and research assistance. John Lauritsen generously offered technical advice, while Professor David F. Greenberg of New York University was an unfailing source of references. At Garland Publishing our editors Gary Kuris and Kennie Lyman have worked tirelessly and efficiently to ensure that no necessary step in the complex process of editing and production was neglected.

Finally, no acknowledgment would be complete without a tribute to the thousands of unsung heroes in and out of academia and the homophile movement, whose courageous and often lonely efforts to battle the prevailing taboos against research into, and open discussion of, homosexuality have at last succeeded in making this work possible.

Preface



The love that dared not speak its name is now, in spite of or because of AIDS, shouting it from the rooftops, and in many voices. Almost as much scholarship on homosexuality has appeared since 1969 as in the previous hundred years, even in the wake of Freud and Hirschfeld, and with each passing year the volume increases. This encyclopedia is the first attempt to bring together, interrelate, summarize, and synthesize this outpouring of controversial and often contradictory writings and to supplant the pseudoscholarship, negative or positive propaganda, and apologetics that are still appearing.

As recently as the 1960s, dearth of research and the widespread Western taboo on public discussion of homosexuality even in the world of academia would have prevented publication of such a work as this. A society that sought for many centuries to suppress the very existence of homosexuality, and to exclude all mention of it from literary and historical documents and from public discourse, could not have welcomed the issuance of this encyclopedia. Indeed, even now some may seek to entomb it in silence because remnants of that taboo still persist.

As anyone who has sought information from them knows, general encyclopedias and histories offer only meager information on homosexuality, usually couched in outdated clinical or judgmental terms. Biographies of gay men and lesbian women discuss their orientation only when unavoidable, as with Oscar

Wilde. There have been several encyclopedias and dictionaries of sexuality (beginning with a German one of 1922, the *Handbuch der Sexualwissenschaft*), but this work is the first to treat homosexuality in all its complexity and variety.

In presenting the encyclopedia to the world, the editors urge the educated public to reflect upon the hidden threads that this work has followed through many areas of human endeavor, a pattern that traces the covert sexuality of figures in public life and in the arts and sciences as the clue to otherwise incomprehensible acts and events. So much effort has gone into censoring and suppressing this subject that extensive investigation has been required to bring it back to the light of day. Even so, vast areas of inquiry—historical eras, whole countries, entire disciplines of scholarly thought—remain to this day blank pages awaiting the patient detective work of future generations of scholars. That so much has already been uncovered, as this work demonstrates, is a monumental tribute to the courage, fortitude, research skills, and the sheer dedication to the difficult search for truth shown by the scholars whose findings form the heart of the encyclopedia.

HOW AND FOR WHOM THE WORK CAN BE USEFUL

This encyclopedia is not just for academic readers. While a variety of styles and vocabulary levels coexist in the work, the editors have generally sought to make

the articles accessible to all likely users, while germane to highly educated scholars. Thus a high-school student should be able to gain valuable information from the article *COMING OUT* even as the social psychologist finds a rigorous critique of various theoretical concepts of the "coming out" process. No advanced degree is needed to interpret *BEACHES*, *SLANG WORDS FOR HOMOSEXUALS*, *PI-RATES*, and *CATHER, WILLA*; on the other hand, *SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION* and *CANON LAW* may prove a challenge for those with no previous acquaintance with related materials.

The encyclopedia should be of great practical use to a wide variety of professionals, from social workers to clergymen, from lawyers to wardens, from pediatricians to drug counselors, and from travel agents to novelists.

In addition, these volumes will aid heterosexual readers in understanding friends, co-workers, and family members who are involved in or afraid of homosexual experiences or relationships or who are simply trying to clarify and communicate their own outlook to others whom the subject baffles.

The editors hope that the encyclopedia will furnish enlightenment for the debates now unfolding in books, articles, the audio-visual media, religious bodies, courts, and legislatures about gay and lesbian rights. We trust that the data assembled will refute misconceptions and falsehoods and contribute to more accurate polemics and to a just resolution of these complex issues.

To the individual struggling to come to terms with his or her own homosexuality, the encyclopedia furnishes a wealth of points of comparison, of historical figures with whom to feel kinship, and the knowledge that all the efforts of church and state over the centuries to obliterate homosexual behavior and its expression in literature, tradition, and subculture have come to naught, if only because the capacity for homoerotic response and homosex-

ual activity is embedded in human nature, and cannot be eradicated by any amount of suffering inflicted upon hapless individuals.

WHAT THE WORK IS ABOUT

The unifying subject of this encyclopedia is ostensibly "homosexuality." But this matter is not so simple as it appears. First of all, it includes both male and female homosexuality (lesbianism), though there is a good deal more information about the former because the latter has been even more thoroughly censored from the historical record along with other aspects of the history of women. Indeed, some have suggested that the two gender aspects of same-sex behavior should be completely segregated and that the present work should restrict itself to males. The editors, however, are persuaded that the phenomenology of lesbianism and that of male homosexuality have much in common, especially when viewed in the cultural and social context, where massive homophobia has provided a shared setting, if not necessarily an equal duress.

Second, a discussion of homosexuality is incomplete without taking into account those who, for whatever reasons, have combined erotic behavior with their own sex and with the other, to whatever degree. Hence, though the term "homosexual" is often perceived as a dualistic one, standing in stark contrast to its opposite term, "heterosexual," this encyclopedia encompasses bisexuality as well. Moreover, not every person who has received a biography is gay, lesbian, or bisexual; heterosexuals have made important contributions to the subject and to this work.

Third, homosexuality cannot properly be understood if it is restricted to genital sexuality. The terminology here is difficult, but the passionate love of one male for another or of one female for another has not always found physical expression, or the evidence of genital expression has not been preserved, while the

passionate feelings are perpetuated in literature and history.

Fourth, homosexuality has had great significance for all of humanity through the role that both it—and opposition to it—have played in the evolution of world culture. In this aspect, the encyclopedia must reach far beyond questions of physical sexuality to examine the effects of homophilia and of homophobia on literature, the arts, religion, science, law, philosophy, society, history, and psychology—indeed, on virtually every field of human endeavor. It is perhaps here that the reader new to this field will discover the greatest surprises, for general literature has obscured most of these effects.

The encyclopedia is concerned not simply with homosexual behavior as such, but with the hopes and aspirations, the longing and dread, with which the subject has been invested. Homophobia itself cannot be omitted, because it has played—at least in Western society—and still does play a large role in shaping popular attitudes. By way of compensation, the *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality* presents a rich banquet of novels and poems, paintings and sculptures, plays and films which have permanently recorded homosexual feelings and aspirations.

Perhaps the most difficult obstacle to a simple focus on “homosexuality” is the growing realization that what has been lumped together under that term since its coinage in 1869 is not a simple, unitary phenomenon. The more one works with data from times and cultures other than contemporary middle-class American and northern European ones, the more one tends to see a multiplicity of homosexualities. A current conception, which focuses on a sense of homosexual identity or personality, interacting with a “gay” subculture set apart from the general society, is only one of a number of paradigms or models of homosexuality, and there is far from a consensus that it is necessarily “better” or more accurate or more universal than others. A male who has sex with

another male can be seen by one society as feminine, by another as all the more masculine; his act can be accounted customary for all males or a rare monstrosity; his behavior, if limited to the insertor role, is not even considered homosexual by many cultures. He may be considered especially evil or especially sacred for his conduct, or it may not even be thought worth mentioning. In some cultures his act will be approved only if he does it with a boy, in others boy love will draw the fiercest wrath upon him. It is this variety of patterns and conceptions, on all of which the tag “homosexuality” is applied by one writer or another, that makes the study of same-sex eroticism both so difficult and so fascinating. Most of all, it adds to the great diversity the reader will find in this work.

THE EDITORS' APPROACH

In the over 770 articles included herein, the editors have ventured to survey the entire field of homosexuality *sine ira et studio*, without anger and partisanship. In selecting contributors to the encyclopedia, they have sought competence and availability rather than adherence to any particular doctrine. They have endeavored to alert the reader to such controversies as divide even well-informed scholars. With the growth of knowledge some topics boast four or five experts, often with conflicting theoretical perspectives and sometimes with different conclusions. In some areas where topics overlap, such as FREUDIAN CONCEPTS and PSYCHOANALYSIS, the contributors—in this case, two of the editors—present clearly varying positions. In most instances only one of the several experts could be chosen for representation here. In addition to this factor, space limitations and other commitments have made it impossible to include every deserving scholar—indeed their ranks swell almost daily. Nonetheless, some fields, notably non-Western disciplines, remain neglected and coverage is consequently less rich than we would wish. No conclusion should be drawn regarding the sexual

orientation of any author from his or her appearance in this work.

The encyclopedia is extraordinarily interdisciplinary in nature, transhistorical, and insofar as could be done at this time, cross-cultural. Discarding limited visions which might confine attention to the recent past and to the Western world, the present work traces countless connections across space and time. The Greeks who institutionalized pederasty and used it for educational ends take a prominent role, as does the Judeo-Christian tradition of sexual restriction and homophobia that prevailed under the church Fathers, Scholasticism, and the Reformers, and—in altered form—during the twentieth century under Hitler and Mussolini, Stalin and Castro. Avoiding the Eurocentrism of many earlier attempts at synthesis, the encyclopedia provides full treatment—as far as present knowledge allows—of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific, and of preliterate as well as literate peoples. It is rare to encounter among these non-Western peoples anything approaching the intense homophobia found in the West.

One reason why this work is so multidisciplinary is that the phenomena of homosexuality represent an outstanding theoretical problem for all those conceptual frameworks which seek to promote a comprehensive and cohesive accounting for human behavior. Whether evolutionary biologist, Marxist, theologian, anthropologist, psychoanalyst, ancient historian, literary critic, demographer, legal scholar, folklorist, feminist, or futurologist, one must either attempt to account for these phenomena and their influence on human life, or admit to an embarrassing gap in one's theory. Here homosexuality enters a sort of "theory prism," to take a term from Stephen Donaldson: the general phenomenon is passed through the refracting lens of grand theory like a beam of light, and either it emerges in coherent fashion, if in a spectrum of variegated facets, after such passage, or the prism is revealed to be opaque

and in need of recasting. The way in which grand theories are serving as this theory prism, with mixed and often unexpected results, is one of the intriguing results of the emergence of homosexuality into the light of academic scrutiny.

HOW THE WORK IS CONSTRUCTED

While the articles in this encyclopedia have not been forced into a rigid straitjacket of typology, the vast majority of them are either thematic, topical, or biographical. Thematic entries may be at a very general level (such as SOCIOLOGY) or more differentiated (such as LABELING; ROLE; SUBCULTURE); they often cross-reference and present different intellectual perspectives. Topical entries deal with particular times and places, such as ROME, ANCIENT; SPAIN; and CHICAGO, or phenomena like BARS and ORAL SEX, where themes mix and cross; they tend to be more descriptive and less theoretical. Representative biographies emphasize the interface between the homosexual activity or orientation and the creative achievement of the subject. In this way the life history treats homosexuality not as something external and negative, but as an integral and meaningful part of the personality. A careful perusal of these biographies will demonstrate to the unbiased reader the rich personalities and the importance of homoerotic tendencies and liaisons in the lives of many who inspired, formed, directed, and interpreted civilization.

The number of biographical entries could be multiplied several times. A complete roster of even historically notable gay men and lesbians is probably unattainable. The editors' concern, however, is to present figures from all walks of life. For reasons of space, the editors decided not to include biographies of living people. They are often discussed in thematic or topical articles, e.g., Leonard Bernstein in MUSICIANS, Adrienne Rich

in POETRY, Harry Hay in MOVEMENT, HOMOSEXUAL, and Michel Tremblay in QUEBEC. Usually when disagreement persists about the homosexuality or bisexuality of such figures as Catalina Erauso, Langston Hughes, and Sarah Orne Jewett, the *Encyclopedia* provides no separate biographical entry, though these individuals may be discussed in other contexts.

References to other articles in this encyclopedia are indicated by **bold type** in the text, or are listed at the end of the article under "See also. . . ." For syntactical reasons, the grammatical form of the bolded word may differ slightly from that of the article, so that **psychiatric** refers to PSYCHIATRY and **Japanese** to JAPAN. Sometimes only the first word of the full title appears in bold type; thus **prisons** refers to PRISONS, JAILS, AND REFORMATORIES. The absence of such a cross-reference does not mean there is no article on the subject, just that it is not supplementary to the present piece. It has also been felt unnecessary and distracting to highlight some of the most general entries, such as HOMOSEXUALITY itself. The Index has been constructed so as to provide a maximum of correlation.

At the end of most articles will be found a list of readings under the heading "BIBLIOGRAPHY." This is not intended to be a complete list of sources, but a general guide for the reader wishing to delve further into the subject at hand, and

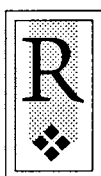
not knowing where to start. With a few exceptions, original works by the subjects of biographies are not listed, only works about them; complete books have been favored over scattered articles. The reader seeking a more comprehensive bibliography is advised to consult Wayne R. Dynes' *Homosexuality: A Research Guide*, also from Garland Publishing. In most cases unsigned articles were written by the editor.

CONCLUSION

Firmly convinced that homoerotic feeling and behavior—and the homophile movement and gay and lesbian literature of modern times—are here to stay, the editors offer this encyclopedia to the public in the hope that it will find readers broad-minded enough to accept its unconventional choice of subject, impartial enough to assess its strengths as well as its weaknesses, and informed enough to correct its omissions and errors. They hope for a second, expanded edition sometime in the future drawing on the assessments of readers and reviewers and also on the ever broader and deeper stream of new scholarship. Their profoundest wish is that future generations of scholars will revise, correct, and enlarge the volumes from decade to decade, so that it may serve as a trusted reference for all who seek enlightenment on the topic of homosexuality.

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A Reader's Guide



Readers who wish to use the encyclopedia as an instrument or text for a systematic study of homosexuality may consult the asterisked (*) articles in the following lists as suitable points of entry. Two methods are recommended:

(1) For those interested primarily in one or a small number of areas or disciplines, begin in each grouping with any articles bearing three asterisks, then read any with two, then any with one, and finally the remainder. A good starting place before selecting a particular topic or discipline group is the grouping **ORIENTATIONS AND MODES**, which will familiarize the reader with basic concepts and terminology.

(2) For those wishing to undertake a more comprehensive approach, read all the entries with three asterisks from all the groupings, then turn to those with two asterisks from all the groupings, and so on. Sometimes a given article will have different numbers of asterisks when listed in different groupings; in such cases one should be guided by the higher number. This approach, however, should also start

with **ORIENTATIONS AND MODES**. (For the convenience of those choosing this method, a suggested reading order for the three-asterisked entries is given at the end of this guide.) After the asterisked entries, the non-asterisked articles may be read by those wishing a truly "encyclopedic" education.

Biographies have not been asterisked, on the understanding that readers will gain a sense of the importance of particular individuals from the thematic and topical articles and will thus be able to follow up with their own choice of biographies.

For tips on using cross-references within the articles, see the Preface. The reader is also directed to the **Index** for follow-up on any topics of particular interest; often additional information or a different perspective may be found in articles other than those listed. The **Index** is also useful for inquiries into any subjects not covered by articles of their own; the curious reader will find that a browsing perusal of the **Index** will suggest many interesting topics for examination.



