

GREEK LOVE

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By J. Z. EGLINTON



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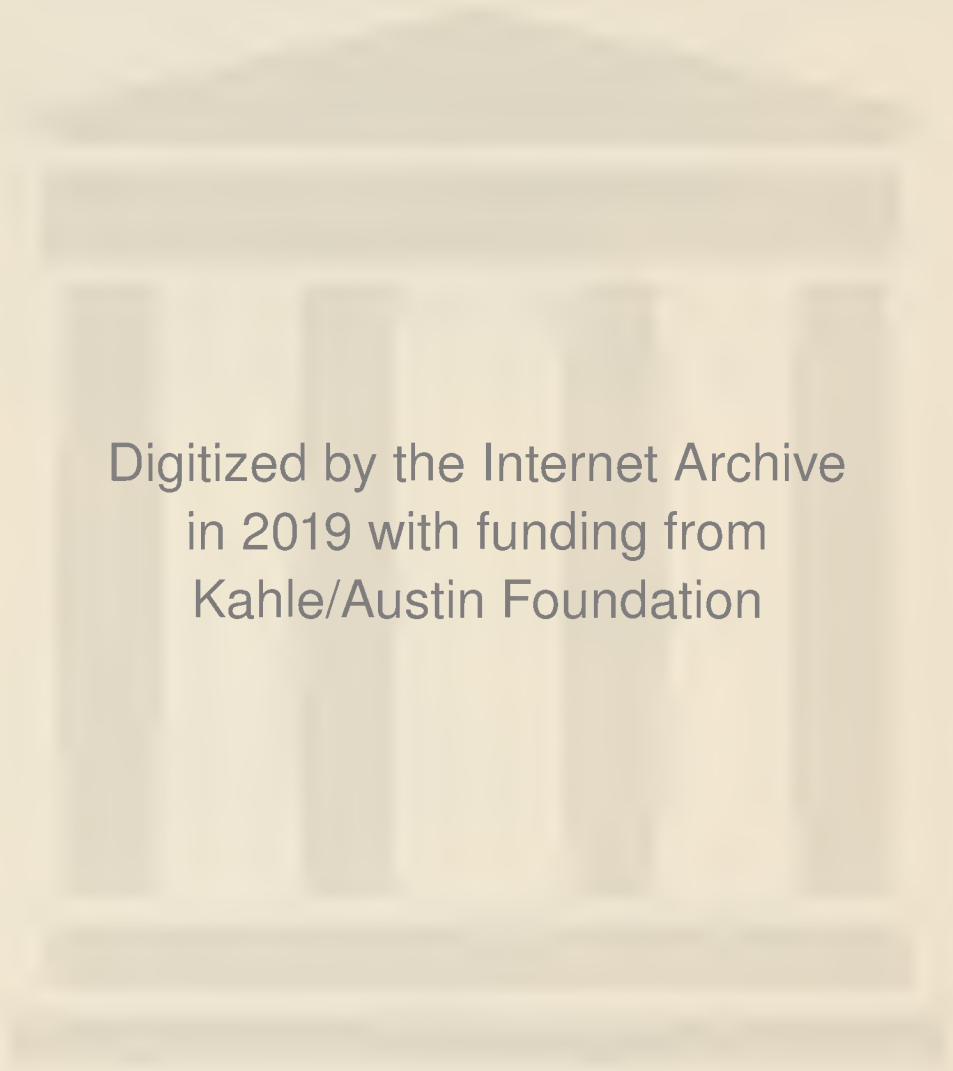
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*To my beloved wife—
and to all
who have befriended
boys in need.*



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CONTENTS

PART ONE: *Theory and Practice*

I. Objectives	3
II. Some Common Objections Answered	6
III. Greek Love as a Social Problem	41
IV. Greek Love as a Solution to a Social Problem	78
V. The Theory and Practice of Love	96
VI. Sexual Aspects of Greek Love	137
VII. Some Uncomplicated Greek Love Affairs	158
VIII. Some Difficult Greek Love Affairs	179

PART TWO: *History and Literature*

IX. Historical Synopsis	221
X. Boy-love in Ancient Greece	230
XI. Boy-love in Ancient Rome	276
XII. Boy-love in the Middle Ages	295
XIII. Boy-love in the Renaissance	312
XIV. Boy-love in the Restoration, Enlightenment, Romantic Period	340
XV. Boy-love in the Nineteenth Century	364
XVI. The Twentieth Century: Divergent Traditions	406
Postscript, by Dr. Albert Ellis	429
Rebuttal, by J. Z. E.	439
Notes	446
Glossary	478
Index of Names	490
General Index	495

PART ONE

Theory and Practice

OBJECTIVES

*You cannot eliminate an idea by
suppressing it.*—HENRY MILLER

Boy-love is as old as mankind.—GOETHE

Love—and let love!—"Philebus"
(DR. JOHN LESLIE BARFORD)

GREEK LOVE IS THE LOVE BETWEEN AN ADULT MAN (OR, SOMETIMES, an older adolescent) and a younger boy, generally one from about twelve to sixteen or seventeen. By this I do not mean the conventional father-son or fraternal relationship, nor the common form of homosexuality¹ of which we hear so much these days, but something distinctive though with a few elements in common with all these other relationships. The manifestation perhaps most familiar to the usual reader (leaving aside newspaper scandals) might be that of schoolboy crushes on older pupils or teachers; if such a crush is dealt with tenderly, the older recipient of it accepting the youngster's affection and returning it in kind, he may be said to enter something like a Greek love relationship with the younger boy,² whether or not overt sexual contact follows. Despite many attempts by apologists for homosexual acts between adults to justify them by appealing to the example of the ancient Greeks, the adult homosexuality of today has little in common with Greek attitudes or practices.

In what follows I expect to prove that—so far from being a brief Greek aberration or a sign of Roman degeneracy—Greek love is as widespread as mankind; it is as valid a manifestation of love as is any other, no more and no less, with motivations much the same, and consequences to the participants much the same as in any other; it is easily understandable in terms of a general theory of love; it is not automatically decisive in determining the direction of either partner's later sexual orientation; it has persisted in one form or another, publicly acknowledged or concealed, for thousands of years,³ despite shifting cultural attitudes by turns favorable, indifferent, blind or hostile; the rises and falls in its comprehension, appreciation and practice—and therefore to some extent the effects on its recipients—have

coincided fairly closely with the vicissitudes of classical education; the attitudes and literary manifestations connected with it have varied pretty much in the same way as the corresponding attitudes and literary manifestations connected with other forms of love; where it has flourished, it has generally done so in periods in which heterosexual love and the social roles of women were alike favored; where it has been left free of officious interference by moralistic old women or police, it has frequently had specific ethical and educational consequences which an unbiased observer would have to call good; and its suppression in this culture—a suppression far more thorough and taboo-ridden than that for long visited upon homosexual acts between consenting adults—has had most unfortunate consequences.

I shall also show that from ancient times through the early nineteenth century, the homosexual component of human sexual appetite manifested itself principally in attachments of the kind I call Greek love—between men and teen-age boys—and far less often between age-mates, and still more rarely between adult and older adult. Since the later decades of the nineteenth century, the last two forms have been overwhelmingly the commonest, and stable attachments are the exception rather than the rule. I expect to show that this reversal is largely a result of a sort of conspiracy of silence about boy-love, abetted by puritanical laws, anti-sexual mores, and a gradual change in the role of the adolescent in this culture; and that these changes were also very strongly influenced by the now-discredited “third sex” theory generally identified with Edward Carpenter,⁴ John Addington Symonds⁵ and some of their followers; and that this theory, overtly or covertly accepted, has resulted in unrealistic assumptions and role-playing on the part of its believers—such behavior giving adult homosexuals a worse name than they had before.

The last five assertions properly form the subject of the History and Literature chapters forming Part Two of this book, and they will have extensive documentation in the form of quotations and references to the literature, which is at once more extensive and less studied and still less understood than most sexologists suppose.

The misunderstanding of this literature is a special instance of an almost universal misunderstanding of Greek love—a misunderstanding taking all disguises from complete nonrecognition to denial to misinterpretation to “sublimation” to blind rage at “molesters” and “corruptors of minors”—a misunderstanding shared alike by psychiatrists, judges, police, social workers, parents, teachers, professional apologists for adult homosexuality, reformers, and do-gooders of all kinds. It is significant that even the Wolfenden Committee, and other re-

cent groups concerned with revising or repealing the harsh anti-sexual laws, took it for granted that laws "protecting" teen-agers (and at the same time denying them sexual freedom) should be continued in force or even made more punitive; and that nobody bothered to cast doubt on the wisdom of this procedure, presumably for the very good reason that the doubter would be at once stigmatized as a "pervert" or the like. It is equally significant that American organizations concerned with the study of sexual deviations and specifically of homosexuality (One, Inc., and the Mattachine Society, together with some splinter groups from the latter) have likewise agreed on a policy of advocacy of sexual freedom for adults only, distinguishing sharply between the kind of homosexuals who restrict their activities to adults and the (actually rare and acknowledgedly distorted) individuals limited to prepuberal children as sexual objects. But in so doing, they have chosen to disregard Greek love entirely as though it were either nonexistent or merely a loveless aberration born of desperation. I expect to show in the course of this book why this has not been historically true, and that it need not be true today.

Critics are invited to put prejudice aside for a few hours. This book is less a polemic than an interdisciplinary study of a widely misunderstood social phenomenon, a first attempt of its kind so far as I know, a study impossible to do adequately without a relatively sympathetic approach in both theoretical and literary material. Adverse polemic, such as would be likely in most quarters, would lead only to more of the same kind of misunderstanding already present. Objectivity is hardly possible as yet in this value-saturated field. Rational objections, additions, or corrections will be appreciated; I may be reached c/o my publisher, and will issue a second edition if enough additions or corrections are forthcoming. Some of the conclusions in Part Two, seemingly skimpily documented there, will be more amply documented in a second volume now in preparation, giving content analyses of artistic and literary works relevant to Greek love, and filling in a few unavoidable lacunae in the present work: the literature is often represented only by very rare erotic works, seldom available for consultation, and the art works are frequently withheld from public display in museums.

II

SOME COMMON OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

*“An animal that does not move directly toward its chief desires—safety, sexual pleasure, exploration—is demented. . . . Suppose there are obstacles: then they do not move as directly as possible to circumvent or destroy the obstacles. This is to be simply demented. In fact, long ago they have forgotten what their chief desires are; and they construct and encourage and submit to obstacles in order to distract themselves from remembering what their desires are. Then here comes some fool and proves to them, by the plainest demonstration from the most obvious evidence, that they are acting against their own welfare. Naturally, they turn a deaf ear.”—Mynheer Piet Duyck Colijn Duyvendak, in
PAUL GOODMAN’S Empire City, 301*

An answer [to why not allow premarital sex], to be acceptable, must state a reason which lies within the act itself or the persons themselves, and not merely within the prevailing customs or tradition.

—FRANCES BRUCE STRAIN, *The Normal Sex Interests of Children*, 6.

BEFORE PROCEEDING TO THE MORE SYSTEMATIC PARTS OF MY ARGUMENT, it will be useful to deal with some of the common objections to homosexual love and specifically to Greek love. These objections have been culled from those actually raised in conversation or at lectures and elsewhere, and from a few critical books on homosexuality. To represent the side of those making such objections, let me introduce Mr. Critic: a person basically unsympathetic to Greek love but willing—more or less—to listen to reason.

Critic: Why a book on corrupting minors? Don’t we already have enough books on perversion?

J. Z. E.: My book is not on “corrupting” minors, it is on Greek love. And I have written it because nobody has given Greek love a thorough study before. Previous writers either confused it with the usual adult-only homosexuality—often in order to condemn both^{6, 40}—or else completely disregarded it,¹⁸ or confused it with the aberration of the person restricted entirely to seeking children too young to know what is going on. Others have wrongly assumed it to be an entirely loveless species of debauchery straight out of Petronius’s *Satyricon*. My thesis is that Greek love is something entirely different from these other practices, that it has always been too common among competent, moral and creative people to be disregarded in studying their work, and that its consequences have often enough been beneficial to all parties concerned so that intensive study of Greek love, carefully distinguishing it from other forms of love, is necessary to understand its various social functions where it has been tacitly or overtly tolerated or even acknowledged, and its potentials even today, as well as its role in the development of the adolescent and in the creative output of authors and artists concerned with this theme.

As for your other question, no, we do not yet have enough books on the sexual deviations, and we won’t have until these attitudes and practices are completely understood. They certainly are not understood right now, and your automatic choice of the word “perversion” proves it. This word-choice testifies to an instant and unquestioned value-judgment rather than an attempt to treat the phenomenon with any objectivity. Marriage manuals say over and over, “Nothing done in love can be labelled a perversion”—and why limit this remark to adults?

Critic: Hold it. You just made a lot of claims that I don’t believe. I’ve heard all that rot about Walt Whitman and Tchaikovsky before, and even if it is true about them, that doesn’t justify it in them or in anyone else. And I don’t believe that sex with another male has good effects on any boy, even if it is with his best friend, even if both think it’s because of love. At best it can lead him away from the normal heterosexual path; more often it will do him worse psychological harm or even physical damage.

J. Z. E.: I don’t doubt for a moment that you’ve heard professional apologists for homosexuality claiming that Whitman and Tchaikovsky were homosexual, not to mention Michelangelo, Leonardo, Goethe, Byron, Verlaine, A. E. Housman and many others, leaving aside the ancient Greeks. My point is that in many of these instances the claims have been proved true, and that many of these

individuals loved one or more teen-aged boys, whether or not they also loved women or men of their own age. Much of their work is better understood in this light; some of it cannot be understood without recognizing their predilection for boys. This is particularly true of Michelangelo's sonnets, many of Leonardo's drawings, Goethe's *West-Eastern Divan*, many of Byron's poems and letters, Verlaine's *Amour*, and so forth. And whatever you personally may think of these individuals, their creative ability and their competence are beyond doubt, and the probity of at least Leonardo and Goethe equally beyond doubt.

Your other points take a lot of answering. If you'll grant me for the moment the possibility that a man can actually love a teen-age boy rather than merely use him for a sexual object—

Critic: I believe his father or older brother can do so, but that if a man has sexual desires for a boy, he is in danger of doing the boy wrong. All this talk of love is just an attempt to rationalize unnatural sexual desires.

J. Z. E.: Your insistence on this point shows that you've accepted a basically anti-sexual orientation. I'll return to that later on. But if you'll temporarily concede me the *possibility*? Fine. The love relationship between adult and boy, then, is necessarily different from what it would be among people of the same age and equal in other respects. It has to take into consideration the immaturity, pliability and changing nature of the boy. In short, like parental love, like the love of an older brother for a younger, like the love of a mature man for his young, inexperienced or less-educated bride, it is an *asymmetrical* relationship. The man has to be a guide-philosopher-friend and counselor to the boy, someone whom the boy can look up to and trust, someone who will answer his questions, someone in whom the boy can confide without fear of rebuff, ridicule or report back to parents, someone from whom the boy can learn things he needs to know but which he wouldn't learn in school or from other boys his own age or (most likely) even from his parents, *someone prepared to watch the boy start to grow away from initial dependence and towards girls*. This is the way the Greeks saw the relationship. Where sex occurred at all, it was only a part of the much larger complex of shared confidences, shared experiences, love given and received; and so it is in some relationships even today.

As for leading boys away from the normal heterosexual path, the routine thing in Greece was for the man to teach the boy how to make a woman happy—sometimes in fact to introduce him to girls. This also happens today. I don't guarantee that *all* such relationships

are handled so responsibly; of course not. Anything can be abused. But I think I am making myself clear on this point at least: the relationship between man and boy *can* be one of genuine love; it *can* be handled responsibly, whether or not sex enters into it, the man realizing that his boyfriend is growing up and will before too many years be ready to start a family of his own.

As for whether love, with or without overt sexual elements, has a good effect on its recipient, that is an issue I deal with at length in Chapters IV, V, and VIII. Justification is another matter, and every reader will have to decide it for himself, once the facts are before him. I am reasonably sure that your own pre-formed adverse opinion was arrived at before you knew any of the facts, precisely because the facts about Greek love have never previously been brought together between a single pair of covers.

Critic: A. S. Neill says, somewhere in *Summerhill*, that children do not so much *love* as *want to be loved*. Children are more egotistical than adults, by and large, and they cannot be expected to enter a relationship in which they are called on to give love as well as to accept it. Of course, a child may cling to some friendly adult because he is rebelling against his parents or teachers. But is this love? I doubted it before and I still doubt it.

J. Z. E.: A lot depends on what stage of development you are referring to. A small child is a bundle of needs, to be sure, but beginning with adolescence he grows more and more aware of other people as individuals, and is often capable, for the first time in his life, of loving someone else. This is the age of so-called "puppy love," of crushes which are all too painfully real to be ignored. I will go into this matter in detail later on, but the point I want to make here is that in the Greek love situation, the boy is already in adolescence and therefore capable of a return of love, which is not yet possible for a younger child. My authority here on the developmental stages is Dr. Harry Stack Sullivan, and the theory of love I elaborate in Chapter V is based largely on his writings. As he was a psychiatrist with considerable experience, and as he is generally highly regarded by specialists, the theory of love on which I base my own claims about Greek love deserves at least a fair hearing rather than an immediate dismissal unread. The rebellion situation you picture may not be love in itself but it can possibly lead to it; rebellion is also a feature of adolescence.

Critic: But surely, if this particular perversion you call Greek love is as important as you suggest it is, specialists must have studied it before. Why do we need *your* book?

J. Z. E.: On the contrary—the specialists in sexology have been just about as confused as the general public, when they have dealt with Greek love at all. Kinsey did not survive to complete his projected book on homosexual behavior, which might possibly have had something to say about Greek love. Stekel,⁷ Krafft-Ebing⁸ and others in their tradition (including Bergler⁹ and George W. Henry¹⁰) simply catalogued aberrations as though they were definite disease entities like measles, mumps and diphtheria, and without any sound basis for ascribing causes. Ulrichs¹¹ knew about it (he called it “Zwischen-Urningtum”), but for political reasons he softpedaled it in favor of campaigning for sexual freedom for adults; with a propaganda line that “Urnings (his name for homosexuals) are female souls in male bodies, and are biased this way from birth, therefore they should not be confused with degenerate old debauchees who want to vary coitus with a little buggery” he might have had a chance of being heard, whereas a plea for legalizing sex with teen-aged boys would have gotten him nowhere, save possibly prison. And Ulrichs’s followers John Addington Symonds,⁵ Edward Carpenter⁴ and Havelock Ellis¹² tended to identify “Urniumtum” or inversion with the “third sex” concept in full bloom. (I expect to show why in detail in later chapters.) Freud and Wilhelm Reich simply ignored the whole question. Later psychoanalysts generally failed to distinguish Greek love from the more common forms of homosexual orientation with their frequently unrealistic self-images and role-playing; thus Fenichel¹³ speaks glibly of subject-homoerotics (roughly equivalent to Ulrichs’s inverts) and object-homoerotics (roughly, people who tend to take the male role in a homosexual relationship; ‘rough trade’ included) as though this classification were sharply defined, mutually exclusive and exhaustive—which is the reverse of the truth. Magnus Hirschfeld, who might have been in a position to make a thorough study, had little to say about Greek love, for roughly the same reasons as Ulrichs¹⁴ (and what little he did say ignored psychoanalytic insights altogether), but various volumes of his *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* did include contributions by one scholar who did study it. This was Dr. Paul Brandt (1875-1929), who under the name of “Hans Licht” issued three rare volumes under the running title of *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands*. (You may have seen the bowdlerized translation, *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*.) This work was a study of sexual mores and behavior in ancient Greece—not just of Greek love in the sense in which I use the term—and naturally, however thorough it was on the latter, it had nothing to say about the reappearance of patterns similar to those of Greece in other or later cultures. The same holds true

for Meier & Pögey-Castries,¹⁵ Wilhelm Kroll,¹⁶ and others who have dealt with the Greek customs. Burton,¹⁷ Cory,¹⁸ and later authors of books on homosexuality, have mostly tended to fall into the common misunderstandings I mentioned earlier. So clearly a fresh start is needed, if we are ever to understand this phenomenon.

Critic: The way you talk, you give the impression that boy-love would be an important force for good in society if the taboos against it were relaxed. And I remember that Licht did draw a connection between Greek creativity and sexual freedom. But most people are heterosexual, and of those who aren't, only a minority today go after young boys, thank God—even your Mr. Cory says so. Now if only a small percent of men are interested in Greek love, what you said earlier about its importance and social value is invalidated. Why place so much emphasis on feelings which most people will never experience anyway? The burden of proof is on you—what evidence have you that without legal restrictions, men would be often enough involved in Greek love to do anything good with it? Or that they would use it as anything more than a mere excuse for indulging their unnatural lusts?

J. Z. E.: That's a neat twist on the usual argument. Most people are afraid that everyone would be doing it and turning all our youths into libertines, leading them away from the normal path to heterosexuality (didn't you use some such phrase earlier yourself?), disrupting the family and bringing down God's wrath on us, etc. Well, my hunch that Greek love—in the absence of legal pressures—can be an important force for good is based on a group of arguments I marshal in Chapters IV and V. Here are a few of the most unassailable lines of reasoning: (1) The human animal is basically "ambisextrous"—capable of sexual response to many different stimuli—but it is social pressures that restrict the range of potential sex objects.¹⁹ (2) Adolescents, just by being themselves, reawaken this conflict in adults²⁰ . . . "arouse latent homosexual feelings directly, and also indirectly, by rekindling smoldering emotional processes in which homosexuality is one . . . symptom."²¹ Kinsey²² adds to this by showing that these young teen-agers are at their sexual peak, and their sheer animal exuberance provides the sexual stimulus to adults, compounded by the fact that many such boys (like their female counterparts) are going through what is called "prime" or "bloom"—which, as any painter could tell you, often makes them objectively more beautiful than they ever were before or will be again. (3) In all earlier epochs in which legal pressures and/or churchly taboos were relaxed, Greek love became a frequent phenomenon, especially among members of

the educated classes. (I marshal the evidence in Part Two.) Literary and historical evidence overwhelmingly confirms that these relationships were in general a force for good, especially when they were conducted in the classical tradition. (Ancient Rome is not really an exception, as Greek love properly so called was almost unknown there. And this book is about *love*, not merely about sexual practices.) As for today, there are a few straws in the wind. Chapter XVI describes some of them, perhaps the most obvious one being the increasing numbers of handsome boys in advertisements and in physique magazines. And you surely know Madison Avenue's slogan—"give the public what it wants"—which is why cigarette ads show pretty girls in outdoor settings indicative of leisure or even of wealth, etc. Were the male interest in handsome boys only a trivially rare thing, like a fetish for earmuffs or garters, it is rather unlikely that Madison Ave. would spend millions of dollars a year on showing so many such boys to the public. There is, then, fairly good reason to believe that interests of the kind that can lead to Greek love affairs are more frequent than you think, even though they don't often result in action. (4) Perhaps I am being overly idealistic, but I tend to think that given relaxation of the taboos and legal pressures, history would repeat itself. Insofar as in previous epochs Greek love has been a force for good, presumably it would often be such in the future. For one thing, a major problem of our society is alienation of adolescents from the adult world, and juvenile delinquency is just one symptom of such alienation; Greek love is a made-to-order solution for this problem. Kinsey's data seem to indicate that such interest would be more frequent among educated and cultured men than among the insensitive. With a relaxation of taboos and legal pressures, open discussion and knowledge would replace ignorance, and the boys themselves would be better able to decide whether to go after—or accept the interest of—this man or that. (For such desires aren't exclusively one-sided; modern psychiatric evidence indicates that the boys themselves often make the first move.) And possibly in the long run this situation could be made into a recognized social institution as it was in Greece, becoming part of the youngster's informal education.

Critic: Sure, just as in Greece. Historians agree that the decline and fall of a civilization is to a large extent caused by moral deterioration of its people. Greece and Rome fell because of their extraordinary sexual depravity. And in advocating a resumption of Greek practices in the U.S.A., you are acting as a subversive—you are wishing our nation to follow Greece and Rome into disintegration and death.

J. Z. E.: I rather doubt that you have thought out just what the term "decline" means, to begin with. Usually, what people mean when they talk about the decline of Rome is social conditions of a kind that permitted barbarian, half-civilized soldiers to take over and rule, stupidly, brutally, and without concern for the consequences of their acts, and in which the creative minority was insignificantly small in numbers (and too weak in influence) to insure even much of a hearing for its solutions to the outstanding social problems of the day. Now what has this to do with sexual behavior on the part of the common people? Or what do you mean by moral deterioration or depravity?

Critic: Well, Toynbee says that when a civilized society gets too far away from its ancestral religion, its members become increasingly materialistic, self-centered, concerned only about their own pleasure and not about the welfare of the system. I suppose this is what he means by "breakdown," and it certainly looks to me like the main cause of decline.

J. Z. E.: And you seriously mean to claim that this sort of thing causes political collapse? And that puritanical adherence to the Old Time Religion is a necessity to prevent leaders and armies selling out to invaders? Nonsense! Decline and fall of civilized societies are complex sequences having many different causes, and even if universal debauchery could be proved to have occurred before the decline, you'd be begging the question if you claimed that it therefore *caused* the decline. Surely, a more realistic and objective view might be—in Rome's case, at least—that power struggles between rival factions tantamount to civil wars weakened the economy and destroyed the best elements of the citizenry; and that economic exploitation and prolonged misery of the lower classes weakened their own loyalties to the system, brought on several revolts (need I mention Spartacus or the troubles following the attempted agrarian reforms of the Gracchi?), and eventually led many of the downtrodden to seek solace in Christianity and other foreign religious cults promising an end to Roman rule. The early Christians, remember, were daily expecting the end of the world, after which would come the kingdom of God with all the downtrodden converts to Christianity passing judgment on the heathen. The role that mere sex played in all this can surely be called only minor. And in fact, as any student of Roman law could tell you, the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. were marked by increasingly restrictive anti-sexual laws. I know no modern historian who will take your position seriously. Ascribing the decline of Greece and Rome to sexual license is an oversimplification so drastic as to be completely mis-

leading, besides being counter to all the known historical evidence.

Critic: You talked about Rome—what about Greece? Or Elizabethan England, or Renaissance Italy, or other tolerant societies? They all fell, too. And they all eventually saw the right way and proscribed boy-love.

J. Z. E.: Much the same thing. The constant civil wars of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. killed off Greek citizenry and made easier the domination of more and more Greek territory by first this demagogue and then that tyrant and then the other foreign invader. As for Elizabethan England, the answer to that is very well known: the Puritans, who were the extreme right-wing fanatics of the Protestant reform movement, imposed a reign of terror during and after the civil wars—religious wars—which were tearing England to shreds in the 1640's. People were afraid to defy or denounce the Puritans for the very good reason that they might be hauled up before a court and sentenced to prison or even death. And Renaissance Italy? Burckhardt's history makes it quite plain that it was similarly torn apart by civil wars, after which the Counter-Reformation imposed a churchly reign of terror. No, my friend, it was power struggles, not debauchery, which brought these societies to a premature end. G. Rattray Taylor, in *Sex in History*, gives many examples of how "matrist" societies—the tolerant and sexually permissive kind—with their "live and let live" attitude are simply steamrollered by the sternly intolerant, godly, rigidly moralistic "patrist" factions with their "Convert Everyone to the One True Path" attitude. And it is these patrist factions which proscribe Greek love, so far from being tolerant societies remedying distress. Ancient Greece did not itself become patrist, but Byzantine Christian political leaders imposed an alien pattern on the remnants of ancient culture. It is mainly for that reason that Greek love with its characteristic educational values died out even in Greece.

Critic: You keep claiming ethical or educational value for Greek love. I say it's just an attempt to rationalize an unnatural desire.

J. Z. E.: That hinges on a distinction between physical infatuation and love. You claim in effect that either excludes the other in the man-and-boy relationship. If this is true here, why is it not also true in married love? (Don't interrupt—I'll get back to this point.) Infatuation by itself is desiring the body of the person you're interested in. Love, according to the church, is in effect desiring the head of the person without the body. (A minister friend of mine once called this the "Salomé complex.") I suggest that either one can lead to the combination of both, and where both can be experienced for the one individual, either is incomplete without the other.

Critic: Nonsense! Sex is for the purpose of procreation.

J. Z. E.: I don't think you'll find very many non-Catholics agreeing with you. If they do, why are contraceptives so popular? And for that matter, why are young children capable of orgasm long before their bodies start manufacturing spermatozoa or ova? ²² If you think God intended sex solely for reproduction, you'll have to explain why he made human bodies capable of orgasm both before and after the reproductive period, and why man, *alone of all mammals*, is completely *free* of seasonal rutting (oestrus cycles), both sexes capable of sexual activity at any time regardless of fertility of the female. And since homosexual behavior occurs in many other mammalian species—which certainly did not learn it from us—it is ridiculous to call it “unnatural.”

But that is a digression, anyway. You were disputing my claim of ethical value in at least some Greek love relationships. That is a large subject and I'll fill in the details later, but this is the gist of it: *sexual attraction provided a man with an incentive for fulfilling his educational role, for spending time imparting wisdom and right attitudes to some teen-ager ripe to profit from them.* A Greek's acknowledgment of sexual attraction to a youth was not the romantic love-at-first-sight illusion, but typically rather something like “to me the boy seems beautiful.” Beauty, to the Greeks and their emulators, included skill and grace in even everyday action, as well as excellence of form; and they regarded it as a promise of even greater excellence to come, provided that the boy obtained proper guidance. The ethical value is in the guidance. Too many young people today don't get it, and they are worse off for it.

Critic: Nobody will dispute that. But why do you insist that guidance of boys should be contaminated with perverted lust?

J. Z. E.: Have the courtesy to admit that this phrase is your subjective value-judgment. There were and still are many who would not agree with you, and you haven't given any reason for the value-judgment. But an even more appropriate question is, what incentive can a person have to spend the time and effort to guide a teen-age boy?

Critic: Professional obligations, for one thing. Responsibility.

J. Z. E.: In other words, if I understand you correctly, you would limit it to teachers, clergymen, psychiatrists, social workers, and other professional counselors.

Critic: Yes. They've been trained, they know what they're doing. The man not in those professions can't be trusted to say the right thing and not to mislead someone else. Except that parents can and

should handle the task of teaching their children how to tell right from wrong.

J. Z. E.: And you don't see the contradiction there?

Critic: What contradiction?

J. Z. E.: Parents usually aren't trained counselors, yet you say on the one hand that parents are automatically competent to teach their kids ethics, and on the other that all forms of guidance are best left to professionals.

Critic: But the professionals are supposed to take over when the parents have slipped up. If the parents were really efficient, the professional counselors would have much less work to do.

J. Z. E.: And right there is much of the trouble. Most delinquents look on the adult world as alien and hostile, which is another way of saying that they were never loved in any real sense and never got any meaningful guidance by adults. The guidance offered by clergymen is naturally limited by their theological frame of reference. A Catholic priest who never had any experience with women, other than maybe hearing confessions, certainly isn't going to have any first-hand knowledge of the nuances of getting along with girls—and lord knows *that's* frequent enough as a source of trouble among teen-agers. The guidance offered by psychiatrists is all too often limited by their concern with adjustment—and besides, a lot of kids are not in the kind of trouble requiring psychiatric attention. The guidance by vocational counselors is limited in range of subject matter; and that by social workers is limited by their concern with economic factors and the preservation of the family. Each one to his own specialization, naturally; but a boy's problems are often of a kind that overlaps many of these, that can't neatly be handled by one or a combination of professionals. And all of these professional contacts have one still worse limitation, a limitation which pretty much kills their usefulness in many cases.

Critic: What is that?

J. Z. E.: A professional counselor can spend only a half hour or an hour at a time with each of dozens or maybe hundreds of clients. This pretty much limits the contexts in which he can understand and cope with the problems of any one client. What is really needed is guidance which can admit of the counselor's spending hours and even weeks and months with his client, allowing the client to "be himself" and not feel he has to be on his best behavior, observing and guiding him through many different life situations.

Critic: How about parents? They seem to fit your requirements.

J. Z. E.: Any textbook on adolescent psychology will answer that.

A boy in his teens is not only growing up, he is attempting to assert his independence as an individual rather than remaining an appendage of his family. This means that he is also growing away from his parents and, often enough, rebelling against them.²³ Whether or not the rebellion becomes manifest, the boy wants a private life of his own, not interfered with by parents. Gratuitous solicitude by parents at this stage is often interpreted (regardless of its manifest intent) as interference, as an attempt on their part to preserve the dependency relationship, to keep the apron strings firmly tied. (And in all too many cases this motive *does* contaminate the desire to help.) Parents are still authority figures, and recognized by the boy as such. It follows that he will not confide some things to them—he will feel that they may be used against him the next time the parents become angry, or perhaps even more often he will feel that they simply can't understand, and therefore won't take his side. Kurt Lewin has neatly summarized one important factor: the adolescent feels that his parents tend to slip back (especially at times of stress) into thinking of him as still a child, and that they accordingly are giving him too little freedom; the parents, on the other hand, seeing the evidence of rebellion, fear that they are giving their adolescent son too much freedom.²⁴ No, as a guide-philosopher-friend-counselor, a parent is not in a suitable position; the needed adult has to be someone whom the boy can trust, who will not inform on him, who does not automatically take the role of an authority figure.

Critic: All right, then, how about the Big Brothers?

J. Z. E.: Ah, yes, the Big Brothers. Don't you know that they help only kids who are *already* in police trouble? Aside from that, this organization is always desperately advertising to try to obtain more adults to act in a Big Brother capacity. You've seen the signs all over—on billboards in San Francisco, in New York subways, and elsewhere: "Be a Friend to a Boy" and all the rest. Did it ever occur to you why there *aren't* enough Big Brothers?