OVERVIEW OF GROUPINGS

- ANTHROPOLOGY AND
ETHNOLOGY
- ART AND AESTHETICS (see also
LITERATURE; MUSIC;
PERFORMING ARTS)
- CLASSICAL GREECE AND ROME
- CONCEPTS, TERMS, AND
THEORIES (see also
HOMOPHOBIC CONCEPTS)
- COUNSELING AND SOCIAL
WORK (see also LIFESTYLES;
ORIENTATIONS AND MODES;
PSYCHOLOGY AND
PSYCHIATRY; RELATIONSHIPS;
RELIGION; ROLES)
- DISCRIMINATION
- ECONOMICS
- EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP
- GENDER
- GEOGRAPHY
- GOVERNMENT (see also HISTORY;
LAW AND ITS ENFORCEMENT;
MILITARY; POLITICAL THEORY;
RULERS)
- GROUPS
- HISTORY (see also CLASSICAL
GREECE AND ROME;
GOVERNMENT; MILITARY;
MOVEMENT, GAY AND
LESBIAN; RULERS)
- HOMOPHOBIC CONCEPTS
- INTERGENERATIONAL (see also
CLASSICAL GREECE AND ROME)
- LANGUAGE (see also CONCEPTS,
TERMS, AND THEORIES)
- LAW AND ITS ENFORCEMENT
- LEISURE AND SPORTS
- LIFESTYLES (see also LEISURE AND
SPORTS)
- LITERARY BIOGRAPHIES AND
STUDIES
- LITERATURE (see also LITERARY
BIOGRAPHIES AND STUDIES)
- MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS
- MEDICAL
- MILITARY
- MOVEMENT, GAY AND LESBIAN
(see also DISCRIMINATION)
- MUSIC
- ORIENTAL STUDIES
- ORIENTATIONS AND MODES
- PERFORMING ARTS (see also
MUSIC)
- PHILOSOPHY (see also POLITICAL
THEORY)
- POLITICAL THEORY
- PSYCHOLOGY AND PSYCHIATRY
(see also COUNSELING;
ORIENTATIONS AND MODES)
- RELATIONSHIPS
- RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY
- ROLES (see also GENDER)
- RULERS
- SCIENCE
- SEX RESEARCH
- SEXUAL PRACTICES
- SEXUAL SITES
- SOCIOLOGY (see also
ANTHROPOLOGY;
COMMUNICATIONS; GROUPS;
LIFESTYLES; MOVEMENT, GAY
AND LESBIAN; RELATIONSHIPS;
ROLES; SEXUAL SITES)
- SYMBOLISM AND SEMIOTICS
- VIOLENCE
- WOMEN
- YOUTH

ENTRIES GROUPED BY MAJOR TOPIC AND DISCIPLINE

ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

Africa, Sub-Saharan *
Amazonia *
Amazons, American Indian
Andean Cultures *
Anthropology ***
Benedict, Ruth
Berdache **
Burton, Sir Richard
Circumcision
Fichte, Hubert
Folklore, Gay Male
Folklore, Lesbian
Indians, North American *
Mexico *
Pacific Cultures **
Paleo-Siberian Peoples *
Shamanism **
Siwa Oasis
Sotadic Zone
Travel and Exploration
Typology **

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Art, Visual **
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Botticelli, Sandro
Brooks, Romaine
Camp *
Caravaggio, Michelangelo Merisi da
Cellini, Benvenuto
Clothing
Cocteau, Jean
Comic Strips
Dance **
Day, Fred Holland
Demuth, Charles
Donatello
Epicureanism

Flower Symbolism
Géricault, Théodore
Gloeden, Wilhelm von
Grant, Duncan
Harlem Renaissance
Hartley, Marsden
Kupffer, Elisàr von
Leonardo da Vinci
Marées, Hans von
Michelangelo Buonarrotti
Modernism
Nude in Art *
Obesity
Photography **
Pornography *
Sensibility
Shawn, Ted
Sodoma (G. A. de' Bazzi)
Taste *
Variety, Revue, and Cabaret
Entertainment *
Vase Painting, Greek *
Warhol, Andy
Winckelmann, Johann Joachim

(Cities, see GEOGRAPHY)

CLASSICAL GREECE AND ROME

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Aeschines
Aeschylus
Alcibiades
Alexander the Great
Alexandria *
Amazons, Classical
Antinous
Aristophanes
Aristotle
Artemidorus of Daldis
Athenaeus
Augustine
Beauty Contests
Bilitis
Caesar, Julius
Catullus
Cicero

Clement of Alexandria
 Crete **
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 Ephebophilia
 Epicureanism *
 Etruscans **
 Eunuchs *
 Ganymede *
 Gnosticism
 Greece, Ancient ***
 Greek Anthology **
 Gymnasia *
 Hadrian
 Heliogabalus
 Hellenism
 Hellenistic Monarchies *
 Hippocratic Corpus
 Homer *
 Horace
 Inventor Legends *
 Jesus
 Josephus
 Judeo-Christian Tradition*
 Lucian of Samosata
 Manichaeism *
 Martial, Marcus Valerius
 Mediterranean Homosexuality *
 Mythology, Classical **
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 Nero
 Olympic Games *
 Orpheus
 Patristic Writers *
 Pederasty **
 Petronius
 Philo of Alexandria
 Pindar
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 Plautus
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 Roman Emperors *
 Rome, Ancient ***
 Sappho *
 Scythians
 Sicily *
 Slavery *
 Socrates
 Solon *
 Sparta **

Stoicism *
 Suetonius
 Symposia
 Tacitus
 Thebes *
 Theocritus
 Theognis
 Tibullus
 Vase Painting, Greek *
 Vergil
 Zeno of Citium

(Communications, see MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS)

CONCEPTS, TERMS, AND THEORIES (see also HOMOPHOBIC CONCEPTS)

Active-Passive Contrast **
 Activist, Gay
 Adhesiveness
 Ageism
 Anarchism
 Androgyny *
 Androphilia **
 Berdache **
 Bisexuality ***
 Bohemianism
 Boston Marriage
 Buggery *
 Butch-Fem Relationships *
 Calamus
 Camp *
 Catamite *
 Celibacy
 Class
 Clone *
 Closet *
 Color Symbolism
 Coming Out **
 Community, Gay *
 Consciousness Raising
 Consent
 Constitutional Homosexuality **
 Counterculture *
 Cruising
 Dandyism
 Deviance and Deviation*
 Dictionaries and Encyclopedias *
 Dyke *
 Dysphoria, Gender

- Effeminacy, Historical Semantics of*
 Ego-dystonic Homosexuality
 Ephebophilia *
 Etiology **
 Etymology *
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 Fetishes
 Fiedler Thesis
 Functioning
 Freudian Concepts **
 Ganymede *
 Gay ***
 Gender **
 Ghettos, Gay *
 Heterosexuality *
 Homophile **
 Homophobia **
 Homosexuality ***
 Homosexuality, Concept of ***
 Homosexuality, Term ***
 Homosociality **
 Hydraulic Metaphor
 Identity **
 Incarceration Motif
 Ingle
 Intermediate Stages, Sexual
 Inversion *
 Labeling *
 Lambda
 Latent Homosexuality **
 Lesbianism ***
 Lewdness, Open
 Liberation, Gay **
 Libertarian Perspectives
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 Love
 Lover
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 Medical Theories **
 Mediterranean Homosexuality **
 Minions and Favorites
 Minority, Homosexuals as a *
 Mollis
 Molly Houses
 Movement, Homosexual **
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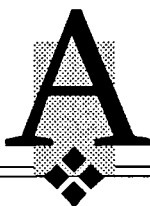
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The Encyclopedia

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ABERRATION, SEXUAL

The notion of sexual aberration had some currency in the literature of **psychiatry** during the first half of the twentieth century. Although the expression encompassed a whole range of behaviors regarded as abnormalities, it is probably safe to say that it was used more with reference to homosexuality than for any other "disorder." In due course it yielded to deviation, and then to **deviance**—some-what less negative concepts.

The term derives from the Latin *aberrare*, "to go astray, wander off." It is significant that the first recorded English use of the verb "aberr" (now obsolete), by John Bellenden in 1536, refers to religious **heresy**. For nineteenth-century alienists and moralists, the word aberration took on strong connotations of mental instability or madness. Thus, in its application to sexual nonconformity, the concept linked up with the notion of "moral **insanity**," that is to say, the nonclinical manifestation of desire for **variant** experience. The notion of departure from a presumed statistical norm, and the prefix *ab-*, connect with the concept of abnormal. The proliferation of such terms in the writings of psychiatrists, physicians, moralists, and journalists in the first half of the twentieth century reveals a profound ambivalence with regard to human variation, in which prescriptive condemnation struggles with, and often overcomes, descriptive neutrality.

ABNORMALITY

The lay public remains much concerned about the question of whether homosexual behavior is abnormal. In

medical pathology the term "abnormal" refers to conditions which interfere with the physical well-being and functioning of a living body. Applied to social life, such an approach entails subjective judgments about what the good life is. Moreover, insofar as homosexual and other variant lifestyles can be considered "maladjusted," that assumption reflects the punitive intrusion of socially sanctioned prescriptions rather than any internal limitations imposed by the behavior itself. In other words, once the corrosive element of self-contempt, which is introjected by the social environment, is removed, homosexual men and lesbian women would appear to **function** as well as anyone else. Another difficulty with the concept is that the pair normal/abnormal suggests a sharp dichotomy. Kinsey's findings, however, suggest that sexual behavior is best understood as a continuum with many individuals falling between the poles and shifting position over the course of their lives.

It is true but trivial that in a purely statistical sense homosexual behavior in our society is abnormal, since it is not practiced by most people most of the time. But the same is the case with such behavior as opera singing, the monastic vocation, medicine—all of which are valued occupations, but ones practiced only by small segments of the population. Labeling sopranos, monks, or physicians abnormal would be tautological—it amounts to saying that a member of a group is a member of a group. Needless to say, we are not accustomed to refer to such pursuits as abnormal because they do not, as a rule, incur social disapproval. Sometimes the matter is referred to biology, by enquiring as to whether animals practice it. (See

animal homosexuality.) Once again, such cultural activities as religion and medicine are not practiced by animals, but this lack does not compel us to condemn them as abnormal. Because of the negative freight that has accumulated over the years, augmented by numerous courses in "abnormal psychology," it is best that the term be used very sparingly—if at all—in connection with sexual behavior.

The history of the word itself reveals an interesting, if obscure interchange between linguistic development and judgmentalism. As the *Oxford English Dictionary* noted (with unconscious irony) in 1884, "few words show such a series of pseudo-etymological perversions." The process that occasioned this unusual lexicographical outburst is as follows. Greek *anomalos* ("not even or level") produced Latin *anomalus*—and eventually our word anomalous. Then, through confusion with *norma*, "rule," the Latin word was corrupted to *anormalis*, hence French and Middle English *anormal*. The parasitic "b" crept in as the second letter of the modern word through scribal intervention rather than the natural evolution of speech. (Compare the intrusive "d" and "h" in "adventure" and "author" respectively.)

It is true that classical Latin had *abnormis*, "departing from the rule," but it did not possess *abnormalis*. The presence of the "b" in our word abnormal serves to create an unconscious association with "aberrant," "abreaction," etc. To summarize, the pejorative connotations are enhanced by the intrusion of two consonants, "b" and "r," which—the etymology shows—do not belong there.

Two rare anticipations of modern usage may be noted as curiosities. In a harangue against sodomites, the French thirteenth-century *Roman de la rose* (lines 19619–20) refers to those who practice "exceptions anormales." In 1869 the homosexual theorist Károly Mária Kertbeny coined a word, *normalsexual* (= heterosexual), in contrast with *homosex-*

ual (which by inference is not normal). Although Kertbeny's first word, in striking contrast to the second, gained no currency, it did anticipate the twentieth-century contrast of normal and abnormal sexuality.

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Wayne R. Dynes

ABOMINATION

In contemporary usage the terms abomination and abominable refer in a generic way to something that is detestable or loathsome. Because of **Old Testament** usage, however—Leviticus 18:22, "Thou shalt not lie with mankind as with womankind: it is abomination" (cf. Leviticus 20:13; Deuteronomy 22:5 and 23:19; and I Kings 14:24)—the words retain a special association as part of the religious condemnation of male homosexual behavior. In Elizabethan English they were normally written "abhominatio(n)," "abominable" as if they derived from Latin *ab-* and *homo*—hence "departing from the human; inhuman." In fact, the core of the Latin word is the religious term *omen*.

In any event the notion of abominatio(n) owes its force to its appearance in Jerome's Vulgate translation of the Bible, where it corresponds to Greek *bdelygma* and Hebrew *tō'ēbāh*. The latter term denotes behavior that violates the covenant between God and Israel, and is applied to **Canaanite** trade practices, idolatry, and polytheism. The aversion of the religious leaders of the Jewish community after the return from the Babylonian captivity to the "abominable customs" of their heathen neighbors, combined with the **Zoroastrian** prohibition of homosexual behavior, inspired the legal provisions added to the Holiness Code of Leviticus in the fifth century before the Christian era that were to be normative for Hellenistic

Judaism and then for Pauline **Christianity**. The designation of homosexual relations as an "abomination" or "abominable crime" in medieval and modern sacral and legal texts echoes the wording of the Old Testament.

The complex web of prohibitions recorded in the Book of Leviticus has defied full explanation from the standpoint of comparative religion. Recently influential among social scientists (though not among Biblical scholars) has been the interpretation of the anthropologist Mary Douglas (*Purity and Danger*, London, 1967), who views the abominations as part of a concern with the boundaries of classification categories, strict adherence to which attests one's purity in relation to divinity.

ABRAHAMIC RELIGIONS

According to the French Catholic Orientalist Louis Massignon (1883–1962), the Abrahamic religions are the three major faiths—**Judaism, Christianity, Islam**—that look to the patriarch Abraham as their spiritual father. In their belief systems, Abraham ranks as the first monotheist who rejected the pagan divinities and their idols and worshipped the true God who revealed himself to him. (Modern scholars have concluded that the book of Genesis is a historical novel written only after the return of the exiles from the Babylonian captivity, and that monotheism in fact began with Akhenaten, the heretical pharaoh of Egypt in the fourteenth century B.C. But completely eradicated in Egypt itself after his death, Akhenaten's innovations left no resonance except for their possible survival in the neighboring Israelite monarchy, which began its rule under Egyptian cultural hegemony.)

All the Abrahamic religions proscribe homosexual behavior, a taboo that derives from the Holiness Code of the book of Leviticus and the legend of **Sodom** as these were received in Palestinian and then Hellenistic Judaism between the fifth

century B.C. and the first century, when the writings of such Jewish apologists as **Philo Judaeus** and **Flavius Josephus** show it in a fully developed form. Thus the negative attitude of all three faiths has a single **Old Testament** source; its reception in Christianity is secondary and in Islam tertiary, the Islamic tradition having mainly been shaped by Nestorian Christianity of the early seventh century. All three contrast in the most striking manner with the role that homosexual behavior and the art and literature inspired by homoerotic feeling played in Greco-Roman paganism—a legacy that the medieval and modern world has never been able fully to suppress or disavow, but which has driven scholars and translators to acts of censorship and artful silence when confronted with texts and artifacts bequeathed by the ancient civilizations.

The claim of homophobic propagandists that the prohibition of homosexuality is universal rests essentially upon its proscription in the Abrahamic religions, which have primarily condemned male homosexuality. Lesbianism is nowhere mentioned in the Old Testament, the **New Testament**, or the Koran. The passage in Romans 1:26 that has often been interpreted as referring to lesbian sexuality actually concerns another Old Testament myth, the sexual union of the "sons of God" and the "daughters of men" in Genesis 6:1–4. The association of Sodom's twin city of Gomorrah with lesbianism is an accretion of the later Middle Ages and confined to Latin Christianity.

As for the texts in Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13, modern critical scholarship has identified them as part of a legal novella from the Persian period, and the entire Mosaic Law as a document compiled by Ezra and the "men of the Great Assembly" in the years 458–444 B.C., hence long after the return of the exiles from the Babylonian Captivity. The account of the destruction of Sodom is a geographical legend inspired by the salinization and aridity of the shores of the Dead Sea, a result of the

lowering of the prehistoric water level that exposed the barren vicinity to full view. The book of Genesis and its later elaboration in Christian and Islamic legend have in their totality been dismissed from history, as modern scholars with access to Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources now conclude that the authors of the Old Testament had no knowledge of any historic event earlier than 1500 B.C. and that there was no urban culture in Palestine in the so-called patriarchal age.

While Jewish communal life in Palestine laid the foundations, the prohibition on homosexual behavior could not be enlarged into a Kantian imperative for all humanity without a Hellenic supplement. Some Greek thinkers had independently formulated a condemnation of homosexuality on philosophical and ethical grounds, the chief of which was that sexuality was intended by nature solely for the purpose of procreation. But this view remained a philosopher's dictum with no support in religion or mythology. It was Judaism that brought to the question the uncompromising prohibitions of Leviticus and the accompanying death penalty, a sanction exemplified by the myth of the destruction of Sodom. The four lines of attack—philosophical, ethical, legal-religious, and mythical—converged in Philo Judaeus (ca. 20 B.C.–ca.A.D. 45), who formulated in flawless Attic prose the arguments that Christianity was to adopt as the basis for the intolerance of homosexuality in its own civilization.

The enforcement of the taboo in the three Abrahamic religions is quite another matter. For most of its history Judaism lacked the state power with which to impose the Levitical death penalty, but could resort to ostracism and exclusion from the Jewish community. Christianity, and above all Latin Christianity, succeeded in creating not just a fearsome legal prohibition, but also an intolerant public opinion that mercilessly ostracized not just those guilty of "unnatural vice," but even those accused or merely suspected of it,

and so burdened even exclusive homosexuals with the mask of a heterosexual identity. Islam, even after adopting this part of the Abrahamic tradition, never effectively superimposed it upon the more tolerant folkways of the Mediterranean societies which it conquered and won to its faith, but even allowed homoerotic literature to flourish in the languages cultivated by its adherents, though plastic art celebrating male beauty was restricted by dogmatic opposition to image-making.

Louis Massignon composed a work entitled *Les trois prières d'Abraham, II, La prière sur Sodome* (1930), inspired by Abraham's intercession for the Sodomites in Genesis 18, in which he professed to have discovered the "spiritual causes of inversion." It is the most sophisticated piece of theological homophobia the twentieth century has produced. A summary of his ideas appears in "Les trois prières d'Abraham, père de tous les croyants," *Dieu Vivant*, 13 (1949), 20–23.

However deep-seated and tradition-hallowed the prohibition of homosexuality in the Abrahamic religions may be, it stems in the last analysis from pre-scientific ignorance and superstition and not from beliefs accredited by modern science and philosophy. The contemporary gay liberation movement may be regarded as a rejection of the Abrahamic tradition in regard to homosexuality and a return to the more tolerant and accepting attitude of Greco-Roman paganism, even though some gay activists seek to sanction their beliefs in the guise of pseudo-Christian or pseudo-Jewish communities. On the other hand, the unanimity of the three religions authorizes their adherents to collaborate in good faith against gay liberation and other goals of sexual reform, however much they have hated, shunned, and even persecuted one another over the centuries because of their mutually exclusive claims to be the sole revealed religion.

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ABU NUWAS (CA. 757–CA. 814)

Arab poet. One of the greatest of all Arab writers, Abu Nuwas was the outstanding poet of the Abbasid era (750–1258). Abu Nuwas al-Hasan ibn Hani al-Hakami was born in Al-Ahwaz; his father was from southern Arabia and his mother was Persian. His first teacher was the poet Waliba ibn al-Hubab (died 786), a master who initiated him into the joys of pederasty as well as poetry.

Abu Nuwas continued his education in theology and grammar, after which he decided to try his luck as an author in the capital city of Baghdad. Here he soon acquired great fame as a poet who excelled in lyrical love poetry (*ghazal*), in lampoons and satire, and in *mujun*—frivolous and humorous descriptions of indecent or obscene matters. He became the boon companion of the Caliph Al-Amin (ruled 809–813), son and successor of the illustrious Harun ar-Rashid (ruled 786–809). His irresistible humor and irony made him a favorite figure in popular stories of the Arab world, where he played the role of court jester. (He makes several appearances in *The Thousand and One Nights*.)

Abu Nuwas's favorite themes were wine and boys. He was one of the first Arab poets to write lyrical love poetry about boys, and his genius brought the genre to great heights. His preferred type of youth was the pale gazelle, whose face shone like the moon, with roses on his cheeks and ambergris in his long curly hair, with musk in his kisses and pearls between his lips, with firm boyish buttocks, a slender and supple body, and a clear voice. Beardless boys held the greatest attraction—the growth of hair on the cheek was likened to that of apes—but

here also Abu Nuwas flouted social norms by describing down on the cheek as erotically appealing, since it preserved beauty from indiscreet glances and gave a different flavor to kisses.

The only woman who played an important part in his life was Janan, a slave girl, but, because of his libertine conduct, she never trusted the sincerity of his love. When she asked him to renounce his love of boys, he refused, saying that he was one of the "people of Lot," with reference to the Arab view that the Biblical Lot was the founder of homosexual love. Abu Nuwas was sexually interested in women or girls only when they looked like boys, but even then he considered their vagina too dangerous a gulf to cross. As he said (symbolically): "I have a pencil which stumbles if I use it on the front of the paper, but which takes great strides on the back." Lesbianism he derided as pointless: "It is fat rubbed up by fat, and nothing more. And rub as one may, when down to bare skin, there is nothing to rise in response. There is no wicked shaft that is smooth at the tip to drive itself home and sink into place."

Abu Nuwas was notorious for his mockery and satire, in which the sexual intemperance of women and the sexual passivity of men were favorite themes. A lot of people, even those in high places, were verbally "buggered" by him: "Your penis would not be soft if you did not widen your anus!" Such verbal abuse landed him in prison twice; he was also jailed once for drinking wine.

He liked to shock society by writing openly about things which transgressed the norms and values of Islam. For example, he was probably the first Arab poet to write about the taboo subject of masturbation, which he declared to be inferior to the love of boys, but preferable to marriage. He did not hide his "sinful" behavior behind a cloak of silence, as was expected in Islam; instead he openly boasted of his love of boys and wine: "Away with hypocrisy . . . discreet debauchery means little to me. I want to enjoy everything in broad

daylight." Social blame only served as an enticement, and regrets were not to be expected.

At the very end of his life, Abu Nuwas underwent a sudden reformation, and devoted his final days to the composition of verses in favor of Islamic holiness. Yet it is not these verses which brought him his fame.

See also **Ghulamyya; Islam.**

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Maarten Schild

ACHILLES

Greek mythological hero. Achilles was the son of Peleus and Thetis, usually represented as their only child. All the evidence suggests that the Greeks thought of him as a man, real or imaginary, and not as a "faded" god, and that his widespread cult resulted mainly from his prominence in the *Iliad*. His portrait was drawn once and for all by Homer, and later writers supplied details from their own imagination or from local traditions of obscure origin.

In the *Iliad* he appears as a magnificent barbarian, somewhat outside the sphere of Achaean civilization, though highly esteemed for his personal beauty and valor. Alone among the figures of Homer, he clings to the archaic practice of making elaborate and costly offerings, including human victims. His furious and ungovernable anger, on which the plot of the *Iliad* turns, is a weakness of which he himself is conscious. When not aroused by wrath or grief, he can often be merciful, but in his fury he spares no one. He is a tragic hero, being aware of the shortness of his life, and his devoted friendship for

Patroclus is one of the major themes of the epic. Later Greek speculation made the two lovers, and also gave Achilles a passion for Troilus.

The homoerotic elements in the figure of Achilles are characteristically Hellenic. He is supremely beautiful, *kalos* as the later vase inscriptions have it; he is ever youthful as well as short-lived, yet he foresees and mourns his own death as he anticipates the grief that it will bring to others. His attachment to Patroclus is an archetypal male bond that occurs elsewhere in Greek culture: Damon and Pythias, Orestes and Pylades, Harmodius and Aristogiton are pairs of comrades who gladly face danger and death for and beside each other. From the Semitic world stem Gilgamesh and Enkidu, as well as David and Jonathan. The friendship of Achilles and Patroclus is mentioned explicitly only once in the *Iliad*, and then in a context of military excellence; it is the comradeship of warriors who fight always in each other's ken: "From then on the son of Thetis urged that never in the moil of Ares should Patroclus be stationed apart from his own man-slaughtering spear."

The Homeric nucleus of the theme of Achilles as homosexual lover lies in his relationship with Patroclus. The friendship with Patroclus blossomed into overt homosexual love in the fifth and fourth centuries, in the works of Aeschylus, Plato, and Aeschines, and as such seems to have inspired the enigmatic verses in Lycophron's third-century *Alexandra* that make unrequited love Achilles' motive for killing Troilus. By the fourth century of our era this story had been elaborated into a sadomasochistic version in which Achilles causes the death of his beloved by crushing him in a lover's embrace. As a rule, the post-classical tradition shows Achilles as heterosexual and having an exemplary asexual friendship with Patroclus.

The figure of Achilles remained polyvalent. The classical Greek pederastic tradition only sporadically assimilated

him, new variations appeared in pagan writings after the Golden Age of Hellenic civilization, and medieval Christian writers deliberately suppressed the homoerotic nuances of the figure. But in the world of Greek gods and heroes, Achilles remains the supreme example of the warrior imbued with passionate devotion to his comrade-in-arms.

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Warren Johansson

**ACKERLEY, JOSEPH
RANDOLPH (1896-1967)**

British writer and editor. In 1918 Ackerley wrote a play "The Prisoners of War" about the cabin fever and repressed homoerotic longings of his own stint in a German camp during World War I. It was produced in 1925, by which time Ackerley had become a protégé of E. M. Forster. Forster arranged for him a nebulous position with the Maharajah of Chhatarpur, whose misadventures in pursuit of homosexual love Ackerley mercilessly lampooned in his travel book *Hindoo Holiday* (1929).

The frustrations of Ackerley's own inhibited sexual encounters with working-class men and men in uniforms led him to concentrate his affections on his dog, an Alsatian named Queenie, who is the main romantic interest of *My Dog Tulip* (1956), and of his one novel, *We Think the World of You* (1960), which juxtaposes the pleasures of owning a dog with the difficulties of having a lower-class beloved. After Queenie's death and Ackerley's retirement from the BBC (where he had been an editor of *The Listener*, 1935-59), he journeyed to Japan, where he had a modicum of sexual gratification. Ackerley wrote an obituary of Forster and

sold Forster's letters to the University of Texas, then predeceased him by three years.

Just before his death, Ackerley completed a memoir (*My Father and Myself*) in which he fantasized that as a youth his guardsman father had prostituted himself to rich patrons, thereby securing the financial stability that was eventually to afford his son the opportunity to rent later generations of guardsmen for mutual masturbation. Unfortunately, many of his admirers have taken this account to be established fact.

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Stephen O. Murray

**ACQUIRED IMMUNE
DEFICIENCY SYNDROME**

See AIDS.

**ACTIVE-PASSIVE
CONTRAST**

Common usage divides homosexual behavior into active and passive roles. These terms are ambivalent and often confusing.

A truism of physics is that bodies may be either at motion or at rest. Inert objects, however, can only respond to external attraction and repulsion. It is the property of living things that they can initiate activity as well as respond (or refuse to respond) to stimuli. This last distinction is the basis of commonsense notions of active personalities as against passive ones. Some individuals seem to expend energy freely while others conserve it. In addition to this expend-conserve model, the active-passive contrast corresponds in large measure to those of lead-follow and command-obey.

Around such notions the popular morality of ancient Greece and Rome constructed a sexual dichotomy that classified participants in sexual acts not so

much according to the male–female difference, based on body build and genitalia, or the heterosexual–homosexual contrast of object choice, both of which are familiar to modern thinking, but in a stark opposition of the doer and the one who is done to. The doer (agent) is the phallic male, his receiving partner (patient or pathic) either a female or a pubescent boy. (Sometimes older males could enact the passive role, but they were generally disprized in consequence, for the paradigm admits of only one role for the adult male.) The active–passive contrast largely corresponds to the penetrator–penetratee dichotomy. In modern sexual encounters, the penetrator can be, with respect to overall body movement, largely passive, amounting to a contradiction. The ancients avoided this problem by their tendency to analyze oral–phallic activity as irrumation, that is, where the penetrator engages his partner with vigorous buccal thrusts. A common belief in this system is the notion that only the active partner experiences pleasure; the role of the passive is simply to endure. It is easy to see how such a model of dominator and dominated would accord with the mindset of a slave-owning society.

This contrast of active vs. passive is abundantly illustrated in Greek and Latin sexual texts, and as these are the foundation of the Western tradition their formulae have often been echoed, though changed—consciously or unconsciously—to fit new social norms. The contrast is also found in medieval **Scandinavia**, in our **prisons, jails, and reformatories**, and to a large extent in contemporary **Latin America**.

All these manifestations stem from popular modes of thought which tend to privilege the active, even predatory male. Other trends were found, however, in more cultivated spheres of Greco-Roman thinking. Self-restraint is a quality much praised in ancient ethical **philosophy**, and insofar as this ideal filtered down it tended to

mitigate the notion that the more rapacious copulation the active male could engage in the better. The Platonic tradition also reserved a special place for contemplation, a preference which passed into **Stoicism**, where it even may take the form of commendation of nonaction. These contemplative and Stoic trends migrated into **Christianity**, which however did break with classical tradition by excluding the adolescent youth from the category of licit sexual objects, thus clearing the way for the male–female dichotomy that has been dominant in Western culture ever since. Nonetheless, the pederastic ideal never completely died out, despite the winds of theological disapproval. Many medieval and **Renaissance** texts attest to the survival of pederastic patterns, at least among a cultivated few.

In modern heterosexual practice the identification of the male with the active and the female with the passive was sealed by the repressive norm of the passionless female and the standard injunction of the “missionary position,” in which the penetrating male lies atop his partner. Feminism has sought to combat such restrictions and today a variety of sexual positions are noted in every sex manual. With respect to male and female homosexual conduct, however, the notion lingers that sexual activity, and indeed the whole relationship, must be structured around the active–passive contrast. Thus gay men and lesbians are often asked: “Are you active or passive?” It is frequently difficult to persuade the interlocutor that the two roles are assumed alternately, or that one pattern may prevail in bed while the opposite occurs in everyday life. That is to say, a “butch” lesbian accustomed to take the lead in social encounters may be responsive rather than aggressive in bed. For a time “politically correct” gay and lesbian thinking condemned sex-role differences in couples, claiming that they were a reactionary mimicry of heterosexual norms, but it is now generally recognized that

whether these patterns are to be honored or overcome should be a matter of individual choice.

See also Pederasty; Slavery.

Wayne R. Dynes

ACTIVIST, GAY

Familiar in the 1970s, the expression "gay activist" has become less common owing to the ebbing of the more strenuous and utopian aspects of the gay liberation movement. It served to denote someone choosing to devote a major share of his or her energies to the accomplishment of social change that will afford a better life for homosexual men and lesbian women. Its most famous institutional embodiment, subsequently imitated in many parts of the world, was the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA), formed in New York City in the wake of the 1969 *Stonewall Rebellion*. The group took as its symbol the Greek letter lambda, apparently because of its association with energy transformation in physics. Unlike the New Left, GAA was expressly a "one issue" organization, refusing to submerge the cause of gay rights in a network of social change groups, what came to be known as the Rainbow Coalition. In Europe the term "gay militant" is sometimes found as a variant, but in North America the word militant is generally eschewed because of its Old Left connotations and limitations.

The history of the idea of gay activism displays a complicated pedigree. The concept is rooted ultimately in the perennial contrast between the active and the contemplative life—the latter being traditionally preferred. In 1893, however, the French Catholic philosopher Maurice Blondel in essence turned the tables in his book *L'Action*. Blondel, in keeping with the vitalist currents of the day, held that philosophy must take its start not from abstract thought alone but from the whole of our life—thinking, feeling, willing.

Shortly thereafter, in Central Europe Rudolph Eucken, who received the Nobel Prize for literature in 1906, developed his own philosophy of *Aktivismus*. At this time many figures of Germany's political and literary-artistic *avant-garde* were drawn to Franz Pfemfert's periodical *Die Aktion* (1911–32). Further permutations occurred with the Flemish nationalist Activists in Belgium and the Hungarian artistic movement, *Aktivismus*, that arose in the aftermath of World War I. As early as 1915, however, Kurt Hiller, a political theorist and journalist, as well as an advocate of homosexual rights, drew several strands together in his broader concept of *Aktivismus*, urging the intelligentsia to abandon ivory tower isolation and participate fully in political life. How the term activist in its political (and gay movement) sense reached North America in the 1970s can only be surmised. The mediation of German refugee scholars is likely, as is suggested by this 1954 quotation by Arthur Koestler: "he was not a politician but a propagandist, not a 'theoretician' but an 'activist'." (The reference, from *The Invisible Writing*, is to Willi Münzenberg, an energetic Communist leader in Paris in the 1930s.)

Wayne R. Dynes

ADELSWÄRD FERSEN, BARON JACQUES D' (1880–1923)

French aristocrat and writer. Descended from Marie Antoinette's lover Axel Fersen, the wealthy young baron wrote several volumes of poetry and fiction in the first decade of the century, including *Hymnaire d'Adonis*, *Chansons légères*, *Lord Lyllian*, and *Une jeunesse*. In addition, he edited and contributed to twelve monthly numbers of a literary periodical, *Akademos* (1909). At the age of twenty-three he was arrested for taking photographs of naked Parisian schoolboys, but was allowed to go into exile on the

island of Capri for several years, later returning to France after having visited Sri Lanka and China.