Critic: I never gave it that much thought. I suppose either the candidates don't measure up to requirements, or else those who would measure up don't have the time or inclination.

J. Z. E.: You might also ask yourself what's in it for J. Alfred Smith, to get into the Big Brothers? What incentive could he possibly have, to spend several hours of his time each week with a teen-age boy? Civic responsibility and concern about delinquency obviously aren't enough by themselves—if they were, we wouldn't have a shortage of Big Brothers. There has to be some other incentive. And I suggest that the incentive is something rather less likely to be found in

the police-oriented work of the Big Brothers than in other contexts. I suggest that it must be something closer to home—to be exact, a warm personal relationship growing into love. And why not? This was exactly what the Greeks valued; it was this which induced them to spend time with their boyfriends, *whether or not there was any overt sex play*. Sex was often an incentive, true enough, but it was simply one part among others in a larger relationship which endured in many cases into adulthood.

Critic: But why couldn't they do all this without the sex angle?

J. Z. E.: In a culture in which sex is not automatically regarded as something dirty and evil, that question would not need to be asked. Let me go on with the other side of it: I suggest that *it is the fear of sexual contact, and still worse, the fear of being thought queer, that have tended to minimize intelligent guidance of young people by interested adults*,²⁵ in and out of the Big Brother movement; and that *this lack of guidance, resulting in increasing alienation of adolescents from the adult world, has in some measure contributed to the increase in juvenile delinquency*.

Critic: That's a red herring. A man is taking an unfair advantage in addressing his unnatural sexual attentions to a young boy. If he has to be queer, let him stick to adults who are already that way rather than trying to recruit innocent youngsters. If he really wants to do good for a boy, he should leave the physical side out. It isn't relevant anyway.

J. Z. E.: You're automatically assuming that it's always the man who forces his attentions on the boy, that the boy would never have thought of them otherwise, and that such attentions are always harmful.

Critic: Of course. Isn't that obvious enough?

J. Z. E.: Not at all. It's been well known to psychiatrists for many years—and to boarding school headmasters for generations before that—that very often it's the younger boy who makes the first affectionate gesture, or even the first overtly sexual gesture, to the older boy or man—

Critic:—Thus proving that young children are not responsible in this area, that they do not know what they are doing and should be protected!

J. Z. E.: On the contrary—their behavior often enough indicates that they are well aware of the continuity between sex and other forms of physical display of affection, a continuity which they do not regard as threatening so long as their masculine self-image is not impugned. The danger in such situations comes from only three things,

so far as I can see: (1) physical harm if the man turns out to be a sadist, or if the boy panics and threatens to tell all to authorities; (2) guilt feelings imparted to the boy by his contemporaries or, perhaps more often, by well-intentioned but ignorant older people; and (3) the consequences of getting caught by the authorities. There are safeguards against all three of these, too.

Panic, with threats and reprisals, is very unlikely if the man and boy have first established an actual love relationship—it's practically limited to casual sex scenes between strangers. (I am not here referring to prostitution; I will take that up in Chapter III.) I will grant that the danger of getting involved with a sadist is real, but it is fortunately very slight; the number of crimes of violence yearly reported from such situations is certainly small (particularly considering the amount of publicity the scandal-sheet newspapers give them) compared to the number of Greek love relationships going on today. Moreover, the danger of encountering a sadist is faced by older adolescents and adults as well. In all these categories the danger of damage can be lowered to nearly zero by making sure that one's children know what to expect, and by giving them training in judo or similar self-defense tactics. In point of fact, the vast majority of sexual assignments between sadists and masochists take place at so-called "S-M" bars, and the people who go there know what they are getting into. J. Edgar Hoover's "never talk to strangers" routine may possibly have saved some teen-agers from rape, but it has certainly kept many others from adventure, perhaps rewarding friendships, or possibly even learning something.²⁶ Guilt feelings are a more serious problem, but in practice, when affairs are conducted discreetly, without impairing the boy's masculine self-image, and in fact (as Friedenberg²⁷ says) with emphasis on "helping the adolescent develop good, specific reasons for thinking well of himself"—imparting to him a healthy self-esteem—guilt feelings are rather unlikely to occur. And if man and boy are in close enough rapport that they do not hide their real feelings from each other, the man can often assuage such guilts.

As for the danger of getting caught, discretion is the obvious answer; it doesn't *have* to be a crude approach in a public toilet, you know. The fifty-odd modern instances of Greek love with which I am personally familiar do not happen to include any pairs who got together in that manner. Solicitation—which is the source of most homosexuality convictions in New York City—generally involves either a "Times Square kid" prostitute who hasn't learned to be discreet, or whose customers are being watched by police, or else—as in the majority of instances—it's a matter of entrapment by a young-looking

plainclothes policeman hanging around public places for exactly that purpose.

But I suspect you have also a mental image of the kind of sexual contact involved—namely forcible anal penetration; and you assume that this is a painful indignity on the boy as well as a disgraceful form of debauchery for the man. I'll go into the question of sexual techniques in Greek love in Chapter VI, but for the moment let me assure you that force is rare, anal penetration uncommon; and where the latter occurs at all it is mutually consented to. Mutual masturbation and oral techniques, with much affectionate caressing, are far more common in Greek love affairs that get as far as the bedroom—and many don't get that far.

Nor does the evidence bear out your contention that early sex experience is harmful. Earl O. Coon, in the *Archives of Criminal Psychodynamics*,²⁸ is unusually forthright on this point. Speaking of an instance of Greek love in which the man's interest induced his boyfriend to break out of a delinquency pattern and reorganize his life constructively in *three weeks*, Coon says,

"In most cases like this, the boy is seeking an older man as a friend because he feels the need of a father surrogate. The sex relationship may possibly be the means by which security in the relationship is sought. Not enough is known of the dynamics involved in cases of this sort." [Naturally—no previous study exists of Greek love patterns in present-day culture!] "It is easy to conclude that it will have a harmful effect on the boy because this is in line with our moral and social concepts. However, there is certainly much evidence that many boys have this type of experience and develop normally in their relationships to women later. *To assume categorically that these relationships are going to be traumatic for the boy is prejudgment of a type which certainly has no place in dynamic psychiatry.*" (Italics mine.)

Nor is Coon the only expert to have entertained such opinions.

Critic: But surely you are not going to deny that a boy can get conditioned to this sort of thing and turned away from the normal path leading to marriage and family life. This is harmful. And isn't it true that early seduction is the reason for the vast increase in the number of adult homosexuals?

J. Z. E.: This is like saying that occasionally eating bananas can get a boy addicted to them and unwilling to try any other food whatever. A strange left-handed compliment to homosexual activity, indeed, to assume that one or a few such experiences can undo years and years of social pressures toward conventional heterosexuality! It

seems unreasonable on the face of it, and the psychiatric literature doesn't confirm it. Not even Bergler goes that far. And it has been common knowledge for decades—even centuries—that the sex play among boys in boarding schools does not result in a high percentage of exclusive or nearly exclusive homosexuals among their graduates, any more than does the sex play on board ships or in camps, prisons, or other all-male institutions.²⁹⁻³⁵

I will grant you that it would be harmful if a person were to become exclusively homosexual, incapable of establishing a love relationship with a woman. But I do not think that the experience of a Greek love relationship *causes* this limitation to males, or (what is more important) this aversion to the opposite sex. I tend to go along with recent psychiatric opinion that there is *no* one specific cause of exclusive homosexuality, but that early distorted relationships with parents can turn a boy away from women and from conventional masculine roles, and that sometimes an early and unsuccessful heterosexual experience (perhaps with a prostitute, or with a girl who is not herself especially appealing, or who does not know how to get him really excited) can give a boy the idea that if *this* is what women are like, he would just as soon forget about the whole business of trying to go to bed with them.³⁶

I tend to go along with Dr. Albert Ellis³⁷ in regarding the compulsive 100% homo and 100% hetero types as having roughly comparable blockages, insofar as their limitations reflect fear of, or aversion from, deviation from an established pattern. I think that a man who can gain sexual satisfaction *only* from boys is unduly limited and presumably sick, but that a man who has been able to establish satisfying relationships with women does not automatically become sick because he also allows a friendship with some teen-age boy to develop an overt sexual aspect. He may or may not be sick; my point is that the situation is not itself automatic proof of sickness, let alone of communicable harm.

And I don't know that there has really been any "vast increase in the number of adult homosexuals." It may or may not be true; there is no proof either way. The same observations which have led some doom-criers (and some homosexuals) to conclude that there has been such an increase could also come from several other causes not in fact reflecting any increase.³⁸ For one thing, police activity has certainly stepped up,³⁹ including in particular the use of handsome young plain-clothesmen to entice susceptible types, only to flash a badge at the psychological moment. (But increased arrests do not automatically mean an increased homosexual population; they can also mean that

more members of a stable population get caught.) For another thing, more homosexuals are willing to seek the company of their own kind, now that the existence of gay communities in the larger cities has been well publicized. And the general migration away from rural environments and towards the big cities—an elementary fact reflected in U.S. Bureau of Census publications—of course accentuates this trend. Again, homosexuals find suitable occupations far easier to locate in New York and San Francisco and other large cities than elsewhere, and they tell their friends. The claims of vast increase must therefore be viewed skeptically. So if there is no proved “vast increase” in the adult homosexual population, you certainly cannot claim that any such increase is due to early seduction. For that matter, even if there is an increase in the number of adult homosexuals, it might well be only in proportion to the increase in the world population. To prove that such an increase is due to early seduction, you would have to show, first of all, that the number of homosexuals per 100,000 is greater now than it was in preceding decades; and secondly, that more now than previously were brought into the gay world by early seduction. And thirdly, you’d have to prove that *ONLY* the seduction did it. Now this is a very large order, and I have not heard of any researcher who has arrived at any such conclusion. Kinsey made no such claim. Neither did Magnus Hirschfeld, and he studied more homosexuals than anyone else in history.

Critic: I read a book on the subject in which Viscount Hailsham speaks of it as *common knowledge* that homosexuality is a proselytizing religion, “contagious, incurable and self-perpetuating,” and that its members are drawn overwhelmingly to teen-agers whom they convert to this way of life. Where there is so much smoke, surely there is some fire.

J. Z. E.: Viscount Hailsham’s view ⁴⁰ is extreme and entirely unsupported by any source other than his own dogmatism. That this man’s assertion is believed without proof testifies only to the power of an opinion stated forcibly and unswervingly, particularly when such opinion goes along with majority prejudice. Hailsham’s blast is not confirmed in the slightest degree by any sources in the literature, and furthermore it is contradictory to both dynamic psychology and the common testimony of members of the homosexual communities themselves. The truth is (as one might have guessed) that those who want to get into the gay life badly enough find their way in, sooner or later; and most homosexuals of whom I have any knowledge are enough hurt by rebuffs that they hesitate to approach males whom they do not positively know to be already gay. (In the usual entrapment cases, the

plainclothesman indicates by gesture and often by word that he is gay and welcomes a sexual approach.) And the Mattachine Society and similar groups concerned with getting homosexuals an even break are always at pains to dissociate themselves from what they consider a very small minority of men attracted to boys. They are continuously fighting the prejudice-fed charge that homophiles increase their numbers by 'corrupting the youth of the nation.' As for the notion that many homosexuals became that way as a result of early seduction, Edgar Friedenberg⁹³ says that affairs of the Greek love kind are *notably absent* from the histories of homosexuals; in short, that what you would call early seduction is the exception rather than the rule for them.³⁵ So clearly one must seek the cause of homosexuality elsewhere.

Critic: But isn't it true, in general, that a homosexual becomes attracted to younger and younger boys as he goes on?

J. Z. E.: Psychiatric literature doesn't confirm this notion, and the homosexual organizations themselves brand it a myth; nor do I know any individuals for whom this is true, nor have any homosexuals or Greek lovers known to me ever known any such people. The usual thing is for a person to become especially attracted to one type or to a fairly narrow range of types of male or female love-objects. Fairly often, in the Greek love situation, the man finds himself spending a great deal of time with one particular boy, with whom he sticks for a number of years. The relationship often lasts until the boy starts "going steady" with some girl, or until he goes away to college, or gets drafted, or for some other reason has to move away permanently; or, sometimes, until some silly quarrel—or parental or police action, or some other external circumstance—breaks it up. The man thereafter may or may not look for another boy, similar or different, whether or not he is also in the meantime emotionally involved with a woman; patterns differ and change, generalizations are unsafe. This much is certain anyway: the Greek lovers whom I know do not successively go after younger and younger boys, nor have I heard of anything of the kind. If this sort of thing does occur at all, it is very seldom.

Barely possibly, some few of the rare individuals who accept—or seek—casual sexual encounters with prepuberal children may seek successively younger ones; but I have no personal knowledge of this. It isn't relevant anyway, as my concern in this study is not with these but rather with Greek love, which by definition involves an adolescent, therefore someone ordinarily not younger than 12 or 13; someone old enough to respond meaningfully, old enough to love.

On the other hand, a man limited to prepuberal children is by definition limited to children young enough to be as yet unappreciative

of sexual stimulation, or perhaps even to be frightened by unfamiliar kinds of attention (though again doubtless exceptions exist, as Bender and Blau have pointed out ⁴¹). A man limited to this sexual outlet is sick indeed, because he cannot realistically expect to obtain any meaningful sexual *response*, let alone a return of love. (Actually, I suspect—and Kinsey confirms ⁴²—that some persons arrested as child-molesters have perhaps done nothing more than display nonsexual physical affection to a child, perhaps responding to some spontaneous gesture from the child; but such is people's horror of the rare child-seeking sadist that nobody makes much effort to find out exactly what *did* happen.) On the other hand, in Greek love a man is looking for a genuine relationship of affection with a boy old enough to respond in kind, old enough to know what he is doing. That they have to be secretive and even conspiratorial about it in some situations reflects not anything intrinsically bad about the relationship, but only a realistic appraisal of the dangers of police attention.

Critic: But you know as well as I do that biologically the sexual organs of the male are adapted to the shape of the sexual organs of the female and vice versa. Two males don't fit together, especially a big man and a little boy. Therefore this misuse of the sexual organs is instinctively felt by normal people to be wrong and unnatural; it has bad psychological consequences and can have harmful physical consequences.

J. Z. E.: If you believe *that* literally as you say it, then you must also believe that a petite girl and a monstrosously endowed heavyweight boxer don't fit well together, and you must likewise believe that some sexual positions and techniques between males and females are unnatural, wrong, and so forth, and that masturbation is also unnatural.

Critic: These other techniques are foreplay between man and woman, they're just something leading up to coitus. And masturbation is just a substitute for coitus. And it *is* unnatural for people to use these other techniques exclusively when they can have intercourse in the normal manner.

J. Z. E.: I think you'll find that Albert Ellis's *Sex Without Guilt* conclusively answered that argument. Let's look at it from another angle, though. For you, any sexual technique other than coitus is either something leading to coitus, or else it's a sick substitute for coitus. But take the case of a man with a wife six months pregnant. They love each other and they want to have sex, but she finds that any of the usual coital positions is uncomfortable at this stage of pregnancy, no matter how gentle he is. So they bring each other to orgasm with fingers or tongue. If they regard this sex-play as only a substitute for

coitus, they are likely to find it dissatisfying. On the other hand, if they accept it as pleasurable in itself—not merely as a substitute for something else—they'll find it quite satisfactory in its own right, and the reassurance that they're still getting physical satisfaction with each other, and giving it to each other, is likely to confirm and reinforce their love, especially if they continue to do so without feeling that it is "unnatural" or "wrong." Can you still claim that *this* is sick?

Or take the comparable case of a young man and his girlfriend, who've been "going steady" for a couple of years. They know they want to marry each other but they can't yet afford to do so; she still lives with her parents, he is in a college dormitory (or a YMCA, or a rooming house) and so they have nowhere to go for intercourse, but they need each other right then. So they end up doing what Kinsey clinically calls "petting to climax" in the balcony at a movie house. Frankly, as a mere substitute for intercourse, that is pretty poor, what with narrow seats and clothing and the danger of being interrupted by an usher's flashlight, etc. But if they don't think of it as a mere substitute, but instead as something pleasurable in its own right and simply different, they'll probably come out of that movie house all smiles and contentment.⁴³

Now these are good and legitimate instances of other sex techniques being valued for their own sake rather than as unsatisfactory substitutes for coitus. I submit that they are a realistic way of coping with the circumstances.

And I submit that the use of comparable sexual techniques between two women, or two boys, or two men, or a man and a boy, etc., who love each other and who want to express their affection physically, can be an equally realistic solution to their problems.

Critic: You still haven't proved anything. The two case histories you cited only confirm what I was saying a moment ago. The man and his pregnant wife would have coitus if they could do so comfortably; the young man and his girlfriend would have coitus if they could find a place to do so.

J. Z. E.: You've missed my whole point. Of course these couples could look on these other sex techniques as a substitute for coitus. But doing so only makes them unhappy with each other or with circumstances, and it certainly does not contribute to present or eventual marital happiness. Albert Ellis, in *Sex Without Guilt*, has also made it quite clear that whether for these reasons, or out of sheer playfulness or experimental mood—or for any other reason, or none—couples may find themselves giving each other pleasure by noncoital means. An orgasm is an orgasm, and it can be satisfying whether one's partner

happens to use the vaginal sphincter, or anus, space between breasts, fingers, lips and tongue, space between thighs, etc., etc., to bring it on. But your insistence on “unnaturalness” of noncoital methods, in the very teeth of Kinsey and Albert Ellis, tells me that you aren’t arguing from reason but from a taboo, and there is no common ground for communication on the point. Since your taboo is held for nonrational motives—by definition—there is no way of arguing you out of it, nor can you convince a person not sharing this taboo that it is the One True Path.

Critic: Maybe, maybe not. But I insist that a man who has a wife or girlfriend and really loves her can wait until they can have intercourse the normal way.

J. Z. E.: *You* can, maybe, but don’t assume that everyone has identical needs.

Critic: And I also insist that a man who really loves his wife or girlfriend won’t *need* any such additional or substitute outlets as boys. A man who does need boys is sick.

J. Z. E.: “Maybe, maybe not,” as you put it. But I didn’t say that it was a matter of the man needing his boyfriend (though to be sure sometimes that does happen). Sometimes he wants to satisfy his boyfriend’s need of affection, or need of sexual satisfaction. Sometimes, indeed, a rebuff there would be an insult and a blow to the boy’s self-esteem. But even if the man does find that he needs the particular kind of sexual satisfaction his boyfriend provides, I think it’s fairer to show that this isn’t automatically, necessarily or universally a proof of sickness, and then suggest that we judge each case on its own merits. I can think of quite a number of circumstances where a man would find that his wife or girlfriend cannot monopolize his sexuality, no matter how dearly he loves her. Take, for instance, the man who does much traveling, or who for professional or other reasons (such as service in the armed forces) has to be away from the wife or girlfriend for prolonged periods. Or the widower, or the man whose most recent marriage or affair has lately broken up, or the man who just hasn’t yet found the right girl and is still playing the field, or who is still courting some particular girl and hasn’t yet gotten to the point of sex with her. Or the man whose wife is frigid, or has some infection or other physical trouble making coitus difficult or unsatisfactory, and who is still unwilling or too inhibited to use other sexual techniques, or who simply has a lower sex drive than he does. I can readily see how under those circumstances the man might find himself responding also to another girl—or to a boy; and as easily from affection and exuberance as from sheer need. The frenzied demand for absolute

fidelity in these circumstances is unrealistic; sexual frustration can worsen a relationship, as any of the marriage manuals will tell you.⁴⁴

Critic: I think you're trying to evade admitting that the man who goes after boys is basically a homosexual, not an oversexed hetero. I think many of your boy-lovers are deceiving themselves, and that they really are incapable of relating to women. Oh, sure, some of them might be capable of what Bergler calls "lustless mechanical sex with a woman," but even so they are likely to have lower than normal capacity for heterosexual relations. Even if it might not be true of every one of them, it is true of a large number. Doesn't this prove that Greek love is abnormal and neurotic, since neurotic forces diminish the man's heterosexuality and drive him to become a pederast?

J. Z. E.: It's just as hard to prove as to disprove any such generalization. I can only say that many individuals I've known who at one time or another were involved in Greek love situations were also married and fathers of children; and some of them anyway claimed to be quite happy in their marriages. Possibly they were deceiving themselves, but I have no more reason to believe that they were than that other married couples are who say the same thing. To be sure, others were admittedly homosexual, and still others showed every evidence of being able to appreciate men and women sexually without claiming to prefer one sex above the other. I refrain from sitting in judgment on these. Insofar as their Greek love relationships resulted in any positive benefit to the youngsters involved in them—and in some²⁷ of these cases this is indisputable—they are doing something good. Saying that these relationships were therefore worthless or harmful merely because of a putative neurotic origin is exactly like sneering at Florence Nightingale's or Walt Whitman's accomplishments in nursing people back to health merely because their doing these things was in some way connected with homosexual impulses. *The ethical value of an act is not affected by its unconscious (psychoanalytically determined) origins.* This point should be too obvious to require dispute.

In ancient Greece it was pretty much expected that a boy's lover would be a married man, someone whom the boy would not be ashamed to emulate or to be seen with. The evidence is also clear enough that a Greek was not expected to feel a conflict or rivalry among his various loves: parents, ex-lover, wife, hetaira, children, and boyfriend. (Mary Renault delineated this beautifully in *The Last of the Wine*.) The difference between Greek love then and now is, I think, more a difference of mores and puritanical laws than of human nature.

In contrast to Bergler—whose dogmatic assertions⁴⁵ about "All

homosexuals" are automatically suspect because his case histories are manifestly atypical, and one cannot logically suppose that he has treated a genuinely random or representative sample of homosexuals—I postulate in Chapter V a continuous spectrum between friendship and love, and between sexual and nonsexual emotional involvement, rather than sharp cleavages. I go along with Theodor Reik,⁴⁶ Abraham Maslow,⁴⁷ Harry Stack Sullivan⁴⁸ and much modern "Third Force" psychiatric thought in regarding what is commonly called love as, in many people, a projection of a need to be loved, and in others, an exuberant overflowing of affection growing out of inner satisfaction. I think there is a spectrum between these conditions too, and that in fact most love affairs are a mixture of the two motives on both sides, just as they are a mixture of tender and sensual elements. I think these statements both hold in Greek love even as they do in heterosexual affairs, and on the man's side as well as the boy's. I think the complete range can be found from mild sexual friendship to the very deepest sort of love, growing with the years rather than diminishing. Certainly I have known instances which showed every indication of this degree of depth and which had persisted for over ten years, without prejudice to the heterosexual affairs of either party to them. I think such affairs would be more common if people would judge each instance on its own merits rather than issuing blanket denunciations.

As I've already said, I'll agree with you that a man limited exclusively to boys because he feels incapable of satisfying or meaningful relationships with the opposite sex is sick. But I cannot agree that all or even most Greek love relationships are or become so limiting to either party to them. I think there is wide enough variation in human motives and capacities to make any such assumption unsafe. As long as there are any instances of good results in and from a Greek love relationship, it is unsound to condemn the practice wholesale as sick or evil.

Critic: Any good that might come to a boy in such a relationship is incidental and might better have been obtained outside of it, without exposing him to the danger of being turned away from the normal heterosexual path. The danger of this and other undesirable consequences is too great to ignore. And you should also have said, "As long as there are any instances of evil results in and from a Greek love relationship, it is unsound to approve the practice wholesale as healthy or good."

J. Z. E.: This is of course impossible to prove or to disprove; and what you have done is to summarize our fundamental differences in orientation, apparently impervious to attack by logic. But you have also revealed one other thing, showing your basically puritanical out-

look. You assume unquestioningly that if something can ever be misused, it should automatically be prohibited. *But anything can be misused.* Are we to conclude that everything should be prohibited when it is not specifically commanded? This sort of sloppy thinking is why the U.S.A. had prohibition, and why it still has the anti-obscenity laws, laws against fornication and adultery, laws against intercourse with a girl below a particular set age, and so forth. I regard such legal and public attitudes as unnecessarily harsh and fearful. As I've said before, I think it is better in every way to judge each case on its own merits. In the situation of Greek love, instead of running to the police and jailing the man and putting the boy into a "reform" school where he is going to learn to hate the law and all that it stands for, I would judge it by the quality of the relationship and the effect on the boy. If he seems to be benefitting by it, in school, in relationships with parents, teachers and contemporaries, and if he is developing healthy attitudes, I see no benefit whatever accruing from tearing the relationship asunder and bringing in police and reform-school personnel and ruining the boy's chances at college and decent employment. In fact I can see where such drastic procedures could well induce guilt feelings and confusions on the boy's part that were never earlier manifest and might never have arisen. And on the other hand, if the boy seems to be deteriorating during the relationship, the proper person to call in is a psychiatrist. It may well be that the man involved, rather than the relationship itself, is at fault; it may be that the boy has guilt feelings or uncertainty over his masculinity (as do many who are *not* involved in Greek love relationships); or even that other factors—in school or at home—are contributing to the deterioration. I would certainly not jump to the conclusion that the boy is automatically being sidetracked from the path to heterosexuality; and if it turns out that he is in fact homosexually oriented, the thing to do is not to fix blame but to see if the aversion to the opposite sex can be diminished or perhaps cured by suitable counseling or other experience. I think this way of handling the various problems that arise from disclosure of a Greek love situation is far more realistic than the usual panic-born action of bringing in the police.

Critic: The question isn't whether anything can be abused, it is *how likely* are such abuses. I maintain that such unnatural relationships are highly likely to lead to worse and worse abuses, and that at the very least they can produce guilt feelings in the boys victimized by them when these boys realize that they have been doing things abhorred by society, that they have been what they despise most: queers, perverts.

J. Z. E.: Abuses may make the police blotters or newspapers, but

nobody has any sound basis for estimating how frequent these are in comparison with Greek love situations in which nobody gets into any trouble, in which benefit accrues rather than harm, in which nobody but the participants know that any sex play has been going on, or that anything closer than simple brotherly friendship binds them together. Opponents of Greek love, basing their objections on quite different grounds, will use the rationalization you just spelled out, perhaps quoting some recent and particularly hideous rape-and-murder of a child, just as though that were the common outcome of all such love affairs. The possibility certainly exists, just as does the possibility for any nubile woman to be raped, but it is very remote. For every isolated instance of this kind there may be thousands, or tens of thousands, or more, of Greek love situations handled with at least tenderness, responsibility and genuine care, and many of them handled with a fair amount of discretion. I have already told you that the rare combination of sex and violence between man and boy is largely a result of blind panic at the boy's threat to expose the man to parents or police, and that this is ruled out if the parties are already in that degree of closeness of rapport which characterizes Greek love; "love casteth out fear," it has been well said. A more tolerant, hospitable emotional climate, in which friendships between older and younger would not be subjected to scrutiny and scorn but simply accepted like friendships between age-mates, would make that kind of act of desperation unnecessary, by rendering needless the furtive anxiety-ridden secrecy which now all too frequently attends so many sexual friendships whatever the gender of the parties to them. Social drinking under prohibition was far more furtive, fear-ridden, guilt-ridden (in some social strata) and, I believe, more often associated with alcoholism and other abuses, than is social drinking since repeal. I think the parallel is a valid one.

The guilt feelings you mention are less likely to occur when the partners to the Greek love affair take the attitude that whatever buddies do for fun isn't evil as long as nobody gets hurt, and that neither one is being effeminate; that "queer" is a hostile name for an effeminate person, one who renounces his own masculinity, and that "perversion" is a hostile name for any sexual practice the conservative elements in society disapprove of. This combination of attitudes is actually fairly common, and (though oversimplified) it has enough validity to open the way to a still more enlightened sexual outlook. And, more pragmatically, as long as a boy continues to trust his guide-philosopher-friend, the developing love relationship will minimize the possibility of later guilt feelings. I have the strong impression that

guilt feelings come less from the sex play itself than from the parental and school attitudes towards sex in general. The boy is not likely to suffer doubts of his own masculinity if he finds himself in later life capable of responding well to women, and a satisfying adaptation in this aspect of living is proof that he has not become warped by the sex play in which he indulged in his teens. Under those circumstances, guilt feelings are still less likely than they would otherwise be.

Critic: You've missed my point. Let me try again. The taboo on this kind of sexual activity is one of the strongest in this society. Granted that youngsters can fool around among themselves back of the old swimmin' hole or in the hayloft without much chance of getting caught, and without too much chance of guilt feelings if they aren't caught, nevertheless after 14 or 15 they learn directly and indirectly that continuing these contacts, or having sexual experiences with a man, automatically brands one a queer, a pervert, a faggot. Now supposing that they continue to do so for any reason, even one of your precious Greek love situations, I cannot see how the average boy in any such relationship is going to go on indefinitely escaping guilt, escaping the realization that he is just as queer as Oscar Wilde. Maybe some few will escape it, by the adult party to such an affair exerting his considerable influence to make the boy feel he is not doing anything unmanly or dishonorable; but is one man strong enough to nullify the pleadings, threats and commands of the rest of society? And if geographical separation or parental pressure or the like end the relationship prematurely, the man is no longer there to be a source of strength and encouragement. And so it is difficult to imagine how a boy, subjected to the resulting pressures, could escape a lifelong burden of guilt. Even if some few do, the fact remains that a certain percentage—maybe 20%, maybe 50%, maybe 75%—will not. How can you claim that a Greek love situation can have ethical value when the probability of burdening the boy with guilt is that high? Even if you do not approve of the taboo, you have to acknowledge that it is all but universal in this culture. Now let us suppose that here is one of your sensitive adult pederasts, and here is a boy, and they have become friends, and they both would like to begin having sex with each other. If the man *really* loves the boy, he will see that indulging his perversion is going to put the boy into considerable danger of later guilt feelings, and he will refrain, because the orgasm is not worth the undesirable consequences to the boy.

J. Z. E.: All right; let's start out by breaking down Greek love situations into classes. First of all, we can divide them into (A) those in which the close emotional rapport occurs but sex play does not,

and (B) those in which the rapport does sooner or later lead to sex play. About the former you surely have no complaint coming. But the latter includes several subclasses with what would seem to be different degrees of likelihood of guilt resulting. (I am assuming for the moment that the relationships will not be broken up prematurely: that is one of the risks one takes with boy or girl, and it's perhaps unwise to begin a relationship if one thinks it's going to be so soon interrupted—both parties to it are likely to be badly hurt at the breakup.) First, one can speak of relationships handled discreetly and responsibly—or otherwise. Second, within either of those categories, the boys can be subdivided in several directions: (1) heterosexually oriented but willing to experiment in other directions, or (1') already averse to the opposite sex and probably headed towards the gay world; (2) without or (2') with suspicious, censorious, rigidly authoritarian parents; (3) alienated from them or (3') not; (4) without or (4') with conflicts over their masculine self-images; (5) independent or (5') dependent for security on being just like their contemporaries; and taking part in sex (6) naively, (6a) tentatively and with trepidation, perhaps with a sense of doing something forbidden, (6b) unenthusiastically and just to please their lovers, or (6c) sensually. One can make still other classifications, but these will do for the moment. Now my idea is that boys belonging to any of these categories will have a different probability of guilt feelings, depending on which categories and on how well the relationship is handled. And with some of them it would be unwise to make—or persist in making—overt sexual advances, while with others one could do so with a better chance of long-run freedom from guilt feelings on the boy's part. A responsible lover would, I think, have to take this into account, and know his boyfriend *thoroughly* before bringing up the subject, or before deciding whether or not it would be wise to respond to the boy's advances if the boy is in fact the one asking for it. From my own knowledge of people involved in Greek love from either side, this careful approach *does* sometimes happen. (And sometimes it doesn't, too; I have already admitted that Greek love situations, *like anything else*, can be misused. My point here is that they *need not* be and in fact are not always, even when overt sex becomes a part of them.)

Let me now suggest that guilt feelings on the boy's part are more likely to occur if the relationship is handled irresponsibly; or if the boy is (1') unattracted to the opposite sex (most likely true before the Greek love relationship began) *and troubled about it and perhaps seeking a scapegoat*—certainly this is not always true. Or if he is (1) attracted to the opposite sex but (4') suffers anxieties over his seeming

lack of masculinity; or if (6a) he has had ingrained into him via orthodox religion a strong sense of sin about sex, but considers the possibility of doing it (6b) just to please his older friend; or if (2') he has oversuspicious, hostile parents who nevertheless have (3') gotten him to feel that he must remain dependent on them, not doing anything unless they know and approve; or if (5') he is still markedly dependent for his security on conforming to the ways of his contemporaries in attitudes as well as in externals. These are danger signals, and *the presence of any of them can be ascertained fairly early in the relationship*. It is of course impossible as yet to prove or disprove it, but it seems intuitively obvious to me that the guilt feelings you speak of, insofar as they are at all likely to happen, will happen principally when these danger signals are present from the outset and a relationship becomes sexual anyway. And that in the absence of these danger signals, guilt feelings are less likely in later life, barring some unpredictable trauma not necessarily growing out of the relationship—such as a religious conversion, or a sudden deterioration in parental attitudes, etc. I am also fairly certain that many adults with some experience in the difficulties and risks attending Greek love have a fairly good intuitive grasp of these danger signals, and heed them. There are after all good practical reasons for doing so. A boy who later gets guilt feelings may well become hostile, breaking up the relationship with threats, possibly even with actual complaints to authority, naturally slanting them so that the full blame would (as usual) land on the man. As I have said before, we have to judge each case on its individual merits, and I doubt that you can find a good basis for insisting that even 20% of discreetly handled cases, where the boys involved are without the particular sources of anxiety mentioned, where they are confident about their own masculinity and mature enough to be relatively independent, are going to turn out to have subsequent guilt feelings. Or if you do insist that some will, you will have to admit that the percentages are likely to be lower. You simply have no idea of the frequency of Greek love situations which go on without coming to official attention; therefore you have no logical basis for assuming anything about the frequency of guilt feelings. For so far as I know, no long-term depth study of this problem has yet been made. (I hope someone will undertake such a study as a result of this book.)

What I am getting at is that before making any such blanket assertion, you have to consider the kinds of people involved. Otherwise you are going to fall into what sociologists call the "ecological fallacy." The classic example of this is comparing literacy rates in racially mixed districts with the percentage of negroes in those districts, find-

ing (correctly) that illiteracy is worse in those districts containing the highest percentages of negroes (e.g., in southern Mississippi), and then concluding (incorrectly) that this proves "negroes are illiterate," when a closer analysis of the data shows in fact that the percentage of illiteracy among the white residents of those same districts is very high, contributing heavily to the total illiteracy in those districts. The parallel here is exact. You postulate perhaps 50% to 70% incidence of later guilt feelings among boys who have been sexually involved with adults, and conclude that it is the sex itself which produces the guilt feelings, while a closer analysis shows many different kinds of kids in different life situations, each of these situations with a different probability of guilt, the highest probability being found among those with particular kinds of pre-existing problems, easily recognizable as danger signals from the outset. Clear enough?

Now I suppose you assume, as I do, that guilt feelings of any severity (such as you postulate) are going to reflect themselves in undesirable effects on their victim's later life-adaptation. And I suppose you also assume that prepuberal sex experience with an adult is more conducive to later guilt than later sex experience would be, *particularly* if the boys involved have actually come into the hands of the authorities. And that casual sex is more likely to induce such later guilt feelings than is sex associated with an affectionate relationship of some depth, duration and beneficial intent and effect.

Critic: Obviously.

J. Z. E.: Then a follow-up study of youngsters who at ages eight to eleven or so had casual sexual experiences with adults, and got caught by authorities, would be of some value as evidence of such later guilt feelings. Now it just so happens that the psychiatrists Bender and Blau have done exactly such a follow-up study occupying several years.⁴¹ Their conclusions are quite remarkable. These kids, whose sexual experiences occurred under most indiscreet circumstances, and who came from a wide variety of backgrounds, were not noticeably handicapped in later life. In the first place, not one of them ended up homosexual, despite the fact that many of these kids were the seducers. In the second place, the only guilt feelings that occurred, the only anxieties and other emotional upsets, were those forced on the youngsters by the horror-struck adults; and these feelings, not native to the youngsters, did not last. In the third place, Bender and Blau conclude (with some amazement) that the later life-adaptation of these youngsters was at least average or even superior when the sexual experience had been affectionate and when the youngster had been genuinely stimulated by it; the long-term net effects were unde-

sirable only in the rare instances of sadism or other demonstrably traumatic handling.—

Critic: But these kids were too young to realize the full enormity of what had been happening to them!

J. Z. E.: You evidently have not read the study in question. Besides, the heinousness of their offenses, and their filthiness and sinfulness and guilt and so forth, were pretty thoroughly impressed on them at the time when the authorities stepped in; going to juvenile detention homes, etc., being given severe dressing-downs by policemen and irate parents—all this should have been enough to impress even an average eight-year-old. And the follow-up studies pretty much insured that they had not forgotten about these episodes.

Now if kids whose introduction to sex with adults was under such unfavorable circumstances did not get lasting guilt feelings of enough severity to interfere with their later adaptation,⁴⁹ then a fortiori I conclude that discreetly handled Greek love situations, beginning (as they do) in adolescence, are still less likely to produce such guilt feelings, again granted that the man involved pays some prudent attention to the danger signals. (Of course, these are not all of equal importance; he can for instance sometimes allay a boy's anxiety over masculinity, especially if the boy has been feeling inferior over his lack of muscular development, or supposedly small genital size, compared to some other boys of his age—a frequent source of trouble, but one readily curable.)

If this does not satisfy you, there are still other lines of argument. For one thing, we can take the heterosexual parallel. The taboo on homosexual activity among boys may be stronger, but it is certainly not very much stronger, than the taboo on sexual intercourse, on loss of virginity and particularly on pregnancy, on the part of girls in their early teens in many social strata. One hears much—formerly it was still more—about “damaged goods,” about a girl who lost her virginity being no longer desirable as a potential bride, about a “good” girl knowing when to stop, about there being “good” girls (who won’t “go all the way”) and “whores” (who will), and about the expense, probability of expulsion from school, probability of a stay in a reformatory or of an enforced marriage, and certainty of extreme social disapproval, for a girl who is known to be “available,” particularly if she gets pregnant. Pregnancy outside of marriage used to be called a “fate worse than death,” and though the term has become a joking reference to Victorian melodramas, yet the concept still remains. It is clear enough that the probability is above zero that a girl who becomes sexually excited over her boyfriend may have later guilt feel-

ings; and that it is still more likely that she will have guilt feelings if she does heavy petting or consents to actual intercourse.⁵⁰

And yet we find counselors of the status and good sense of Dr. Albert Ellis recommending that girls go ahead with discretion, regarding such guilt feelings as curable and in any event as comparatively unimportant, particularly when set beside the benefits of a love relationship and of regular sexual fulfillment.⁵¹ I submit that the parallel exists and is instructive enough.

Critic: But heterosexuality is natural and homosexuality is unnatural. And I don't approve of a girl going all the way before she is married.

J. Z. E.: In other words, you approve of the conventional taboos.

Critic: Any normal right-thinking person does.

J. Z. E.: I can only say that in other cultures, and in western civilization at other times, the majority would not have agreed with you. I have already pointed out that Greek love, or even casual prepuberal contact, does not automatically entail the later inhibition of heterosexuality that characterizes exclusive homosexuals. And it is unnecessarily harsh and rigid thinking to deny a girl her sex life just because marriage is not then economically feasible. But these are digressions, and we should get back to the main point. Another heterosexual counterpart to what you have in mind can be found in girls becoming warped, embittered man-haters as a result of unpleasant or even traumatic sexual experiences in their teens (or in their twenties, for that matter). This could be, and has been, used as an argument against such experiences. But the fallacy is in assuming that a girl's defloration and other early sexual experiences will sour her on the whole heterosexual aspect of life. In the same way, one could argue that it is unnatural and wrong for girls to get lesbian crushes on each other, or on their teachers, while in high school or college, on the grounds that fulfillment here might confirm them in a lesbian pattern and likewise make them man-haters. But one could equally persuasively argue that, as has been the general opinion of girls at Bryn Mawr and other similar places for decades, such crushes—fulfilled or otherwise—are "a preparation for the real thing."

It follows that an experience of Greek love might just as easily also be "a preparation for the real thing," whereby a boy could learn something about what sex feels like, something about the techniques he would find useful with girls (which is one reason why I have continued to insist that a Greek love affair is more likely to be beneficial if the man in question is capable of satisfactory heterosexual relations), and in general experience a strong masculine identification

without its being automatically associated with authority (in his father) or confusion (in his age-mates).

Expecting a boy to grow to manhood a complete virgin and then perform excellently and tenderly and lovingly on the wedding night and forever afterwards, is what you demand with your adherence to the Christian taboos. But this is exactly parallel to expecting a boy to pick up a calculus textbook and solve the problems in it, without difficulty, and specifically without having been allowed to take any algebra or trigonometry!

Then too, you have not been able to deny that a Greek love situation can in theory have some positive benefits (and I shall show later that such relationships have *in practice* had them); if so, it behooves us to consider whether the probability of guilt feelings overbalances the probability of benefit, and whether the benefits themselves could have been obtained as easily without the Greek love relationship. What I have in mind are instances like the one Earl Coon mentioned²⁸ about such a relationship inducing a juvenile delinquent to change his entire life-pattern in three weeks (I can adduce other instances of this kind, and will do so in Chapters VII and VIII); let us suppose for the moment that in his late teens or twenties the kid suddenly develops guilt feelings following a religious conversion, then is that worse for him or society than his having continued in a pattern of truancy, theft and vandalism? I grant that this is a pretty extreme hypothetical case, but if the benefits outweigh the guilt feelings even here, then a fortiori they should when the probability of guilt feelings is lower, e.g. in the absence of subsequent religious conversion, or after the boy has managed to "go steady" or even marry.

There is also a political parallel. Many people of different parties will accept it as not only right and proper, but morally obligatory, to teach a youngster the political truth even if the mass of society scorns and abominates it. As e. e. cummings put it, "there is some s. I will not eat"; in other words, there are some principles so sacred that I will not relinquish them, and correspondingly, I will not refrain from teaching them to my kid (or my pupil) just because the beliefs might make things difficult for him in some social strata. Now let us assume, for the sake of argument, for the moment, that anarchism (the belief that the state, founded on force and threat of force, should be replaced, peacefully or otherwise, by voluntary cooperative associations) is true in all of its aspects, and therefore that I must teach my son or my pupil to be an anarchist because that is the true way. It is hard to imagine that a boy could tell his classmates, his teachers, his friends, that he is an anarchist, without getting slapped down hard,

without being made to feel that he is a pariah and accursed, a filthy traitor to the laws of God and man, and to the greatest country that ever existed, etc. And in later life he may well blame his parents for teaching him what he has come to believe is nonsense. It is safe to assume, whether or not he stays anarchist, that he may feel some guilt, both for having traitorous parents and for believing traitorous ideas; but particularly if he does not continue with the anarchist movement.

Now the libertarians say that one should teach him these ideas anyway, because "there is some s. I will not eat." Well, then, if it is morally acceptable to risk later guilt feelings or actual persecution of one's child for political principles one believes right, why not for the principle of live and let live, the principle of sexual freedom—that mutually consented-to sexual behavior of whatever kind is acceptable so long as one neither gets hurt nor hurts anyone else? This is a dilemma sexual conservatives and other critics of sexual freedom (of which Greek love is only a part) who call themselves political liberals will have to face.

Saying that the amount, or the probability, of guilt and persecution incurred by the young anarchist is less than that incurred by the young sexual libertarian is not an answer. Suppose that it is 10%, or 40%, or 65%, does that still justify the anarchist parents? And why are some moral principles acceptable to teach under these conditions, and not others? Or are you going to insist that none of these may be taught? If so, where do you draw the line and why?

Critic: It is difficult to be objective about questions like these. I believe that my country should continue to exist, and that it is morally wrong to teach and advocate its overthrow, whether in favor of the Soviet system or in favor of your hypothetical co-operatives. I believe that it is better than any alternative so far presented. I believe that Christ's ethical teachings should be the basis of our lives. I believe that anything which interferes with the normal development of an individual towards heterosexuality and eventual marriage and family life is morally wrong. Yes, I will draw the line there.

J. Z. E.: *And others will draw it elsewhere*; you will call them wrong, they will call you wrong, and nobody will be accepted on all sides as supreme arbiter of any such dispute. Just remember that you, like everyone else, have your individual ethical limits, and that they are the result of what you have been taught by parents and schools and clergymen. One of the most familiar elementary findings of cultural anthropology is that these ethical limits differ from country to country, from tribe to tribe, from social stratum to social stratum,

and within any given one from time to time. Beyond doubt, a boy brought up by Tory parents, and still believing that the American colonies should remain subject to the King of England, would have had a good chance of guilt feelings after 1783; in the same way, many boys brought up by parents who belonged to the Sons of Liberty in the 1760's and 70's but who went to school with Tories, or who went to churches whose ministers were Tories probably got guilt feelings over their own beliefs. And who is to say that the latter were wrong, or even the former? Who is to say that the parents should have been forcibly restrained from teaching what they honestly believed?

Critic: But we are not talking about the American colonies in the 1770's, we are talking about the United States in the 1960's. And the consensus of the majority in this majority-ruled society is that Christian ethics should prevail over any other, and that political dissent cannot be allowed to go as far as advocating anarchism or any other system which would advocate the overthrow of our present democracy, and that any other sexual practices besides those of heterosexual marriage are not permissible.

J. Z. E.: In other words, you are saying that it is your personal belief that the majority not only decides, but is automatically morally right, or that God is on the side of the greatest numbers, no matter how they came to their decisions. This kind of thinking is averse to any and all social change, for such changes are not instituted by spontaneous majority decisions, but rather by a minority of dissatisfied people. On this point you and I cannot agree; it is the essential difference between the conservative and the liberal.

Critic: I accept this disagreement on the political front; freedom of dissent, after all, is the principle on which our country was organized. But you have evaded one very important issue. Even supposing that some day the social climate of opinion may change on what you call sexual freedom, in the meantime all such practices remain illegal. Is it not then the duty of citizens to be law-abiding and suppress the practices in themselves and others? Let them think or feel as they will, they should continue to obey the law in their outward observances.

J. Z. E.: You are in effect equating the punitive law (no matter why enacted) with the moral law, and "illegal" with "sinful" or at least "morally wrong." If you are consistent in this belief, you will have to advocate the censorship of marriage manuals and similar books because they advocate marital practices which are specifically illegal in many states; in particular, in more than half the states a husband and wife can both be imprisoned for sodomy because in foreplay either of them kissed or tongued the genitals of the other.

You will also have to advocate the suppression of the Kinsey reports because they treat these and other sexual practices as not morally wrong, in fact treating them objectively and with a viewpoint of ethical relativity much like that of cultural anthropologists. You will have to say that a Southern married couple, age sixteen or seventeen, automatically become juvenile delinquents living in sin if they go to Niagara Falls for their honeymoon, because the legal age of consent is higher in New York State. You will have to agree to many other such changes from moral to immoral as one crosses state lines, or as laws change. And what can you possibly say about the new penal code recently put into effect in Illinois, according to which an unprecedented (in the U.S.A.) degree of sexual freedom is now possible for adults? How do you think laws ever get changed or fall into desuetude as dead letters? Only by their being disregarded, first by a minority, then by more and more people as the opinions of the minority become increasingly articulate.

Critic: All right, so I've oversimplified. But I cannot agree that those who advocate Greek love are working for the betterment of humanity at large; they are advocating their own selfish pleasure. All else is rationalization. It would be better if they did not act out their beliefs.

J. Z. E.: I cannot answer for everyone who advocates, or who practices, Greek love. I can answer for at least those—a few dozen intelligent and cultivated individuals—whom I know personally. There is a selfish element, I will grant, but I reject as false, unwarranted and ignorant, your implication that it is the whole basis and that "all else is rationalization." I am suggesting Greek love relationships, judiciously handled, with or without overt sexual aspects according to considerations of prudence, as a feasible solution to the increasingly common social problem of the alienation of the adolescent from the adult world, one aspect of such alienation being juvenile delinquency. I rest my case.

Critic: Though you have answered my arguments, I remain unconvinced of your motives or those of any advocate of this practice. I still feel it is morally wrong.

J. Z. E.: You have your individual subjective feelings, I have mine. There is no point in simply stating and restating them. But in addition to personal feelings, there are facts on each side, and I believe that the facts in favor of Greek love as one solution to an important social problem outweigh the facts which could be adduced against it. In the chapters to follow I will describe these in detail.

III

GREEK LOVE AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

*Always be ready to speak your mind, & a base
man will avoid you.
... The crow wish'd everything was black, the
owl that everything was white.—BLAKE*

AS WE HAVE JUST SEEN IN THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE AUTHOR AND THE critic, the common conservative attitude to Greek love—as to homosexual behavior in general—is a mixture of acceptance of the sexual status quo, confusion of Greek love with several other sexual deviations, and rationalizations of pre-existing aversion.

Acceptance of the sexual status quo generally includes acceptance not only of mores but also of the present laws as both morally good, necessary and sufficient (or occasionally not strict enough!) and as not to be questioned, let alone disregarded or repealed. Sexual laws preserve, as does almost nothing else, the old churchly equation between “immoral” and “illegal.” It follows that to favor liberalization of existing sexual laws, or repeal of them, is to be thought to favor sin, and there is also a fear (even among libertarians) of being thought to have a personal interest in performing the acts which would thereby become unpunishable. In the same way, many people seeking repeal of prohibition laws were scorned as would-be drunkards; people who object to the present loyalty-oath laws are often taken automatically to be Communist party members or fellow-travelers. Acceptance of the sexual status quo brings up the question of whether sexual deviation is a problem because it is illegal, or whether it became illegal because it was a problem. The answer to this is historical and will be given later on.

The confusion between Greek love and various forms of adults-only homosexual behavior, and between Greek love and sexual preoccupation with prepuberal children, has tended to give outsiders erroneous impressions alike of the motivations, personality traits, sexual techniques and limitations of the usual types of adult homosexuals and of the adults who have been involved in affairs of the Greek love

kind. And this same confusion has occasioned, as well, the policy of Mattachine Society, One Inc., and other similar organizations, of drawing a sharp distinction between those homosexuals who confine their activity to adults and those who, for whatever reason, indulge in sexual activity with small children, thus remaining completely silent on Greek love. One can even speak of an information blackout, of a conspiracy of silence; Greek love, even more than adults-only homosexuality, is "the love that dare not speak its name."

And the rationalizations of prior aversion have taken many different forms. Some are fairly specious, e.g., that early seduction tends to mobilize latent homosexual drives and turn youngsters away from the normal path; that it can result in the youngster's suffering guilt feelings for having been queer; that it is basically a misuse of the sexual function, which was biologically intended for procreation; that men in this pattern tend to become attracted to younger and younger children, with the danger of actual physical damage becoming very great, that practitioners of Greek love are not oversexed heteros but instead homosexuals trying to rationalize their own unnatural desires by attributing ethical value to such relationships with boys. Other rationalizations are paradoxical and less easily convincing to people not already committed to them, e.g., that homosexuality in any form can endanger the stability and well-being of society, or that it is communist-oriented.

All three components of the common attitude—acceptance of the sexual status quo, confusion, and rationalization—require a more extended discussion than was possible in the dialogue, and they will receive it in that order.

1. *The Sexual Status Quo.* The English-speaking world is among the very few cultures in which all forms of homosexual activity, in all circumstances, are unequivocally condemned and prosecuted, along with almost all forms of heterosexual activity save for the conventional "missionary" sexual position⁵² between husband and wife. Granted that the penalties attached to different sexual practices differ in severity, and that laws are not always enforced, still the condemnation remains.⁵³ To students of sex and sexual customs, it is familiar enough that this basically anti-sexual attitude, expressed in laws and mores, stems ultimately from moralistic reformers in Hellenistic Judaism opposing heathen fertility cults, from ascetic and world-hating neoplatonists, from the epistles ascribed to St. Paul to whose author marriage was the only even moderately acceptable alternative to permanent celibacy, and from two decrees (Novellae 77 and 141, quoted in Chapter XII) of the superstitious Emperor Justinian. The subject of sexual laws and their history is a very large one, which could not

be covered adequately in less than a couple of thousand pages. But though I do not propose to go into it in detail here, I must mention that homosexual acts were condemned in Europe and in the English-speaking world, both for their involvement of males, and for their relationship to taboo sexual techniques punishable even when indulged in between husband and wife—specifically oral and anal techniques. *Attempts by conservatives to rationalize the prohibition of oral and anal sexual techniques on alleged grounds of health display ignorance exactly comparable to that shown by those who have tried to rationalize Jewish dietary laws on the grounds that “eating pork causes trichinosis.”* Simple proof is found in the texts of laws in effect and enforced from the Middle Ages until shortly before the French Revolution. According to these laws,⁵⁴⁻⁵⁶ anyone in the following four categories could receive the death penalty—routinely by burning at the stake: (1) Christians who have sexual intercourse in any manner with Jews, Saracens or Turks of the opposite sex; (2) Lesbians; (3) male homosexuals; and (4) those who indulge in sexual contact with animals. Ordinarily when such individuals were burned at the stake the trial records were also destroyed with them,^{56a} accounting for Canon Bailey’s difficulty in finding evidence that the death sentence was ever carried out.²¹⁶ These laws remained enforceable at least until the time of Beccaria’s *Dei delitti e delle pene* (1764). In many regions, adultery was also long liable to the death penalty; and a survival of this barbarity persists in the present-day U.S.A., where the so-called “unwritten law” means that in Texas and some other states murder-trial juries will often refuse to convict a man who has killed his wife and her paramour on catching them *in flagrante*.

In the English-speaking world, matters were much the same as on the Continent. English ecclesiastical law, reasserted by Act of Parliament in 1533 (25 Hen. VIII c. 6), made mandatory the death penalty for buggery.⁵⁶ Though this law was repealed under Queen Mary, it was re-enacted under Elizabeth I; and its language is almost identical to an anti-witchcraft statute of the same period, repealed under James I. This parallel in legal language suggests a common origin in taboo, as does the Richard Grey commentary.⁵⁶

Softening of these extremely harsh penalties for intrinsically harmless acts can be ascribed principally to the Encyclopedists and other philosophers of the Enlightenment. I have already alluded to Beccaria; other important influences include Voltaire’s famous essay *L’Amour dit Socrate*, and, surprisingly enough, the Marquis de Sade, whose writings (particularly *Les 120 Journées de Sodome*) had political content far outweighing their erotic preoccupations.

The Code Napoléon, of course, effectively ended prosecutions

for sexual acts (other than rape) in the countries in which it formed the basis for subsequent legal codes; but elsewhere the laws retained their severe penalties.

In 1861, British lawmakers pushed through Parliament an "Offenses Against the Person" act prescribing ten years to life in prison for sodomy (i.e. anal intercourse), and up to ten years in prison for "indecent assault"—this term not being defined in the law, but evidently interpreted by judges to mean any sexual contact short of anal intercourse, other than the regular vaginal copulation. It is this statute of 1861 which seems to have formed the basis for all anti-homosexual legislation in the U.S.A., though judges in different states sentence offenders to varying amounts of time in prison for the same acts. To the present day anal intercourse (and usually oral intercourse as well) are referred to in most of these laws as "the abominable and detestable crime against nature." Until recently it carried a mandatory life sentence in Georgia, though this has been lessened to a mere 60 years; and a California law providing for an indefinite sentence could imply life imprisonment. These acts are felonies in all states save New York and Illinois. (New York makes it a misdemeanor where both parties are of age and where no force or drugs have rendered one party incapable of consent. Illinois law now shuts its eyes to what consenting adults do in bed.) In many states the laws explicitly stipulate that "sodomy" or "crime against nature" comprises any sexual technique other than the usual vaginal copulation, and that it is punishable even when committed in private between husband and wife.⁵⁷ It is clear that there can be no rational ground for such legal provisions—the penalties are independent of any evidence of physical or mental harm to either participant. Here, even as in the medieval laws earlier referred to, a taboo is obviously still at work; and the very adjectives "abominable" and "detestable" confirm the fact.

The English Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 raised the age of consent from 13 to 16 and included Henry Du Pré Labouchère's provision that "gross indecency" between males could be punished by a prison term of up to two years. The version of this act which became law included the phrase "in public or in private."^{57a} This completely changed the intent of the law and in effect began a persecution campaign, from which blackmailers doubtless grew wealthy even as in the U.S.A. It was under this provision that Oscar Wilde went to Reading Gaol. Similar provisions found their way into American laws. As a result, entrapment within the privacy of a man's home, by an invited guest (met at a bar or a party) who turns out to be a plainclothes police officer, has become a recognized technique for obtaining convictions. In the same way, confessions ex-

torted by force and threats from a 16-year-old boy, by police officers, have been used as the basis for prosecutions of the partners to Greek love, even when all the sexual activity took place in the privacy of someone's home. Lee Steiner describes in detail a case where such a prosecution resulted from police officers' having broken into a house without a warrant.⁵⁸ (That the boy in this instance was a prostitute is not relevant: the police action was still unconstitutional.) Examples could be multiplied.

In recent years there has been agitation on both sides of the Atlantic for reduction of the penalties for various forms of deviation from the strict code of heterosexual monogamy, such agitation being uniformly opposed by church authorities who continue to cite the Epistles of Paul today even as they did in the sixth century, and by sexual conservatives such as Mr. Hogg (formerly Viscount Hailsham) who continue to harp on the claim that leniency here may result in "universal corruption" (whatever that may mean) and in the rendering obsolete of all sexually punitive laws (without asking themselves what harm, if any, could come of this). It is this same holding onto the past which has retained in our legal codes such appalling idiocies as the anti-fornication laws of New Jersey and some other states, according to which a man and woman, not married to each other, may be jailed for indulging in sexual intercourse.⁵⁹ One can only hope that other state legal commissions and legislatures will follow the humane example of Illinois, whose new penal code abolishes some penalties altogether—including those formerly in effect for homosexual acts in private between consenting adults—and lessens others.

However, even this is not as lenient as the 160-year-old Code Napoléon, earlier mentioned, in which the only sexual practices penalized are those (such as forcible rape) which could result in actual physical damage. It is significant that in the Latin countries, sexual laws are less restrictive, less ferocious in language and penalties, and less all-inclusive in the categories of punishable acts, than in the Nordic countries in which puritanical Protestant theocracies had some role in preserving medieval laws. It is also significant that the age of consent for males and females is lower in these Latin countries than elsewhere, and that prosecutions are far more rare, public opinion—which pretty faithfully mirrors the legal codes—being far more relaxed and tolerant. (This is, I grant, oversimplified for West Germany, but the sexual reform movement—whose support was one of the greater achievements of the Weimar Republic—was crushed by Hitler, and postwar Germany has not recovered the ground so lost.)

The sexual status quo, therefore, consists of a number of penal

laws whose sole ground for persistence (save for those proscribing rape and other practices likely to lead to demonstrable physical damage) is superstition and taboo, supported by taboo-ridden public opinion which (though varying with religious involvement and socio-economic status, as Kinsey has shown) has been molded by nearly 2,000 years of continuous preachment, propaganda and parental pressure against any form of sexual activity other than the minimum necessary to prevent race suicide.

Public opinion has been influenced by the existing laws, as well as influencing them. Generally the trend has been towards severer restrictions during times of trouble when sexual deviants could be used as scapegoats (e.g. in the 6th century under Justinian, and during the Puritan regime in England, and in the late 1930's and 40's under Hitler and Stalin), and less often towards relaxation and nonenforcement during relatively untroubled or buoyant epochs (e.g. in Britain at the Restoration, and during the early Victorian period, which were heydays for sexual exuberance and for the composition and distribution of pornography). Once again, the influence of public opinion on laws could be made the subject of a book-length study, and I cannot go into it here in detail, but I do wish to quote some insights by Eric Hoffer which relate closely to this point:

"There is a tendency to judge a race, a nation or any distinct group by its least worthy members. Though manifestly unfair, this tendency has some justification. For the character and destiny of a group are often determined by its inferior elements."⁶⁰

This pretty much speaks for itself. Alfred A. Gross used to say that for a homosexual to get along in this society (as for a Jew or a nonwhite) means that he had to be even more circumspect, more moral, more law-abiding than the average, simply to overcome this handicap. A member of any such group, if he cannot conceal his membership (and automatic deviation), is confronted with stereotype thinking on all sides. Swishing queens are often said (in Mattachine gatherings and elsewhere) to give the sexual reform movement a bad name; individuals identified with the latter tend to be identified also with the limp-wristed set, however erroneously. And despite all that the German sexual reform movement tried before Hitler, and all that its more recent counterparts in the U.S.A. have been able to do as yet, public hatred of sexual deviants is unyielding in many social strata, and likely to be triggered from quiescence to desperate lynch-mob tactics by any crime of violence-with-sex, perpetrated by no matter whom.

"Whence come these unreasonable hatreds, and why their unifying effects? They are an expression of a desperate effort to suppress an awareness of our inadequacy, worthlessness, guilt and other shortcomings of the self. Self-contempt is here transmuted into hatred of others—and there is a most determined and persistent effort to mask this switch. Obviously, the most effective way of doing this is to find others, as many as possible, who hate as we do. Here more than anywhere else we need general consent, and much of our proselytizing consists perhaps in infecting others not with our brand of faith but with our particular brand of unreasonable hatred. . . . Often, when we are wronged by one person, we turn our hatred on a wholly unrelated person or group. Russians, bullied by Stalin's secret police, are easily inflamed against capitalist warmongers." ⁶¹

Hoffer gives other examples, but the obvious one for our purposes is that ordinary citizens, outraged by some particularly hideous rape-murder of a little girl, often join in a witch-hunt against homosexuals!

"There is perhaps no surer way of infecting ourselves with virulent hatred toward a person than by doing him a grave injustice. . . . We do not make people humble and meek when we show them their guilt and cause them to be ashamed of themselves. We are more likely to stir their arrogance and rouse in them a reckless aggressiveness. Self-righteousness is a loud din raised to drown the voice of guilt within us." ⁶²

This again speaks for itself. The second sentence applies as much to the homosexual minorities as to the general public, accounting in part for the slow progress of the sexual reform movement here.

"The most effective way to silence our guilty conscience is to convince ourselves and others that those we have sinned against are indeed depraved creatures, deserving every punishment, even extermination. We cannot pity those we have wronged, nor can we be indifferent toward them. We must hate and persecute them or else leave the door open to self-contempt." ⁶³

The genesis of public opinion since the time of the Emperor Justinian testifies to this. And in what follows, the role of the church is clear enough:

"A sublime religion inevitably generates a strong feeling of guilt. There is an unavoidable contrast between the loftiness of profession and the imperfection of practice. And, as one would expect, the feeling of guilt promotes hate and brazenness. Thus

it seems that the more sublime the faith the more virulent the hatred it breeds.”⁶⁴

“It is easier to hate an enemy with much good in him than one who is all bad. . . . The undercurrent of admiration in hatred manifests itself in the inclination to imitate those we hate. . . . Christianity at its height realized the image of the antichrist. The Jacobins practiced all the evils of the tyranny they had risen against.”⁶⁵

And so it is familiar enough that those most vociferous in their hatred of Communism would seek to adopt dreadfully authoritarian methods (comparable to those of the Communist police states) to root out the evil. But I would also add here: a homosexual-hating society is today likewise marked by increasing “ambisextrousness” of garments (the word is Else Schiaparelli’s), by the increasing cult of the young athlete, by the increasing prominence of handsome young men and boys in advertisements, and by the increasing numbers of physical-culture magazines in which, side by side with the photographs of musclebound athletes, are found more and more photographs of naturally trim adolescents. And on the other side, in lockstep with an increasing matriarchy comes an increasing ambivalence towards women and female domination; I need only mention the fierce controversy over Philip Wylie’s blast at “momism” in his *Generation of Vipers*.

The Hoffer citations illustrate generally how in times of stress a closer social cohesion is achieved in a community or nation by finding and seizing on a common object of hatred, a common scapegoat. Sexual deviation of all kinds has provided such a scapegoat since the time of Justinian’s edicts which ascribed to sodomites the plagues of famine, earthquake and pestilence. The presence of a state religion which emphasized (following Augustine) the essential worthlessness and contemptibility of sinful man and the universality of guilt—an emphasis increased in early Protestantism—reinforced this pattern of need for a common object of hatred. And the more severe the sanctions leveled at such deviant groups, the worse the manifestations of hatred and the worse the pangs of conscience over partly-repressed guilt for such hatreds. Here is a classical positive-feedback situation, whose outcome has been sporadic explosions of violence. There is no doubt, for instance, that much of the hatred of the Saracen by Christian Europeans stemmed from, and was reinforced by, and in turn tended to reinforce, the atrocity-stories about Saracen-Arabic-Turkish sexual practices. The same remark doubtless holds true for the persecution of the Albigenians. Probably the only reason that a similar

persecution campaign did not obliterate the Calamites (see Chapter XV) after the trials of Oscar Wilde is that their activities were as yet little known to the general public. (Of course Symonds, Lefroy and some of the other older members of this clique were already dead by then.)

Whatever the public attitude towards sexual behavior between adults, during all these periods it has always been more restrictive on the question of sexual behavior of children and adolescents. Ultimately this results from the often unspoken (because seemingly obvious) assumption that sex is and must remain solely for the purpose of procreation. This latter view—explicit in the more orthodox Christian denominations, even as in Judaism—has the status of a taboo: a belief not open to doubt nor to examination by reason. It is the basis not only for churchly aversion to contraception, but also in part for aversion to buggery and irrumation (respectively anal and oral intercourse); it also lurks behind the mother's automatic "don't touch yourself there—it's dirty!" reaction to a child's exploration of its own body, and the subsequent punishment for masturbation (still frowned on by law in Indiana and Wyoming),⁶⁶ and for guilt feelings and fears of disease or police action or hellfire over any and all forms of non-marital sexual activity.⁵⁰

Together with the view that sex is solely for procreation must be cited the puritan emphasis on cleanliness, shame over one's body, early toilet-training, etc., which further tended to degrade the body and specifically the genital areas. We are born and have our sexual pleasures literally *inter urina et feces*, as W. B. Yeats, Paul Goodman⁶⁷ and many others have reminded us, and puritans were and are never able to accept this fact. So the common practice of insisting on darkness and avoiding nudity for sex play, as well as the taboos on oral and anal techniques, even between husband and wife, reflect this puritan emphasis on shame and excremental fastidiousness.

Occasionally the attitude condemning sex in nonprocreative contexts has resulted in howlingly absurd opinions, even in recent years. Members of the British House of Commons, solemnly debating prison reform on April 28, 1954, heard the renowned Sir Robert Boothby speak out against sending homosexuals to prison on the ground that homosexuality is "contagious" and might contaminate other prisoners.⁶⁸ Christopher Teale, in *Break Down These Walls*, used much the same line as an argument for abolishing prisons altogether! And I myself have also heard similar arguments advanced against reform schools, Boy Scout camps and boys' boarding schools!! What is even more stupefying than the mere advancement of these arguments is

that almost nobody hearing them reacts with the laughter they deserve; the taboo is taken for granted. Whatever one's opinion of Boy Scout camps and boys' boarding schools, I find it difficult to imagine more silly grounds for doing away with reform schools and prisons; God knows there are certainly many better reasons.