The great love of his life was the boy Nino Cesarini, who lived with him in the Villa Lysis on Capri, which was filled with statues of naked youths and which is now overrun by weeds and stray cats. Adelswärd Fersen also wrote poems to a thirteen-year-old Eton schoolboy. He was the model for Baron Robert Marsac Lagerström in Compton Mackenzie's amusing novel *Vestal Fire* (1927), and was the hero of Roger Peyrefitte's historical fiction *L'exilé de Capri* (1959). He died of a drug overdose in 1923, having for years been an opium and cocaine addict. He had modeled his life on that of Count Robert de Montesquiou, but the latter refused to have anything to do with him, for even in Capri Adelswärd Fersen had caused scandals. He was even associated with Essebac (as the novelist Achille Bécasse was known), Norman Douglas, and Baron von Gloeden. The story of his sexual life is to be found in his own books, in the works of Norman Douglas, and in Peyrefitte's novel, which is spoiled by a mixture of fact and fiction.

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Stephen Wayne Foster

ADHESIVENESS

The concept of adhesiveness was introduced into English by the phrenologist Johann Gaspar Spurzheim (1776-1832) in the meaning of "the faculty that causes human beings to be attached to one another." It derived ultimately from the Latin verb *adhaerere*, as in Genesis 2:24, where St. Jerome's equivalent of "Therefore shall a man . . . cleave unto his wife" is "Quam obrem . . . homo . . . adhaerebit uxori suae." Diffusion of the concept of adhesiveness by the (pseudo-)science of phrenology enabled it to become part of the special vocabulary of the emerging homosexual

subculture of the nineteenth century. Phrenologists themselves grounded this passionate friendship—which could exist between members of opposite sexes as well as between those of the same sex—in the brain, giving it a material base and a congenital origin. Walt Whitman self-consciously narrowed the reference of the term "adhesive love"—which he also named "comradeship"—to homosexual relationships, and in so doing coded his writings for the initiated reader.

Permutations of the Concept. George Combe (1784-1858), a middle-class lawyer from Edinburgh, met Spurzheim in 1815, and soon thereafter became a leader of British phrenology. His *Constitution of Man Considered in Relation to External Objects* (1828) became the basis of orthodox phrenology. His major contribution to the understanding of adhesiveness was his complex sense of the working of the "organ" and his additions to the iconography. He also contrasted the selfish side of adhesiveness with the nobler ends that had to be directed "by enlightened intellect and moral sentiment." Excess of adhesiveness could, however, amount to a disease.

At least two of the European contributors to the definition of adhesiveness may themselves have been homosexual: Spurzheim himself, and his younger Scottish contemporary Robert Macnish (1802-1837). In discussing women with small amativeness and large adhesiveness, he said that they "prefer the society of their own sex to that of men." Amativeness thus applied to relations between the sexes, while the other term was discreetly given the implicit meaning of "homoerotic attachment." Romantic passions between young people of the same sex Macnish deemed an "abuse of adhesiveness." He went so far as to describe a male couple whose mutual attachment was so excessive as to be "a disease."

There is no indication that Walt Whitman knew Macnish's writings. His own acquaintance with the phrenological

tradition came from the Americans associated with "Fowler and Wells," the "phrenological cabinet" that distributed the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* and later hired Whitman to write for their publication *Life Illustrated*. Owen Squire Fowler (1809–1887) took up phrenology with great gusto after hearing Spurzheim's lectures during his student days at Amherst College. In 1840 he published an *Elemental Phrenology* in which adhesiveness was defined as "Friendship; sociability; fondness for society; susceptibility of forming attachments; inclination to love, and desire to be loved. . . ." When he treated adhesiveness at length, as he did repeatedly in journal articles in the following years, he was strong on repetitious rhetoric but weak in analysis. Little of his sermonizing derived from exact observation or rigorous debate.

Franz Joseph Gall (1758–1828), the founder of phrenology, had classified excessive adhesiveness as a "mania," which meant that it could fall within the scope of the physician's interest. However, in the middle of the nineteenth century medical science had not gone beyond defining *quantitative* (as opposed to qualitative) changes in the sexual drive as pathological. Homosexual tendencies were either dismissed as "excesses of friendship" or relegated to the category of "revolting moral aberrations."

Walt Whitman. Under the influence of Fowlerian phrenology Whitman developed his own ideas on the role of adhesiveness in his universal scheme of things. Whitman's self-conception was powerfully shaped by the reading of his head done by Lorenzo Fowler, which showed him to have immense potential, and in the wake of this event Whitman underwent a self-transformation that made him the bold prophet of a new vision of democracy.

In the 1856 edition of *Leaves of Grass* Whitman wrote:

Do you know what it is, as you pass,
to be loved by strangers?

Do you know the talk of those
turning eye-balls?

Here is adhesiveness—it is not
previously fashioned—it is apropos.

The restriction to love between members of the same sex—which was not borrowed from the phrenologists—was Whitman's initial adaptation of the term. When later in *Democratic Vistas* he came to elaborate his new vision of society, he spoke of "the adhesive love, at least rivalling the amative love." For the phrenologists amative-ness and adhesiveness had been distinct, but had not been so polarized, simply because the opposition heterosexual: homosexual did not yet exist in their minds, although they could recognize adhesiveness as "the fountain of another variety of mental symptoms."

Whitman can be seen in this light as a forerunner of Hans Blüher, who, in the second decade of the twentieth century, from an openly elitist and conservative standpoint exalted the role of homoeroticism and of male bonding in the maintenance of the state. For Whitman the core of social organization was same-sex comradeship, which he set at least potentially on a par with heterosexual marriage. He could now celebrate the equalizing effects of his version of adhesiveness, developing it as the basis of social reform in *Democratic Vistas* (1871). His ideal of comradeship linked both his early enthusiasm for the promiscuous anonymity of Manhattan and his later, more or less serial monogamy with his hopes for the future of American democracy.

Aftermath. In the remaining decades of the century, the few surviving phrenologists became painfully aware of the moral dangers of adhesiveness and of the injurious effects of the "excessive desire for friends." In 1898, three years after the disgrace of Oscar Wilde, the *Phrenological Journal*, now edited by Orson Fowler's younger sister, published a two-part ar-

ticle that dwelt as never before on the excesses of friendship, which "causes its possessor to seek company simply for the sake of being in it, whereby their time is wasted and they become a natural prey to the dishonest, tricky, unscrupulous, and vicious, who may take advantage of and link them into all sorts of obligatory concerns ruinous to their pockets and their morals."

Today discredited and forgotten, phrenology retains a historical interest as one of the disciplines that sought to analyze the causal factors in personality before a scientific psychology had emerged from philosophy. As such, it brought Whitman and perhaps others involved in the homosexual subculture of that day to a better understanding of themselves and of the potential of homoerotic urges for the positive task of nation-building. The notion of adhesiveness as related to male comradeship linked it to the *paiderasteia* of Greek antiquity, with its emphasis on loyalty to one's comrade in arms and on duty to the state of which one was a citizen—the latter being one of the sources of the modern democratic ideal.

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Warren Johansson

ADLER, ALFRED (1870–1937)

Austrian psychiatrist, founder of Individual Psychology, commonly known as the Adlerian School. Like Sigmund Freud, Adler came from a lower middle-class Jewish family in Vienna. A central figure in Freud's psychoanalytic circle from 1902 to 1911, his heated disputes with the master in the latter year led to his seceding with several other members to form an independent group.

Adler's theories are technically less complex than those of Freud, and draw

more directly on his experiences with patients of humbler social origin. As a result they have a commonsense quality that earned them considerable popularity in the middle decades of the twentieth century, a popularity that has since ebbed. Alfred Adler's thinking emphasized the individual's striving for power and **self-esteem** (with the inferiority complex often arising as an unwanted byproduct) and the patient's **lifestyle**—a concept that, much modified over the decades, was to play a notable role in the ideology of the gay movement.

Although he attained a qualified approbation of the goals of the women's movement, he insisted on classifying homosexuals among the "failures of life"—together with prostitutes and criminals. His writings on homosexuality began with a 52-page brochure in German in 1917 and continued sporadically through most of the rest of his life. Possessing little independent explanatory power, Alfred Adler's views on homosexuality are now chiefly of historical interest, as instances of stereotyped judgmentalism and reified folk belief of a kind not uncommon among professionals of his day. Beginning in the 1970s some adherents of (Adlerian) Individual Psychology proposed a less negative approach to homosexual behavior, but their revisionism was opposed by others.

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Ward Houser

ADULT-ADULT SEXUALITY

See **Androphilia**

ADVERTISEMENTS, PERSONAL

In the years before World War I insertions by homosexuals began to appear in the personal columns ("petites annonces") of mainstream newspapers in France and Germany. Unlike contemporary graffiti, they avoided sexual explicitness and were couched in the guise of seeking friendship. No counterpart is known in English-speaking countries of the time. In the 1920s the homophile press of Germany became even bolder, but it was soon snuffed out by the Depression and the rise of the Nazis.

In the United States in the 1960s, the underground press represented by such **Counterculture** organs as *The Berkeley Barb* and *The East Village Other* began to push farther the boundaries of accepted expression—as seen in the printing of four-letter words and graphic descriptions of sexual acts in news stories. In order to enhance revenue, these papers ran personal ads soliciting sexual partners. This custom was taken over by the gay newspapers, some of which have quite extensive listings. Although they are explicit and often raunchily detailed as to the activities desired, to save space they tend to employ a code of abbreviations recalling that used by real-estate ads. The existence of these ads has enlarged the sexual marketplace beyond the usual sphere of face-to-face meeting. These ads are generally separate from those placed by "entrepreneurs of the body," models, masseurs, and escorts; for their services payment is expected (generally at a specified rate).

Analysis of the ads reveals different styles for men and women. Women's ads are less explicit and are more likely to turn upon qualities of personality such as one might seek in a friend. Male ads tend to show remarkable narrowness in somatic tastes—height, weight, hairiness, race, etc. Age restrictions in the desired partner are common, with parameters generally going considerably below the age of the person who places the ad, but rarely much above

it. The coming of the AIDS crisis in the 1980s led to a decline in certain appeals (as for rimming), as well as more positive indications, such as the notation that the advertiser is "health conscious."

As a rule American and English mainstream newspapers do not accept personal ads for sex. In Europe, however, as a striking token of recent changes, they even appear in middle-class, "family" newspapers.

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AESCHINES (CA. 397–CA. 322 B.C.)

Athenian orator. His exchanges with Demosthenes in the courts in 343 and 330 reflect the relations between Athens and Macedon in the era of **Alexander the Great**. Aeschines and Demosthenes were both members of the Athenian *boule* (assembly) in the year 347/46, and their disagreements led to sixteen years of bitter enmity. Demosthenes opposed Aeschines and the efforts to reach an accord with Philip of Macedon, while Aeschines supported the negotiations and wanted to extend them into a peace that would provide for joint action against aggressors and make it possible to do without Macedonian help. In 346/45 Demosthenes began a prosecution of Aeschines for his part in the peace negotiations; Aeschines replied with a charge that Timarchus, Demosthenes' ally, had prostituted himself with other males and thereby incurred *atimia*, "civic dishonor," which disqualified him from addressing the assembly. Aeschines' stratagem was successful, and Timarchus was defeated and disenfranchised.

The oration is often discussed because of the texts of the Athenian laws that it cites, as well as such accusations that Timarchus had gone down to Piraeus, ostensibly to learn the barber's trade, but

in reality he was a hustler for the sailors landing at the port. The prosecution is one of the earliest instances of the attempt to destroy a political opponent in a democracy by attacking his sexual past. The offense of which Timarchus was guilty was that by prostituting himself he had in effect put himself in the power of another male, which was not a crime per se, but an act that disqualified a free citizen from speaking before the assembly, and had no relevance to a slave or a foreigner. Nothing in the oration suggests that a general reprobation of *paiderasteia* prevailed in Athenian society at the end of the Golden Age; Aeschines even says expressly that both he and the members of the jury have been honorable boy-lovers, but that the ignoble ("passive") and notorious conduct of which Timarchus had been guilty rendered him unfit to participate in public life. The oration contrasts Timarchus' behavior with the ideal of pederasty that the Greeks derived from the comradeship in arms depicted in the Homeric poems.

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AESCHYLUS (525/4-456 B.C.)

First of the great Attic tragedians. Aeschylus fought against the Persians at Marathon and probably Salamis. Profoundly religious and patriotic, he produced, according to one catalogue, 72 titles, but ten others are mentioned elsewhere. He was the one who first added a second actor to speak against the chorus. Of his seven surviving tragedies, none is pederastic. His lost *Myrmidons*, however, described in lascivious terms the physical love of Achilles for Patroclus' thighs, altering the age relationship given in Homer's *Iliad*—where Patroclus is a few years the older, but as they grew up together, they were essentially agemates—to suggest that Achilles was the lover (*erastes*) of Patroclus.

Plato had Phaedrus point out the confusion, and argue that Patroclus must have been the older and therefore the lover, while the beautiful Achilles was his beloved (*Symposium*, 180a).

Among Attic tragedians Aeschylus was followed by Sophocles, Euripides, and Agathon. Sophocles (496-406 B.C.), who first bested Aeschylus in 468 and added a third actor, wrote 123 tragedies of which seven survive, all from later than 440. At least four of his tragedies were pederastic. Euripides (480-406 B.C.) wrote 75 tragedies of which nineteen survive, and the lost *Chrysippus*, and probably some others as well, were pederastic. Euripides loved the beautiful but effeminate tragedian Agathon until Agathon was forty. The latter, who won his first victory in 416, was the first to reduce the chorus to a mere interlude, but none of his works survive.

All four of the greatest tragedians wrote pederastic plays but none survive, possibly because of Christian homophobia. The tragedians seem to have shared the pederastic enthusiasm of the lyric poets and of Pindar, though many of their mythical and historical source-themes antedated the formal institutionalization of *paiderasteia* in Greece toward the beginning of the sixth century before our era.

William A. Percy

AESTHETIC MOVEMENT

The origins of this trend are usually sought in the concept of "art for art's sake," a concept that arose in France in the middle years of the nineteenth century, when a tendency to deny all utilitarian functions of art gained favor. However, the full development of the aesthetic movement would not have been possible without the background in England, for it was here that the movement in the specific sense arose. In such writers as A. W. N. Pugin (1812-1852) and John Ruskin (1819-1900) disgust with the squalor and alienation brought by the coming of the industrial revolution went hand in hand

with a demand for thoroughgoing reform of society, religion, and art. This agitation called forth such diverse results as Christian socialism; the Oxford movement and Anglo-Catholicism; the Gothic revival in architecture; Pre-Raphaelitism in painting and poetry; and the arts and crafts movement. As this catalogue suggests, these trends melded a nostalgic yearning for a supposed organic society of bygone days with utopian hopes for a new social and aesthetic order. The arts and crafts movement in particular sought to transform the domestic environment. The homosexual contribution to the rise of this trend has not been adequately documented, but clearly it foreshadowed the enthusiasm of so many cultivated gay people today for furniture and antiques.

By common consent, the high priest of the aesthetic movement in the literary sphere was a homoerotic Oxford don, Walter Pater. His *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873) was the bible of the arty young man of late Victorian times, and his novel *Marius the Epicurean* (1885) offered further detail, in a nostalgic Roman setting. By 1881 the type had become familiar enough to be satirized by W. S. Gilbert in his musical comedy *Patience*. The trend attained triumph and tragedy in the meteoric career of Oscar Wilde, whose trials and conviction for gross indecency tarnished the whole tendency. Many aesthetes, to be sure, were not homosexual, yet like Algernon Swinburne and Aubrey Beardsley they could be accused of cognate sexual sins. In the public perception, there was also an interface between the homosexual aesthetes and those who were merely sissified or wimpish. The overelegant, foppish type has a history stretching back to the dandy of the early nineteenth century and forward to the sissy of Hollywood films.

Another manifestation lay in the sphere of religion. Many British homosexuals were attracted to the "aesthetic" emphasis of high Anglicanism with its elaborate ritual and lavish vestments.