Churchly influence on anti-sexual public opinion is and has remained decisive; what is not realized is that churchly arguments on the point are based on very skimpy and dubious biblical material, *all of the latter deliberately misinterpreted in conformity with an already-held anti-sexual (not merely anti-homosexual) orientation. And the latter began in reaction against Canaanitic fertility-cults and Roman pagan practices, and in conformity to a peculiar kind of metaphysics not relevant to any beliefs now held in any of the major world religions.* The relevant texts are tabulated below.

Gen. 19:4-29
(cf. Judges
19:22-24)

The story of Lot in Sodom—much misinterpreted, and of extremely dubious applicability. Its whole sexual content hinges on the interpretation of the word translated as “know” in verse 5, and it is far from certain that this word meant “to copulate with.” Talmudic scholars, following Ezekiel 16:48-49, mostly characterized as “the sin of Sodom” neither buggery nor any other sexual practice, but flagrant violation of hospitality.⁶⁹ The interpretation of it as buggery is post-Exilic, most likely late Hellenistic. Rabbinical legends ascribed to Sodom the practice we associate with Procrustes!^{69a} There is no Talmudic reference connecting Sodom and buggery.

Gen. 38:8-10

The “wickedness” of Onan, which was coitus interruptus intended to avoid the responsibility of raising children by his brother's widow; it was a violation of the Levirate law, an ancient property statute. This is commonly misinterpreted by Catholics and Protestants alike as prohibiting masturbation, but *masturbation is nowhere mentioned in the Bible!*⁷⁰

Lev. 18:22
Lev. 20:13

Prohibiting homosexual practices as an “abomination” (tō‘ēbāh). This term is derived from an Egyptian word meaning “holy.” The Egyptian word was very common in the hieratic religious language, referring to sacrifices, priests, libations, food left for the dead, and all kinds of objects and practices appertaining to the cult of the dead and sacrificial rituals. As one would expect, even as the Hebrews' sacrifices were anathema to the Egyptians, so too anything the Egyptians con-

sidered holy became automatically abominable to the Hebrews in and out of Egypt. And so the term is used especially in Egyptian (and, later, Canaanite) contexts, “profusely in both sacred and profane literature of all epochs and . . . is an expression of loathing and strong abhorrence against everything disgusting, repugnant or execrable”—sorcery, idolatry, animals ritually unsuitable for sacrifice, false weights and measures. Its use in sexual contexts is rare and only incidental; its primary significance and connotation are nonsexual as described above. *On this point there can be no argument.*^{70a} The specifically sexual prohibition was part of a list of forbidden acts meant to keep Israelites from taking any part in Canaanitic worship, the one here meant being that in which ritual sexual contact with the highly esteemed shamanistic caste of volunteer servants or hierodules known as qēdēshīm and qēdēshoth (i.e., male and female “holy ones”) played an important role.⁷¹ This ritual sexual contact symbolized union of worshipers with the gods. Because the hierodules accepted voluntary offerings, much as do priests and ministers today, they were by the unknowing called “temple prostitutes.” There is no Talmudic record of enforcement of this harsh rule of Leviticus.

Deut. 23:17

“There shall be no whore (qēdēshāh) of the daughters of Israel, nor a sodomite (qādēsh) of the sons of Israel.” Significance exactly as preceding. Penalties are not attached. There is no explicit reference to buggery among Israelites in the Deuteronomic code, *nor is any sexual practice specifically forbidden in the Ten Commandments.* (The commandment against adultery is strictly speaking a property law, against wife-stealing, and contains no reference whatever to sexual acts outside marriage.)⁷¹ Neither did any of the prophets whose writings survive today fulminate against male love, though they blasted again and again everything connected with Canaanitic cults.

Matt. 18:6
Mark 9:42

Usually translated as a warning against “offending” or “scandalizing” any “little child.” This is a plain misunderstanding. The exact verb in Greek is *skandalizein*, from the noun *skandalon*, meaning basically a trap or snare set for an enemy, a stumbling-block. The term translated as “little ones” is actually gēṭānīm. In practice its meaning is *proselytes to Christianity*.

The actual sense of the passage is that one should not offend or discourage neophytes by taunting them with their ignorance of the Law and the Prophets, or denigrating them for their pagan origins. *There is no sexual connotation whatever in the passage,*^{71a} though it has frequently been misused as an argument against Greek love. In Orwell's *Such, Such Were The Joys* (p. 37 in the Anchor edition of Orwell's essays) this text figured horribly against an older pupil at Orwell's school, punished for some unnamed crime theorized to have been teaching masturbation to younger boys.

- Romans 1:24-28 Specifically against Roman pagan sexual practices.
- 1 Cor. 6:9
- 1 Cor. 7 Against women—the infamous “better to marry than to burn” passage.
- 1 Cor. 9:27 On keeping the body in subjection—*not* actually commanded to anyone else.
- 1 Cor. 11:3-14 Against women, and against long hair in men. (Note that all extant images of Jesus represent him with long hair.)
- 2 Cor. 12:21-22 On repentance of all forms of lasciviousness.
- Gal. 5:24 “And they that are Christ’s have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts.”
- Gal. 6:8 “He that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption.”
- Eph. 2:1-3 Contrasts the old life with fleshly lusts, under the power of nature, with the new life of grace without lusts, under the power of God.
- Eph. 4:17-24 Exhorts believers not to behave as the pagans with their lusts.
- Eph. 5:3-5 Excludes lascivious persons from the kingdom of God.
- Eph. 5:22-24 Emphasizes male supremacy and the subjection of women to their husbands. This passage and the other antifeminist ones have made miserable the lives of women for centuries.
- Col. 2:23 Recommending the ascetic way of life.
- Col. 3:5
- 1 Thess. 4:3-7 Against fleshly lusts.
- 1 Tim. 1:9-10 The law is made to restrict evildoers of all kinds including those indulging in sex outside marriage.
- 1 Tim. 2:9-15 Against women, again.
- 1 Tim. 5:6,11-15
- Hebrews 13:4 God will judge those who indulge in extra-marital sex.

James 1:13-15 Not God, but one's own lusts, are occasions of
 James 4:1-4 sin and the origin of death. NB: This confirms that the author of this epistle shared the opinion Graves ascribed to Jesus, that immortality could be achieved by universal celibacy in defiance of the Goddess, and that sexual intercourse continued the cycle of birth and death. By what logic the latter implied the former I have not been able to figure out, but it was evidently a common belief among early Christians, who expected the end of the world in a few years or sooner.

James 2:10 Probably the most immoral single passage in all Scripture: "For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all." There is no logically acceptable alternative to the surface meaning—that the law is so much a unity that any blemish, however slight, brings down on the offender's head the guilt that murder, rape, etc., would all entail. But acceptance of this passage constrains fundamentalists, and those others who accept the theory that God "inspired" and guaranteed free from error the whole Bible, to believe that even sexual offenses committed out of love are going to bring down on the offender an insupportable load of guilt. Those who claim that a "just" and "good" God inspired this passage are constrained to define "just" and "good" in such a way that they refer to properties of God contradictory to properties of "just" and "good" men. *If these adjectives mean in God the opposite of what they mean in man, they cannot be made central to a consistent ethical code.* This one scriptural stumbling-block has doubtless contributed to a great deal of unbelief.

1 Peter 2:11 "Abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul."

1 Peter 3:1-6 Still another passage on the subjection of women to their husbands.

2 Peter 2:9-14 Against evildoers of all kinds, specifically including lustful people.

1 John 2:16-17 Rejecting fleshly lusts.

Jude 4,7-8,16,19 Rejecting fleshly lusts.

There are a few other obscure passages here and there referring to adultery and whoredom, many of them doubtless symbolic.

But on the other side may be cited the love affair of David and Jonathan, which is unequalled in sheer passion and tenderness by any

other love passages in epic literature, and which was highly regarded by Jewish sages because the affair was “disinterested”—a love arising from fullness of heart and actual concern of each for the other, not from ulterior motives of material gain, and because it sprang up between two individuals who belonged to opposite camps and who by all normal standards and circumstances should have been enemies. Many have claimed that the term “love,” as used in the Epic of David for the relationship between David and Jonathan, refers to a conventional non-physical friendship. This is false, even though no specific mention of sexual play between them occurs in the Epic of David. Aside from the obvious displays of affection, such as would be considered marks of effeminacy or homosexuality today (1 Sam. 20:41), and the agonized lamentation of David over Jonathan (2 Sam. 1:17-27), the language describing their relationship is that of love, not of mere friendship. The actual word there used, and translated as “love,” again and again, especially in David’s Lament (“Thy love was wonderful to me, passing the love of women!”), is *’ahābāh*, which always has a sensual connotation, and usually occurs in heterosexual contexts. Confirming this view, it is the identical word used in the Song of Songs (“Song of Solomon”), in a context specifically indicating sensuality and overwhelming passion. I give it in Dr. Warren Johansson’s translation:

- 8: 5b Beneath the apple tree did I awake thee
 Where thy mother gave thee birth.
 6a Set me as a seal upon thine heart,
 As a clasp upon thine arm:
 6b For *love* is strong as death,
 Passion as adamant as Sheol;
 6c Its flames are the flames of God,
 Its glow is the glow of Jah.
 7a Many waters cannot quench it,
 Torrents cannot wash away.
 7b If a man gave all the wealth of his house for *love*,
 Should one truly despise him?

In both occurrences of the term “love,” the original is *’ahābāh*. In verse 7a, the Masoretic text uses the word for “love” a third time instead of the pronoun. Clearly, it is no ordinary feeling which is compared to death, Sheol, and the flames of Jahweh; it is no mere friendship which cannot be quenched or washed away by torrents, or which would justify a person’s giving away all his property to possess it! That these writings and the Epic of David mention love in such terms

is understandable enough; such an overwhelming emotion was probably quite uncommon in unromantic epochs where marriages were routinely arranged by families for economic or dynastic purposes.

There is also the equally intense love affair between Ruth and Naomi, of which one passage (Ruth 1:16-18) has been an inspiration to Lesbians for centuries.

And finally, there is a curious passage in Romans (14:10 and 13-14) which deserves to be better known:

“But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ. . . . Let us not therefore judge one another any more: but judge this rather, that no man put a stumblingblock or an occasion to fall in his brother’s way. I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself: but to him that esteemeth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean.”

This enumeration makes it abundantly clear that the attitudes of ancient Judaism and of Pauline Christianity were quite different on the subject of sex, whatever may have been the putative attitudes of Jesus. In summary, the Jewish laws were directed partly towards fertility, continuing the family line, and clarifying the ownership, status and disposal of property in a culture where women were men’s property, and perhaps even more against Canaanitic religious practices. Christ had little to say on sex, and that little was obscure and ambiguous; even to prostitutes and adulteresses about all he had to say was “Go and sin no more,” or (to the bystanders) “Let him who is without sin cast the first stone.” It was, instead, the fanatical ascetic Saul of Tarsus, who called himself Paul, who had given up sex and wished that all other men might do likewise, who became the moralizer of the Jewish cult which had grown up around the name of Jesus, and who fulminated against fleshly love as representing a turning away from God. Paul’s own distorted attitudes thus got written into the laws when Christianity became the state religion of the Roman empire, and love became a sin whenever in object or mode of expression it went beyond that minimum necessary to preserve the race—though Paul, in wishing that all others were “as himself,” obviously did not care if the race continued, perhaps feeling (as Schweitzer and many other commentators point out) that Judgment Day was only a few years away. And it is this ferocious code by which Christians claim to live today, and attempt to force all others to live.

What is important here is to notice a process, first pointed out

in a different context by Walter Kaufmann, which tends to perpetuate such distortions. There are three necessary ingredients:

(1) The written text is retained as authoritative despite changing social conditions, changing meanings of words, and consequent danger of misinterpreting text and context. (2) Partly through unquestioning reverence for the past, partly because of social pressures, partly because of fear of hellfire, etc., the content of the text and accompanying attitudes are subjected to time-binding, becoming part of the set of attitudes, folklore, ways of behaving, etc., transmitted from parents to children—especially from mother to daughter—over the generations, with only gradual changes. (3) Youngsters, confronted with an anti-pleasure ethic, with the “don’t touch yourself there, it’s dirty” and the “keep covered, don’t let anyone see what you have, it’s immodest” prohibitions and similar ones, first make believe that they accept it, in order to please parents and others; then, as they grow up, they continue to behave according to such make-believe, *while forgetting that it started out as make-believe*. By adulthood the belief is automatic and usually impervious to doubt short of psychoanalysis or some other drastic re-examination. This process also accounts for unquestioning acceptance of laws and mores, even when they are not tied up with religion or taboos so deeply ingrained as this one.

We now return to the question of whether homosexual practices (in or out of a Greek love context) and other sexual deviations are considered immoral because they are illegal, or if they are illegal because they are immoral, and in either event why; and more generally, if they are a problem because they are illegal, or vice versa. It is clear enough that all such practices were, for one reason or another, subsumed under the general heading of unacceptable fleshly lusts, therefore considered immoral according to the current misinterpretation of Christ’s ethics by Paul. Church laws condemned them; public opinion, molded by churchly pressures, continued the censorious attitudes, and the secular criminal codes reflected all of these. In other words, the order was immoral → illegal → social problem, rather than the other way around. It is also clear that non-violent sexual offenses, as a class, are unique: *they are the only strongly tabooed, illegal and heavily penalized activities which are demonstrably harmless*. It is precisely this combination of harmlessness, attractiveness and illegality which has made them into a social problem.

2. *Greek Love, Homosexuality, Paedophilia*. The sexual laws throughout the U.S.A. and all other countries of western civilization invariably involve some kind of “age of consent” provision. According to this, the penalties on sexual behavior with male or female differ

with his or her age. Below the artificially arrived-at figure of 16 or 18 or 21—the exact age varies with different states and nations—a boy or girl is supposed to be incapable of (legal) consent to a sexual proposition. Sexual acts with individuals below those ages are penalized much more harshly than are those with older ones. Despite the taboos surrounding female virginity, and the economic disadvantages of early unmarried pregnancy, sexual acts with boys are penalized far more harshly than are sexual acts with girls of the same age!

The notorious statutory rape laws are a familiar instance: in many states of the U.S.A. a girl below the age of 18 (the exact age differs from place to place) is held to be incapable of consenting to a sexual proposition⁵⁹ or of marrying with or without parental consent, and there are instances where couples married legally in states with lower ages of consent have been arrested while traveling in other states, the marriages annulled and the parties thereto prosecuted—often as juvenile delinquents. The usual rationalization (for which there is some justification, but not nearly the amount usually claimed) is that permitting sexual freedom for younger individuals would result in a lot of pregnancies on the part of girls not old enough to know how to care for their infants properly, or to earn enough to support them. With the advent of safe and efficient birth-control methods this argument has lost most of its force save among members of religious groups interdicting contraception; but the penalties remain.

The usual rationalization for higher penalties on homosexual practices with teen-age boys is quite different and with, I think, still less justification.

Sometimes this rationalization takes the crude form that such experience causes physical or mental damage, most often supposedly turning young people away from the normal path to marriage and family and towards the wicked, artificial and sick world of homosexuality. I have already alluded to this argument in Chapter II, and will return to it later on. Sometimes, on the other hand, the rationalization takes a more sophisticated form. Judge Tudor Rees⁴⁰ assumes, for instance, that the laws are automatically good (as the product of the wisdom of lawmakers through the ages) and not to be questioned; that one can take for granted that homosexuality has evil and corruptive consequences, and that it is eradicable by severe legislation, whereas leniency in the laws might render obsolete all sexually punitive statutes (without bothering to ask why not). But he does have the good sense to add that an act of sex, unpunishable if between man and girl, could entail life imprisonment if between man and boy of the same age, while there has been *no proof that either act can seri-*

ously affect the well-being of society—and in fact that adultery can be far more disruptive to the latter than can the casual sex act or even the love relationship between man and teen-ager. Dr. Neustatter⁴⁰ maintains that such experiences can start a conditioning process in which latent homosexual tendencies will be awakened—without answering the objection that these tendencies, if present in any important degree, can be awakened with or without such experience, and that the problem they pose is precisely the illegality of their fulfillment, not the other way around. He advocates the “protection” of boys on the same basis as that of girls, without considering that the latter originates in the high premium long placed on virginity, and the economic and social troubles attached to unwed pregnancy, neither of these being relevant to boys. But Dr. Neustatter also correctly points out that both bastardy and lesbianism (insofar as the latter denies to girls the role of motherhood) have far graver social consequences than homosexual behavior between males, and therefore the far higher penalties attached to the latter are absurd.

The tendency has been for the “age of consent” provision to be raised over the last few hundred years, and for it to be both higher and more stringently enforced in rigidly Roman Catholic countries and those strongly affected by puritanism, than in others (e.g. those whose sexual laws derive from the Code Napoléon). This itself is a valuable clue that a taken-for-granted taboo, rather than any considerations of possible damage, motivated the lawmakers. Parallel to this trend, as I shall show at length in Part Two, have come two others, both tending to reinforce it. One of these is the “third sex” theory of homosexuality, common in the middle and late 19th century and afterwards; the other is a gradual change in the social roles of the adolescent.

According to the “third sex” theory of homosexuality, urnings,⁷² invert¹⁴³ or whatever other name male homosexuals used in order to designate their own kind (to avoid the usual opprobrious terms of *buggers*, *corruptors*, *sods*, etc.), were a sort of sexual intermediate stage, possessing as it were female souls in male bodies. Ulrichs’s famous line “Anima muliebris virili corpora inclusa” summarized this whole idea. The theory accounted for such individuals’ showing behavior traits common to both sexes, as well as for their seeking Masculine Ideals as mates and bed partners. The most articulate proponents of this theory, prior to its modifications by Magnus Hirschfeld in *Die Homosexualität*¹⁴ and *Jahrbuch*,¹⁴ and its abandonment by scholars in the light of psychoanalytic interpretations,¹³ were Karl H. Ulrichs, who formulated it in the greatest detail in his numerous pam-

phlets,¹¹ his popularizer John Addington Symonds,⁷³ and Havelock Ellis.⁷⁴ The work of Walt Whitman⁷⁵ and his imitator Edward Carpenter⁴ must also be understood in this light.

Though Ulrichs's system accounted for males ("Mannlinge") who were attracted to effeminate men, or ("Weiblinge") to hyper-masculine "butch" or "rough trade" types, or to adolescents, and for the "ambisexuals," as well as for heterosexuals who had temporarily or casually gotten involved in homosexual activities, e.g. at camp, in prison, on shipboard, etc., nevertheless the popularizers of the "third sex" theory recognized that it would be easier to fulfill Ulrichs's aims of having the various punitive sex laws repealed, if the ambisexuals and Greek love aspects were played down or omitted altogether. These aims were praiseworthy enough, and perhaps the "third sex" theory was as good as any alternative possible in the then current state of science. Ulrichs sought to prove homosexual desires (a) inborn and healthy in a considerable percentage of humans, (b) unrelated to, or at least not necessarily originating in bad habits, depravity or disease, (c) impossible in most cases to extirpate or reverse, and (d) not associated with inferiority in intellect, health or morality. From which, if true, it would follow inevitably that *the punitive sex laws are unjust to a class of innocent persons*. (Of course, the current theory that homosexuality of the compulsive type is a sickness has the same intent. The degree of distortion of the truth perpetrated by either theory is unrelated to the ethical value of the sexual reform movement; the end, in this case, does justify the means.)

Ulrichs also sought—with some justification—to show that no social evil ensued from the recognition of homosexual contacts between consenting adults as unpunishable, in countries whose laws derived from the Code Napoléon. Nevertheless, Ulrichs's theory became known mainly through its popularizations, and as a result a man who thereafter admitted to sexual love for a teen-age boy could not claim to be one of this hereditarily inverted type, but remained subject to the usual social obloquy and legal penalties. Ulrichs and his popularizers, like the later sexual reformers, have been fighting the usual belief that "all subjects of sexual inversion have originally loved women, but that through monstrous debauchery and superfluity of naughtiness, tiring of normal pleasure, they have wilfully turned their appetites to other channels."⁷⁶ Canon Derrick Sherwin Bailey⁴⁰ revives this ancient canard in claiming, without the slightest shred of evidence, that the "pervert" (as against the "true invert") is basically a normal person with an ambisexual disposition and lack of restraint, and therefore morally fully capable (he means culpable, of course)

for his actions, whatever may be said of the invert who possibly cannot help himself, being—according to the usual accounts—incapable of sexual excitement in the presence of a woman, but capable only in the presence of a beloved Masculine Ideal.

The “third sex” theory very likely began in an attempt to account for extremely early—even prepuberal—appearances of homosexual impulses, as in the case histories in Havelock Ellis,¹² and in its later distorted and popularized versions were rationalizations for political purposes.¹⁴ But this theory of Ulrichs, however discredited since the psychoanalysts began their speculations, has nevertheless strongly influenced the thinking of those individuals, heterosexual or otherwise, who have sought to legalize sexual acts in private between consenting adults regardless of gender. An invert can be more easily an object of pity or even sympathy—or legal relief, which is still more important—and more easily looked on as someone biologically cheated⁷⁷ or sick, someone worth helping out, than can someone with the urges of a satyr and a taste for teen-age boys, whether or not he is also married. And so the Greek lover became the scapegoat, largely because (aided by progressively more stringent age-of-consent laws) writers and lecturers on the subject, in ignorance increased by the conspiracy of silence, tended to identify the Greek lover with the man who seeks casual sexual encounters with (prepuberal) children too young to know what they are doing and in particular too young to make objections to such advances stick.

The gradual change in the social roles of the adolescent could itself be made the subject of a book-length study, and in fact the present state of these roles is already the subject of many learned papers and at least one book.²⁰ I can do no more than briefly summarize the matter here, admittedly omitting a great deal and drawing heavily on Edgar Friedenberg’s valuable study.²⁰

Friedenberg describes these changes, in present-day culture, as amounting to progressive erosion or denial—with annihilation as the logical endpoint—of adolescence as a social role or stage in human development, irrespective of the biological reality. These changes, ultimately of lower middle-class origin and contributed to by parents, schools and other uncomprehending adults and institutions, contribute largely to alienation between adolescents and the adult world of which they are supposedly preparing to become a part. They also have the additional effect—at least partly intentional—of intensifying the extreme age-segregation common to this culture and almost no other, which results on the one hand in adolescent “pooling of ignorance” and the gang ethos, and on the other the difficulty of guilt-free access

on the part of adolescents to friendly adults outside a rigidly institutionalized context.

This problem of increasing alienation between the generations—amounting often to total failure of communication, and acted out by adolescents in so-called delinquent activities, largely consisting of predation, violence (directed often at adults and adult institutions), and attempts at sexual fulfillment, is in my view one of the most important social problems of the present day, and one of the most poorly understood.

A solution of necessity must include social recognition—sympathetic and not automatically deprecatory—of adolescence as a distinct phase of development, differentiated alike from childhood and from adulthood, having more power, privileges and responsibilities than the former and less than the latter. In particular, since adolescence is characterized by abrupt changes in body, in performance, in emotional states, in attitudes, appearance and disappearance of “crushes” and violent mood swings, etc., for which individuals going through it are not ordinarily prepared, it is necessary that for emotional security the developing boy or girl have someone to whom he or she may go for advice and comfort in a basically insecure period, a period in which one’s own previously built-up map of the world and of one’s own self is changing too rapidly to permit ease, in which one’s very body is no longer dependable. The problem is that in this culture no such social recognition exists, and the extreme age segregation, whereby adolescents have nobody to consult in general except others in a similar state of confusion, worsens matters. Adults have their own mundane concerns, and all too often they neither understand nor wish to take time to listen—partly for the reason mentioned in Chapter II: fear of being thought queer. Adolescents more or less dimly perceive this adult aversion and lack of sympathy, and from this communication failure alienation grows. Thrown back on each other for security, they respond by building their own subculture with its customs and conformities, its ingroup argot, and its preoccupations unshared by—or even defiantly flung at—the outside world. “Adolescence,” says Friedenberg,⁷⁸ “is the period during which a person learns who he is, and what he really feels . . . during which he differentiates himself from his culture, though on the culture’s terms. It is the age at which, by becoming a person in his own right, he becomes capable of deeply felt relationships to other individuals perceived clearly as such.” Conventional adults are all too prone to forget their own adolescent difficulties and embarrassments in this area. But the first step towards solving a problem is recognizing that it exists.

Different societies have handled this problem in different ways. Some form of puberty rite has usually been part of social recognition of these ongoing changes in youngsters. But the role of the puberty rites, especially in primitive societies, has been multiple, complex and often ambiguous: partly, alas, institutionalized sadism and “separating the Men from the boys,” partly reassuring the youngsters that there is now a place for them, a role specifically designed for them—that the changes going on in them are understood and taken account of in tribal life. (Bruno Bettelheim’s *Symbolic Wounds* makes a somewhat similar point.) In any event, most societies—with the conspicuous exception of our own—have had some specific provision of this kind for adolescence, taking into account its confusions and its transience; and relationships between adolescent boys and adult men corresponding more or less closely with Greek love have often been a part of this. The important thing in all such social recognition, as I see it, is to insure that the adolescents do not become alienated from the adult world of which they are soon to become a part, sharing the privileges and responsibilities.

However, within the last century or so such recognition of the adolescent as ever existed in Western society has been changing, and for the worse despite all the well-intentioned prating. Two trends have been developing, mutually contradictory, but both operating to increase adolescent confusion and alienation from the adult world. One of these, an unintentional outgrowth of the child-labor laws, has been to make it increasingly difficult for adolescents to find meaningful and satisfying work—or, often enough, *any kind* of gainful employment.⁷⁹ One thing young people very much need is to feel that as unique individuals they have some significant role, some function in their local society, some usefulness—status, if you will. In most epochs prior to the mid-19th century they could and often did earn it. In many social strata boys in their mid-teens were considered as wage-earners and nobody put up an outcry at their seeking wives. The child-labor laws have decisively changed this. In a society where higher education was still a privilege to be earned through scholastic accomplishment, or an indication of the wealth of one’s parents, rather than an automatic right to be taken up regardless of ability, simply *being* a student in one’s mid-teens was a mark of status. But now, the trend has been gradually to abolish *all* the means by which adolescents can have anything like a meaningful achieved status. Employment is harder to get and usually less satisfying, its function often less that of accomplishing something than of simply earning money and accumulating a little “experience” which could be cited on one’s next job

application. High school, for many, is—as Edgar Z. Friedenberg put it in the May 1963 *Commentary*—principally a way of keeping them out from underfoot, off the streets, out of trouble, and off the labor market for a few years; the subjects learned there usually have to be unlearned and relearned in college. And college itself is, all too often, only a means to a higher-paying job.⁸⁰

“The process of becoming an American, as it goes on in high school, tends to be a process of renunciation of differences. This conflicts directly, of course, with the adolescent need for self-definition; but the conflict is so masked in institutionalized gaiety that the adolescent himself usually does not become aware of it. He must still deal with the alienation it engenders.”⁸¹

“Adolescents are dreadfully concerned about society’s appraisal of them and of their worth. . . . In a school system whose historical function has been making Americans out of immigrants’ children, students are likely to find that they can only win esteem by how they look and behave, not for what they are. The effect of this is a severe form of alienation; they lose faith in their right to an independent judgment of their own worth.”⁸²

Both the leveling tendency just referred to—Friedenberg gives abundant evidence for its lower middle-class common denominator—and the difficulty of finding employment which might give adolescents a sense of personal worth, of being useful, of being somebody, have contributed increasingly often to rob them of any chance of satisfying this basic human need. Unsurprisingly, out of school they tend more and more to “just hang around.” Adolescents then, all too often, have the additional burden of being made to feel that they are still just children, irresponsible, unable to do anything worthwhile. Insofar as parents, teachers and other adults contribute to this by thinking in stereotype terms of “the teen-ager” as someone capable only of getting into trouble, or of making everyone else’s lives miserable with his rock-and-roll on the radio, etc., they tend to confirm adolescents’ own fears of being worthless. And they tend to contribute, as do the other factors just mentioned, to increasing adolescent alienation from the adult world.

Being separated from the adult world by this lack of suitable roles, as well as by the taboo-motivated social stratification which confines an individual pretty much to the company of his age-mates, adolescents are all too often thrown back on each other, and when (as often) they need help, advice, frank answers to questions, or guidance, they can get what passes for these things only from other members of their own crowd or gang, who are frequently just as confused as

the rest—in Dr. Douglas Duffy's phrase, "pooling ignorance." Speculation, guesswork, blundering and bravado make a wretchedly poor substitute for wise guidance and love. To a certain extent the "Parents—be pals with your sons" trend, and the rise of professional counselors specializing in adolescent problems, have tended to offset it, but (as we saw in Chapter II) neither parents nor professional counselors can possibly be a sufficient answer to this problem. The net result has been to retain these young people in a confused, dependent and partly or wholly alienated state for an unnecessarily long time. More stringent age-of-consent laws have also reflected this view of adolescents as irresponsible children—and their alienation has in turn tended to confirm this adverse public and legal opinion. We have here another positive feedback: society's attitudes alienate the adolescent and drive him into behavior society dislikes, which in turn results in more stringent disapproval and penalties, which further increases the alienation, and so on round and round. The wonder is that more young people do not adopt a frankly delinquent pattern!

The other trend, simultaneous with the above and contradictory to it, is more obvious in the middle and upper middle classes than elsewhere. It consists of pushing adolescents into miniature adult roles without sufficient emotional preparation. This pushing comes usually from their contemporaries and to a certain extent from their own tendency to imitate their older and seemingly more successful counterparts; but occasionally also from parents and teachers who should know better. One manifestation is the practice of encouraging 11-to-14-year-olds to "go steady" before they are ready for any such exclusive emotional commitments. (Cf. Chapter IV, §§ 4 and 6.) Another is having them dress up in adult fashion (girls often with makeup and high heels) and budget their time with appointments imposed by others, like any businessman. Still another and increasingly frequent one, characteristic of many self-styled "modern" schools, is that of urging *heterosocial* contact on younger and younger children, long before they themselves know what to do in the presence of the opposite sex, let alone feel at ease in doing so. It has been theorized that this practice is an attempt, mostly unconscious but sometimes perhaps even deliberate, to eliminate the so-called "homosexual" hero-worshipping stage. The false sophistication so created does not wear well, and it is often a source of strain and alienation, as it makes seeking adult guidance into a confession of inadequacy. And so the adult-behaving youngster under stress sometimes will act like a seven-year-old, resulting in disapproval by those around him, and in his own feelings of inadequacy and incapacity to understand

what he should feel or why; what he should do, how and why. Nevertheless, this trend—which seems possibly to be transient—is partly also a response to adolescent protests against being treated like children, albeit a shallow and really irrelevant response.

Both trends have in common the practice of segregating adolescents with their age-mates, and, often, making access to sympathetic adults a matter of difficulty. This difficulty of access, on the youngster's part or on the adult's part, does not help the alienation, but rather tends to intensify and aggravate it, both by reinforcing the pattern whereby adolescents can seek out only each other, and by failing to offset the common adolescent impression of adults as all too often unpredictable authority-figures with a whim of iron. In addition, the sexual encounters between adults and adolescents tend too often to have a furtive quality (though naturally this need not be so true if the parties have become friends through some recognized social situation such as the adult's being a family friend, teacher, or employer, or by their sharing membership in a photography club, coin or stamp club, or the like). On the other hand, adults are often afraid to be seen—or even to allow themselves to remain—in the company of adolescents, lest they be thought to have unnatural sexual interests in them. The fear of social obloquy and legal penalties on this ground (for to be suspected is hardly less dire in consequences than to be accused, and even an acquittal in a court trial is not enough to prevent, say, a teacher from losing his job and having to leave town and perhaps change his name!) is sometimes so strong that its adult victims even show hostility, unnecessary rudeness and impatience in situations where contact with adolescents is objectively necessary and even by the most prudish Christian standards blameless.

“Adolescent personality evokes in adults conflict, anxiety, and intense hostility (usually disguised as concern), colored by a whole complex of feelings, attitudes, and influential unconscious trends. . . . What disturbs adults about adolescents is not their sexual activity as such, but the power of their sexuality to arouse in us feelings that are very threatening. Some of these feelings are sexual . . . (Others include) a fear that the adolescent will get out of the adult's control and may also throw out of control situations in which the adult is involved.”²⁰

Whatever its motives, and there are many others, this fear-induced rudeness tends to worsen adolescent alienation from the adult world.

And this alienation on both sides has worked simultaneously with the “third sex” theory to lessen the recognition—and possibly the

frequency—of Greek love situations, with or without overt sexual activity. *One cannot claim that the present situation is desirable as it stands, in the face of the clear evidence linking alienation with delinquency, underachievement, emotional disorders, etc.*

Insofar as recent trends have reinforced the public image of the adolescent as an overgrown but still irresponsible child, the consequence has been that sexual contact with adolescents (whether called “statutory rape” or “impairing the morals of a minor” or “contributing to the delinquency of a minor” or whatever else) is increasingly often equated, confusedly and erroneously, with sexual contact with prepuberal children. It is not quite true to say that the difference is only one of degree, and it is not even nearly true that the motives are the same, let alone the consequences to the youngster. The differences are far-reaching; the accompanying tabulation—admittedly oversimplified—will, I think, make them clear.

A very important observation is that the findings summarized in this table apply independent of the gender of the partners, with relatively little modification for heterosexual or lesbian contact (e.g., there is perhaps less overt sex play among females, a little more openness in heterosexual pairs, etc.).

It is also immediately apparent that there is no “typical” homosexual adult/adult relationship, even as there is no “typical” heterosexual pair, even though certain patterns are commoner than others. It is also apparent that exceptions occur to almost every feature marked “common” or “very common” or even “usual.”

On the other hand, let us consider casual and non-casual relationships between adult and adolescent. In both of these certain patterns regularly recur (again, with occasional exceptions). Casual relationships, insofar as they have a sex angle at all, have not had time to develop into close friendships, let alone love, but they can sometimes involve friendly exploration. They are routinely asymmetrical. They may begin in innumerable ways, often enough similarly to adult or adult-child affairs. The boy’s consent—with or without financial or other inducement—is usually a requisite (I am not here concerned with forcible rape); the boy usually allows himself to be brought to orgasm by the man,⁸³ but is seldom willing to bring the man to orgasm by anything more than simple masturbation,⁸⁴ as using his mouth or anus for the purpose can often constitute a threat to his masculine self-image (not to mention the association of the genitals with dirtiness, etc.). The *Lolita* phenomenon—the attitude that certain forms of sex play are acceptable, but that caresses or other affectionate displays are taboo and must be reserved for one’s steady

heterosexual partner—is routine. Boys involved in this scene, whether or not they have actually engaged in prostitution, often consider themselves entirely heterosexual. A frequent but regrettable development, especially in lower-class or lower middle-class youths of the unusually masculine or “butch” or “rough trade” sort, is the practice of seeking such sexual contact and beating up the adults who have favored them—*after* the orgasm.⁸⁵

But when a non-casual friendship develops a sex angle, or when a casual relationship (even beginning as prostitution) deepens on further acquaintance, the boy will often allow himself to become more involved in the sex play, and the Lolita phenomenon may disappear or not occur at all. The sex then can contribute to deepening the relationship, especially if there are already other bases for friendship in common interest, and particularly also if the man handles it responsibly (by acting in such a way as to preserve the boy’s own masculine heterosexual self-image, doing all he can to avert or assuage any guilt feelings that may show up, giving the boy opportunities to develop a genuine self-esteem on socially acceptable grounds, etc.; see also Chapters VII, VIII). Boys have been known to give up prostitution during and after a Greek love affair so handled.

In a liaison or mateship between adult and adolescent—that which is here uniformly called Greek love—the double standard sometimes occurs, but more commonly the relationship is a friendship with sexual aspects (or sometimes without them, depending on the boy’s own consent), which can sometimes deepen into love, occasionally into even nonjealous love. Older partners have been known to introduce their boyfriends to girls, sometimes indeed with the regrettable intention of providing them with a casual heterosexual experience which might seem unsatisfying in retrospect in comparison with the continuing Greek love affair, but sometimes instead, more healthily (and, I think more commonly), in the realization that the normal development of their boyfriends must include a heterosexual side. I am not prepared to say how often this happens with either intent, but it is fairly common in my experience. I have personal knowledge of numerous instances where relationships were responsibly handled in this and other aspects.

The Greek love relationship is by definition asymmetrical—the rare exception occurring with an adolescent partner of uncommonly advanced development, but then the relationship resembles one between two adults and might as well be considered as such. (Of course, relationships between adults, heterosexual or homosexual, are often asymmetrical, as when a man’s bride is younger, less experienced,

CHARACTERISTICS OF SEXUAL AFFAIRS BY AGE GROUPS

	Adult/ adult	Adult/ adolescent	Adult/ child	Adolescent/ adolescent	Adolescent/ child	Child/ child
Combinations:						
DURATION:						
Brief, ^a	C	S (except hustlers)	R	C ^b	S ^b	C ^b
casual	C	R				
Liaison ^a	C	occurs =	R	less C	R	R
Mateship ^a	(S in homo)	Greek love	VR ^d	S ^c	VR ^d	VR ^e
QUALITY:						
casual ^f	VC	S (except hustlers)	R	VC	S	C
close friendship	C	S	less R	VC	R	C
double-standard love ^g	C	S	?	C	?	?
nonjealous love ^h	VR	R	?	VR	?	?
furtive	C	usual	usual	usual	S	C(?)
open ⁱ	C	R	VR	C	R	occurs
	(S in homo) ^j					
symmetrical ^k	C	R ^m	— ⁿ	C	R ^m	C
asymmetrical ^o	C	usual	usual	C (hero-worship)	usual	C
guidance role	S(?)	usual	occurs	S	R	—
one partner more	VC	in Greek love	?	occurs	?	?
‘feminine’ in homo		occurs				
one partner submissive ^p	VC	(transient)	usual	occurs	usual	occurs
sado-masochistic or other	C	R	VR	R(?)	R	R
obvious distortions						
renunciation of masculinity		VR	—	VR	—	—
or possible hetero life,	“queens”					
in homo						

sexual aspect initiated by older	VC	occurs	occurs	occurs	occurs
—by younger	VC	commoner?	occurs	R(?)	occurs
Lolita phenomenon ^a					
in casual	C	usual	?	C	?
—in noncasual	R	R	?	S(?)	?

VC = very common, C = common, S = scarce, R = rare, VR = very rare.

a—A *casual relationship* can be a one-night stand with or without the prostitution angle. If it develops into an actual friendship or love affair over time it becomes a *liaison*; if both parties regard the liaison as stable and longterm, it is called a *mateship*. These terms ex Ford & Beach.^{19, 84}

b—The usual exploration which may or may not have any effect on future sexual preference—or even be remembered in later life.

c—Depending on respective ages, this can become adult/adult liaison or mateship.

d—This can develop into Greek love.

e—This can grow into adolescent/adolescent liaison or mateship—perhaps lasting into adult life.

f—A casual relationship can deepen into close friendship or love. “Some of my best friendships have begun in bed” is a cliché in some homosexual circles.

g—Double standard: where older or dominant or more masculine partner insists on his own freedom to seek other side partners but jealously and possessively forbids the younger to do likewise. Often a feature of so-called normals “in love with” women.

h—More like a greatly intensified version of close friendship, each partner secure in the other’s affections. Its presence is a favorable sign, barring self-deception.

i—Acknowledged closeness—being seen often together, etc.—with or without open acknowledgment of the sexual aspect. Hardly applicable in casual contacts. Limited and carefully accounted for on socially legitimate grounds, in this culture, save in agemate pairings.

j—In homosexual ghettos and the beat subculture, rarely elsewhere.

k—Symmetrical relationships between A and B are similar by A for B and by B for A; they occur in love between approximate equals or equal complements, comrades of similar mental and emotional ages, twins, (quasi) marital pairs of comparable mentality, interest range, development, etc.; there is give-and-take on a roughly equal basis throughout.

n—This could happen if the younger party were only a few years younger and overmature or of similar mental age, interests, etc., to the older, and/or if the older were young for his age.

n—Conceivable if the adult were retarded and the child very advanced—a most unlikely combination.

o—An asymmetrical relationship is one between frank unequals. It is subject to change and therefore likely to be unstable. It may grow into a more stable relationship or die out, become symmetrical or more asymmetrical.

p—This can be a matter of age, relative femininity, peck order, or other social factors.

q—The “Lolita phenomenon” involves willingness to indulge in sex play but a taboo on giving or receiving affectionate caresses or on admitting to strong emotional involvement.

less educated, etc. Symmetry and asymmetry of relationships often differ only in degree.) The asymmetrical relationship most often found in Greek love is that of guide-philosopher-friend helping a young beneficiary/protégé to grow up. Some boys are naturally transiently submissive or even feminine, but this is by no means routine, and may not be relevant to later direction of sexual preference. The Lolita phenomenon, if it occurs, is transient. Sado-masochistic practices are rare, and the deeper the relationship, the rarer they are. I describe the highly varied sexual techniques in Chapter VI.

In contrast to both the above are casual and noncasual relationships between adult and child. ("Child" here means a prepuberal boy.) In the casual relationship, according to Bender and Blau⁴¹, the usual beginning is for a youngster with more than usual charm and openness to strike up conversation with an adult (who may be a family friend, teacher, loiterer, scoutmaster, custodian, passerby, customer on a paper route, etc., etc.). Earl Coon's description of such a seduction of an adult by a 14-year-old newspaper boy⁸⁶ comes close to the adult/child paradigm. Sooner or later—perhaps in the same day, perhaps weeks later—the child expresses sexual curiosity or excitement, even to the point where Bender and Blau unequivocally say that he is the seducer. Perhaps less often, the adult may manifest such curiosity or excitement ("Do you ever fool around much with girls?" etc.). Or the youngster may grope the adult,⁸⁷ exhibit his own erection, take off his clothes or take advantage of an opportunity when for any reason (e.g., changing to or from swimsuits, etc.) both have reason to be naked. Or the adult may do any or all of these things. To the child's actions the man may react with anything from bewilderment to assent to glee, and he may or may not take a more active role in the proceedings. Sex play may involve exhibition, sexual caresses, mutually watched or mutually performed masturbation, or more rarely other techniques described in Chapter VI. Bender and Blau⁴¹ are unequivocal in their conclusions that (a) in the absence of sadism or other frightening behavior on the adult's part, and when the child was enough involved actually to be excited by the incident and to gain pleasure from it, he or she was not harmed by one or many such experiences; (b) harm came almost solely from subsequently impressed guilt feelings, inculcated forcibly by parents, police officers, or other authority figures; and (c) a long-term follow-up study on a number of children with such experience indicates that *none* of them became homosexual, regardless of the frequency or circumstances of such experiences, and that the experiences had no adverse long-term effects!⁸⁸

This is not to defend such experiences as a good thing, but it does require that authorities and parents alike rethink their positions. The conclusion that *the harm (if any) in such experiences comes almost entirely from guilt forced on them by panic-stricken adults* is extremely significant. In this connection the modern Israeli practice⁸⁹ of handling such "offenses" specifically so as to avoid this guilt development, juvenile court and/or psychiatric record, etc., seems exceptionally wise and worthy of imitation. The same remark holds, a fortiori, for handling instances of Greek love.

A liaison or mateship between adult and child is a much rarer thing and may or may not involve overt sexual contact. The very few instances of this of which I have any knowledge show clear evidence of being substitutions. Either the older partner takes the role of surrogate parent, big brother, uncle, grandfather, etc., to the child, or he is trying to relive with the child a much earlier experience, one dating back to his own childhood or adolescence; sometimes both. The latter type of substitution is the more unhealthy insofar as the man may not be reacting to the child as he actually is but rather to the image of the youngster in the former experience—a lessened contact with reality. (I am omitting two cases where the older partner was evidently feeble-minded and the relationship may have been nearly symmetrical, as in each of these he and the child seemed to be about on a level in vocabulary and interest.) Sometimes a genuine asymmetrical love seemed to be developing (the outcome being a Greek love situation); sometimes the adult was only a means to the child's ends—presents, romping, physical pleasures—rather than vice versa. In each of these instances sex, where it occurred at all, was only a part of a larger relationship; and though I cannot say that the relationships were handled responsibly, yet all of them appeared to be handled tenderly, and the youngsters were not noticeably harmed. This is also confirmed by a number of individuals (mostly heterosexual) who are known to me to have been the recipients of such sexual and quasi-sexual attentions in their own preadolescent years, and who nevertheless suffered no known harm from them, as they were never caught. One such individual credits his sexual friend with "straightening him out" and getting him away from various practices which could have resulted in identification with the delinquent subculture (thievery, vandalism, etc.). I make no claim that the results are usually or even often as good as this; information of this kind has been exceptionally difficult to assemble, and so far as I know no depth studies exist in the psychiatric literature.

Nevertheless, though one must judge each case on its own merits,

I cannot defend this type of relationship to the degree or in the manner that I am defending Greek love. For one thing, the danger of getting caught is possibly even greater than in Greek love, and the penalties are likely to be severer with decreasing age of the child; the presumption by legal authorities and social workers is always that the child is innocent and was led astray by the wicked adult; the panic reaction by parents and others (source of most damage to the child) is doubtless going to be greater than it would be in the event that the youngster were already in his teens; in summary, the psychological danger of damage to the child in the event of discovery is probably greater than it would be for an adolescent (though this is disputable); and the child is more vulnerable in every way than is the adolescent (the most important single point so far). Moreover, the mere fact that such liaisons are substitutions is almost automatic evidence that they originate in sickness. (Exceptions are possible, of course; such a liaison may arise from a teacher-pupil relationship. e.g. in private tutoring; or the "substitution" may occur in such a situation as an adult's having lost a son, daughter, kid brother, etc., and seeking a replacement.)

Whatever may be said of the mental health of an individual who allows himself to be drawn into a casual sexual encounter with a child—even an importunately enthusiastic little seducer with a great deal of spontaneous affection—still Harry Stack Sullivan's conclusion remains for the most part valid: a preadolescent child is a bundle of needs, capable mostly of what Maslow calls "deficiency love," a projection of his own need to be loved, and only seldom aware of other people as individuals with needs, feelings and vulnerabilities of their own. It follows that an adult limited to preadolescent children for love- or sex-objects is forfeiting any chance of a meaningful response, a genuine return of love; a preadolescent child, however affectionate he may be, is simply not yet ready for the kind of genuine emotional commitment which becomes usual in adolescence and therefore an important feature of Greek love. It follows that a man limited to such relationships is presumably inadequate, or feels himself inadequate, to initiate or sustain a love-relationship with someone old enough to decide for himself whether to accept or reject. Such a person is, I think, more to be pitied than censured.

On the other hand, a man limited exclusively to Greek love may or may not be sick, but at least he is capable of initiating and sustaining relationships in which a genuine return of love is possible. And whether or not the older partner in a Greek love situation is capable also of meaningful relationships with women (as he in fact

often is), he is filling a genuine need in an adolescent's life, taking a role which can have good consequences for the adolescent, and at least sometimes accepting responsibilities comparable to those found in adult/adult homosexual or heterosexual affairs (save for the economic responsibilities of marriage, of course). I shall elaborate these points in Chapter IV.

I believe that this account has, for apparently the first time anywhere, helped to clarify the all-important distinction between Greek love and sex affairs with prepuberal children. Possibly, if this new understanding becomes well enough known, the Israeli procedure will become more common, and perhaps later even the practice of judging each case on its own merits without automatically condemning it in advance—perhaps still later such cases, ascertained to be without harm to either participant, will no longer be molested by police interference.

But at present conventional heterosexuals all too often regard the person who expresses his homosexual impulses, particularly in a Greek love context, as a pariah for whom no pity (let alone sympathy) can or should be felt; such is the power of taboo particularly when supported by state, church and public opinion. "He jests at scars who never felt a wound."

3. *Rationalizations of Prior Aversion.* The objections commonly raised to Greek love can be divided into reasonable arguments and rationalizations, though it is true that reasonable arguments can be seized on and used as rationalizations as well. Among the reasonable arguments in Chapter II are that the presence of homosexuality among ancient Greeks or more recent creative figures is no justification for its appearance in them or in modern noncreative individuals; that irresponsibility in a relationship between man and boy can lead to physical or emotional harm to the boy (specifically, guilt feelings and a stay in a reform school), and that the danger of such damage is too great to ignore. The rationalizations, as we saw at the beginning of this chapter, are much more numerous (as expected from the stringency of the taboo governing them). Some are fairly specious, to many sounding deceptively reasonable—e.g., that early seduction tends to mobilize latent homosexual drives, turning youngsters away from the normal heterosexual path and fixating them on homosexual partners, relationships and techniques; that the guidance role ascribed to the older partner in Greek love can be better handled by responsible professionals; that a man in such a situation becomes jaded and tends to go to younger and younger boys; that homosexual intercourse is basically unsatisfactory because the sexual organs of the male are adapted to the shape of those of the female, and vice versa, two males not fit-

ting together; that a man who really loved his wife or girlfriend would not need a boy and therefore that the Greek lover is basically sick, rationalizing his own limitations; that the youngster involved in any such relationship is in considerable danger of later guilt feelings for having been queer; that Greek love, or any homosexual behavior, is a misuse of the sexual function, which was biologically (or biblically, if you wish) intended for procreation; and that practitioners of Greek love are not exuberant heterosexuals or ambisextrous types but instead homosexuals trying to rationalize their own unnatural desires by attributing ethical value to such relationships with boys.

Other rationalizations are more paradoxical: e.g., that homosexuality in any form inevitably engenders jealousies and favoritism undermining the entire fabric of social cooperation; that the essentially unsatisfactory (and sterile) physical aspect of homosexuality cannot form the basis of a stable love relationship; that homosexuality is a "contagious, incurable and self-perpetuating" proselytizing religion; that leniency in this matter may eventually render obsolete all existing punitive sexual laws—a possibility not even to be momentarily considered as acceptable; that homosexual love is falsely so called, being nothing more than infatuation; and that the homosexual underworld is dangerously disloyal or even communist-oriented. Considering the Soviet attitude towards homosexuality, this last rationalization hardly deserves more than a laugh; the rest are all answered either in Chapter II or elsewhere in this book.

Other common rationalizations, heard more often from types who claim to be heterosexual, objective and without hostility, include the likes of "I don't mind someone else being gay so long as he doesn't proposition me" (though one *could* always smile and say, "No, thanks, you're not my type—I'm queer for girls" or something like that) and "It's all right if they stick to their own kind, but would you want one associating with your son or kid brother?" The parallel between this and "Would you want to see a nigger screwing your daughter?" is abundantly obvious. It is important to see that these are also rationalizations and that their hostile basis is absolutely unequivocal. (The facts in these two instances are simple enough: homosexuals rarely approach individuals who have not shown some evidence of erotic interest in them; and a teen-age boy is perfectly capable of saying *no* and threatening to notify parents or police if he genuinely does not welcome a proposition at any stage in acquaintanceship or friendship. And in fact, as has been pointed out already, many homosexuals are badly enough hurt by rejections so that they make no advances except where they are reasonably certain to find a welcome. This is one more

reason to be suspicious of any claim that a teen-age boy was "converted" from heterosexual normality to homosexuality by some vicious seducer. . . .)

The basis for the hostility underlying all these rationalizations seems multiple though it is reducible in the last analysis to the church-supported taboo. It may take the form of exaggerating one's own masculinity and heterosexuality—the Don Juan way of life as a defense and a continued proof (indefinitely repeated because never permanently convincing) of one's normality is familiar enough. It may take the form of the Mike Hammer or Marine drill-instructor syndrome, i.e., avoiding and abominating the slightest vestige of tenderness or gentleness (characteristically misidentified with effeminacy) in speech, gesture, dress, mannerisms of all kinds, maintaining an impassive (where not violently abusive), stony-faced hairy-chested persona. (Some blind guide, in an early issue of *ONE*, actually counseled homosexuals to adopt this exact mask permanently to avoid detection!) It may take more symbolic forms such as choosing occupations regarded as completely masculine—engineer, truckdriver, fireman, aviator, marine, etc.—and loathing occupations of ambiguous sexuality such as interior decorator, florist, hairdresser, dress designer, couturier, parfumeur, chef, etc. It may, as we have already seen, take the extremely regrettable form of avoiding, alienating or rejecting adolescents for fear (conscious or otherwise) of being thought to have the slightest sexual interest in them. It may also take many other forms.

Nevertheless, the syndrome adds up to rigidity in one's view of permissible sexual roles, moralism, and insecurity; fear not only of forbidden impulses (which may never be allowed to reach consciousness) but also of even the slightest appearance of deviation. And its bases are these: (1) The need to feel superior to someone (here, less masculine men, and deviants generally: cf. the earlier quotations from Hoffer); (2) Fear and hatred of the unlike; (3) The anal taboo characteristic of puritanism, which Norman O. Brown (in *Life Against Death*) has chronicled in detail.

This prior aversion will result in bringing up of an indefinitely large number of new rationalizations, each of which may be demolished (as in Chapter II), without any fundamental change in attitude or behavior, or any permanent lessening of the moralistic impulse to censor and suppress. I predict that some such people, reading this book, will disregard the reasoning and make objections against its thesis, totally unaware that the very same objections they make have already been answered herein; or claim that I have said or advocated things which I have actually objected to; or in other ways react irra-

tionally. Clearly, in the face of this combination of ignorance of fact and fear of changing one's attitudes, the only course likely to alleviate the present punitive sexual status quo is prolonged and infinitely patient re-education of the public. The gap in time between Kinsey and public acceptance of discreet adultery or promiscuity as a fact, or court decisions of classic works of erotic literature as mailable, has exceeded a decade; quite possibly a still larger gap in time will elapse between publication of this book and public acceptance as a fact that discreet Greek love affairs go on with benefit to the various participants. In the meantime, presumably, one may expect a continuance of the common confusion between Greek love and androphile homosexuality and various harmful deviations, of the present severely punitive sexual taboos, and of acceptance of the laws implementing the latter as allegedly necessary and good.

Greek love is therefore a social problem largely because it is illegal. It became illegal for historical reasons not relevant to its ethical consequences, and it remains illegal largely because moralistically brought-up people fear the consequences of leniency or sexual reform. The problem of Greek love is therefore part of the much greater problem of sexual reform in general.

It is hardly fair to advocate demolition of a system without also suggesting something to replace it which can yield better results. The current sexual code is no exception. I accordingly make the following recommendations:

1. As a temporary measure, adoption in all states of the U.S.A. of the equivalent of the Illinois Revised Penal Code, while study of the disputed provisions of the latter continues.

2. Eventual adoption of wording of laws roughly as follows. Wherever an age of consent provision is mentioned in a sexual law, for males or females, any phrase such as "below the age of 18 years" or the like should be replaced by "incompetent to give consent by reason of immaturity or coercion." The question of competence to give consent, instead of being decided on an automatic age basis by police, judge, or jury, should be decided, in the event of complaints, on the basis of reports by psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, or other qualified persons, taking into account the history of the relationship. Laws should be reworded so as to call for even this official attention only when it becomes apparent that someone is being damaged, or is in clear and present danger of being damaged, by such a relationship. The court's jurisdiction should then extend only to recommending psychiatric assistance, or if necessary, change of custody or assignment to a foster home for a mistreated youngster, or the like. Sanc-

tions against the older party might consist of a court order for him or her to cease and desist. Rape, or sexual assault with violence or under threat, or when the victim is incompetent to consent by reason of drugs, unconsciousness, or psychotic state, should of course be considered as an entirely different matter, bearing in mind that forcible rape is actually a very rare occurrence and many alleged instances of rape have proved to originate in delusion or blackmail threats. ("Give me \$100 or I'll get you put in jail for rape." I know a naval officer who was trapped into marriage by just such a threat in 1954, and reports of similar threats recur.)

IV

GREEK LOVE AS A SOLUTION TO A SOCIAL PROBLEM

*It is not good the Boy should be alone:
He needs an helpmate even more than man . . .
Could he but steal away and be at rest
With mother Nature and one favourite friend,
Pillow his head on some responsive breast,
Lay bare his heart, and let his Mentor blend
Sweet comfort with wise counsel at the end,
How often would the boyish Ishmaelite,
The stubborn rebel, the child Cain unbend:
For he who braves the boisterous wind's rude might
Will cast away his cloak when once the sun shines bright.*
—E. E. BRADFORD

*There are no means of safety against superior
qualities of another person but to love him.*
—GOETHE, Wilhelm Meister

*Eros schemed: "This fellow doesn't sufficiently love him-
self; therefore, he's not ready to love Rosalind. Let us
begin by making him love what is like himself."*
—PAUL GOODMAN, Empire City, 355.

*As well expect one to be adept at heterosexual love with-
out having gone through autoerotic and homoerotic
stages as expect one to be immediately expert at calculus
without having understood—or even been allowed to
study—algebra and trigonometry first!—ANON.*

*Man is bad or good as he unites himself with bad or
good spirits: tell me with whom you go and I'll tell you
what you do. —WILLIAM BLAKE.*

MY THESIS HERE, AS LATER ALSO IN PART TWO, IS THAT GREEK LOVE, when handled responsibly (whether or not institutionalized as it was in ancient Greece), helps tide an adolescent boy over an essentially difficult period in his life, when his relationship with the adult world hangs in the balance. It can do so in many ways, some of them more efficiently than can brief impersonal or moralistic counseling by pro-

professionals, because of the time and concentrated attention given the boy by his mentor, others seemingly requiring the specific combination of a love-relationship and a mature guide-philosopher-friend. I shall discuss here seven specific aspects of the social problem for which Greek love provides a solution—the problem of the adolescent's changing and difficult relationship with the adult world and his contemporaries.

1. *Alienation and adolescent rebellion.* Almost every adolescent who has not been completely broken goes through a period of rebellion. This is not automatically a sign of delinquency, or of enmity toward or withdrawal from the adult world, though it can of course lead to any or all of these; it is not necessarily a sign of emotional disorder, though it is often closely tied up with the latter, or can (when improperly handled) precipitate the latter. Adolescent rebellion is basically a sign that the adolescent is growing up, that he feels he has passed some kind of threshold and no longer wants to be treated as a child, an appendage of his parents, but rather as an individual in his own right. Lindner,⁹⁰ Kurt Lewin²⁴ and Edgar Z. Friedenberg²⁰ have all discussed adolescent rebellion at length, and their basic agreement that this rebellion is a normal stage in a boy's development is, to my mind, convincing enough. At any rate, it is a normal stage in present urban society.

Though a normal stage, adolescent rebellion is often perplexing, difficult, ill understood by parent or boy, and therefore the risk is very high that it will be poorly handled, with undesirable consequences such as those mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The very nature of the rebellion, directed as it is against the adult world and specifically against those who are supposed to love him and be responsible for him, namely parents (and secondarily teachers and other adult authority figures), increases the difficulties. For a boy to pass through this period relatively unalienated requires that he have some ties in the adult world which can withstand the emotional storms of the rebellion period. Specifically, a boy needs to feel able to go to someone he feels to be *on his side*, someone who will not inform parents or other authorities on him, someone who will not take their part nor moralize at him (for that, too, in these circumstances constitutes a betrayal); he needs to know that he can speak freely without danger that his confusions, his inadequacy feelings, his admissions of disapproved behavior or dangerous ideas, will ever be used against him. Routinely, with the age segregation which has become the norm, a boy in this situation has nowhere to go save to adults who are in positions of authority (an inadmissible solution from his point of

view) or to his contemporaries, who are all too often careening in the same storm-tossed boat, and equally confused; I have already cited Dr. Duffy's phrase "pooling ignorance" for this state of affairs. And so confusion is inadequately answered by guesswork and folklore, while the boy still feels unable to discuss even with his contemporaries (unless he is extremely close to one or more of them, and possibly not even then) some of his deepest confusions. It is in just this kind of situation that the gang (often delinquent) forms, and provides another local readymade (and still inadequate) solution to the boy's difficulties, as well as another instance of what Cohen calls the "delinquent subculture"—a solution to an ongoing problem which creates worse problems in the long run. (This recursive property could even constitute a definition of an inadequate or delinquent solution.) Cohen's formulation of this concept and its genesis is original and valuable:

"All human action is an ongoing series of efforts to solve problems . . . Each choice is an act, each act a choice. Not every act is a successful solution, for our choice may leave us with unresolved tensions or generate new and unanticipated consequences which pose new problems, but it is at least an attempt at a solution . . . Most problems are familiar and recurrent and we have at hand for them ready solutions, habitual modes of action which we have found efficacious and acceptable both to ourselves and to our neighbors. Other problems, however, are not so readily solved. They persist, they nag, and they press for novel solutions. . . . Our really hard problems are those for which we have no ready-at-hand solutions which will not leave us without feelings of tension, frustration, resentment, guilt, bitterness, anxiety or hopelessness. These feelings and therefore the inadequacy of the solutions are largely the result of the frame of reference through which we contemplate these solutions. It follows that an effective, really satisfying solution *must entail some change in that frame of reference itself*. The actor may give up pursuit of some goal which seems unattainable, but it is not a "solution" unless he can first persuade himself that the goal is, after all, not worth pursuing; in short, his values must change. He may resolve a problem of conflicting loyalties by . . . a commitment to some standard for adjudicating the claims of different loyalties. . . . We have seen how difficult it is for the individual to cut loose from the culture models in his milieu, how his dependence upon his fellows compels him to seek conformity and to avoid innovation. But these models and precedents which we call the surrounding culture are ways in which other people think and other people act, and these other people are likewise constrained by

models in *their* milieux. . . . How is it possible for cultural innovations to emerge while each of the participants in the culture is so powerfully motivated to conform to what is already established? . . . The crucial condition for the emergence of new cultural forms is the existence, *in effective interaction with one another, of a number of actors with similar problems of adjustment*. These may be the entire membership of a group or only certain members, similarly circumstanced, within the group. Among the conceivable solutions to their problems may be one which is not yet embodied in action and which does not therefore exist as a cultural model. This solution, except for the fact that it does not already carry the social criteria of validity and promise the social rewards of consensus, might well answer more neatly to the problems of this group and appeal to its members more effectively than any of the solutions already institutionalized. For each participant, this solution would be adjustive and adequately motivated provided that he could anticipate a simultaneous and corresponding transformation in the frames of reference of his fellows. . . . Innovation is broached in such a manner as to elicit from others reactions suggesting their receptivity; and . . . occurs by increments so small, tentative and ambiguous as to permit the actor to retreat, if the signs be unfavorable. . . . And if the probing gesture is motivated by tensions common to other participants it is likely to initiate a process of *mutual* exploration and *joint* elaboration of a new solution. . . . The final product, to which we are jointly committed, is likely to be a compromise formation of all the participants in what we may call a cultural process, a formation perhaps unanticipated by any of them. . . . The product cannot be ascribed to any one of the participants; it is a real 'emergent' on a group level."⁹¹

This process accounts for many things; among those most relevant to our subject are the formation of delinquent (and other) gangs, mutual sexual exploration, and the 'seduction' by an adolescent of another adolescent or of an adult. Some such process was obviously at work in the formation of homosexual societies. And almost any ingroup, whatever its special interest, can be explained in terms of this process.

The danger involved is not the mere formation of an ingroup, but the fact that in the situation where the participants are confused adolescents seeking a way out of their difficulty, the gang solution may have undesirable results—not only the legal ones, but the growing and reinforced alienation from the adult world of which the adolescent will soon become a part.

It follows that some more desirable alternative to the gang solu-

tion is required, if we are to have any humane and efficient answer to the problem of gang-oriented juvenile delinquency. No alternative in socially approved channels is readily at hand. However such an alternative may define itself, it cannot arise from the gangs themselves, nor from punitive measures (as these tend in turn to reinforce the common adolescent notion that adults are their antagonists), nor yet from do-goodery of the common Scouting, YMCA or church-social variety which would seek to take up the boys' time without providing them in return with anything offering intrinsic excitement or interest—which would, in fact, be asking them to renounce definable joys in favor of activities they would consider boring. One can hardly blame the boys for refusing.

These criteria automatically exclude reliance on adolescents' own pooling of ignorance with their contemporaries, or on any existing institution already identified with either authority or do-goodery. (New York's PAL, "Police Athletic League," works mainly with pre-adolescents.) Under these circumstances, both the boys themselves (who may find dissatisfaction in their alienated position) and those who feel responsible for them are in a double bind.

What is worse, group solutions are likely to be less than satisfactory because the specific kinds and sources of alienation are likely to differ from one boy to the next. This seems to indicate that at least a necessary part of any workable solution must be individualized intensive guidance of some kind. Apart from the prohibitively high monetary cost of any large-scale project using professional counselors, there are other difficulties intrinsic to such a project. Some of these are difficulty of access to the boys, difficulty of getting many of them to recognize that a problem exists, or to see that a professional counselor can be legitimately concerned with them in such a way as not to provide a threat to their own jealously clutched satisfactions (or their masculinity), difficulty of gaining rapport, difficulty in providing in socially approved channels any activity such boys will consider as worth their time. What the boys want is easily seen—excitement, continued improvement in their own capacity to do things (of which earning money is one part), sexual satisfaction, esteem among their contemporaries, potential esteem in later life. But this list differs markedly from what society all too often is willing to give them. In particular, the socially approved channels of adolescent activity lack opportunities for excitement and sexual satisfaction, and we have already seen that many high schools are a way of denying them opportunities for the rest.

Professional counselors, then, useful as they may be in some

circumstances, may not be a necessary nor a sufficient condition for a solution to the present problem. But what other kind is available? The Hearn-Lewin suggestion of a neutral adult to act as a buffer between the boy and the authorities has merit.²⁴ But the frequently rigid age segregation common in present-day culture provides little or no opportunity for such buffers.

It follows, then, that at least some conditions for a solution to at least some common forms of adolescent alienation and delinquency (in terms of individualized guidance) may have to come from unconventional sources.

We have already seen in Chapter II that the adolescent in need of guidance has no ready and sufficient answer in the socially acceptable channels. Parents are still too likely to seem—and especially in moments of stress to act—as authority figures, to use against him anything he might have confided. Clergymen, social workers, vocational or academic counselors, etc., have their own limitations of subject matter and of time. The ideal solution, therefore, is access to some friendly adult who can be trusted, who will not inform on the youngster, who will understand and not regard him as silly or stupid or immoral, no matter what shocking idea the boy may bring up, who has plenty of time and patience, who is not an authority figure. Now these are pretty demanding qualifications, and a man who can play such a role to a youngster over weeks, months and years must have some motivation. We have also seen that abstract notions like citizenship and social responsibility are hardly enough.