Others were attracted to esoteric novelities, such as spiritualism and theosophy. These two trends, historic ritualism and the occult, were combined in the eccentric figure of Charles Webster Leadbeater.

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Wayne R. Dynes

AFGHANISTAN

A mountainous Islamic nation in central Asia, Afghanistan is inhabited by warlike tribes and their descendents. Various empires rose and fell before the nation of Afghanistan emerged from the ruins of Nadir Shah's empire in 1747. The royal dynasty of the Durrani ruled until 1973, when a republic was declared. A war between the Soviet Union and Afghan guerrillas began in 1978 and extended over the next ten years, devastating the country. Previous invasions by the British from India took place in 1839, 1879, and 1919.

Three quotations may serve to introduce a survey of homosexuality in Afghanistan. The first is from C. A. Tripp: "almost 100 percent homosexuality in Afghanistan" (*Gay News*, London, issue 118). The second is from a British soldier who fought there in 1841: "I have seen things in a man's mouth which were never intended by nature to occupy such a position." The third is an opening stanza from the Afghan love song, "Wounded Heart" ("*Zekhmi Dil*"): "There's a boy across the river with a rectum like a peach, but alas, I cannot swim."

Although there is as yet no evidence of lesbianism in Afghanistan, it is safe to assume that, as in many Islamic lands, the harems were rife with it.

A number of Afghan poets wrote about beautiful boys, including Sana'i Ghaznavi, Husain Baiqara of Herat, Badru'd-din Hilali, and Abu Shu'ayb of Herat—

the last-named famous for his love for a Christian boy (presumably a slave).

In the tenth century, the Ghaznavid empire was founded by Subuktagin, who got started as a king's boyfriend. The great Sultan Mahmud the Ghaznavid (died 1030) loved a slave-boy named Ayaz, a relationship comparable in Islamic literature to the oft-cited love of the Roman Emperor Hadrian and Antinous in Western culture.

Huseyn Mirza, who ruled from Herat (1468–1506), and his vizier (prime minister) Hasan of Ali, both had harems of boys. Babur (1483–1530), a poet who ruled from Kabul, became infatuated as a seventeen-year old with a boy known as Baburi; Babur went on to found the Mughal Empire in India and eastern Afghanistan, while Herat fell to the Persians.

During a war of the early nineteenth century, Dost Mohammed Khan fled to the Amir of Bukhara, the pederast Nasrullah, who kidnapped his guest's fourteen-year-old son, Sultan Djan. Dost Mohammed Khan went back to Afghanistan, where he captured Kabul and annihilated a British army east of there in 1842. This was the background for the "things in a man's mouth" quotation.

Herat once again became capital of a kingdom under the pederast Kamran (ruled 1829–1842). King Abd al-Rahman (ruled 1880–1901) and his sons were pederasts. King Amanullah Khan (ruled 1919–1929) was also homosexual.

Page boys had been executed for sodomy, however, and the Penal Code of 1925 established the death penalty for sodomy. If the culprit was under 15, however, he was not executed. These laws were not applied to the royal family.

In those days, Afghan soldiers of the regular army were in the habit of gang-raping boys and sometimes foreign diplomats. In later decades, more fortunate foreigners could find willing boys at a certain restaurant on the aptly-named Chicken Street.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Western sexologists and pornographers discovered an audience for lurid tales of sexual hijinks in Asia, yielding a good deal of gamey material about Afghanistan and other places that may or may not be true; there are few footnotes which might allow for verification of this material. This accumulation started with Sir Richard Burton (1821–1890) and culminated in 1959 with what has been called "a prurient wank book" (by the writer of a letter to *Gay News*), Allen Edwardes' *The Jewel in the Lotus*. Possibly referring to Abd al-Rahman, Edwardes quotes from an anonymous book a mention of "the Ameer of Afghanistan, insane for rare handsome white youths." The reader is unable to determine the author, the book's title, the name of the "Ameer", nor the date of the reference. The scholar is tempted to dismiss all such data, but then one finds authentication in other works for such items as the "boy across the river" song.

From various reliable and dubious sources, we can construct a picture of pederasty in Afghanistan over the past hundred years. Homosexuality was common in early adulthood. The aristocrats and frontier chiefs had harems of dancing boys and eunuchs dressed as women. Camel caravans included "traveling wives" (*zun-e-suffuree*) who were boys dressed as women.

There was a street in Kabul, the original "gay ghetto," known as Bazaar-e-Ighlaum, "the bazaar of male lust." Edwardes states without attribution that "Greek" (probably Circassian) boys with blond hair and blue eyes were especially prized by pederasts in Kabul. The popular writer James Michener mentions the dancing boys in his novel *Caravans*, which is set in 1946. More recently, the long war against Soviet troops has probably led to an increase in homosexuality, as large numbers of women fled to Pakistan.

See also Islam.

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Stephen Wayne Foster

AFRICA, NORTH

This term generally denotes Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, a region which the Arabs term the Maghrib, or "West." Formerly the Maghrib also embraced Muslim Spain—including the kingdom of Granada—which are discussed separately.

General Features. Pederasty was virtually pandemic in North Africa during the periods of Arab and Turkish rule. Islam as a whole was tolerant of pederasty, and in North Africa particularly so. (The Islamic high-water points in this respect may tentatively be marked out as Baghdad of *The Thousand and One Nights*, Cairo of the Mamluks, Moorish Granada, and Algiers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.) The era of Arabic rule in North Africa did, however, witness occasional puritan movements and rulers, such as the Almohads and a Shiite puritanism centered in Fez (Morocco). This puritanism continues with the current King Hassan II of Morocco, who is, however, hampered by an openly homosexual brother.

Islam was a slave society, and one of the chief commercial activities of North Africa was the vast trade in slaves from sub-Saharan Africa. Slavery dated back to Roman times, but during this era it reached very large proportions—sometimes assuming almost the character of a mercantile trans-Saharan kingdom.

The Ottoman Turks, who followed the Arabs, were even more notorious as adepts of pederasty. If one is to trust the reports of scandalized European visitors, the "vice" was everywhere, and no social class was "uninfected." The simple tolerance of same-sex eroticism was a source of endless Christian horror.

The Christian horror was not universal. Some Europeans captured by the Turks saw no reason to return to the fold of Christendom; other Europeans simply emigrated (or fled the law). These "renegades" became an important subclass in North Africa. It was frequently remarked that some of the "renegades" became the worst enemies of Christianity; frequently better educated than the local citizenry, they often held the reins of power. When Moorish Spain fell in 1492, a large number of new recruits joined the "renegades." Four hundred Franciscan friars left the Spain of Isabel the Catholic and embraced Islam rather than "mend their ways," as she had commanded them to do.

During the Turkish period, the bazaars or suqs of North Africa had special sections devoted to the sale of Christian slaves, both male and female, who had been captured by pirates on the Mediterranean to face the proverbial "fate worse than death"—consignment to the seraglios of the ruling classes of the notorious Barbary Coast (the most beautiful captives were frequently reserved for the harems of Constantinople). This trade in white Christians, kidnapped and raped on the Mediterranean, gradually supplanted the previous trade in Negro slaves.

Universal throughout pre-colonial North Africa was the singing and dancing boy, widely preferred over the female in cafe entertainments and suburban pleasure gardens. A prime cultural rationale was to protect the chastity of the females, who would instantly assume the status of a prostitute in presenting such a performance. The result was several centuries of erotic performances by boys, who were the preferred entertainers even when female prostitutes were available, and who did not limit their acts to arousing the lust of the patrons. A North African merchant could stop at the cafe for a cup of tea and a hookah, provided by a young lad, listen to the singing, and then proceed to have sex with the boy right on the premises, before returning to his shop.

The French conquest of the area drove much of this activity underground. Although the French penal code, since the time of *Napoleon*, had no legal sanction for same-sex activity, and the colonists were thus largely restricted to shocked horror and verbal scorn when confronted with the behavior of the "natives," the French did put a stop to slave-trading, piracy, and much prostitution, which effectively eliminated the old romance and terror of the Barbary Coast.

Its apparent benefits notwithstanding, colonialism seems to have had an immensely destructive effect throughout much of the world, as people everywhere suddenly desired to be modern, Western, and European—certainly not to be "backwards." The European superstitions about homosexuality were swallowed entire, and adopted as if they had always been in force. The present writer has spoken with a Tunisian supervisor of schools who firmly believes in the death penalty for all homosexuals. Thus, in their rush to modernism, Third World leaders often adopt the sexual standards of medieval Christendom, even as Europe and America are moving toward legalization and tolerance of same-sex activity. Such, at least in part, is also the plight of modern North Africa.

Libya. Libya is almost entirely desert: the Sahara takes up at least 90% of the country's surface area. The coastal towns support some agricultural production, but the major export comes from the desert—oil.

Early reports from Libya include the famous oasis of *Siwa* located near the Libyan–Egyptian border, but since the accession of *Mu'ammarr Gaddafi* and his purportedly revolutionary regime, the country has not been generally accessible to foreigners. However, numerous and independent travelers' reports indicate that at least one highly-placed Libyan authority is addicted to blond European lads, whom he flies in for weekend trysts and decorates with gold and silver. There is

also, for the general populace, a quasi-clandestine pederastic trade, with the older males in automobiles and the younger on the sidewalks, where money is exchanged for quick satisfaction of lust. Neither Libya nor its neighbor, Egypt, has a strong tradition of hedonism.

Tunisia. A small and impoverished country of some four million, Tunisia's high birthrate keeps the country very young—about half the people are under eighteen. Although it is common to see men walking hand-in-hand (as in all Islamic countries), it would not be wise for a foreigner to adopt the practice with a male lover. Tunisians can easily tell the difference between two friends of approximately equal status (where hand-holding is expected) and a sexual relation (which is "officially" disapproved of and therefore not to be made public). The "official" disapproval means that hotels will frequently not allow Tunisian visitors in hotel rooms occupied by foreigners. In the heartland of homosexual tourism (the *Hammamet-Nabeul* area), when summer is at its peak, squads of police have occasionally been posted to keep the boys out of the luxury beach hotels. They are not always successful.

Homosexual behavior in Tunisia goes back for hundreds or even thousands of years. In the days of *Carthage*, the city was known for its perfumed male prostitutes and courtesans. After *Carthage* was destroyed in the Punic wars, Tunisia became a Roman colony. The country did not regain its independence until modern times. The Romans were supplanted by the *Vandals*, who in turn surrendered the country to the *Byzantine Empire*. The rise of the followers of *Muhammad* swept Tunisia out of Christendom forever, and the country eventually passed into the *Turkish Empire*, where it remained until the French protectorate. In the Islamic period, Tunisia was centered on the town of *Kairouan* and known as "*Ifriqiya*."

Algeria. Algeria is different from Tunisia, principally because of the savage

war of independence against the French, and the subsequent drift of Algeria into the socialist camp. Marxist societies abominate homosexuality, and this influence has had a chilling affect on Algeria. The passing tourist will see nothing of such activity, although residents may have a different experience. Another fact is that Algerians do not like the French (because of the war) and this dislike is frequently extended to all people who look like Frenchmen, though they may be Canadian or Polish. It is a strange country, where you can spot signs saying "Parking Reserved for the National Liberation Front" (the stalls are filled with Mercedes Benzes), and also the only place in all of North Africa where the present writer has even seen a large graffito proclaiming "Nous voulons vivre français!" ("We want to live as Frenchmen!").

The adventures of Oscar Wilde and André Gide in Tunisia and Algeria before the war are good evidence that this modern difference between the two countries was in fact caused by the trauma of the war. There is better evidence in the history of Algiers long before. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Algiers was possibly the leading homosexual city in the world. It was the leading Ottoman naval and administrative center in the western Mediterranean, and was key to Turkey's foreign trade with every country but Italy. Of the major North African cities, it was the furthest from the enemy—Europe. It was the most Turkish city in North Africa, in fact the most Turkish city outside Turkey.

Morocco. Almost nothing is known of homosexuality in Morocco prior to the end of the fifteenth century. It is possible that the Carthaginians introduced the religious prostitution of boys to the indigenous Berbers. In the impressive remains of the Roman/Moroccan city of Volubilis, a large bas-relief stone phallus testifies to a phallic cult. When Morocco does appear in written history, however, it has the same guise as the rest of North

Africa: Europeans report the omnipresence of behavior which was thought to be an act against nature, or a temptation of the Devil. The loss of Azzamur on the Moroccan coast was blamed on "the horrible vice of Sodomie," in a parallel to the original tale of the destruction of Sodom itself. The bathhouses (*hammams*) of Fez were the object of scandalous comments around 1500.

Two factors assume a bolder relief in Morocco, although they are typical of North Africa as a whole. One is a horror of masturbation. This dislike, combined with the seclusion of good women and the diseases of prostitutes, leads many a Maghrebi to regard anal copulation with a friend as the only alternative open to him, and clearly superior to masturbation. It also leads to such behavior being regarded as a mere peccadillo.

The other, more peculiarly Moroccan tradition is that of *baraka*, a sort of "religious good luck." It is believed that a saintly man can transmit some of this baraka to other men by the mechanism of anal intercourse. (Fellatio has traditionally been regarded with disgust in the region, although the twentieth century has been changing attitudes.)

The Frenchman responsible for establishing the French protectorate over Morocco in 1912, Resident General Louis-Hubert-Gonzalve Lyautey, was an aristocratic pederast, who in his youth was already working with clubs of Catholic working men, and always paid attention to the welfare of his men. It is universally reported that Lyautey showed great respect for local Moroccan institutions. A member of the French Academy and a Marshal of France, Lyautey was a soldier/pederast of great distinction. (His own love was directed toward his aristocratic French aides.)

The city of Tangier was notorious during the period 1950–1980, when numbers of American and European celebrity homosexuals made the city their second home. (They had the same motivations as

the composer Camille Saint-Saëns, who spent his declining years in Tangier.) Visitors and residents included Jane Bowles, Paul Bowles, William Burroughs, Truman Capote, Allen Ginsberg, Jean Genet, Tennessee Williams, and other notorieties. The British playwright Joe Orton's Moroccan vacation was shown with great panache in the biographical film *Prick Up Your Ears*, and was fully described in his diaries (published posthumously). In more recent years, there have been some indications of a puritan backlash developing, and the city has lost much of its celebrity glitter, although pederasty remains a constant of the Moroccan cultural scene.

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Geoff Puterbaugh

AFRICA, SUB-SAHARAN

Africa south of the Sahara presents a rich mosaic of peoples and cultures. Scholarly investigations, which are continuing, have highlighted a number of patterns of homosexual behavior.

Male Homosexuality. Recurrent attempts have been made to deny any indigenous homosexuality in sub-Saharan Africa, at least since Edward Gibbon wrote, in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1781), "I believe and hope that the negroes in their own country were exempt from this moral pestilence." Obviously, Gibbon's hope was not based on even casual travel or enquiry. Sir Richard Burton, who a century later reinforced the myth of African sexual exceptionalism by drawing the boundaries of his *Sotadic Zone* where homosexuality was widely practiced and accepted to exclude sub-Saharan Africa, was personally familiar with male homosexuality in Islamic societies within his zone, but had not researched the topic in central or southern Africa, where there were "primitive" hunter/gatherer socie-

ties and quite complex state formations before European conquest. In a number of the latter, such as the Azande of the Sudan (see Evans-Pritchard), the taking of boy-brides was well-established.

Clearly, gender-crossing homosexuality also existed from Nubia to Zululand on the East Coast of Africa (and offshore on Madagascar as well). In many societies it was related to possession cults in which women have prominent roles and male participants tend to transvestitic homosexuality. Cross-gender homosexuality not tied to possession cults has been reported in a number of East African societies. Folk fear of witches is widespread in Islamic cultures, although a link between witchcraft and pederasty is unusual in existing ethnographic reports of Islamic cultures.

Nadel (1955) did not mention any such link in contrasting two other Sudanese peoples: the Heiban in which there is no expected corollary of homosexual acts (i.e., no homosexual role), and the Otoro where a special transvestitic role exists and men dress and live as women. Nadel (1947) also mentioned transvestitic homosexuality among the Moro, Nyima and Tira, and reported marriages of Korongo *londo* and Mesakin *tubele* for the bride-price of one goat. In these tribes with "widespread homosexuality and transvestiticism," Nadel (1947) reported a fear of heterosexual intercourse as sapping virility and a common reluctance to abandon the pleasures of all-male camp life for the fetters of permanent settlement: "I have even met men of forty and fifty who spent most of their nights with the young folk in the cattle camps instead of at home in the village." In these pervasively homoerotic societies, the men who were wives were left at home with the women, i.e., were not in the all-male camps." Among the Mossi, pages chosen from among the most beautiful boys aged seven to fifteen were dressed and had the other attributes of women in relation to chiefs, for whom sexual intercourse with women was denied on Fri-

days. After the boy reaches maturity he was given a wife by the chief. The first child born to such couples belonged to the chief. A boy would be taken into service as his father had as a page, a girl would be given in marriage by the chief [as her mother had].

Among the Bantu-speaking Fang, homosexual intercourse was *bian nku'ma*, a medicine for wealth, which was transmitted from bottom to top in anal intercourse, according to Tessmann, who also mentioned that "it is frequently heard of that young people carry on homosexual relations with each other and even of older people who take boys." Even more remarkable than Fang medical benefits of anal intercourse is Gustave Hulstaert's report that among the Nkundo the younger partner penetrated the older one, a pattern quite contrary to the usual pattern of age-graded homosexuality.

Besmer discussed a possession cult among the (generally Islamic) Hausa strikingly similar to New World possession cults among those of West African descent. As in the voodoo(n) of Haiti, the metaphor for those possessed by spirits is horses "ridden" by the spirit. In patriarchal Hausa society, the *bori* cult provides a niche for various sorts of low status persons: "women in general and prostitutes in particular . . . Jurally-deprived categories of men, including both deviants (homosexuals) and despised or lowly-ranked categories (butchers, night-soil workers, menial clients, poor farmers, and musicians) constitute the central group of possessed or participating males" plus "an element of psychologically disturbed individuals which cuts across social distinctions."

Herskovits reported the native view in Dahomey (now Benin) that homosexuality was an adolescent phase: when "the games between boys and girls are stopped, the boys no longer have the opportunity for companionship with the girls, and the sex drive finds satisfaction in close friendship between boys in the same

group. . . . A boy may take the other 'as a woman,' this being called *galglo*, homosexuality. Sometimes an affair of this sort persists during the entire life of the pair." Of course, this last report shows the insufficiency of the native model. Among the nearby Fanti of Ghana and Wolof of Senegal there are also gender-crossing roles for men and for women.

Among the Bala (sometimes referred to as the Basangye in older literature) in Kasai Oriental Province of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, there is a role at variance with the conventional male role in that culture (particularly patterns of dress and of subsistence activity) with expectations of unconventional sexual behavior. Although it seems *kitesha* is a gender-crossing role, rather than a primarily homosexual role, a possible reconciliation of the seemingly contradictory views that there is no homosexual behavior among Bala men and that *bitesha* are homosexuals is that the Bala do not consider *bitesha* to be men, i.e., that the Bala afford another example (compare the North American *berdache*, South Asian *hijara*, Polynesia *mahu*) of a folk model of third sex given by nature rather than volition.

In an earlier report on another Kongo tribe, the Bangala, mutual masturbation and sodomy were reportedly "very common," and "regarded with little or no shame. It generally takes place when men are visiting strange towns or during the time they are fishing at camps away from their women."

In the old kingdom of Rwanda, male homosexuality was common among Hutu and Tutsi youth, especially among young Tutsi being trained at court. In the neighboring kingdom of Uganda, King Mwanga's 1886 persecution of Christian pages was largely motivated by their rejection of his sexual advances. Junod (1927: 492-3) vacillated between attributing elaborately organized homosexuality among the South African Thonga to the unavailability of women and to a homo-

sexual preference. The *nkhonsthana*, boy-wife, "used to satisfy the lust" of the *nima*, husband, received a wedding feast, and his elder brother received brideprice. Junod mentioned that some of the "boys" were older than 20, and also described a transvestitic dance, *tinkonsthana*, in which the *nkhontshana* donned wooden breasts, which they would only remove when paid to do so by their *nima*.

Female Homosexuality. Controversy continues about the purported chastity of woman/woman marriage in three East African and one West African culture. Other mentions of lesbian sex from the East Coast of Africa include discussion of a woman's dance, *lelemama*, in Mombassa, Kenya (which variously serves as a cover for adultery, prostitution, and recruitment into lesbian networks without the husband's knowledge) and the *wasaga* (grinders) of Oman. An Ovimbundu (in Angola) informant, told an ethnographer, "There are men who want men, and women who want women. . . . A woman has been known to make an artificial penis for use with another woman." Such practices did not meet with approval, but neither did transvestic homosexuals of either sex desist. Among the Tswana (in addition to homosexuality among the men laboring in the mines), it was reported that back home, "lesbian practices are apparently fairly common among the older girls and young women, without being regarded in any way reprehensible." Use of artificial penises was also reported among the Ila and Naman tribes of South Africa. Among the much-discussed Azande of the Sudan, sisters who are married/retained by brothers were reported to have a reputation for lesbian practices.

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Stephen O. Murray

AFRICAN-AMERICANS

See Black Gay Americans.

AGEISM

This new term encompasses a cluster of attitudes that have become increasingly common in modern industrial societies. Ageism is prejudice of young people against the old expressed in the perpetuation of stereotypes, ridicule and avoidance of older people; and neglect of their social and health needs. Such attitudes frequently appear among male homosexuals, much less among lesbians. The word ageism, which came into use about 1970, is modeled on the older terms racism and sexism.

Cultural Analogues. The ancient Greeks divided the course of human life into stages, the simplest scheme being one that still lingers: childhood, maturity, and old age. Although one may assign precise boundaries to these stages—and add intermediate ones such as adolescence that may seem needed—age may also be viewed relatively and subjectively. A youth of 21 may regard someone who is 38 as old, while the latter considers himself still young.

Tribal cultures and traditional societies usually valued age as a repository of experience. This custom of honoring the elderly balanced the tendency, found among males through most of the world, to experience sexual attraction toward younger people. In an era in our own society when social security income was not yet the rule, the younger, productive members of a family acknowledged a duty to look after elderly retirees. Now younger people, with the assurance that their parents are provided for economically, often

feel free to neglect them socially. Another factor upsetting the traditional balance is the fact that the virtues of youth itself came to be idealized and celebrated, beginning in the nineteenth century. Thus in 1832 Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872) rallied his supporters in the campaign for Italian independence under the banner of *Giovane Italia* (Young Italy). Hence Young Ireland, Young Poland, the Young Turks, and so forth. At the turn of the century innovative artists in Germany created the *Jugendstil* (literally “Youth Style”; a variant of art nouveau), while Russian painters formed the Union of Youth, echoing the title of a play by Hendrik Ibsen (*De unges forbund* [The League of Youth]; 1869). Increasingly, youth was identified with political change and artistic innovation, and journalists habitually contrasted its energy with the inertia of the old fogies. Beginning at the end of the nineteenth century, the enormous growth of interest in competitive athletics made young bodies the image of strength and accomplishment, a notion relentlessly promoted by Madison Avenue in the interests of consumerism. In a period of rapid social change youth became synonymous with progress, age with reaction.

Homosexual Aspects. The youth cult among homosexuals has deep roots. In classical Greek *pederasty*, the characteristic dyad was an adult man and an adolescent. Yet this youth–age nexus is less significant for the origins of ageism than it seems, because in such couples the relative (though temporary) inferiority of the boy partner was always recognized. It was precisely to promote his education and training in manly virtues that the relationship existed. In *pederasty* the youth was not an equal partner; when he became so, the liaison ended. With the rise of *androphilia* (homosexual unions of two adults) in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, this pattern shifted, for both partners were adults in the sense that both had attained puberty. But age differentials did not vanish. A glance at the

advertisements (personals columns) of today’s gay press will show that most gay men seek younger partners. Indeed the advertisers often place an upper limit—40, 30 or even as low as 21 years of age—on partners they are willing to accept. Gay *slang* stigmatizes older men as “aunties,” “dogs,” “toads,” and “trolls,” who congregate in “wrinkle rooms.”

Eroticization of youth produces various secondary manifestations among gay men: preference for youthful clothing styles; adherence to the latest trends in pop music; dieting and exercising so as to maintain a slim body; and adoption of voguish hair styles, including bleaching to keep a boy’s towhead look. Indisputably, the erotic imagination of the gay male community privileges youth; gerontophilia, attraction to older men, is relatively rare. This pattern of preference contrasts with that of the lesbian community where older persons are more likely to be prized. The difference between gay men and lesbians may mirror that of the larger (heterosexual) society, where older men typically marry younger women.

In the 1960s and 70s the cult of youth that had long flourished in the gay male community was reinforced through symbiosis with the *Counterculture*. As a mass movement the *Counterculture* was made possible by post-World War II prosperity, which gave younger people a disposable income in amounts that could only be dreamed of by their forerunners. The confidence born of such newfound economic power, and the reaction against rule by the old that was perceived as tolerating racism and war, led to open proclamations of ageist prejudice, witness the slogan “Don’t trust anyone over thirty.”

As a result of the confluence of all these factors, psychological counselors report seeing gay men, some as early as their mid-thirties, who have internalized ageism, regarding themselves “as over the hill.” As would be expected, this subjective phenomenon of “accelerated ageing” is not common among lesbians, though it

is found among heterosexual women, who are subjected to a barrage of commercial messages for products that purport to keep them looking young.

The negative effects of ageism have not been ignored in today's gay community. In the 1980s some younger gay men and women, recognizing that in due course old age awaits them as well, joined such social organizations as San Francisco's GLOE (Gay and Lesbian Outreach to Elders) and New York's SAGE (Senior Action in a Gay Environment), in order to befriend and assist older people. Over the years gay churches and synagogues have also done much to achieve interaction of people of various age groups.

Wayne R. Dynes

AGING

Gerontology, the social science of aging, began well before World War II, experienced rapid growth after the war, and has recently become a major field, as an ever larger proportion of the population reaches sixty. For many years, gerontological research assumed that all older people were heterosexual, even though upwards of three million North Americans over sixty are lesbian or gay. This scientific blindness was hardly accidental. The social science of "deviant behavior" knew that older homosexuals existed, but it propagated the myth that "old aunties" and "aging dykes" lived lonely, miserable lives, shunned by a homosexual subculture obsessed with youth. Not until the year of Stonewall (1969) did Martin Weinberg publish the first study showing that homosexuals adjust well to age. Only in the late 1980s did gay gerontology become established as a field of research.

A major theme of gay liberation, as of black liberation and feminism, was a new positive emphasis ("gay pride") which pushed the pendulum of gay gerontology to the opposite extreme. Some research in the 1970s argued that homosexuals actually enjoyed "advantages" over heterosexu-

als, in adjusting to midlife and old age. More recently, a middle position has been taken: homosexuals obviously differ in some aspects of aging, but on such key issues as psychological health, income, friendships, satisfaction with life they do not differ significantly from heterosexuals (Brecher; Lee).

This article supports the middle position—that homosexual elders are no less likely to live happy, healthy and comfortable lives than their nongay neighbors. The focus is on interesting aspects of contemporary homosexual aging, especially those which provide generally useful insights, whatever the person's sexual orientation.

Accelerated Aging. For many years it was argued that homosexuals experienced the effects of aging sooner than nongays. Homosexual culture was considered "obsessed with youth," thus the loss of youthful appearance made thirty the threshold of "middle age." Recent studies indicate that most homosexuals do not feel or act older at 30 or 40 than their nongay peers. However, they do think that *other* homosexuals view them and treat them as if they were further advanced in age. Thus, while feeling young and active at 40, homosexuals may lie about their age because they fear other homosexuals consider 40 "over the hill." It appears that homosexuals still suffer a mutual misunderstanding, rather like that of a male teenage virgin who lies about his sexual conquests because he concludes from his peers' boasts that they are already sexually experienced.

Earlier Socialization and Later Adjustment to Aging. A young person "growing up gay" faces much the same learning tasks as a nongay classmate, but there is an essential difference, which the gay youth has in common with other minority groups: how to handle stigmatized status. Unlike most minority stigmas, the young homosexual can decide to remain secret ("in the closet") yet enter a subculture ("the gay world") which pro-

vides numerous facilities and opportunities for contact with others of the same minority. Prior to "gay liberation" this was the only attractive option for all homosexuals except the few who deliberately chose a "flaunting" role (e.g., Quentin Crisp) or found work and friends in a tolerant, low-status occupation (e.g., restaurant waiter; hairdresser).

One of the major themes of gay liberation is "taking pride in one's chosen lifestyle." In this light, gerontology now distinguishes several forms of adjustment in gay/lesbian aging: (1) the stereotypic or self-oppressing gay/lesbian elder, who has internalized the heterosexual world's hatred of homosexuals, and is ashamed and guilt-ridden; (2) the passing elder, who at least partially accepts the validity of homosexuality as a lifestyle, but fears those who do not, so admits to being gay/lesbian only among those who can be trusted not to betray the secret; (3) the gay-positive elder, who has "come out of the closet" to at least some nongay persons in the family, workplace, and other social contexts, participating in the gay community without fear of being discovered.

There is no agreement yet among gerontologists about the ways and extent to which each of these forms of adjustment affects psychological health or happiness of the gay/lesbian elder. At least some fearful and self-oppressing gay elders lead successful and productive lives and enjoy satisfying friendships, both gay and nongay. There is certainly no evidence to persuade any homosexual, whether very open or very hidden, that the elder years must be less satisfying merely because of sexual orientation.

Older Gays/Lesbians in Their Community. Variations in socialization and adaptation to homosexual stigma pose serious problems for organizations attempting to develop a place for elders in the new gay communities. These groups must cope with the tension between public and politically active members, and those who wish gay social contact without

disclosing their private lives, which they regard as "nobody else's business."

Even a decision to invite a speaker from, or cooperate with, nongay senior citizens groups, or government agencies for the aged, may be opposed by closeted gay elders. Older homosexuals who have been married for many years to unaware spouses, or who have prestigious positions in the work world, are especially fearful that someone who believes them to be heterosexual, may see them at a gay meeting. Thus, groups tend to attract more homosexuals who have little or nothing to lose by being there, and have less resources to contribute to the group's growth.

In spite of these special problems, the number of organizations of older gay men and lesbians is slowly growing in North America. The most successful and enduring organization, SAGE of New York City, has contact with about 60 other elder gay/lesbian organizations in the USA and Canada. Many gay community listings (such as *The Gay Yellow Pages* in Los Angeles), now include one or more gay elders' groups. There is a National Association of Lesbian and Gay Gerontology at 1290 Sutter St., San Francisco.

The Gay Generation Gap. Differences in adaptation to stigma among gay elders have contributed to a "generation gap" in the gay world different from that between young and old in the nongay population. Even if not active in the gay community and gay liberation, many younger lesbians and gay men have grown up in a society which tolerates, and in some cases legislatively protects, their lifestyle. This profound difference in experience adds to the difficulty of younger and older gays understanding each other.

The "generation gap" affects gay individuals and communities by restricting the supply of suitable role models of aging for younger gays and lesbians. Most heterosexual young people have at least some positive images of middle and old age among their family, or in the media, but there are very few models of happy

homosexual aging available to the younger gay/lesbian. Even within the best-developed urban gay communities there is still little contact, and often a good deal of deliberate avoidance, between younger and older gays, and this is often true even within gay liberation organizations officially opposed to "ageism" (Berger). Indeed, the generation gap has probably contributed to the sometimes passionate disputes between "essentialists" and "social constructionists" over the history of gay people. (See **social construction**.)

Age-Stratified Relationships.

Many human societies are age-stratified; they portion out roles and rewards according to the individual's age, with appropriate markers ("rites de passage" like puberty and retirement) to indicate that the individual has successfully passed from one age strata to another. Although there remain many social distinctions between age levels, North American society has tended to emphasize equal liberty of each individual; it now opposes most forms of **discrimination**, including "ageism."

One of the least predictable consequences for the homosexual minority has been the decline of age-stratified intimacy as a key structure in the gay community. From ancient times to the Victorian era, a familiar pattern of relationship in the gay/lesbian subculture was the partnership of an older and a significantly younger person. This pattern provided stability, resources and leadership in the gay underworld. It had its most eloquent defense by Oscar **Wilde** at his second trial, as the partnership of youthful beauty, vigor and hope, with mature intellect, confidence, and social resources.