Only one sufficiently strong motive is left: love. Love intense enough to stand the risk of being misunderstood by others. Love which is reciprocated, without necessarily being possessive, exclusive, or demanding. The reader will already have anticipated the conclusion: the desirable, sufficient and ready answer is Greek love, whether or not it also develops an overt sexual aspect. This solution is immediately seen to be adequate: the adolescent has someone who can help him resolve his confusions, bolster his floundering ego, give him a feeling that he has a place in the world, develop in him some good reasons for self-esteem, convince him that the adult world is not solely a loveless place of authority and threats of force, and provide him with a model of how to behave, without moralizing or suppressing his individuality.¹⁴

2. *The "Epicurean" confusion.* Closely related to the adolescent pitfall of alienation from the adult world is the fearful feeling that the present, i.e., adolescence, is the last opportunity one will have for enjoyment. Adult life seems, to many, to be a lousy drag, a time of

restrictions, a rat race; a time of responsibilities and duties without additional rewards. "Dressing up isn't a privilege any more, but something you have to do at the office." Work is often dull and even meaningless—hardly the sort of thing which gives a boy the feeling that he is doing something useful!—and one gets ahead by being in the right place at the right time, by seniority, or by office politics, rather than through mere excellence in performing one's task; money has to go for rent and installment payments on the TV instead of things one would rather spend it on, "marriage cuts down on your social life and gets you hung up on boring details of budgeting, dish-washing and housework (often the same kind your parents had pushed off onto you)." "And most grownups are such *squares* . . . do I *have* to act like that? why do they get that way?" And before that, there is the army, always the army: "will I get out of it alive? how will I be changed by it? will I be able to enjoy things then the same way I used to?" These questions are not easily answered; they are a very real issue to many adolescents. The common response among adolescents is the eat, drink and make merry attitude, asking themselves what 'kicks' can they get out of life before it's all over. *And adults, whether parents or guidance people, too often do not understand, or else have forgotten, what it is to be facing these questions every day.* The questions themselves make communication with ordinary adults more difficult; after all, the adults *are* on the other side, they don't usually see the questions as real issues. These issues certainly cannot be treated as trivial, nor resolved in an hour or two of talk. This is a real instance of Lewin's earlier mentioned remark²⁴ about adolescence involving an incomplete cognitive map of the adult world.

The answer, again, may have to be at least partly nonverbal. It would then consist in association with an adult for whom these disadvantages of adulthood have not killed the capacity for joy, an adult who can show (rather than merely claim without proof) that life continues to hold rewards. And this demonstration has to be completely honest, consistent over a long period of time, and free from any hint of special pleading. On an adolescent's satisfaction on this point may well depend much of his capacity, then and later, to accept his own roles then and to come, as well as his avoidance—or outgrowing—of a predatory (delinquent) damn-the-future orientation. Once again, something more than the usual parental or professional guidance is needed, and Greek love provides a ready solution. It is this issue among others, however, which makes me insist on the absolute necessity that the man in the relationship be responsible, and that he be capable of satisfying emotional relationships with women; for after

all it is in just these relationships that one finds some of the greatest rewards life has to offer, and a mere "lay" is not a fair sample of them. The man has to be able to show the boy how rewarding it is to love and find one's love returned, and that this actually *does* make up for a great deal one renounces in adulthood: mere preachment is not enough. The boy will have to convince himself on this point, eventually, but he can be made ready for the latter by such prolonged demonstration. (Regrettably, Paul Goodman and Friedenberg have only touched on this point, rather than giving it the thorough discussion it needs: a book-length study could easily come of it.)

3. *The need of an ego-ideal.* The major part of a boy's education comes, not from formal schooling, but from surrounding people and events; this process begins long before kindergarten and continues after his final departure from the educationists' lairs. This informal education includes, among many other things, almost the whole of the regulations, social norms, taboos, roles and images which make up the boy's overall picture of how a male should behave in the social stratum and milieu to which he belongs. In adolescence, the picture begins to become more and more unstable and to break up, as the boy begins to realize the contradictions between the way he was taught in childhood and the ways in which people actually do behave, between the motivations claimed and the motivations actually governing actions, between the appearances and the realities. (The parallel to what Kenneth Rexroth calls the "Social Lie"—the contradiction between the way kids are taught society is run, democratically with fair play and equal justice impartially administered, with advancement by actual merit, etc., and the way it actually is run—is no accident. We have here in fact a more subjective special case of the Social Lie.) This dissolving picture leaves the young adolescent in considerable danger of normlessness, or what sociologists call "anomie." Many pontificators on adolescence assume—one suspects on behalf of the established order—that the subsequent adolescent antics and rebellion represent a "need for strict limits." A more realistic view seems to be, rather, that a boy is looking for some standard to imitate so that he will feel secure, not a minority of one, not freakish, crazy or queer. He is looking, as well, for some predictability in the ethical area—some consistency between actions and consequences, some knowledge of just how much he can get away with, what actions will bring approval and which ones will bring what degree of disapproval *and why*. These standards are assimilated (or more often, I fear, introjected—swallowed whole without real comprehension) partly through specific instructions, partly through parental pressures, partly through other

representatives of organized authority, civil and churchly, partly through the folklore of adolescence as transmitted from older to younger boys; but in general they include mainly prohibitions. A boy needs, and often lacks access to, someone on whom to project his feelings of hero-worship, his sometimes even conscious wish "That's what I'd like to be when I grow up!" This object of emulation, on whom he seeks to model his own behavior, provides the positive aspect of what the usual ethical education provides only the negative. It is known as the *ego-ideal* in classical Freudian terms.

The nature of a boy's ego-ideal therefore makes a considerable difference in his relationship with the adult world, on what he later becomes through imitation. It makes a considerable difference if the ego-ideal is someone to whom he is ambivalent consciously or unconsciously (as with parents and other authority figures), someone whom he knows well or only superficially, someone therefore with whom he can become emotionally involved enough to appreciate, perceive and understand in clarity or only vaguely from a distance and "through a glass darkly." It makes a difference whether this ego-ideal is someone intrinsically worthwhile and well adapted to life in the world, or someone sick, limited and distorted.

Once again, the preferable ego-ideal for a boy would be someone with whom he can get into a close relationship, the element of authority being absent; someone with more time to spend on him than a professional would have, and someone aware of the responsibility involved. This points to Greek love, as one would expect; it is easy to see that this solution is adequate.

And, as in the preceding section, the situation contains a pitfall. It can occasionally happen that a boy's guide-philosopher-friend is an unworthy sort, or less responsible than he should be. In at least some instances this can be offset by the boy's recognition that the man is vague or contradictory on questions of how a person should behave in particular contexts, or that the man's own behavior is not exemplary in society, contradicting what he and others may have counseled the boy to do. The boy then has to make up his own mind, as he would do in the absence of such a relationship. On the other hand, an impressionable and alienated adolescent may be reinforced in his own alienation by such contact. *However, this danger is at least equally great—and sometimes is far greater—when the vague, contradictory advice, or the undesirable behavior, comes from a parent or other authority figure;* existing outside the specific Greek love context, it is not therefore an automatic argument against Greek love, but rather against "blind guides." It is a risk every adolescent runs. As I have said

before, in Chapter II, one must judge each case on its own merits rather than issue blanket condemnations; and if a boy seems to be deteriorating during such a relationship, it is unsound to blame it on the mere presence of anything like a Greek love situation—the trouble may be in the individual personality of the man or the adolescent, or in other factors at home or in school.

4. *The gang ethos and the Mike Hammer syndrome.* One source of trouble for an adolescent boy—increasingly so in this increasingly mother-dominated society—is conflict over sex roles. A boy generally wants to be masculine, to be competent, to measure up to his peers, and it is early impressed on him in this culture that masculinity is a goal to be achieved by strict adherence to certain forms of behavior and avoidance of certain others, rather than being an automatic matter of mere gender. Most such trends have a way of intensifying themselves, especially in the absence of any corrective elements such as would be introduced by close guidance. The unfortunate part of this trend is that its intensified form, preserved, transmitted and often distorted by each succeeding batch of fourteen-year-olds, entails all too often an utter rejection of anything that could be considered tenderness or love. A girl is often at first an object of disgust or indifference—a green monkey among pink monkeys; later on she is, perhaps, a make-out, and making-out is a status thing, a proof that one is a grownup, a He-Man. A woman is a lay unless she is a nun or your mother or sister, etc. A man or a boy is a fairy unless he is rough, tough, swaggering, unyielding. These are lower middle-class and upper lower-class mores, but they are too often the mores of the half-grown common man. And this grotesque distortion of human feelings takes, in later years, a form I earlier called the “Mike Hammer syndrome”: exaggerated virilism, impassive stony-faced hairy-chestedness, aversion to anything that smacks to even the least degree of gentleness, let alone femininity. It goes without saying that a boy who has thoroughly accepted these mores is in for trouble. It also goes without saying that this distorted set of standards is at its worst in the delinquent gangs. Boys of this kind are referred to by psychiatrists and others as “hard on the outside, soft on the inside” (the phrase is Dr. Franz Alexander’s), and much of their predatory, vandalistic or otherwise antisocial behavior is interpretable as continuous attempts to prove and reprove their masculinity, even when nobody has been explicitly questioning it (and the worst possible insult is to question it). This is as classical an instance of “reaction-formation” as one could hope to find in casebooks of psychoanalysis, and it comes, of course, from an endless inner corroding self-doubt. Early distorted

relationships with parents are certainly at the bottom of much of the trouble—reinforced, as I have earlier pointed out, by continued association almost entirely with one's age-mates who are likely to be in more or less the same kind of confusion. (And those who are not are all too often perceived as "different" and ostracized.)

The need to give and receive tenderness and caresses is present even though chronically unsatisfied and even repressed (forgotten, pushed back into unconscious levels). Yet satisfaction of this need is felt, often more or less articulately (and in the *Lolita* syndrome, it is felt *especially*) as a renunciation of masculinity. The solution to this conflict cannot be found through conventional channels. It is an issue which either does not exist for parents or would be regarded by them, all too often, as too taboo to discuss. It is an issue too often mingled, in the minds of parents, counselors and contemporaries, with the more specific one of sex. (For in many such strata, it is OK to caress a girl you're making out with, if you *really* intend to go steady, but not if she's just a make-out or a lay. . . . But even in sex play this solution is not sufficient, as girls are supposed to be passive: one caresses them, perhaps, but does not expect to be caressed in turn by them; this is worse at lower social levels,⁹² and its relationship to the *Lolita* syndrome is obvious.) It follows that for many boys this is a major area of confusion.

The satisfactory answer, both to the conflict over masculinity and to the rejection of tenderness, is a deep and lasting relationship with some adult who can reassure the boy that he is not being un-masculine in having any particular impulses or desires, that masculinity itself is in fact a matter of birth rather than of mannerisms (leaving aside, of course, the small but vociferous minority of queens who parade their effeminacy and rejection of maleness). Once this insight is thoroughly assimilated by a boy, despite further association with the tough elements (as may be necessary in some schools and some neighborhoods), he will at least be free of the major part of the corrosive self-doubt which had occasioned both the compulsive repetition of proofs of masculinity and the rejection of his own tender side. This issue lies too deep for ready discussion with parents or guidance counselors, and Greek love is the easiest solution.

The personal characteristics of the man in such a situation—again, whether or not there is any overt sex play—will be very important in determining whether the boy obtains a reasonably realistic view of masculinity. For instance, it is most desirable that the man have made a satisfying heterosexual relationship, the better to let the boy know exactly what is involved in doing so, and just how one both

pleases a girl and obtains the maximum of pleasure for oneself in doing so; it is desirable that the man be able genuinely to appreciate women for their more important attributes rather than merely their measurements; it is desirable that he should have resolved his own conflicts over masculinity; it is desirable that he not be limited to a restricted repertory of sexual techniques; it is desirable that he not be himself seriously distorted in these areas, e.g. by fetishism or the like.

Classical psychologists routinely aver that boys get their ideas of masculinity largely from their fathers. In present-day American culture, mother-dominated as it is, this is becoming less true. Boys' ideas of masculinity are therefore likely to come more from other men with whom they have less personal contact (for reasons mentioned earlier), and even more from their contemporaries and slightly older acquaintances in and out of school. Insofar as relationships with these are, where close at all, altogether too likely to be beset with confusions in this area, and insofar as relationships with their fathers are often of decreasing importance in this context (even where they are not acutely strained), it is no surprise that boys often have muddled, misleading or distorted views of masculinity, and of masculine roles vis-à-vis women. It follows that a potentially valuable antidote to this confusion is a relationship with an adult with at least some of the features of Greek love—a first-hand acquaintance with mature masculinity devoid of the Mike Hammer syndrome.

5. *The need of practical and undistorted knowledge of sex.* A boy's sources of sexual information—over and above the bare fact of the connection between coitus and childbirth, which is obviously not enough to enable him to cope adequately with his own needs or those of his future girlfriends or wife—are likely to be one or several of the following: parents, formal school instruction, clerical or similar advice, books, other boys, counselors or other friendly adults. In the vast majority of cases adolescents get, at most, the bare facts together with moralistic Don'ts from the official and quasi-official sources (unless indeed these are supplemented with some such book as Albert Ellis's *Sex Without Guilt*). From their contemporaries they are likely to get a mixture of folklore, superstition, misinformation and mixed-up attitudes. All too often these include a totally unrealistic picture of what a "real man" is expected to do in bed—size of organs, number of times he can Do It, positions worthy and unworthy of such a paragon, etc. The subject is surrounded with such a mixture of hush-hush, taboo and superstition that it is small wonder that many boys for shorter or longer periods of time become quite confused and

often feel inadequate or deficient in masculinity (tending to reinforce their adherence to the Mike Hammer syndrome). This is a specific instance of the reinforced and long-transmitted confusions associated with boys' being pretty closely limited to their age-mates for companionship. I mention it at length because of the especially serious consequences of misinformation and distortion in this particular area.

Sex is undeniably an important part of a person's life; in health it can be a source of enjoyment, a source of deepening emotional ties, a fulfillment and confirmation and reconfirmation of love, a natural safety-valve for tensions that unresolved might otherwise lead to neurotic symptoms; a comfort and a joy. But all too often, because of the mistaken ideas imparted (no matter how) to youngsters, it becomes instead another test of one's worth in which the grades are only Pass or Fail, it becomes a status symbol (at different age levels and in many social strata, a boy who has Been All The Way has a status as a Man denied to those not yet able to find the proper simultaneous occurrence of the right girl, the opportunity, and the mutual consent), it becomes a positive obsession. And the status value attached to it both feeds the obsession and contributes to the building up of a gigantic and grotesque distorted picture of the role of sex in a person's life. By a positive feedback similar to that earlier described, it leads to a thoroughly neurotic area in an adolescent's mind. This is of course more common in some social strata than others, but it is present to a certain extent in all; and it contributes to warping of other areas of adolescent experience, attitudes and self-images.

Particularly in the presence of the no-sex-before-marriage attitude which is official everywhere in this culture, and bindingly unofficial in many social strata, this adolescent concern is something that cannot be, in general, discussed with parents or the usual guidance people. Adolescents often know this anyway: they sense that about all they will get out of attempts to discuss the problem is a set of variations on the hackneyed theme of "wait till you're married"—and warnings against premature marriage. But these variations fail to take into account the abovementioned status problem, and this is extremely important to adolescents—aside from their own often desperate need for sexual satisfaction free of anxiety or guilt.

The obvious and natural way out of the problem is access to a friendly adult, not an authority figure, who can provide information and attitudes *based on experience*, who can use the truth to cast out fears, anxieties and assorted intellectual rubbish, and who can do this over a considerable period of time (as difficulties successively come up in the adolescent's life and become objects of concern to both parties)

without moralizing or imparting, even by suggestion or indirection, any vestige of the usual anti-sexual attitudes. The relationship meeting these requirements must have at least some features of Greek love, and the adult must be able to draw on his own satisfactory experience with women.

6. *The need of a safe and dependable love object.* It has been a commonplace of psychology since Freud's initial contributions, to speak of adolescence, particularly early adolescence, as a normally transiently homosexual period, characterized by hero-worship, by crushes by adolescents on other (often somewhat older, particularly when hero-worshipped) members of their own sex, and by some physical explorations. What is not realized is exactly why this happens at this particular time and not earlier or later either in the Freudian scheme (or its emendation by Sullivan⁴⁸) or in actual life. I shall go into this question in more detail in Chapters V and VI, but the important aspect right now is that the onset of adolescence normally marks also the onset of the capacity to perceive clearly, to esteem, and to love over individuals in their uniqueness, and that at this stage one's own sex is safe and familiar, with understandable motivations and predictable ways of reacting. In Harry Stack Sullivan's words, "obvious likeness, parallel impulse, parallel physical development . . . make for situations in which boys feel at ease with boys rather than with girls."⁴⁸ The opposite sex is as yet a world still more or less unknown, unpredictable: girls play differently and have different interests, different motivations, different reactions to given stimuli, different likes and dislikes; they become offended or disturbed at words or actions which do not bother boys at all; and in general they are unfamiliar enough to boys (and, alas, to men) to be poorly understood without a great deal more maturation and effort on both sides. And as yet the boys have less motivation to make such an effort than they will have a few years later. After all, they do not have enough in common with girls to make a companionship automatically desirable; they share few interests, they have little to talk about, and most girls do not particularly care to share in the games and pastimes and explorations and rough-housing that boys find desirable and valuable. So on every count there is, in early adolescence, more reason for boys to stick together for companionship than for them to try to associate to any great extent with girls.

To develop the capacity to love *girls*, one has first to learn how to *love*: and the most natural objects for the burgeoning capacity are those with whom the boy has the largest areas of common experience, therefore those in his immediate circle of acquaintances. It is there-

fore altogether understandable that a boy's first experience of another individual as an individual, his first experience of that subtle mixture of half-recognized tenderness, of desire for closer acquaintance, of eagerness to communicate and share views, delights and secrets, idealization, need to be recognized and to be loved, etc., should involve another boy.⁹³

And when hero-worship and admiration and "That's what I want to be like when I grow up!" become mixed with these new desires and yearnings, it also becomes natural that the boy gets a crush on older or more successful individuals—older pupils, teachers, friendly adults in other capacities.

Now if a boy is to get the most out of any such experiences, his love-object should be aware of these feelings and willing to reciprocate. I need not go on at any length about hopeless crushes or unrequited love. The adolescent, whether girl or boy, who is hung up on someone who won't even acknowledge that the youngster exists, is an all too familiar sight in schools; his schoolwork often suffers, his relationships with his schoolmates and teachers may be unduly stressful, his preoccupation interferes with almost everything he does. (Granted that this may be more common in girls, it nevertheless happens in boys often enough to come to the notice of headmasters, though they may not know the intensity of the crush or the identity of its object.)

This points up the common and difficult feature about adolescents as love-objects whether of other adolescents or of adults: they are still too often unpredictable and even mercurial in their rapid shifts of feeling, they may be embarrassed or bewildered (even unknowing how to react, or how much they dare permit to happen, or how much they dare confide), at the knowledge that they are the recipients of someone's affection. Adults are, in general, more predictable in their reactions, and less likely to be bewildered in such circumstances if they know what is going on; but if they are embarrassed at being the recipient of a youngster's crushes, they can still do considerable damage without intending to, or even with such intent (Friedcnberg,²⁰ 115ff).

All the better, then, if the youngster can find someone who is mature, a fit object for emulation, or even hero-worship, on whom he can fasten some of these feelings; someone who will not be embarrassed by them. This pretty much delineates a quasi Greek love situation, if the adult in the picture allows himself to reciprocate the affection. And here is a chance of taking advantage of the situation to provide a much needed link with the adult world, a buffer against alienation, a masculine behavioral standard to which the adolescent

can model himself. (The adult can then, too, function as the "neutral party" between the adolescent and social workers or other authorities, recommended by Hearn, paraphrasing Lewin.²⁴) Ideally, the adult in such a role will have to be available to talk with and confide in, to be dependable, to be trusted not to ridicule or downgrade the boy, no matter how silly (to unfriendly eyes) his outbursts of feeling, posturings, swift changes, etc. This element of stability in a relationship, probably absent in many close friendships between youngsters, is of great value, and can itself serve as a model for the boy to follow when he comes to appreciate girls as potential love objects. Once again, this stability is more likely to be part of the adult's personality if he has himself sufficiently matured to develop a satisfying heterosexual life; an all too common feature of the personalities of exclusively or nearly exclusively homosexual adults is this very instability of affection, feelings being quickly hurt and affection often changed to jealousy or hostility at minor upsets, quarrels, or roving eyes.

7. *The need of emotional preparation for nonjealous love.* We have already seen that the usual pooling of ignorance, characteristic of the adolescent subculture, results in sexual attitudes too often distorted and unrealistic; there is a general de-emphasis on love together with an emphasis on the status value of having Gone All The Way. When, later on, there is talk of falling in love with someone, this too, all too often, takes distorted forms, consistent with lower class and lower middle class folkways. I refer in particular to the well known "double standard": a boy expects his girlfriend to become completely committed to him, exclusively faithful to him to the extent that she will not even momentarily consider going out with anyone else, entirely His Property; whereas it is still acceptable for him to relate to other girls even to the extent of "making out." (And in some circles even to the extent of intercourse; one is supposed to have premarital intercourse only with girls one does not "respect," and to marry only virgins. Girls are either "good" or "whores,"⁹⁴ and non-virgins, being "whores," are much less inviting prospects for marriage.) The double standard, regrettably, continues even after marriage; what passes for marital love is often a mixture of sexual desire, obsessive jealousy, possessiveness, and pride, together with a goodly quantity of projection of one's own need to be loved. From this one may conceivably grow towards a more realistic form of love in later years, but it is far from certain that one will, given this kind of early orientation.

Clearly, a better conception of love needs to be imparted to adolescents than this hideous travesty. True enough, the extreme form I have described is encountered in other social strata only in diluted

form, but insofar as an individual's conception of love embodies in any degree the combination of jealousy and possessiveness and the feeling that behavior acceptable for the man is unacceptable for the woman, it is unhealthy. Insofar as our public high schools transmit, by and large, lower middle class or common man standards, folkways, and mores,⁹⁵ some measure of this double standard is likely to contaminate the concept of love imparted to adolescents in these schools.

It follows that some other influence, outside the school, is needed to offset this source of distortion. Whatever else may be said of such corrective influence, it should be other than merely didactic, and it should constitute a practical demonstration that it is possible to love nonpossessively, even nonjealously. Clearly, a Greek love relationship—where the older man already has a wife or girlfriend, but freely cherishes the boy as well—satisfies these rather difficult requirements. The French custom, whereby in former decades (and possibly even now in some social strata) a boy's initial sexual experiences were with his father's old mistress, or (as in some of the Colette stories) some other wise and experienced woman, is an excellent alternative but one rarely available in this culture—particularly as the lower and middle class folkways prescribe also that a boy's female sex object should be younger, shorter, and a little less manifestly intelligent than the boy himself.

The Greek lover, in this situation, is in a relationship where both know that permanency is not to be expected, and where both know that neither one is expected to be exclusively attached to the other. A love relationship that can flourish under these circumstances is one realistic step in the direction of nonpossessive, nonjealous love. In a certain sense this involves what can be called a tragic view of Greek love: the lover's role is in some ways like that of a teacher, who knows that his pupil will graduate in a few years, never more to return to the former relationship; or like that of the parent of a teen-aged boy or girl, knowing that the adolescent will before long leave home for good. And both must recognize that in such an asymmetrical relationship, roles change, attitudes change. Ending such a relationship can mean a great deal of heartache; the parties to it can remain friends, but the old closeness is gone, never to return. And yet today, as in ancient Greece, man and boy can and do enter into such affairs, more or less aware that they will end.

"He who binds to himself a joy
Does the winged thing destroy;
But he who kisses the joy as it flies
Lives in eternity's sunrise."

(Blake)

There are also other implications to the concept of nonjealous love which can produce conflict with conventional standards of romantic monogamy. These will be discussed in Chapter V, though admittedly they will take the line of argument somewhat outside the strictly defined topic of Greek love. It is, however, necessary to understand Greek love in a larger context of love in general, if one expects to understand it at all. For one of my basic theses is that after all Greek love is a form of love not greatly different from some other forms of love, and having much in common with all the rest.

V

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF LOVE

A fool sees not the same tree that a wise man sees.
—BLAKE

*Children of the future Age
Reading this indignant page,
Know that in a former time
Love! sweet Love! was thought a crime.* —BLAKE

*Christianity is the religion that made love a sin.
But how could it face the world without some sub-
terfuge? It could not openly declare war on man's
noblest passion. So one talked as if one were op-
posed to one kind of love only, and as if there were
another kind.* —WALTER KAUFMANN,
Critique of Religion and Philosophy, p. 180.

FOR EVERYTHING THAT LIVES IS HOLY —BLAKE

THE ACCOUNT TO FOLLOW CAN OF NECESSITY ONLY BE SKETCHY; IT CAN be, and perhaps eventually will be, expanded into a booklength study. What is intended is a first attempt at an orthopsychology of love, in terms of which Greek love can be seen in context as one legitimate manifestation among many others. I know of nothing comparable in intent or scope in the psychological literature, and this is sole and sufficient apologia. The literature, for the most part, starts out from sickness and therefore fails to adumbrate the conditions for health, let alone provide a description of healthy behavior. When the latter occurs, therefore, it is all too often unrecognized, or else mistaken for merely another kind of sickness. A conspicuous exception to all this is found in the work of Abraham Maslow, especially in the papers revised and collected as *Toward a Psychology of Being*, and on these I draw heavily for the account to follow, beginning with the most familiar (or even obvious) and proceeding to the less familiar. Be-

tween Maslow and the Gestaltists one can piece together at least the major criteria of healthy love relationships as these alter and develop over the years.

1. *Physical Affection, Sex, and Love.* It is commonplace that infrahuman mammals are frequently observed nestling or snuggling up against each other, even in circumstances where this behavior is not a mutual defense against cold, nor a specifically sexual approach, nor a necessity for survival in any immediately discernible sense. The practice is indulged in with little discrimination, though some individuals seem to be favored with such attention more than are others. It is neither anthropomorphizing nor falling into the pathetic fallacy to conclude that these animals do this because they get some kind of pleasure or satisfaction out of it. A notable feature is that "higher" mammals, those of species possessing highly complex nervous systems, are more often observed in this behavior than are lower animals (with less complex nervous systems).

Since such behavior is commoner in the young than in full-grown animals, one may speculate that it is perhaps partly a survival or outgrowth or close relative of the common (and pro-survival) impulse of young animals to cling to their mothers, an impulse studied in monkeys in recent years.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, some form of cuddling behavior does occur among full-grown animals as well. It is more frequent when they are in heat, but it is certainly not limited to such periods. ("Grooming" among chimpanzees in the wild and in captivity may constitute a formalized social expression of this kind.^{96a} Its occurrence in the wild is of greater theoretical importance, since we must not assume captive animals to be in full psychic health.)

In much the same way one finds mammals—dogs and cats are particularly notable for this—snuggling or cuddling with human beings, both children and adults.^{96b} Even the most cautious observer will have to agree that this behavior takes place more often in circumstances indicating that the animals have become friendly with the human beings than otherwise, and that outgoing, friendly humans receive a disproportionate share of such attentions. The conclusion is obvious to any dog- or cat-lover; animals have a rudimentary capacity for friendliness, even for affection, and they can sense it in others. Whether or not they experience what a human being experiences when he feels affectionate is not particularly important; my point is that a continuity exists between what is interpreted as physical affection among other mammals, and similar cuddling behavior among humans, just as there is a common mammalian heritage in other human behavior, sexual and otherwise.

Observations of uninhibited adults in various cultures—sexually permissive societies like the Pilagá, Siriono, etc., and sexually restrictive ones such as our own—and, still more important, observations of children the world over, confirm over and over again that human beings share this same trait (even though in unhealth they are often less open in displaying it) of seeking or expressing pleasure and affection by cuddling. A. S. Neill's observations of "self-regulating" children show unequivocally that these are unusually open and friendly—a theoretical point of some importance to which I shall return later.^{96c} The more highly elaborated the nervous systems of mammals, the more elaborate this behavior, and apparently the greater the attention given to it; it is therefore no surprise to find it at its maximum of elaboration and differentiation among human beings.

My tentative hypothesis is that the cuddling urge is an "instinctoid need" (Maslow's term) of which sex is a highly specialized subdivision. This would account for the data already presented and those to follow, as well as fit in well both with the Ford and Beach theory of man's mammalian sexual heritage¹⁹ and the Maslow theory of deficiency-needs.^{96d}

That the cuddling urge represents an actual need should be no surprise. Possibly deriving, for human beings, from the impulse of the young among our arboreal apelike ancestors to cling to their mothers as the mothers swung from tree-limb to tree-limb (an impulse with obvious survival value), or perhaps from the equally pro-survival impulse of newborn mammals to search for mother's nipple and remain close to it, this cuddling urge is a familiar part of every human infant's earliest demands. It is commonplace that very often a crying infant quickly quiets down when its mother simply picks it up and cuddles it. What is not so well known is that during the monstrous heyday of Watsonian theories of child training, as well as in earlier periods in orphanages, many infants died of marasmus, a mysterious wasting disease: they simply did not digest their food, cried continuously, lost weight and finally died for no discernible reason. Marasmus ceased to occur when aides at some orphanages noticed that babies who were cuddled at mealtime (strictly contrary to orders) did not develop the disease at all, and that those who had it and were given the cuddling treatment began to digest their food and develop normally. The heartrending picture in Bowlby⁹⁷ is unforgettable.

Maslow's criteria for an instinctoid need^{96d} follow:

1. Absence of the needed object breeds illness; the deprived person persistently yearns for this specific gratification.
2. Presence of the needed object in steady supply prevents the specific kind of illness associated with its absence.

3. Restoration of the needed object cures the specific symptoms associated with its absence, and is subjectively experienced as gratification, relief, detensioning, pleasure.

4. "Under certain (very complex) free choice situations, it (the needed object) is preferred by the deprived person over other satisfactions."

5. The healthy person having this object in steady supply is not obsessed by cravings for it; the felt need is relatively inactive or at a low ebb.

"It would not occur to anyone," says Maslow, "to question the statement that we 'need' iodine or Vitamin C. I remind you that the evidence that we 'need' love is of exactly the same type." Evidence presented above shows that at least in infancy the cuddling urge qualifies as an "instinctoid" need. But does this need disappear later on?

I hypothesize that it does not disappear in infancy or childhood, but persists through adolescence and adult life, though often unrecognized. Now that most babies get a modicum of cuddling while at breast or bottle, marasmus is no longer a problem; but it is a common observation that deprivation of cuddling in childhood is associated with certain types of emotional disorders which are far rarer in children who have had ample cuddling. (It is perhaps not necessary that this be by parents, though it is obviously desirable that they take part in it.) Specifically, children raised with minimal cuddling or none at all beyond infancy often become cold, emotionally restrained, or—worse—nearly confined to the expression of resentment or other hostile feeling-tones; they are almost never affectionate. I have heard over and over again from social workers that this is characteristic of the history of preadolescent and adolescent delinquents, especially where the delinquent behavior involves vandalism or violence; they tend to come from families in which parents are notably reluctant to display affection. (Cf. Case 1, Chapter VIII.) Bowlby^{97a} confirms this in detail. One can only speculate about why these families are reluctant to give affection to their own youngsters beyond infancy. My own guess is that occasionally the Mike Hammer syndrome is responsible; or else the parents themselves were deprived of affection and *never learned how to give it*. Maslow's remarks^{97b} on the common derogation of desire and need in this culture seem to apply here:

"(Freudian) psychology is based upon experience with sick people, people who in fact suffer from bad experiences with their needs, and with their gratifications and frustrations. It is no wonder that such people should fear or even loathe their impulses which have made so much trouble for them and which they handle so badly, and that a usual way of handling them is

repression . . . these people all find desire or impulse to be a nuisance or even a threat and therefore will try generally to get rid of it, to deny it or to avoid it."

Significantly enough, Barlow's follow-up experiment on the monkeys raised with artificial mothers^{97c} is distinctly parallel in results: the monkeys who grew to adulthood without experience of actual cuddling became sexually distorted as well as poor and unempathetic mothers. In short, *to give love one must have experienced it*, just as to learn to talk properly one must have heard spoken language.

On the other hand—confirming the last remark—youngsters who have had plenty of cuddling before and during their grade school years are often if not usually warm, emotionally outgoing, and spontaneously affectionate, like the young animals earlier referred to. Like most such generalities, this is oversimplified. I am, however, confident that future researchers will be able to verify this hypothesis of an actual "instinctoid" need for cuddling persisting through and beyond childhood. The observations tending to confirm it are so frequent and so consistent that this hypothesis is, to a clinically oriented person, all but irresistible. I am reminded of a remark Ashley Montagu once made (possibly somewhere in his *The Direction of Human Development?*) to the effect that someday we may massage the infant's body to obviate the necessity of later massaging its psyche. . . .

A partial explanation is already at hand for the connection between youngsters' spontaneous affectionateness and their history of having had plenty of cuddling. One of the few ways in which one can express affection for an infant or child—particularly one too young to understand language—is to cuddle him, perhaps accompanying this act with soothing syllables, various kinds of caresses, etc., just as mothers do when nursing their infants or giving them the bottle or the jar of strained vegetables. It may well be that cuddling represented affection, or constituted a physical expression of affection, even for our infrahuman ancestors; evidence earlier cited on infrahuman mammals certainly suggests this conclusion. The much-cuddled youngster is therefore growing up in an atmosphere in which affection is freely given and received, and he accepts this state of affairs as the norm. He thus feels at home in the world, secure, ready to grow and to have adventures, knowing that he always has somewhere to come back to in his needs. Being familiar with the ways in which affection is manifested, later on when he feels the strong adolescent surge of it for a companion, he will perhaps be less inhibited in allowing himself to savor the experience and perhaps also to express this affection.