The age-stratified pattern also provided upward social mobility in the gay world, by which a young man or woman of poor economic and educational background could acquire polished manners, dress and language, and favorable economic opportunities. The reference here is not to the "kept boy" and "sugar daddy," though these also existed and continue to exist,

but rather to the classic mentor/protégé relationship as epitomized by the 33-year partnership of Christopher **Isherwood** and Don Bachardy, who met when Christopher was 48, Don 18.

Gay liberation has tended to undermine the age-stratified pattern, both through its emphasis on social equality (the mentor/protégé partnership must begin with some recognition of inequalities), and through the development, in urban gay communities, of facilities where young gays and lesbians can easily meet each other without requiring (or wanting) the mediation or resources of older homosexuals. Many gay/lesbian elders who grew up in a pre-liberation gay subculture largely organized and financed by their elders, looked forward to a time when they would take over leadership positions, and hopefully find their own young protégé. The new gay communities have reduced or eliminated these opportunities, and many gay elders are finding it difficult to adjust to a gay life largely restricted to age-peers.

Intimacy and Sexuality in Gay/Lesbian Old Age. In an era which first made sexual pleasure practically equivalent to the enjoyment of life itself, and then (since **AIDS**) almost synonymous with the courtship of death, any consideration of happiness in homosexual old age must include sexuality. One should begin with great scepticism of self-reported data such as that of Berger's respondents who claimed not to experience a decline in sexual opportunity and outlet with the onset of old age. Elders are no more likely than teenage male virgins to openly admit that sexual gratification is lacking.

More reliable studies, such as observed behavior in gay baths, studies of advertising for partners, and participant observation in gay communities, all suggest that sexual happiness in the gay older years, as in *heterosexual old age* (Brecher), involves learning to cope with changing circumstances. Lesbians, who tend to place more emphasis on nonorgasmic intimacy from the onset of a relationship, are more

likely to make sexual adaptations to age, including more frequent celibacy than reported by gay male elders.

Coping mechanisms among gay males include willingness to validate sexuality as pleasurable without orgasm; an increased reliance on **pornography** as stimulant to release (an important factor in both gay and nongay populations, as all moralists and censors should be reminded), and an improved ability to use purchased sex safely.

At least until the possibly reduced income of retirement, seniority in our society generally brings rising income, and thus resources to purchase sexual gratification. But a particularly dangerous form of ageism may be found among gay hustlers. It is built into the social structure of the hustler, who reaches occupational obsolescence long before a hockey player, and is translated into disdain, exploitation, and sometimes violence directed at the older customer.

Another notable adaptation more typical of gay males than lesbians (but this is changing in recent years) is the elaboration of sexual foreplay, and reduced emphasis on genital contact and orgasm, through such means as sexual toys, bondage, uniforms, and scenarios. In most large urban gay communities, there is a marked difference in average age between the "twinkie" or "disco" gay crowds, and the "leather and denim" places. As beauty fades, older homosexuals may learn to continue attracting partners by conveying messages of sexual self-confidence and experience through leather, accessories, and body stance.

It is quite possible to be single and happy in heterosexual old age, but overall, satisfaction with life (and even life expectancy itself) is generally correlated with intimate and enduring partnership. Likewise, gay gerontology indicates that having an intimate partner (not necessarily a "lover" or even a gay person) in homosexual old age is a reliable predictor of general adjustment and satisfaction with life.

Sharing old age with a partner "doubles the joys and halves the sorrows."

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John Alan Lee

AIDS

Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome is a medical condition that produces a radical suppression of the human immune system, permitting the body to be ravaged by a variety of opportunistic diseases. It is believed to be caused by the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), which can exist in the body indefinitely before symptoms emerge. In advanced industrial countries and in Latin America, AIDS occurs mainly among male homosexuals and intravenous (IV) drug users; in Africa it is found primarily among heterosexuals.

The Emergence of an Epidemic. The as-yet-unnamed syndrome first came to the attention of the medical community through a report released in June 1981 by the Centers for Disease Control, a Federal agency, concerning five California cases. Because the first cases studied were in homosexual men, the syndrome became associated with homosexuality itself. In fact one of the first suggestions for a name was GRID (Gay-Related Immunodeficiency). Although this was shortly changed to AIDS, a ceaseless flow of media reports about gay men affected by the disorder served to fix the connection in the public mind.

For the first few years the number of cases in the United States doubled annually, and about half as many of those already infected died. Not only was the disease spreading very quickly but it was

highly lethal. While it appears that the earlier idea that it is invariably fatal is mistaken, it is a very difficult disease for a patient to cope with, and even with the most determined and successful strategy no cure is effected—the disease is simply kept at bay. At first the American cases were largely confined to New York City and environs, the San Francisco Bay Area, greater Los Angeles, and Miami. Although AIDS subsequently was found in nearly every state, this pattern of concentration in these metropolises on the two coasts has continued. Foreign physicians found AIDS in Canada, Europe, and Latin America, though the incidences are generally lower than in the United States. (In most countries the American acronym has been used, but French-speaking nations prefer SIDA [Syndrome d'Immunodéficience Acquise]; SIDA is also the Spanish acronym.) By 1988 over 65,000 AIDS cases had appeared in the United States, 64% of the reported total world-wide. However, reliable figures for incidence in Africa are not available; they are said to be high in a number of countries of equatorial Africa.

Transmission and Symptomatology. AIDS cannot be transmitted by any form of casual contact, but must go from blood to blood or from semen to blood. Blood-to-blood transmission occurs when intravenous-drug users share narcotics needles, or occasionally through accidental needle-sticks among health-care givers. It may also occur that a surgeon will nick him or herself with a scalpel, which may cut through gloves. Sexual transmission occurs when a seminal discharge of an infected person passes into the bloodstream of another. The sexual contact that is most at risk is anal penetration; oral and vaginal contacts are unlikely to transmit AIDS unless there is a lesion in the affected part of one or both partners. If it is believed that infection may have occurred, tests can be performed for the presence of the HIV virus in the blood, though they are not absolutely reliable.

A few medical experts have expressed doubts that the HIV virus is the culprit, but they are in a great minority. If not a cause, HIV is at least a good indicator of exposure to whatever is the cause. There has also been discussion of a variety of potential "cofactors," but none has been convincingly isolated.

The majority of persons infected with HIV show no symptoms, and it remains uncertain how many will develop AIDS itself. The emergence of the condition is signaled by night sweats, loss of weight, and other signs of physical distress. In some cases a diagnosis of ARC (AIDS-Related Complex) is made; many of these patients will progress to full-blown AIDS. The patient will usually develop either Kaposi's sarcoma—a previously rare type of cancer producing numerous lesions on the outside or inside of the body—or pneumocystis carinii (PCP), a form of pneumonia that is devastating to the patient. PCP usually requires hospitalization with intensive care and the administering of a variety of drugs prescribed by the physician. However, many patients can return home after the first crisis has been met—if there is a home to return to.

Response. Members of the gay community have charged government agencies with inadequate response to the epidemic. An expression of genuine concern, these complaints are valid only in part. It was the first time in many years that advanced countries had to deal with the outbreak of a hitherto previously unknown disease, and the initial recognition of the problem could not have occurred immediately. Moreover, a few decades earlier, when prudery and censorship kept the whole issue of homosexuality from being discussed publicly at all, the official response would have been either helpless or schizophrenic, as the social locus of the epidemic would have been a taboo subject. Still, there is no doubt that bureaucratic red-tape, as well as jealousies among physicians and officials eager for

the glory of being identified with breakthroughs, have been a handicap. Again, because the disease was new and because there was no treatment, it inspired a whole set of amateur, politically motivated, at worst paranoid explanations of its etiology—and corresponding quack methods of treatment by special diets and medical regimes of the kind held out as a last resort to dying cancer patients. By contrast, the self-medication movement, which has placed possibly effective drugs in the hands of people with AIDS, bypassing government tests that can take years, may be a positive development. Patients abroad, where much of the research and testing was being done, had access to drugs that Americans did not. Here too dangers exist, but the situation has highlighted a serious dilemma of public policy.

Locally some communities handled the crisis better than others. Nonetheless, real progress was made in the middle years of the 1980s against a very cunning viral adversary. The gay press carried warnings of the lethal consequences of unsafe sex practices, and others were reached by leafletting and word of mouth. These campaigns had a noteworthy effect as measured by the decline in cases of all **sexually transmitted diseases**, including syphilis and gonorrhea, among gay men. The climate of the 1970s, characterized for some by a seemingly limitless horizon of sexual experimentation, yielded to a new sense of caution, and many sought long-term, essentially monogamous relationships.

Gay self-help groups specifically concerned with AIDS sprang up, involving many people who in the previous decade had turned a deaf ear to the call for movement work. By the end of the 1980s there were several hundred of these organizations in North America, and many others in Europe. Other groups were formed of people with AIDS (PWAs, the term preferred by those who have the condition). Gay and lesbian lawyers mobilized to meet a host of legal problems triggered by the

spread of the epidemic. This manifold response contrasted with the apathy of the IV-drug user community, which remained unorganized, without media of its own, and therefore almost entirely dependent on public health advocates and facilities.

Gay men and lesbians (the latter little affected by AIDS) rallied to apply pressure on politicians for more funding and to deal with some of the backlash that was developing. In the panic-laden years of the mid-1980s some religious and right-wing leaders obtained support in their calls for quarantine or drastic treatment of those who might be infected. Although these calls generally fell on deaf ears, the general public, which had previously been showing increasing tolerance of homosexuals as measured by opinion polls, now registered a moderate tendency to move in the other direction. Often insensitive reports on the nightly television news, supplemented by rumor and a flood of malicious AIDS jokes, served to spread dismay even among those who had formerly offered a modicum of support for gay rights. The publicity had the side effect of acquainting otherwise cloistered souls with some explicit realities of oral and anal sex. People even suspected of having AIDS found themselves harassed on the job and denied insurance coverage, while dentists and doctors became wary of treating persons with the disease. On the whole, however, the late 1980s showed a decline of these pressures as better information became available and gay organizations showed that they would not bow to hostile pressure.

Cultural Responses. Several plays, notably *As Is* (1985) by William Hoffman and *The Normal Heart* (1985) by Larry Kramer, an early passionate advocate of group action by the gay community to stop the disease, have been successfully presented in the United States and abroad. Fictional responses are more numerous and varied, ranging from the serio-comic fable *Tweeds* (1987) by Clayton R. Graham to the probing stories in *The Darker Proof*

(1988) by Adam Mars-Jones and Edmund White. The poet and novelist Paul Monette has written *Borrowed Time: An AIDS Memoir* (1988), an eloquent account of a decade of living with Paul Horowitz, who died in 1986. Other memoirs include a mother's story, *The Screaming Room* (1986) by Barbara Peabody, that of a wife, *Good-bye, I Love You* (1986) by Carol Lynn Pearson, and those of several persons with AIDS, including *Mortal Embrace: Living with AIDS* (1988) by the Frenchman Emmanuel Dreuilhe. In 1985 NBC Television presented a drama, *An Early Frost*, with Aidan Quinn, which offered a sensitive exploration of the emotional effects of the disease on a person with AIDS and his family. Bill Sherwood's independently made film *Parting Glances* (1986) focused on a relationship between two men, one of whom has AIDS. Several leading contemporary photographers, including Nicholas Nixon, Rosalind Solomon, and Brian Weil, have produced moving portraits of people with AIDS.

The Names Project Quilt began early in 1987 with a single cloth panel to commemorate one person who died of AIDS. In a little over a year the project grew to over 5000 panels, which were exhibited in a national tour. The colorful panels are rectangular and contain the name of the deceased which is painted on or appliqued. The victim's survivors who make the quilts often add other appliques of cloth, sequins, and the like to suggest favorite residences and avocations of the departed. The quilt, which takes up a long-established American folk tradition, constitutes a collective work of anonymous art. Not only has it provided a moving experience for visitors, it may serve as a salutary challenge to existing elitist notions of art itself.

None of this cultural activity can be construed as a "silver lining" that in any way compensates for the enormous suffering that AIDS has caused, but it gives evidence of a real effort to confront the problem rather than to hide it or to hide from it.

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Ward Houser

ALAN OF LILLE (CA. 1120-1203)

French theologian and poet. A prolific writer in Latin, Alan was a leading figure in the "Renaissance" of the twelfth century. His surviving works include disquisitions in practical and speculative theology; sermons; a preaching manual; a theological dictionary; a guide for confessors; an attack on heretics; a book of versified parables; and two substantial poetic allegories, *Anticlaudianus* and *The Complaint of Nature*.

In the last-named work Alan offered original variations on the Early Christian polemic against homosexual behavior as a sin against nature. These animadversions were prompted by the prevalence of sodomy among the clergy of his day, which Alan opposed. In a series of ingenious, if bizarre comparisons, Alan likened sexual inversion to grammatical barbarism. This allegory of grammatical "conjugation," licit or illicit, was to have many successors throughout the Middle Ages. In a more general sense, Alan is a link in a chain of

antihomosexual argument based on the claim that it is unnatural.

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Wayne R. Dynes

ALBANIA

Until recent decades, remoteness and a distinctive language permitted this Balkan country to retain, more than its neighbors, cultural traits from the past. Travelers in the nineteenth and early twentieth century noted that Albanian men showed a particular passion for handsome youths, so much so that they would even kill one another in disputes over them. Albanians would also contract male-male pacts which were blessed by priests of the Orthodox church; these, it was claimed, were Platonic. Yet this assertion of purity seems to be contradicted by a common term for the pederast, *būthar*, literally "butt man." Among the Muslim Sufis some held a belief in reincarnation; having lived a previous life as women, they believed, it would be natural for some men to be attracted to male sex objects. It is tempting to regard these customs as a provincial relic of Greek institutionalized pederasty, or even (following Bernard Sergent) of some primordial "Indo-European" homosexuality. Sometimes the Albanians attributed the custom to a Gypsy origin. Yet Turkish Islamic influence is a more likely source, supplemented by the Byzantine custom of brotherhood pacts. Of further interest is the fact that many Janissaries and Mamluks were recruited among the Albanians.

Since 1945 Albania has been ruled by a puritanical and repressive Marxist regime. Although homosexuality is not mentioned in the Penal Code, elementary prudence requires that relations between "friends" be conducted with the utmost discretion. Foreign tourists report sexual contacts—but only with other tourists.

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ALBERTINE COMPLEX

In *Remembrance of Things Past*, Marcel Proust's female character Albertine contains elements taken from the personality of the novelist's chauffeur Agostinelli, with whom Proust was in love. Accordingly, it has been suggested that the habit of gay and lesbian novelists—once a necessity—of "heterosexualizing" relationships by changing the sex of the characters be called the "Albertine complex." In W. Somerset Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* (1915) the waitress with whom the main character is in love is surely a man in disguise. A different device appears in Willa Cather's *My Ántonia* (1918), where the choice of male authorial persona, Jim, allows the writer to express interest in various female characters.

It must be granted that this critical procedure can be reductive if it simply seeks to "restore the true sex" to a character that is a composite product of the literary imagination. It may also falsely imply that gay and lesbian novelists are incapable of creating convincing characters of the opposite sex. Nonetheless, E. M. Forster gave eloquent testimony of his dissatisfaction with the procedure by abandoning writing novels in mid-career. After writing five published books simulating heterosexual relationships (and one, *Maurice*, on a homosexual's quest for love, which Forster believed was unpublishable), he declined to play the game any longer.

A related, though different phenomenon appears in the disguise dramas of the Renaissance. *La Calandria* (1513), by Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena, concerns two twins, one male, one female. The twins appear on stage four times, once both dressed as women, once both dressed as men, once in reverse attire, and once (at the end) in the appropriate dress. These

permutations allowed the dramatist to explore for comic effect the confused emotions induced in other characters who are attracted to them. In less complete form the device spread into Spanish and Elizabethan drama, including Shakespeare's familiar *As You Like It*. At the end of these plays the sexual ambiguities are resolved, to the relief of the audience—or at least of the censor. Thus the effect of such dramas contrasts with that of the later novelistic Albertine complex where the device is not meant to be detected. In both cases, however, preservation—or apparent preservation—of normality is the aim.