And on the other hand may we conclude that the youngster deprived of cuddling since his emergence from infancy feels and resents this deprivation? It is not too likely that he knows consciously what he has been denied, yet even this vague awareness of *some* kind of chronic deprivation can easily result in generalized resentment and hostility (whether focused on parents or spread out indiscriminately to all adults to whose influence he is subjected) against a world he perceives as hostile. Friedenberg's concept of *ressentiment* (free-floating hostility) fits this state of affairs, even though resentment may also have other origins. The affection-deprived youngster grows up in an atmosphere in which he may not even know what affection is, or perhaps he knows of it only as something that other people get, and he naturally responds with hostile feeling-tones and coldness, perhaps repressing his own felt needs in order not to have to live in perpetual remembrance of such deprivation. Generalized resentment against a world he perceives as hostile is the manifest meaning of many types of delinquent behavior characterizing such youngsters. (Again, cf. Case 1, Chapter VIII.) In Maslow's terms: delinquency of predation or of the furious impulsive act may be considered a disease of deficiency. A. S. Neill's paradoxical technique (*Summerhill, passim*) of "rewarding" such youngsters is in line with this theory even though perhaps not derived from it. The conventional stimulus-response psychologies would have it that such "rewarding" behavior simply reinforces the delinquency patterns. But the success of Neill's technique is a good argument against the position of stimulus-response psychologists, at any rate on this question. (See also section 5, below.)

In addition to the earlier mentioned motives for deprivation of affection, one may consider the implications of recent newspaper psychologists' columns. I have several times seen in these columns letters from mothers writing in anxiety about their husbands' delight in playing with their infant sons, on the grounds that they fear this treatment might turn the infants into homosexuals! The wisest comment I have yet seen made on such anxieties is that it would have been better had the anxious mothers never seen any psychology texts, since fathers had been cuddling their sons for a million years without ill effects.^{96e}

Whatever its cause, however, the nearly uniform trend in this culture seems to be towards less and less cuddling with increasing age of the youngster, this trend being most pronounced in lower and middle-class American families, Protestant and Catholic, of northwest European stock. A tacit agreement or taboo seems to identify this cuddling urge as something to be outgrown, something unworthy of

expression by a big boy. (Girls are somewhat luckier in this respect: cf. Theodore Sturgeon, *Venus Plus X*, 130-131.)

Nevertheless, the urge remains, though often unrecognized. Its chronic frustration is at least in part responsible for the common buried fear, which occasionally does show up in conscious protest, that "my mommy and daddy don't love me anymore." What does love mean to a youngster? Presumably, a source of safety and security from which one can venture out and to which one can return—dependably; a source of fulfillment of needs (including cuddling); someone who genuinely cares and is concerned; problem solvers at hand in emergencies too great for the child to handle by himself. If this tentative reconstruction of the meaning of love to a child is correct, the coldness, hostility, resentment, and types of delinquent behavior associated with affection-deprivation become obvious consequences. In youngsters who do not go as far as overt delinquency, the continued deprivation has other consequences in their acts and attitudes. (I here follow Maslow's basic idea that neurosis is a deficiency-disease, and neurotic behavior the organism's self-righting attempts to make the best of a bad situation.)

About these other consequences of deprivation I have four related hypotheses, which could be tested by depth-psychological methods at some future time, though they seem to me intuitively obvious. (1) Much of the adolescent search for sex—particularly when it seems colored by a desperateness far in excess of the sheer physical pressure—is in fact a more or less disguised search for cuddling, given and received. Disguised—and unrecognized by the parties involved. This is not to say that they are looking for a reversion to infant-parent relationships, but rather that they are looking for some kind of situation in which cuddling can be a freely given and exchanged part. (2) As would be expected, sex play is itself partly a specialized form of cuddling or physical affection, and it is this dim recognition which gives rise to the association—in parents' minds and elsewhere—between more generalized cuddling and more specifically sexual petting. (The abovementioned fear of daddy's making his infant son into a homosexual by cuddling him becomes understandable even though still unreasonable.) (3) This same recognition that sex play is a specialized form of cuddling accounts for the common mistaken identification of sexual attraction with love, and with the association of cuddling or petting with both. In common-man mores, petting with a girl is acceptable as a way of getting her sexually receptive, or acceptable if you actually love her, but not otherwise. Mere friendship is not enough, and much self-deception results, in addition to actual

fraud. Men convince women that they are “in love” with them, and the result is either disillusionment (and perhaps subsequent enmity) or ill-timed marriages. Young people of both sexes convince themselves that they are “in love” with whoever pets or cuddles with them (so uncommon is cuddling!) with similar unfortunate results.⁴⁸ (4) Closely related, again, to this identification of physical affection with the kind of love supposed to lead to the altar, is the “Lolita phenomenon,” earlier mentioned. Recall that this term is applied to the curious contradictory situation by which in some social strata sex play (heterosexual or homosexual) is more or less tacitly acceptable, so long as it is just plain sex and does not get contaminated with emotional involvement or physical affection. (There may be some giving in to the urge to caress and be caressed, especially when nobody is watching, but it is generally only near or at the point of orgasm, when one is not exactly in conscious control: at other times even kissing is discouraged.) This can be confirmed by almost anyone who has conducted depth interviews with prostitutes, male or female, or with members of high-school sex clubs—which are far more numerous than most researchers think. This in turn is mixed up, on the male side, with the notion that there is something basically feminine about cuddling and being cuddled (possibly since boys tend to identify this behavior principally as something they received from their own mothers in infancy), and that one dare not lose one’s precious masculine image. Cuddling is safe for a boy (in the common “pooling of ignorance” situation) only when it is done with his steady girlfriend, if even then. On the female side, the “Lolita phenomenon” seems to be mixed up with the notion that giving any degree of cuddling or petting is equivalent to telling one’s partner that she loves him or her, and that this is not something one can safely lie about; it is a commitment to an extent that (in some circles) even sex play is not, and it is binding over some length of time.

I have only begun to indicate the extent of the common confusion; unraveling it would take a book-length study, treating every social stratum wherein the mores differ significantly from the rest. Suffice it that the cuddling urge associates friendliness and security with pleasure; that what I here term friendliness later on specializes into a whole spectrum from superficiality to complete emotional commitment; that the cuddling urge itself specializes, sex being one specific individual manifestation; and that misunderstanding of this whole state of affairs leads to extending of already-present taboos and to building up of others.

2. *The spectra of love.* One’s degree of affection towards any

given individual is likely to differ from one's degree of affection towards another individual, whether of the same or different sexes. It is clear enough that the range of such degrees of affection can stretch between zero (indifference) and extremely high (one's closest friend, or one's wife or other longterm sexual partner). Negative numbers might also be assigned to represent various degrees of hostility to enemies. Most individuals in this culture, if they think about this at all, assume automatically a difference in kind between friendship and love. (For some people they may even be mutually exclusive, though this is clearly a distortion of the concept of love. I refer to the "double standard" where a man, under the guise of loving his wife or his steady girlfriend or mistress, experiences and acts out jealousy to an extent that would be inconceivable in the closest friendship, while permitting himself to continue "playing the field.") Friendship supposedly contains, in this culture, no physical component, except among women; so-called platonic friendships between men and women are an instance in point, as are the all-male friendships where the only vestige of a physical component is the handshake and the slap on the back: anything else puts one in danger of being thought queer. This attitude is, of course, entirely different from that common in France, where old friends will hug and kiss each other regardless of gender, and where people walking arm in arm are a commonplace sight.

I postulate, however, a continuous spectrum from indifference through the mildest friendship to the deepest and intensest love. There is a discernible threshold somewhere towards the deeper end of the spectrum, though it is one more in theory than in experience. This threshold is at the point where friendship turns into love. Harry Stack Sullivan defines love as *that state of affectional rapport in which someone else's satisfactions become spontaneously as important to a person as are his own*.⁴⁸ And of it he says:

"This state of affectional rapport—generically love—ordinarily occurs under restricted circumstances. In the beginning many factors must be present. Some of these may be called obvious likeness, parallel impulse, parallel physical development. These make for situations in which boys feel at ease with boys rather than with girls . . . The appearance of the capacity for love [which for Sullivan defines the psychic stage of adolescence in contrast to juvenility: some adults never get that far!] ordinarily first involves a member of one's own sex. The boy finds a chum who is a boy, the girl a chum who is a girl. When this has happened, there follows in its wake a great increase in the consensual validation^{97a} of symbols, of symbol operations, and of information about life in

the world. "This comes about as a fairly obvious consequence of the fact that the other fellow has now become highly important to one. Whereas previously, one may have learned to say the right things to one's companions, to do the right things, now these sayings and doings take on a very special significance. One's security is not imperilled by one's love object. One's satisfactions are facilitated by the love object. Therefore, naturally, for the first time one can begin to express oneself freely. If another person matters as much to you as do you yourself, it is quite possible to talk to this person as you have never talked to anyone else before. The freedom which comes from this expanding of one's world of satisfaction and security to include two people, linked together by love, permits exchanges of nuances of meaning, permits investigations without fear of rebuff or humiliation . . . One begins to feel human in a sense in which one has never previously felt human." ⁴⁸

The very difficulty of realizing just where or when this occurs in a relationship is significant enough, and it tends to confirm the notion that love grows from pre-existing friendship, that a continuity exists between them. Sullivan's words are worth several careful readings. And it is extremely important to notice that he regards this state of affairs as entirely normal—*not leading away from heterosexuality*. (More paradoxically, Sullivan says elsewhere ^{97e} that only some small percentage of boys who do have adolescent sex play with other boys or men encounter any difficulty in growing into heterosexuality, and that in that small percentage, only drastic reorganization such as prolonged psychoanalysis will produce changes anyway. This conclusion invites comparison with those quoted elsewhere from Kinsey ³⁵ and Friedenberg.⁹³) One might elaborate on Sullivan's above quoted remarks by adding that a boy's chum or love-object or lover (the exact term is unimportant), whether an age-mate, or an older adolescent, or a younger boy, or an adult as in Greek love, is ordinarily that person in his acquaintanceship who consistently takes him seriously, who sincerely listens to him as to someone worth hearing, who without pretense treats him as an individual in his own right—and vice versa.

This kind of ego-building is ordinarily not encountered in one's family, but it surely must be found somewhere if a boy is ever to gain confidence in his own capacities. Some never do find it, of course; others have no particular difficulty in finding it with their contemporaries. And needs for this differ in intensity from one boy to the next. I have known boys whose subsequent heterosexual life was grossly impaired by their never having had such adolescent chum-

ships. (Friedenberg⁹³ even says that it is notably absent in case histories of adult homosexuals. My wife suggests that many homosexuals were doubtless in earlier life boys whose starved hunger for love of and by a chum was never fed. In A. S. Neill's phrase, they never "lived it out.") The scholarship athlete perhaps feels less *need* of it, less hunger for it, than others, since he is automatically looked up to in this culture, but he is likely to be the *recipient* of it anyway; on the other hand, the shy, sensitive, bookish youngster is surely in greater need, and he gets it all too rarely.

Friedenberg has wise things to say on this point:

"Children give of themselves freely and have much to give; their feeling and spontaneity are a constant delight to adults. But they hardly *love* even their parents, much as they need them and however comforting they find them. They see parents as an indispensable institution, not as whole persons. This leads to affection, trust, and loyalty. Love is rounder and more precise. It begins, and begins with some intensity, in early adolescence. It begins in loving someone *other* than oneself and finishes, if one is fortunate, in loving someone *different* from oneself—as different as man is from woman. The passionate attachments of earliest adolescence [and often later on] are between chums of the same sex. *Whether anything sexual happens in the course of them is unimportant, unless someone steps in and makes it important.* [Italics mine.] Indeed, it is largely a matter of definition, though some of the feelings these youngsters arouse in each other are certainly erotic." ⁹³

The rest of the passage is equally illuminating and should be consulted. By "makes it important," of course, Friedenberg is not referring to adult seduction, let alone Greek love, but rather to the usual officious moralistic interference with normal adolescent experimentation. My idea is that the difference between such experiments between adolescent age-mates and those between younger and older, given mutual desire, is a difference only of degree; where Greek love acquires value is precisely in that it replaces the usual "pooling ignorance" with a relationship in which at least the older party can impart some wisdom and benefit of experience to the younger, accept strange or even shocking confidences without shying away or thinking the less of the youngster, and be consistently able to help when help is needed.

We can now answer the question of just what a boy in a Greek love relationship sees in his older lover, just what can make a man seem attractive to a boy (as against the common suppositions of the basis being money or tabooed pleasure, etc.). As I see it, the boy's

feelings involve a mixture of hero-worship, eagerness to go along for new experiences, idealization or "That's what I want to be like when I grow up!", gratitude, simple need to be loved, and—eventually—a genuine interest in the man as an individual, as a co-conspirator, an adult who shares confidences, helps out in need, and doesn't moralize or talk down to the boy. We know little enough as yet of the motives in married love, so it is small wonder that analysis of the motives in a Greek love relationship is still incomplete. Nevertheless, the motives just mentioned do seem to constitute a definite variety of love, related to so-called puppy-love (or adolescent crushes generally), and just as spontaneous, just as intense, just as genuine as the latter—and perhaps longer-lived when more carefully dealt with. Greek love, in short, can testify to authentic mutual affection which may have begun nonsexually but which in developing seeks to express itself in all possible ways.

What the man sees in the boy is mentioned below. What the boy sees in another boy of his own age is outlined in the earlier passage quoted from Harry Stack Sullivan.

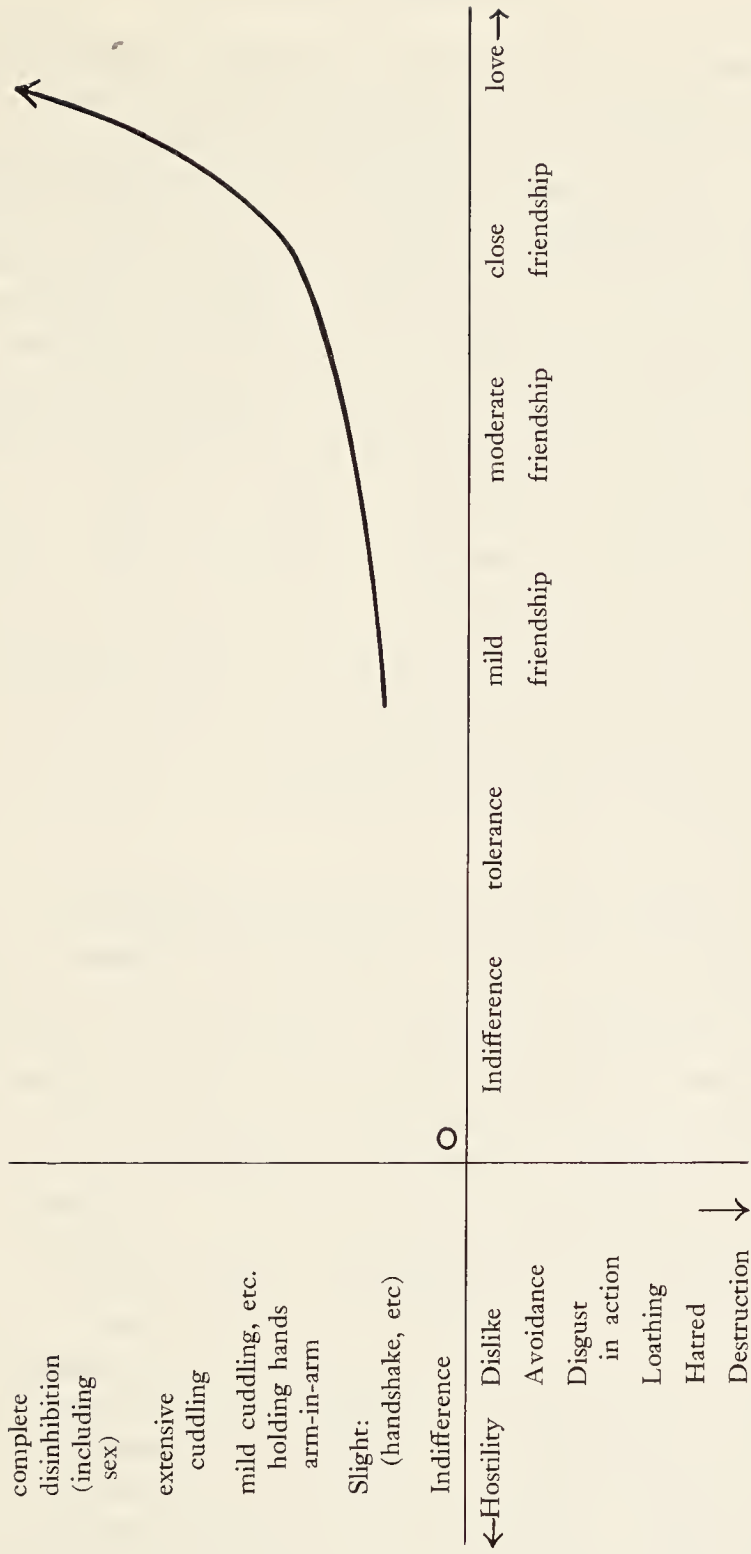
In addition to the continuous range between mild friendship and the most intense love, I postulate a continuous spectrum in degree of physical expression: from none whatever (zero) through the handshake, walking arm-in-arm or holding hands to cuddling or petting of various degrees of extensiveness to complete disinhibition including sex—and within sex there are still further degrees of disinhibition.

Now put these two spectra at right angles, as the horizontal and vertical dimensions of a chart, and my hypothesis is that any more or less friendly relationship can be located on the plane of the chart, regardless of gender. There is, in particular, a considerable overlapping in intensity between sexual and nonsexual friendships, and either of these can develop into authentic love in Sullivan's sense. The *Lolita* phenomenon, in this context, appears as a friendship (mild or closer) in which cuddling or any other physical expression—save for the sexual act itself—is inhibited. On the other hand, couples may draw the line only at intercourse. An individual may have simultaneously various friends at various locations on the chart; there seems no automatic theoretical need to feel conflict over having more than one relationship at or above or to the right of any particular point. Homosexuality appears as inhibition about having friends of the opposite sex above a certain region of intensity of emotional linkage or overt physical expression. Similarly the usual compulsive heterosexuality in this culture appears as inhibition about having friends of the same sex above a certain degree of intensity or physical expression. Love affairs,

regardless of gender, may or may not come to physical expression. So-called "platonic love" between man and woman simply means non-sexual friendship. (But what Plato had in mind in the *Lysis*, *Phaedrus*, *Symposium*, etc., was what I call *Greek love*.)

This chart, I believe, represents the actual range of human behavior in this pair of variables far more accurately than do any of the usual classificational schemes. It can also represent the factor of time, as one can record how a relationship changes over time. Given that a friendship or love affair at any particular moment can be represented by a point somewhere in the upper right quadrant of the chart (i.e. above and to right of the zero point), then as the parties become emotionally closer, the point moves to the right and one may trace its motion by a line on the chart. As they become physically more disinhibited with each other, the line points upward. Ordinarily a friendship developing into a love affair will thus be representable by a line slanting upward diagonally to right, the angle or curvature of the line varying with the particular affair. And if all goes well, the line will end near or in the upper right corner. An affair that breaks up will be representable by a line sloping downward or to left from whatever position it had earlier attained; perhaps ending somewhere in the "friendship" range, perhaps going to the zero point or even further down or to left.

When we bring in the notion of symmetry or asymmetry of a relationship, this variable—which is likewise continuous—could be plotted on the chart as well, but it would require not a plane but a solid 3-dimensional model, with symmetry perhaps on the plane (= asymmetry of zero degree) and asymmetry represented in space above, as the third dimension. It is, however, unnecessary to add additional complications. The important things to remember here: (1) Relationships can be symmetrical or asymmetrical, and within certain broad limits the degree of intensity of friendship or love, and the degree of physical expression of it, are independent of the degree of asymmetry; heterosexual and homosexual pairs can be symmetrically matched, or they can differ widely in ages, degrees of experience, sophistication, intelligence, education, common culture, etc.,—in short in all those features in which two individuals can differ significantly for the purposes of a relationship. (2) Asymmetry can grow into symmetry, as when a man's young bride develops common interests with her husband, continues to educate herself, acquires sophistication, etc., and comes more and more to match her husband. (3) Symmetry can grow into asymmetry, as in an adolescent chumship where the two individuals are developing at different rates. (4) Neither of these



developments necessarily results in the breakup of a relationship, but either can sometimes do so. Individuals can "grow closer" or "grow apart," and either process can occur long after physical growth has ceased. (5) In a certain important sense, complementary relationships such as all heterosexual ones are asymmetrical, homosexual relationships can either be symmetrical or asymmetrical. This sense is expressible by some such phrase as "what each brings to the relationship." In a certain sense, complementary relationships are preferable in some contexts, especially where the parties to them are living together; in a complementary relationship, regardless of the genders involved, the different roles and functions of the parties can result in a mutually agreeable division of responsibilities. (6) The above remarks hold true regardless of whether the relationships have an overt sexual aspect. (7) Greek love (likewise with or without overt sexual expression) can be viewed in this context as a form of love having much in common with other forms of love; it can be described easily in the terms here used, and it can be plotted on the chart just as can any other form, aspect or manifestation of love. The insight that Greek love is actually nothing especially different or anomalous is extremely important.

And yet this insight is inevitable once one gets over the common error of thinking that all such relationships are devoid of love. Turn to Chapters VII and VIII, and substitute girls' names for boys', or turn to Part Two and read some of the poems from Chapters X, XIII or XV, substituting girls' names for boys' (as did many uneasy editors and translators), and I think the experiment will be convincing enough. Even though sexual friendships doubtless occur which have not developed the attributes of love, the fact that many such affairs do show every manifestation of love is enough to validate the term "Greek love." But then, the postulated continuity between friendship and love should have been sufficient to establish this.

3. *Specializations, Subdivisions and Counterfeits of Love.* To most people who have had the experience, there is a definite difference between the initial topsy-turvy excitement of "falling in love with" someone and the steadier relationship that can remain in a marriage or quasi marriage after this initial excitement has died down. Nevertheless, common belief has it that (outside the limited senses of filial or parental love, "platonic love," etc.) "love" means always the feeling one has for one's marital or quasi-marital partner, and that this relationship begins by "falling in love." The coincidence of words is unfortunate because confusing. In the Sullivanian sense, love as that state of rapport where the other party's satisfactions are as important

to you as are your own, there is no need for the onset to consist of anything so dramatic; it can be, instead, a quiet and steady growth of affection, the threshold between friendship and love being passed almost without realizing it. Nor need this degree of rapport be limited to marriage or the like: it can take place, for instance, between a clergyman and his housekeeper, between cousins or in-laws, between childhood friends who grow up together even though each marries someone else, between uncle and niece, etc., or in general where the two personalities continue to grow together over a period of time and come to mean a great deal to each other. (So too in Greek love.)

On the other hand, the kind of rapport of which "falling in love" is an important feature is a specialized manifestation, quite restricted in comparison with the wide range of other possible love relationships. It is not even certain that this kind of rapport *necessarily* develops into love in the Sullivanian sense, though clearly sometimes it does. As I shall show later on in this chapter, the historical background of the common acknowledgment of "falling in love" begins with the romantic epoch, with the demand that one find a single Other Person as one's unique soulmate and perfect complement; and the romantic illusion of "love at first sight" has resulted in many wretched marriages. Denis de Rougemont devoted pp. 285-330 of his *Love in the Western World* (Anchor ed., 1957) to this very point.

In fact, "falling in love" is pretty much confined to cultures in which the so-called romantic ideal is assumed to have any validity in one's choice of a mate; in other cultures it is quite unknown or irrelevant, and in earlier epochs in western civilization it was expressly forbidden.⁹⁸ Marriages were, and elsewhere still are, arranged for political, dynastic, economic or social reasons, as links between families; the assumption—psychologically fairly sound—is that the spouses will grow to love each other over a period of time, but "falling in love" is discouraged as an interference with the arranged-marriage process, or (more humanely) it is limited to one's choice of a mistress or concubine.¹⁹

Once again, Harry Stack Sullivan's observations are acute: He regards the so-called ideal of romantic heterosexual love in the Hollywood sense, ultimately a holdover from the early 19th century, as:

"An effect of cultural patterns that still . . . bear with the greatest force on the young. There is no end of talk about 'love'; the movies are full of it, the newspapers recount varied facets of [it], romantic fiction arises almost exclusively from it, and all the other boys and girls seem to be involved in it . . . Under social pressure, they do their best to conform and go through the

motions of falling in love. As their need for security is great, the performance is as dramatically convincing as possible—to themselves and to others. Their demonstrations of emotion, occasionally knowingly fraudulent but often also self-deceptive, may be spectacular, quite beyond the real thing. . . . That many of them go on to marriage is not surprising. That this is an important source of income and deference for psychiatrists also follows. The related patterns of our culture succeed all too frequently in coupling ill-assorted young people in what proves to be a singularly frustrating and unhappy relationship which sometimes leads to homicide; fairly frequently, to suicide; and increasingly often, to divorce, the damaged-goods situation, and the long tedium of alimony.”⁴⁸

Or, in milder cases, to boredom in marriage, occasional running home to mother, visits to marriage counselors, and frantic efforts to keep up with the latest sex-in-marriage books. Of course, neither Dr. Sullivan nor I claim that this is true in even the majority of marriages, but it *is* true, as any psychiatrist will testify, that what passes for love between husband and wife is very often counterfeit (as in the earlier-mentioned “double standard”), and is succeeded all too often by impatience, hostility, and worse. In short, both parties have not been really awakened to love in a genuine sense; neither loves the other in the Sullivanian sense. *The romantic idea of “love at first sight” is an illusion.*

“Falling in love” and “love at first sight” I have treated above as closely related. They are both part of the romantic tradition, and one does not instantaneously grow into a close rapport with another individual in romantic practice; instead, one “falls in love”—at first sight. A more realistic view of these events forces one to recognize that neither of them has any necessary connection with love in the true or Sullivanian sense, beyond the mere coincident occurrence of the four letters l, o, v, and e. “Falling in love” seems to be a combination of initial excitement and sexual desire in a situation where the sexual object seems in some sense attainable, or where in preferable circumstances he or she would be attainable. It is direct and immediate, an arrow speeding at a target. (The classical image of the boy Eros or Cupid piercing one’s heart with an arrow, is of obvious symbolic value even over and above the plain phallic symbolism of the arrow and the capriciousness of the boy god.) Freud somewhere called it “the normal counterpart of the psychoses,” and indeed a person in this condition is exalted, ecstatic, beside himself, “on Cloud Nine.” “Love at first sight” is a meliorative term or idealization of sudden intense sexual desire for someone, coupled with imaginings of how

one might make a permanent mateship out of it. But it is called "love at first sight" rather than the more honest term "infatuation" or "sexual longing" because somehow the love element supposedly legitimizes the sexual desire. Other reasons might also be the 19th century tendency to euphemisms (from which we are, alas, not yet free), and the romantic tendency to identify a person so desired as one's Only One, Soul-Mate, etc.; of this more below. Which is not to belittle infatuation, however, as it does have a function in adolescents, and I shall describe it shortly.

Genuine love, on the other hand, is a growing together of two personalities as each learns more about the other, and as each comes to appreciate the other more and more in unique individuality; a mutual solving of problems, destroying of obstacles to understanding. Love in this sense has already been compared to roots and branches of two nearby trees gradually growing together and intertwining, though without any doubt as to which twig or rootlet belongs to which tree. The intertwining image is of great antiquity: the biblical Epic of David speaks of the soul of Jonathan being "knit with the soul of David . . ." (1 Sam. 18:1). However, the preliminaries to such growing-together of personalities can occur at a first meeting if the parties immediately open up to each other—a rather exceptional situation.

In the Sullivanian sense it is possible for a parent to love his or her child, but almost impossible for the child (prior to adolescence) to love the parent in the same sense. The parent may, if open-minded and perceptive, come to perceive and appreciate the youngster in all of his little idiosyncrasies and individualities, even to the point of being able to anticipate his unspoken wants and attitudes; but this kind of appreciative perception-in-depth, this participating awareness, which is a precondition of love and an accompaniment to it, is not yet possible to the child. Rather, he develops this capacity in early adolescence, and its first beneficiary is not a parent but instead a chum of his own sex, as we have already seen. And the chum may be of his own age, or an older object of hero-worship; and when the boy's feeling is reciprocated, we call this situation Greek love. The capacity continues—in the absence of warping factors—to develop through adolescence, so that the boy can come to appreciate, and eventually to love, members of the opposite sex, until then alien in interests, activities and attitudes.

The term "infatuation" has a pejorative connotation in many minds, but again this is unnecessary to a person to whom sex is ethically neutral or worthwhile instead of something contaminated with guilt and shame. *Infatuation*, to most people, is *probably a*

necessary precondition to appreciating someone of the opposite sex. One has to *experience* (rather than just hear about) the actual desire to caress, cuddle and even copulate with a girl, if the subsequent courtship is to have any earnestness, any reality, to it. On the other hand, sexual desire for someone can sometimes awaken long after friendship has developed to closeness on other grounds. This happens with individuals of either sex, for individuals of the same or the opposite sex. (But it is probably a rather infrequent start between an adolescent boy and a girl, as they do not often have that much in common to talk about, common experiences and interests to share, etc.) I could cite many instances from my own personal knowledge, but will for the moment content myself with a brief reference to Chapters VII and VIII, and D. H. Lawrence's *Women in Love*, where the Gerald and Birkin episodes are clearly of this kind: two friends discover during the course of their relationship that they need each other physically. And of course, infatuation, as well as "falling in love," adds spice and excitement to a relationship. But spice is hardly appropriate for a steady diet.

Theodor Reik⁴¹ has much to say on this point. To him, love in any form—romantic or otherwise, but most particularly romantic—is not (as orthodox psychoanalysis would have it) an attenuated form of the sex drive, nor is it indissolubly attached thereto. "The most convincing cases only prove that sex and love are frequently united and directed to the same object."⁹⁹ "Sex can be casual about its object. Love cannot. Love is always a personal relationship. This is not necessarily so with sex."¹⁰⁰ "Sex is a passionate interest in another body; love, a passionate interest in another personality."¹⁰¹ Reik believes that the process of "falling in love" springs from a state of inner emptiness or dissatisfaction, being one of a number of possible escapes. For Reik, the source of this inner dissatisfaction is always "the failure to come up to the demands that we make on ourselves,"¹⁰² and "falling in love" is "a substitute for another desire, for the struggle towards self-fulfillment."¹⁰³ "We fall in love," says he, "because we cannot attain the image that is our better self and the best of our self."¹⁰⁴ It follows that a person completely satisfied with himself cannot fall in love. But can he actually love anyone else in the Sullivanian sense? Presumably he can feel sexual desire, but can he gain anything else in his own eyes by an affair?

Let us return for the moment to the Maslow concepts of "being-love" and "deficiency-love."⁴⁷ Most human relationships that go under the name of love, or friendship, or infatuation, or anything of the kind, are in actuality a mixture of "being-love" and "deficiency-

love," with the ingredients differing in proportion. "Deficiency-love" is a projection of one's own need to be loved; it comes from what Fromm and others call the basic or primordial anxiety: the fear of being abandoned, the fear of unending loneliness.¹⁰⁵ It is the kind of affection that children have towards their parents and others, though to be sure this is also mingled with other emotions—delight in play, delight in cuddling, warmth and joy, admiration and the desire to be admired, etc., etc. "Deficiency-love," when it is the overwhelmingly predominant part of a person's feeling for someone else, leads to dependency. "Being-love" almost never occurs unmixed; it is defined as participating appreciative awareness of the other individual in his uniqueness, as loving him exactly as he or she is, perceiving him clearly without comparing him with anyone else, "and loving him anyway." To Maslow, "being-love" requires a certain measure of maturity, of autonomy, of independence. It comes from inner fullness; it is apparently the kind of love Jesus had in mind (if John 15:12 be authentic; however, the great commandment of Lev. 19:8, which Jesus quoted in Matt. 22:39, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," betrays a fundamental psychological error: genuine love cannot come into existence from a command; what comes instead is, all too often, self-deception and counterfeit feeling.). It is easy to see that a whole range of different mixtures of "being-love" and "deficiency-love" is possible, and a little observation of married couples, adolescent chums, parent-child relationships, etc., will convince one that "deficiency-love" can come mixed with anything from the faintest glimmering to a tremendous amount of "being-love," but that an affair which is even principally "being-love" is a very rare, beautiful and precious thing. Clearly, too, "being-love" is compatible with sexual desire for a person. And true love in the Sullivanian sense always contains at least some small component of "being-love," by definition; it is outgoing and sharply distinguished from pure dependency or projection of one's own need to be loved. It is also abundantly clear that "unrequited love" is, in these contexts, meaningless. Insofar as genuine love is a two-way proposition it requires, by definition, some similar response from the beloved, and therefore cannot be "unrequited." The phrase "unrequited love" should be replaced by "unfulfilled need to be loved," "unrequited sexual longing," or the like.

A person who is more or less content with himself, with his own accomplishments and his own approximations to his idealized self-image, can be a complacent prig who does not care how he interacts with others, or else—more rarely—he can be a mature individ-

ual fully aware of his limitations and living with them, beyond dissatisfaction. The former would hardly be capable of any kind of love, but the latter might well be capable of relationships with some element of "being-love." In any event, I question whether love, other than the romantic illusion, necessitates the state of inner emptiness and dissatisfaction. A youngster who was never deprived of love in his earlier years grows up developing a capacity to love others. Is this love which he lavishes on them a result of "inner emptiness and dissatisfaction?" If so, where did the latter come from?