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ALCIBIADE FANCIULLO A SCOLA, L'

According to the notation on the title page, this spirited dialogue in defense of pederasty ("Alcibiades the Schoolboy") was published anonymously at "Genevra [Geneva], 1652"—though it was probably actually printed in Venice. In 1862 a new limited edition of 250 copies appeared in Paris; it is almost as rare as the original. However, an Italian critical edition appeared in 1988 (Rome: Salerno).

The identity of the author long remained mysterious. The title page of the first edition bears the initials "D.P.A.," which has been interpreted as "Divini Petri Aretini"—an unlikely attribution to Aretino. In 1850 Antonio Basseggio gave it, on stylistic grounds, to Ferrante Pallavicino (1616-1644), a freethinker who was a member of the Accademia degli Incogniti in Venice. Finally, an article of 1888 by Achille Neri solved the puzzle. Neri included the text of a letter by Giovan Battista Loredan, founder of the Accademia degli Incogniti, which revealed that the author was Antonio Rocco (1586-1652), a "libertine" priest, Aristotelian philoso-

pher, and a member of the Academy. The initials on the title page could be resolved as "Di Padre Antonio." It is likely that Loredan, a noble Venetian, had a hand in the printing of the little volume.

While the obscenity of the story is quite explicit, it must be understood in the context of similar texts of the trend of **libertinism**, using the term in its original sense of a sceptical philosophical tendency. The colloquy is conventionally set in ancient Athens and the teacher is modeled on Socrates, as suggested also by the derivation of the literary form from the Platonic dialogue. Having conceived a unquenchable passion for his pupil, the instructor resolves to overcome his charge's every objection to consummation of the relationship. Through astute marshalling of argument, as well as rhetorical skill, the preceptor is successful, thus demonstrating also the value of education. The persuader uses examples from Greek mythology and culture, which had become familiar to many Italians through the **Renaissance** revival of classical antiquity. He rebuts counterarguments of later provenance, such as the Sodom and Gomorrah story. Anticipating the eighteenth century, he appropriates the argument from naturalness for his own ends, saying that **Nature** gave us our sexual organs for our pleasure; it is an insult to her to refuse to employ them for this evident purpose.

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Giovanni Dall'Orto

ALCIBIADES (CA. 450-404 B.C.)

Athenian general and statesman. Reared in the household of his guardian and uncle Pericles, he became the *erom-*

enos and later intimate friend of **Socrates**, who saved his life in battle. His brilliance enabled him in 420 to become leader of the extreme democratic faction, and his imperialistic designs led Athens into an alliance with Argos and other foes of **Sparta**, a policy largely discredited by the Spartan victory at Mantinea. He sponsored the plan for a Sicilian expedition to outflank Sparta, which ended after his recall in the capture of thousands of Athenians, most of whom died in the salt mines where they were confined, but soon after the fleet reached **Sicily** his enemies recalled him on the pretext of his complicity in the mutilation of the *Hermae*, the phallic pillars marking boundaries between lots of land. He escaped, however, to Sparta and became the adviser of the Spartan high command. Losing the confidence of the Spartans and accused of impregnating the wife of one of Sparta's two kings, he fled to Persia, then tried to win reinstatement at Athens by winning Persian support for the city and promoting an oligarchic revolution, but without success. Then being appointed commander by the Athenian fleet at Samos, he displayed his military skills for several years and won a brilliant victory at Cyzicus in 410, but reverses in battle and political intrigue at home led to his downfall, and he was finally murdered in Phrygia in 404.

Though an outstanding politician and military leader, Alcibiades compromised himself by the excesses of his sexual life, which was not confined to his own sex, but was uninhibitedly bisexual, as was typical of a member of the Athenian aristocracy. The Attic comedians scolded him for his adventures; **Aristophanes** wrote a play (now lost) entitled *Triphales* (the man with three phalli), in which Alcibiades' erotic exploits were satirized. In his youth, admired by the whole of Athens for his beauty, he bore on his coat of arms an Eros hurling a lightning bolt. Diogenes Laertius said of him that "when a young man, he separated men from their wives, and later, wives from their husbands,"

while the comedian Pherecrates declared that "Alcibiades, who once was no man, is now the man of all women." He gained a bad reputation for introducing luxurious practices into Athenian life, and even his dress was reproached for extravagance. He combined the ambitious political careerist and the bisexual dandy, a synthesis possible only in a society that tolerated homosexual expression and even a certain amount of heterosexual licence in its public figures. His physical beauty alone impressed his contemporaries enough to remain an inseparable part of his historical image.

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Warren Johansson

ALCOHOLISM

The linkage of alcoholism and homosexuality has produced a long and fascinating body of literature. Both share similar characteristics: they are stigmatized behaviors, are subject to legal and moral sanctions, have etiologies that are not completely understood, are often concealed from others, have inconsistent definitions, and are dealt with in a variety of conflicting ways. How homosexuality and alcoholism are perceived is typically a function of the theoretical position taken. The shifts from a more psychoanalytic model, to a learning theory approach, to a sociocultural viewpoint illustrate the varied attitudes toward these stigmatized behaviors by the dominant culture. Each school, however, seems to accept that the rate of alcoholism among homosexuals is significantly higher than in the rest of the population.

The Psychoanalytic Model. The earliest connections evolved from the school of **psychoanalysis** founded by Sigmund Freud. Emphasizing the idea of latent homosexuality as the etiology of

problem drinking, neo-Freudians sought a causal model to explain what they perceived as sexual pathologies. Alcohol use was seen as the cause of regression to a level of psychosocial development in which latent homosexuality, sadistic and masochistic tendencies, and lewdness are released (Israelstam and Lambert). Excessive alcohol use, therefore, was the means of overcoming the repression of homosexuality and other sexual inhibitions.

The connection between homosexuality and alcoholism stressed the oral dimensions. Using such phrases as "oral neurotics" and "oral diseases," the psychoanalytic school focused on only certain aspects of drinking behavior and homosexuality. Alcoholics were seen to be fixated in the oral stage, to be anxious about masculine inadequacy and incompleteness, to have experienced traumatic weaning, or to have an irrational fear of being heterosexual (Nardi). Similar phrases were used to describe the etiology of homosexuality. Oral frustrations were linked to both homosexuality and alcoholism. Tennessee Williams' play *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1955) reflects the prevalence of the psychoanalytic argument: Brick's alcoholism is linked to his frustrating relationship with his wife Maggie and his repressed homosexual feelings about his dead friend Skipper.

Much of the early empirical research on the linkage between homosexuality and alcoholism emphasized the psychoanalytic assumptions. However, rather than studying alcoholism among homosexual populations, researchers tended to look for homosexuality among alcoholics. Unfortunately, their definitions about what demonstrated homosexuality were faulty. Numerous studies used masculinity-femininity scales with the belief that high femininity scores indicated homosexuality in the male.

Clearly, then, a problem with these early studies is the faulty assumptions underlying the empirical and theoretical models. There is an overemphasis

on oral aspects of homosexuality, thereby ignoring the range of sexual practices and the emotional-love dimensions of same-sex relationships. It is also assumed that only homosexuality has these oral dimensions to it, while implying that heterosexual practices do not. Furthermore, the psychoanalytic approach does not account for lesbians, for the repressed homosexuals who are not alcoholic, for the open gays and lesbians who are not alcoholic, and for the open gays and lesbians who are alcoholic (Small and Leach).

While repression of fundamental characteristics of self can often lead to destructive behavior, the focus of psychoanalytic perspectives is of particular relevance here. The relationship between latent homosexuality and alcoholism assumes that learning to overcome one's repressed homosexual feelings and to love heterosexually is the best "cure" for alcoholism. Thus, the focus of therapy is on one's sexuality, not on the drinking or the repression. The pathology is the homosexuality, not just the alcoholism.

During the 1960s and 1970s, however, the psychoanalytic models started losing favor. With the introduction of humanistic Rogerian psychology, the existential models of R. D. Laing, and the sociological approaches of labeling theory, the link between homosexuality and alcoholism took on different emphases (Israelstam and Lambert). With the rise of gay and lesbian rights movements, research began to look at a newer link: the relationship of **homophobia** and alcoholism. The tone was no longer on sexual repressions and regressions to oral stages, but on the social contextual dimensions of gay lifestyles. The theories now emphasized behavior and the role drinking played in integrating people into a subculture or in reducing stresses caused by hostile social settings. Alcoholism was seen as a response to situational factors, not as a correlate of homosexuality. While some argue for the dominance of biological and genetic explanations for alcoholism (and

homosexuality as well), most researchers believe that the social context plays an important part in understanding the connections.

The Learning-Theory Approach. Social learning theory has contributed much to our understanding of the link between context and deviant behaviors. Alcoholism is seen as a learned behavior resulting from reinforcement of pleasurable experiences and the avoidance of negative ones. Tension reduction, relaxation, peer approval, and feelings of power have all been connected to alcohol consumption. Thus, a learning model explanation of excessive drinking among gay men and lesbians stresses tension-reduction and the positive reinforcement of participation in an open gay lifestyle of bars and other alcohol-related social events. The tension, anxiety, and guilt feelings generated in the context of a society which does not condone homosexual behavior are reduced by increased alcohol use. For some, the resultant feelings of power allow gay people to make sexual contacts and overcome social resistances.

The role of the gay bar becomes an important component of this approach. The emergence of gay bars as a common institution for introduction into a gay community derives from their history of permissiveness and protectiveness. Gay bars provide some anonymity and segregation from the dominant culture while contributing to and maintaining a gay identity for its patrons. The positive aspects of belonging to a gay community tend to reinforce drinking patterns. Heavy drinking, in this model, is not used to escape from some latent fears or to fulfill oral needs, but as a way to participate in a group. Initial socialization into a gay social network often occurs by attending gay bars, cocktail parties, and meals involving alcohol. Achieving a gay identity, for some people, necessitates learning roles which include an alcohol component.

Since there are many different types of homosexuals and many forms of

alcoholism, searching for a single link to explain all drinking by homosexuals is a misguided task. For some open gays, a pleasure-seeking explanation is probably a more accurate learning model. For others just "coming out," a tension-reduction approach may serve as a clearer explanation. For those still "in the closet" and repressing their identity, alcohol may serve as a means to disinhibit their feelings or to deny them further. Whichever is used, all illustrate a learning model, stressing the importance of the situation for understanding problem drinking. The shift away from pathologies and oral fixations represented a major step in the theoretical understanding of the linkage between homosexuality and alcoholism.

Sociocultural Perspectives. The approach to studying the linkage took another direction with the growing emphasis in the 1970s of a gay lifestyle and subculture. From this viewpoint, drinking patterns are a function of a group or subculture's norms, values, and beliefs. How a culture defines drinking and drunkenness, what meanings are construed for behavior while "under the influence," and what situational factors are relevant, all affect drinking rates. The whole lifestyle must be taken into account: the connections between drug use, alcohol consumption, and sex; the value placed on attending bars; the laws and norms directly related to alcohol consumption in that geographic area; and the attitudes of the larger social context toward the stigmatized group.

This theoretical approach focuses on the social context in which gay people find themselves, how they define reality and perceive their situation, and what symbols and values they hold with respect to alcohol use. Understanding the linkage between homosexuality and alcoholism, thus, requires understanding how certain gay individuals manage and control their feelings in an oppressive social context. In other words, homophobia is seen as a contextual explanation as to why some

gay men and lesbians drink excessively. Being a homosexual is not the pathology leading to alcoholism; alcoholism is the response to a homophobic environment. Alienation, low **self-esteem**, and morally weak labels are maintained by the social system, thereby increasing vulnerability to addictive behaviors. To study alcoholism and homosexuality now means researching the subculturally approved responses to perceived and actual homophobic situations. Gay men and lesbians become the focus of study; their thoughts, behavior, and perceptions are the data. Rather than looking at alcoholics and assessing whether they are latent homosexuals or high scorers on a femininity scale, current research, under the socio-cultural model, goes directly to gay alcoholics and studies their views and responses to their social situations.

Research Problems and Prospects. Unfortunately, the reliability about the extent of alcoholism problems in the gay community has suffered from faulty research methodology. Small sample sizes, lack of control groups, non-random samples, inconsistent definitions of alcoholism and homosexuality, and anecdotal information typify much of the recent research in this area. Generalizations to the diversity of homosexuals are very difficult to make. Not only are those "in the closet" impossible to study, but generating non-middle-class samples of open gays and lesbians is not an easy task. In addition, asking people to relate their drinking patterns with honesty and accuracy becomes problematic the more they drink excessively.

Despite these problems with current research, the move away from the neo-Freudian, psychoanalytic models is an important step in understanding the linkages between alcoholism and homosexuality. Results from many of the recent studies seem to indicate an alcoholism rate at two to three times that of the rest of the population. While some of this is due to the same factors that affect other alco-

holics (such as low self-esteem, difficulty in expressing one's feelings, having an alcoholic parent, ethnic and religious background, and other drug use), it is the unique aspects of establishing and maintaining a gay identity in a generally hostile environment that has become the focus of attention in recent research.

The theoretical approaches discussed (psychoanalytic, learning theory, and socio-cultural perspective) represent specific sociological and psychological viewpoints. Other models can, and have, been developed to assess alcoholism using economic, political, biological, and genetic variables, and explanations. Each of these can be used to further an understanding of the linkage between homosexuality and alcoholism.

Treatment and Prevention. Which model one adopts can have important implications for the development of treatment and prevention programs. Some people define alcoholism as a disease, thereby invoking a medical model with very different consequences from a learned behavior model adopted by others. Those stressing the psychoanalytic approach focus on curing the pathology of homosexuality, while the socio-cultural model leads to the emphasis on getting the client to act on one's homosexual feelings. In general, most practitioners today believe that treating the alcoholism is the first priority. This, however, typically requires a climate in which the patients can feel comfortable about discussing their identity openly. Being honest about oneself and one's feelings is essential for recovery. This cannot be attained in a homophobic context. Some, therefore, strongly encourage homosexual clients to seek treatment in gay and lesbian facilities. When these are not available, it is very important that treatment programs and therapists can accept and encourage gay and lesbian clients to be themselves. While the techniques for treatment may be the same for everyone, the importance of establishing a climate in which the clients can express

themselves openly becomes of prime importance.

Similarly, while prevention and education programs have messages relevant to all people, some specific tailoring to the needs, issues, and language of gays and lesbians is essential. For example, recent evidence on the role alcohol and drugs play in lowering immune system functioning has important prevention implications for AIDS. There are also some indications that excessive alcohol use can lead to higher risk taking, especially in sexual situations, thereby increasing the possibilities of engaging in practices with a higher probability of contracting the AIDS virus. Prevention and education programs aimed at the gay and lesbian populations must, therefore, take into account the unique dimensions of their lifestyles and sexuality. It is in prevention and treatment programs that the link between homosexuality and alcoholism becomes an important aspect.

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Peter M. Nardi

ALETRINO, ARNOLD (1858-1916)

Dutch criminal anthropologist and literary figure. Of Sephardic Jewish ancestry, Aletrino published works on homosexuality in Dutch and French. A follower of the school of Cesare Lombroso, who had sought to explain criminality with reference to inherited degeneracy of the central nervous system, Aletrino broke sharply with his teacher by asserting in a

Dutch article of 1897 that homosexuality ("uranism") could occur in otherwise perfectly normal and healthy individuals, and in later works he campaigned for the end of the legal and social intolerance that still oppressed the homosexuals of early twentieth-century Europe.

At the fifth congress of criminal anthropology in Amsterdam in 1901, his defense of the homosexual brought a storm of abuse on his head from the psychiatrists and criminal anthropologists who accused him of "defending immorality"—the first harbinger of the later antipathy of the medical profession to the gay rights movement. Down to the end of his life he continued to collaborate with the initial pioneers in enlightening the general public on the subject, and was involved in the founding of the Dutch branch of the **Scientific-Humanitarian Committee** in 1911. His literary compositions still keep his memory alive in the Dutch-speaking world.

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ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356-323 B.C.)

King of Macedonia and conqueror of much of the civilized world of his day. The Hellenizing aspirations of his father Philip II caused him to summon Aristotle from Athens to tutor his son. On his succession to the throne in 336 Alexander immediately made plans to invade Asia, which he did two years later. In a series of great battles he defeated the Persian king and took possession of his vast empire. Unwisely extending his expedition into India in 327-325, he returned to Babylon where he died.

Historians still debate the significance of Alexander's plans for the empire: it now seems unlikely that he intended a universal culture melding the diverse ethnic components on an equal footing.