We return to Reik. For him, the hidden undercurrent, or reverse of the coin, of love (we would say instead; of a relationship in which "deficiency-love" is predominant, or to which "falling in love" has been a precondition), is admiration, even envy,¹⁰⁶ stimulating a wish to be like the love-object, or to own it. "Put more clearly in other words, the initial admiration for the object included the wish to be or to have this object: to change places with it."¹⁰⁷ Now Reik was talking about heterosexual love in the romantic sense. But it is applicable in other contexts as well. In particular, *this insight applies with at least equal force to Greek love!* Both ancient Greeks and modern emulators admire the boyishness of the boy—his tremendous vitality, spontaneity, overflow of energy and ideas, uninhibited readiness to say what he means and mean what he says, to tackle projects which would give an older person pause: in short, much that makes the adolescent often a more humanly worthwhile person than he ever is again, as youngsters all too often undergo what Sheldon calls "dying-back in the brain."¹⁰⁸ And the boys involved in such relationships themselves admire the poise, maturity, knowledge, sophistication, ability to get things done and have things their own way in the world, etc., of their older lovers. We see again that *Greek love involves reactions much like any other kind of love*, and that a more accurate way of speaking of it and other types would be "different manifestations of love" rather than of "forms or types of love."

Another source of confusion is the notion that once a person "really" loves another, he is completely and exclusively committed to her, and therefore not free to love anyone else. "Forsaking all others till death do us part." "And they twain shall be one flesh." It is for this confused reason that polygamy is considered impossible, self-deceptive, or unloving, despite obvious contrary evidence from many different cultures; it is for the same confused reason that people deny that a man can love simultaneously his wife and his mistress or concubines and/or boy friends, etc., and insist that only one of these affairs is the "real" love, and the rest only sexual strayings

which ought to be sacrificed for the good of the "real" love. In general this is a rationalization of prior aversion, and specifically it is a rationalization of the kind of possessiveness whose more intense forms include the "double standard." Compulsive monogamy, with an entire interdict on a plurality of partners, is the rare exception in societies outside the Judaeo-Christian tradition, and it was not always the rule even within that tradition. Neither Jahweh nor the prophets leveled any censure at Jews who had more than one wife. (I recall no clear biblical references to polyandry or group marriage.) And polygyny was apparently not uncommon in early Christianity; otherwise the requirements for bishops and elders, cited in Titus 1:6 and 1 Timothy 3:2, would be meaningless. To a certain extent the emphasis on monogamy is ascribable to medieval antisexuality,⁹⁸ and to a certain extent it can be traced to some of the myths and rationalizations of romantic love in the early 19th century. I shall go into the romantic concept in detail in sections to follow, but the important issue right now is that of commitment as against the state of being a "free agent" (which is the absence of such a commitment).

One who genuinely loves someone else in the Sullivanian sense will in general not wish to do anything which he knows or suspects will hurt the beloved, so long as the relationship continues on this basis. But conversely (a fact perhaps less often realized) *the beloved will also be less likely to take offense*, precisely because of this knowledge and confidence that the intent of any given action is not harmful. This happy condition, so far from being automatic, has nevertheless to develop over a period of time as the relationship solidifies. Afterwards, the occurrence of infatuations, or the bringing into the relationship of a third party (as when a couple produce or adopt a child, or one of a pair of lovers marries, or a married man enters a Greek love relationship, or either partner to a marriage allows a friendship to develop a sexual aspect), will provide little or no disturbance, compared to what it might have wreaked at an earlier stage, before the parties were so confident in each other. In particular, a husband can then also accept the fact that his wife is paying much more attention to their infant than to him, without necessarily feeling hurt, deprived, or jealous. (In double-standard marriages, or in any others in which the so-called love is largely contaminated with possessiveness and jealousy, fathers all too often do feel jealous of their own children, and the children pick up this feeling by empathy; I am convinced that this is responsible for many if not most oedipal situations.)

The key, however, is that although commitment to another

person in a love relationship (ideally, mutual commitment) pretty much precludes one's doing anything to hurt the other party, it does not automatically preclude expanding one's world of affection to include a third or fourth party. I shall go into the so-called *ménages à trois*, group marriages, etc., in a later section. Right now I am concerned principally with the effect of a Greek love involvement, or the urge thereto, on a marriage. I hope to show that such an affair need not be automatically injurious to the marital relationship. In addition, I hope to show that either a Greek love relationship, or a continuing involvement with a long-term sexual friend of the husband's own age, is at once a safer and more mature way of expressing his homosexual component (if it is at all overt) than the other alternatives which most readily come to mind: suppression, sneaking out to the gay bars or turkish baths, "sublimation" in social work or the like, or choice of a bride on the basis of her boyish qualities.

The first point is easy enough, given the preceding discussion on commitment and nonjealous love. Most importantly, a husband in such a situation should not neglect his wife, nor even give her the *impression* that he is neglecting her. In some instances (cf. Chapter VIII, case 5), the contacts with his boyfriend loosened and disinhibited the husband enough so that in the evenings after such contacts he was more than usually satisfying to her, in openness of communication, in tenderness, and in making love. (I have noticed the same thing in some adolescents involved in Greek love situations: they became subsequently, or even concurrently, more at ease with their girlfriends. Being the recipient of sex and affection does seem to enhance one's ability to give both, as earlier suggested.) In other cases, the wife takes a more or less maternal attitude (*philia*) toward her husband's boyfriend. In childless marriages, or after the children have gone away to boarding school or college, this attitude can even help to keep the couple together, so far from causing the boy to come between husband and wife à la Paul Verlaine, *once the wife has surmounted the initial hurdle of accepting that her husband loves a boy passionately*. (And if he was honest with her, this hurdle was perhaps even surmounted before the marriage.) Finally, a husband's being confident enough in the relationship to share with his wife even this tabooed secret is regarded by some wives as a vindication rather than a handicap. Occasionally she will even regard it as a triumph for her own attractiveness, in managing to win and hold even a boy-lover—unaware, of course, that many Greek lovers are quite strongly heterosexual. That more wives are not open-minded enough to tolerate this state of affairs testifies principally to the lingering influence of

the “forsaking all others” in the Christian marriage ceremony, and to the common propensity for jealousy. But in at least some of the happier marriages, “love casteth out fear.”

The other point is also simple. Of the alternatives given, suppression of one’s homosexual component is a difficult task indeed and one without any obvious positive reward (merely the negative ones of avoidance of trouble with the wife and of trouble with the law!), together with an everpresent fear that one will sometimes be unable to resist deviating from the straight and narrow-minded path. Life then becomes a series of avoidances, and this is automatically neurosis.

Sneaking out to the gay bars, or to the turkish baths, has its own severe disadvantages: the sex is often with strangers with whom love relationships are not too likely to develop; there is always the danger of police raids, the danger of blackmail, the danger of venereal disease, not to mention the whole neurotic way of life characterizing the gay bar habitués, or the loveless impersonality of turkish baths.

“Sublimation” is the most popular misinterpretation of Freud—and one of the most poisonous—ever to have been foisted off on the human race. In the popular misconception, one “sublimates” one’s sexual urges by spending time, effort and energy on something more socially valuable. (As though attending PTA meetings¹⁰⁹ were automatically more socially valuable than cherishing one’s wife or wife-to-be, or than rescuing a potential delinquent by giving him the love he so desperately needs!) Typically, then, “sublimated homosexuality” comes out in athletics, or boy scout work, or the Big Brother movement, or camp counseling or the like. And though all this may be valuable, it is no substitute; it does not abolish the sex urges, nor change their direction.¹¹⁰ “Sublimation,” says Paul Goodman, referring to this same popular misconception, “we take to be something that does not exist.”¹¹¹ *Those who counsel “sublimation” are blind guides, and they have already ruined too many lives.*

The mention of choosing a girlfriend or a bride on the basis of her boyish qualities is of some interest. One as it were has one’s cake and eats it too; and lord only knows how many males even insist on their wives’ emphasizing this quality—wearing boyish garments such as shorts or jeans and loose jackets, flats or sneakers, little or no makeup, etc. Doubtless many relatively flat-chested girls take advantage of this situation, and they receive appreciative whistles anyway. I mention this situation as related, more or less, to the illusory “sublimation”: it is in fact a substitution. It may or may not have unhealthy aspects depending on what else contributes to the

relationship besides the superficial external appearance of the girl. Insofar as the relationship depends (if at all) on the girl's having to de-emphasize or even renounce her own biological femininity, it is unhealthy because based on pretense or lies rather than on perceiving the realities of the situation. Insofar as the man's attraction to her is contingent on her preserving a boyish appearance, it is comparable to the fetishistic crutch for sex; sick, yes, but probably objectively harmless—though if the relationship has not developed other bases in the meantime, it may fade once the girl has matured enough to lose her boyish appearance. Granted that there is a considerable range of types of girls considered attractive by common man in and out of this culture, certain "ideal types" promulgated by fashion arbiters and others are clearly unfunctional masturbatory fantasies rather than functional images of women as mothers and homemakers. The slimhipped, boyish, almost breastless type, as in the 1920's and several briefer occasions since then, is one of these masturbatory fantasies, as is the "Petty" or "Varga" girl with her grotesquely elongated legs, unfunctionally tiny feet, enormously exaggerated breasts, and Minoan wasp-waist (suggesting deficient musculature, which would be a handicap in pregnancy). A relationship with a girl who physically resembles a masturbatory fantasy may or may not develop lasting bases; but if it does, it will be for other reasons than the mere physical appearance, and in that event it can become something satisfying in itself rather than a mere substitution. But as a rule, it will retain the pitfall that it does not actually satisfy the man's homosexual component; it merely puts off the problem one stage, and he still has to decide whether to suppress, "sublimate," sneak out to the bars, or retain a sexual friend.

By elimination, then, maintaining a sexual friendship (Greek love or otherwise) in addition to the marriage seems to be a realistic solution to the common problem of the married man with a homosexual component, and one with fewer disadvantages than other possible solutions.

At this point it will be profitable to take a longer look at the matter of symmetrical vs. asymmetrical love relationships, in particular from the viewpoint of the needs and difficulties of the married man with a homosexual component. Symmetrical relationships, as earlier mentioned, are those to which each party contributes approximately the same things; they are relationships between equals. Husband and wife, brother and sister of nearly equal age (in adulthood), man and mistress, comrades, pairs of adolescent buddies of the same age, etc., can sometimes constitute examples of this kind, assuming that the

parties are of about equal level in intelligence, educational level, maturity, etc., and have comparable ranges of interest. A relationship of this kind can be very satisfying, in that it can be an entirely mutual give-and-take, neither one having to talk down to the other, neither one dominating nor being dominated, etc. The tendency is for such a relationship, once established, to persist more or less as is, unchanging or with (often) only minimal, gradual and similar changes in the partners. However, a relationship beginning in adolescence or early adulthood on a symmetrical basis can become asymmetrical as the partners grow up at different rates or develop different interests; they may grow apart, or they may remain in the relationship on the changed basis. The pitfalls of such a relationship are the usual possessiveness and jealousy plague, and attempts by one partner to treat the other as though the relationship were in fact asymmetrical, e.g., by attempting to dominate; and from such pitfalls the State of Nevada grows rich.

Once it has become apparent that such a relationship includes enough mutual confidence so that the entry of a third party into it will not break it up, the relationship can be expanded to include such a third party (e.g., offspring of a marriage, or the boyfriend or girlfriend of one of the partners), by both parties reacting similarly to the newcomer. This is one solution adaptable for the husband with a homosexual component.

Asymmetrical relationships, on the other hand, are those to which the parties' contributions are markedly different: in which the parties are unequal in age, cultural background, degree of maturity, sophistication, class or socio-economic status, intellectual ability, etc. Familiar examples: husband and wife, etc., when they are noticeably unequal; parent and child, knight and squire, nobleman and page (or valet, etc.), master and apprentice, a pair of adolescents unequal in age or development, a man and his boyfriend in a Greek love situation, etc. A relationship of this kind can also be very satisfying, or even more intense than some symmetrical ones, while it lasts; the older or superior party finds that life has a meaning for him, and he a significant role in it, as the hero or protector or tower of strength, to whom the other party looks up in a mixture of affection, admiration, eagerness to go along for new experiences, hero-worship, etc. The younger party has someone on whom he can depend, someone in terms of whom his life acquires a meaning, and he a significant role, someone onto whom he can fasten his feelings of affection, admiration, etc., without fear of rebuff. The tendency, however, is usually for the relationship to change: children grow up and become independent

of parents, the boyfriend in the Greek love situation matures and turns toward girls, adolescents mature at different rates, crushes get outgrown as the parties turn toward others, an unsophisticated wife may develop feelings of inferiority as she grows older, etc. The changes in such relationships mean, all too often, that the parties thereto grow apart over the years. (Occasionally an asymmetrical relationship can grow towards symmetry, but often it grows instead toward increased asymmetry.) This instability—existential rather than neurotic—invests all such loves, particularly those of parent for child, Greek lover for boyfriend, and adolescent for adolescent of either sex, with overtones of tragedy. *Nonpossessiveness is therefore all the more necessary in such relationships, the older party helping the younger towards self-fulfillment in whatever form that might take.* The pitfalls of such a relationship are, again, the usual possessiveness/jealousy feelings, particularly when they lead to one partner trying to make the other feel guilty about changing; and the situation in which the older partner behaves as though the relationship were in fact symmetrical, becoming disappointed or resentful at the younger partner's failing to respond according to expectation.

Necessary to enable such a relationship to expand to include an additional party is emphasis that this third party is not going to diminish the feeling that one has for the other, nor interfere with their common commitments. This applies alike to situations where one of the parties marries someone else, or where the husband brings in a boyfriend, or where the mother becomes pregnant again, etc.

In summary: We have seen how and why to distinguish true or Sullivanian love (independently of the genders of the parties involved in it) from infatuation, "falling in love," etc.; we have seen that infatuation has a definite function—as a probably necessary precondition for an adolescent to come to appreciate the opposite sex, but not necessarily a precondition for love; we have seen that love in any form or aspect may be profitably studied under Maslow's distinction between "deficiency-love" and "being-love"; and we have seen, most specifically from the viewpoint of the married or to-be-married male with a conscious homosexual component, the problems attending heterosexual love and some possible solutions to them, of which Greek love is one. Some of these issues will be considered again, from different angles, in the sections to follow.

4. *Erōs, Philia, Storgē*. Classical Greek, often if not usually finer in its nuances of meaning than most modern languages, had three words for love, the three in the title of this section. Of these, *erōs* means sexual desire, or the sexual aspect of attraction to a person.

Philia means the “love born out of common interest, shared concern about something, e.g. parents’ shared concern over household and children. *Storgē* ^{111a}—the least familiar of these attitudes or actions in modern times—can be most nearly approximated in English by cherishing, by disinterested love of someone for and in his unique individuality, by outgoing or expansive love; it is the most generous component of love, even as *erōs* is the most selfish (not in a pejorative sense). *Storgē* originally meant “natural affection” as of parent for child, but later came to include other love relationships including those with a sexual aspect.

These might be considered as three separate types of relationship; or they might easily be three components of a single love relationship; or they might be three separate functions or roles, or specialties, divided among more than one partner in a quasi-polygamous relationship. As functions or roles, all seem necessary to make up a complete marriage or other permanent relationship; all three correspond to needs all of which must be satisfied. This has been recognized not only in ancient Greece but in many more recent cultural contexts. To quote my wife, herself competent in all three aspects:

“I used to know a woman who said that for true happiness every girl should have three husbands: one for family life (i.e. a provider-in-return-for-domestic-duties), one for friendship/companionship/shared interest, and one for a lover—erotic satisfaction. Obviously a person who can genuinely find the three in one is richly blessed and this rare fellow is what gives us the apologists for monogamy. (Or the man who manages to find a friend, a really good housekeeper-mother-of-his-kids, and an expert mistress in the one girl.) But most people pick ONE of these and put up, with more or less grace, courage, rationalizations—or neurosis—with deficiencies in the other departments.”

The three marital roles correspond precisely to *erōs*, *philia* and *storgē*, and they are an argument for bringing in a third or fourth party, for polygamy, or for some less formalized plural arrangement, in the event that one or two of the functions are insufficiently developed in a single partner, or in the event that a partner is overwhelmingly identified with one role to the near exclusion or disregard of the other two. For after all, not everybody is an Aphroditē or a Rudolph Valentino in bed, not everybody is an ideal housekeeper or provider, not everybody is a boon companion, a perfect complement in discussion, a perfect foil for a showman, etc. And not everybody who is one of these is going to be more than one of them.

It is not surprising, then, that ancient Greeks also implicitly

classified women under these headings, much as in the following tabulations (though in practice some overlap usually occurred):

	ERŌS	PHILIA	STORGĒ
Woman was a	pornē (sexual play-mate, prostitute: not a pejorative term)	gynē (wife, matron, head of household: etymologically, child-bearer)	hetaira (companion, entertainer in Geisha sense)
Under the patronage of	Aphroditē, Pandēmos	Hēra	Athēna, or Aphroditē Ourania
Education specialized in	(sexual techniques)	domestic skills, household management, child-raising	entertainment skills, intellectual matters, much as in education of males

The *pornai* most probably learned their skills informally from more experienced members of the caste, in or out of the regular whore-houses. Information is lacking on why girls took up this trade, though very likely they enjoyed sex but neither qualified for hetaira training nor wished to be tied down to a husband and children; “white slavery” was unknown, as prostitution was neither illegal nor socially frowned upon. On the other hand, the education of *hetairai* was something quite remarkable, differing notably from that for ordinary women. A girl with any natural intellectual brilliance was encouraged to leave home or regular schools (where she would have learned only domestic skills and related fields all tied to her eventual role as wife and mother), and to enter one of the special schools for hetairai (either private or connected with one of the numerous temples of Aphroditē). From what is known of these schools, the training offered was thorough, and it concentrated particularly on enabling the girls to take part in intellectual conversation on almost any level, to give and supervise banquets and associated entertainments, to hold the equivalent of what were in more recent centuries called *salons*, and in general to please men in many different ways outside bed (as well as in it).

“The Greek found passionate love, intellectual companionship, social stimulation, if he sought anything of the kind in a woman, only with the hetaira. From the genuine hetaira one expected not merely beauty, but instead above all cultivation, lively intellect, good taste and refined manners.”¹¹²

Many hetairai even had philosophical and scientific interests and abilities; often one would climax her career by becoming the mistress—

or even the wife—of some statesman, philosopher or poet. Hetairai were the exact counterpart of the geishas and of the salon-holding royal mistresses. In the present-day U.S.A. they have their exact equivalents, several of whom I am privileged to know. Licht ¹¹³ testifies to their readiness with the bon mot, the pun or the apt quotation from the poets, and to their recognition as legitimate objects of male affection side by side with wives and boyfriends.¹¹⁴ They derived their income partly from being supported by their lovers, partly from presents given them by occasional sexual partners—a fact which led to Licht's discussing them as though they were merely another sort of prostitutes, which is a misleading quarter-truth.

On this subject, perhaps I had better explode one other common misconception: many believe that the Greeks kept women in a dull grind of virtual slavery, and that this made married life so boring that men tried prostitutes and boys for variety's sake. This is untrue. To a Greek, as to Dr. John Bowlby and many others today, the occupation of the housewife—mother and cherisher to children, supreme head of the household, nurse to the sick in it, etc.—was and is a full-time thing, particularly in the days before labor-saving devices were invented; and Greeks held in high honor wives who well fulfilled these important roles. The more brilliant girls, as we have seen, became hetairai, and many of these were greatly honored as well. Married life need not be dull.¹¹⁵

The Greek man, then, had different types of relationships with women in the three categories, without suffering from any culturally imposed conflict among these relationships. Demosthenes's speech against Neaira^{115a} spells it out in full. Anticipating a later point, I can add that the Greek man was expected also to love, besides his wife, his hetaira (and concubines or pornai, if any), his parents, his ex-lover (as a friend), his children, and his boyfriend (in the Greek love sense as I consistently use the term); and among these objects of affection there was not expected to occur any jealousy. He learned this way of nonpossessive love by example, of course, before and during his own experience with his older lover.

In a way this threefold division of the female roles is a realistic solution to the ancient problem of how to give women meaningful life-roles according to their interests and capacities, while making them neither slaves nor competitors with men in the men's world, and allowing them to specialize in a very basic sense. (One may speculate that "uterine" females are drawn to the gynē role, "clitorids" to the other two.¹¹⁶) The solutions available today are not nearly so realistic. Ordinary girls are not trained in any role save that of housewife/housekeeper/mother (informally in the home, and not always very thoroughly

even in that role!). Some do manage to pick up, equally informally, the skills of the sexual playmate, and a somewhat larger number aspire to some vague approximation to the hetaira role, perhaps the better to attract a rich or brilliant man who will support them. Those who try to attain technical or secretarial skills are, all too often, obviously competing in the man's world. And so when these girls do marry, their husbands find that they have to take potluck: a housekeeper of problematical skills, with or without any extensive knowledge of the skills of the other roles, etc.

Only with the romantic era did the demand arise that all three functions be carried out by one and the same woman in a marriage, this woman then being regarded as her husband's perfect complement or "other half" or "soul-mate," etc. Given this myth of the unique soul-mate, ultimately deriving from the speech of Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium*, the whole idea of romantic love, even of "love at first sight," follows with appalling immediacy and practical inevitability. In earlier epochs it was more or less realistically taken for granted that such a combination, while possible, would be the exception; a man would often enough have a mistress for erotic satisfaction and sometimes also companionship, and a wife for housekeeper and mother of his children; and he would love both differently. The higher the social rank, the more openly acknowledged the relationship, despite churchly pressures; royal mistresses were often better known to the general public than the official queen consort.

For what it is worth, then, I hypothesize that *erōs*, *philia* and *storgē* correspond to three basic human needs, which should all be satisfied for maximum happiness; and that if they cannot all be satisfied within the marital relationship, some opportunity will often be available outside of it. Or, when people (of whatever gender) are living together for any length of time in nonmarital relationships, various devices or subterfuges will be found if there is no specific provision within the relationship. A tabulation might simplify matters here (see page 127).

This table, of course, could be greatly extended to cover situations like grown son and parent, brother and sister, college roommates, etc., where the parties thereto live together but without overt provision for the erotic role within the relationship; in such relationships additional parties, not necessarily brought in to live with them, become necessary for satisfaction. And in general, even in the above situations, where a deficiency exists, or there is a gap among the roles taken by any given pair, introduction of an additional party is a frequent answer.

I suggest, too, that in most other nonmarital roles, regardless of

RELATIONSHIP	PARTNER	ROLE UNDER: ERŌS	PHILIA	STORGĒ
marriage	husband	sexual playmate	provider-in-return-for-domestic-duties/ father of children	friend/ companion
marriage	wife	sexual playmate	housekeeper/ mother of children	same
quasi- or common-law marriage	man	sexual playmate	provider as above	same
	quasi wife or mistress	sexual playmate	housekeeper as above	same
homosexual mateship	'butch' 'femme'	sexual playmate sexual playmate	provider as above housekeeper as above	same same
Greek love	man	same/teacher	provider/guide	same/teacher/"inspирer"/ source of blessings
	boyfriend	same/learner	appreciator	same/ learner/ beneficiary
Lesbian pair	'butch' 'femme'	sexual playmate sexual playmate	provider as above housekeeper as above	friend/companion same

gender, whether or not the parties to them live together, but whenever there is any permanence to the relationship, the same threefold division of functions under *erōs*, *philia* and *storgē* occurs, and the needs involved are roughly comparable. (*Philia*, however, might take non-domestic forms.) In these situations, as well, if the provisions they make for satisfying these three classes of needs leave one out, then the needs under that classification have to be satisfied on the outside, even as when the people involved are living together.

The impression also grows strong that (whether symmetrical or asymmetrical) a stable relationship of pairing off, or a threesome or foursome, or a group in which there is overlapping pairing off, results in some division of complementary roles between partners to any given pair. But that these complementary roles are not always the same is inevitable. Stereotypy in “male” and “female” roles reflects puritanism (see section 5 below). Not all homosexual pairs are so clearly divisible into “butch” and “femme.” Both may share housework, e.g., but ordinarily one will have certain more or less permanently assigned or assumed tasks, while the other will have different ones. There are, similarly, many working and professional women whose husbands (whether artists, writers, or loafers) more or less willingly stay at home and help take care of house and children. The variations are all but endless.

Similarly, sexual attraction often follows these patterns as well, a dynamic woman doctor marrying a delicate and yielding man. Or a man may take a more masculine or “butch” role with his wife or with one homosexual partner or girlfriend, and a more feminine or “femme” role when with a different one. The variations here are all but endless, too.

The pattern that seems to be emerging from these observations is that the division of roles in a relationship is often if not always complementary, and that a lack of such complementarity may often contribute to instability or dissatisfaction. I cannot claim this particular deduction as original, but I do claim for it independent confirmation from many different angles. Otto Weininger ^{116a} went so far as to maintain that he could predict—and that others could be trained similarly to predict—the sort of women or men to whom any given individual would be attracted, on exactly these grounds of complementarity of “masculinity” and “femininity.” R. Hildebrand ^{116b} ascribed similar complementarity to long-term close friendships. Dr. Medard Boss did likewise for the distribution of quasi “male” and “female” roles in homosexual relationships of all kinds, adding that “Not even a ‘normal’ asexual friendship between two men or two women can exist without this distinction.” ^{116c}

We have seen, in summary, that the Greek language and customs explicitly recognized three separate functions in a love relationship (*erōs*, *philia*, *storgē*); that these might be components of a single marriage, but often represented instead special roles for different women, with some overlapping; that they also represent three classes of needs of both parties to any love relationship, and that a common solution when one of these groups of needs is insufficiently satisfied has been to bring in additional parties to the relationship; that these generalizations hold true regardless of gender or marital status; and that within the three classes of needs, two parties to a relationship often divide necessary roles and tasks in a complementary manner.

5. *Exclusive and Nonexclusive Love*. As earlier mentioned, during the romantic epoch, as at no previous time, the demand arose that one and the same woman must carry out in full all three functions in a marriage. (True enough, Schlegel and Schleiermacher recommended premarital experiments in one's search for an ideal mate; but many others dared not openly advocate this.) This fitted in well with the churchly attitude that marriage was a sacrament, exclusive and completely indissoluble during the lifetime of one's partner, whether or not any of the three needs were satisfied. The romantic notion that for each man there was one ideal soulmate, one fully complementary personality, "the only girl in the world," twin-soul, missing half or "better half," etc., etc., fitted in here even as it followed from an over-literalistic misreading of Aristophanes's whimsical "myth of the third sex" in Plato's *Symposium*. According to this myth, there were originally three (really five) sexes: men, women and androgynai (singular: androgynē), these last being four-armed, four-legged, and with two sets of genitals (which might be the same or different). But the androgynai were so powerful that Zeus, fearing for his own supremacy, chopped them into halves, making them into ordinary men and women, and scattering them among the remainder of the population. And ever since then, the halves have been seeking to reunite with each other; heterosexuals were originally androgynai with one side male, the other female, and homosexuals had both sides of the same sex.

The romantic symbolic misreading of this myth, of course, was that for each man there was one and only one Perfect Mate, that until he had found her (and she him) they would search vainly among other possible candidates, that they would recognize each other by overwhelming attraction ("falling in love," with a vengeance), often if not usually at first sight, and that once married they would Live Happily Ever After. It was as part of the Social Lie that this symbolic misreading became part of what young people were taught

to believe. And, as Harry Stack Sullivan pointed out in passages earlier quoted, it is still part of our cultural heritage, part of the set of illusions by which too many young people still live and still deceive themselves.¹¹⁷

An obvious consequence of this kind of sloppy thinking was also that divorce was evidence that one had acted foolishly in identifying the wife as one's Ideal Partner (for the myth took no account of the existential instability of asymmetrical relationships, nor of the probability that people marrying from intense infatuation would find out that they didn't really know each other *as individuals* after the honeymoon). Still another consequence was possessiveness and jealousy; straying, or allowing a third party to get the affectionate attention of one's spouse, meant again that one had been a fool, that the "ideal" relationship was not what it was supposed to be. Of course, if the myth had symbolized a truth rather than an illusion, jealousy would have been unthinkable: either the parties would have been so perfectly matched and complementary to each other that neither one would have felt any need for a third party or a different mate; or else they would have separated amicably upon finding out that they were not so perfectly matched. What was involved was more a self-image based on illusion, than a rational way of behaving.

It would be unsafe to attribute the common jealous marriages and the "double standard" entirely to the not-yet-dead romantic illusion; the historical roots go back much farther—partly in fact to St. Paul's notions of how women should be kept in subjection to their husbands. A person fully accepting this particular brand of nonsense would of course be constrained to resent any show of individuality on the wife's part, particularly individuality which might tend to impugn his supreme patriarchal authority in the household. On the other hand, romanticists (as Taylor¹¹⁸ points out) often enough sought to divide the complementary roles in marriage or quasi-marriage differently from the common norm of the "double standard"; their male heroes were often dreamy and delicate, emphasizing their feminine side, and their heroines were often robust, free, daring—what in childhood and adolescence are called "tomboys." And many individuals actually tried to live up to these images.

Romanticism did, in fact, yield a genuine Hegelian dialectic in this matter. The ideal of the perfect complementary marriage, set side by side with the recognition that it is often impossible to find all three functions (*erōs*, *philia*, *storgē*) united perfectly in a single partner, led to the natural alternative: that of a quasi-marital relationship involving three people instead of two: "an echo of the Greek

solution," Taylor calls it. This sometimes occurred in the form of *mariage* (or *ménage*) à trois, the famous Noel Coward "Design for Living," in which wife and mistress lived with one man, or two close friends lived with the same woman; in other instances the mistress lived apart from the spouses but was recognized by them. This solution—well exemplified by Friedrich Jacobi (in personal life and in his novel *Woldemar*), and recommended also by Goethe (in *Stella*)—was bilaterally extended by Shelley, who not only wrote his wife Harriet suggesting that she join him and his mistress Mary in Switzerland, but also earlier tried to persuade his friend Hogg to share Harriet's favors . . . while he (Shelley) was still satisfactorily married to her.¹¹⁹ There are modern instances of the same thing, as I can testify from personal knowledge, in circles as diverse as Boston Brahmins and bohemians (beat and otherwise). In other *ménages* the third party is a boy in a Greek love situation.

G. Rattray Taylor regards this lack, or abandonment, of a sense of exclusive property rights in women as "matrist." His book *Sex in History* uses the "matrist-patrist" dichotomy throughout, and although oversimplified and not entirely satisfactory it is of considerable heuristic value. A brief tabulation of the two cultural patterns or attitude-clusters, modified slightly for methodological reasons, follows:¹²⁰

	MATRIST	PATRIST
Major emphasis is on:	'Is'	'Ought to be'
Attitude toward sex:	Permissive	Restrictive
Range of women's activities:	Free	Restricted
Status of women:	High, independent	Inferior, sinful, chattels
Chastity vs. "welfare" (individual happiness):	Prefer welfare	Prefer chastity
Political attitude:	Libertarian	Authoritarian
Sex differences:	Minimized	Emphasized
Attitude to		
innovations:	Favorable	Conservative, unfavorable
research, inquiry:	Favorable	Unfavorable, distrustful
spontaneity:	Favorable	Inhibitory
pleasure:	Favorable (hedonism)	Unfavorable (asceticism)
authority:	Rebellious	Favorable
people behaving differently	Live and let live	Convert them to the One True Path

Taylor adds others which seem to me less well established, such as that matrists have a deep fear of incest, patrists of homosexuality; matrists prefer rich, colorful and extravagant clothes, patrists plain and sombre clothes; matrists prefer a mother-religion, patrists a father-religion, etc. He tends to use the matrist-patrist distinctions to describe

individuals, groups, and historical periods. This practice is partly justifiable, but it requires very careful definition of the terms. I have not time to go into this in detail, but will simply quote Taylor's acknowledgement of his heuristic purpose in using this classification:

"If enquiry shows that social ideals do tend to fall into two contrasting patterns, in the way described, then useful inferences can be drawn, and the understanding of history simplified, even if the underlying mechanisms should one day prove to be quite other than is now supposed." ¹²¹

His purpose was

"to show that sexual attitudes are not random products, but are closely integrated with attitudes to political and religious matters, and indeed with the culture as a whole." ¹²²

Therefore, any wholesale change in sexual attitudes entails a change in the character of the entire society. But since patrists are always proselytizers for their own views, they win out over matrists (who are not usually so interested in converting others to their way of life), and human life becomes miserable and guilt-ridden. Taylor mentions in this connection the rise of Christianity, the rise of Calvinism, the Puritan theocracy in England and New England, and the rise of Victorianism (this last being largely an outgrowth of Wesleyan reformers). I would add to these many others—among them the rise of extreme right-wing movements in the contemporary U.S.A., and the notorious activities of Nazism and Stalinism. (These last two crushed burgeoning sexual reform movements in Germany and Russia, and there is some reason to fear that American puritanical right-wingers may do likewise for our present society.)

It is also clear that patrists, in general, will score considerably higher than matrists on all the nine "clusters" measured in the well-known F scale,¹²³ and in extreme forms they match Albert Ellis's bitter description of the "sexual fascist." ¹²⁴ A high score in the F scale corresponds to moderate or close agreement with propositions like "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children can have," "Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decision he obeys without question," "What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country," "Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around and mix together so much, a person has to protect himself especially carefully against catching an infection or disease from them," "An

insult to our honor should always be punished,” “Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down,” “What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith,” “Sex crimes such as rape and attacks on children deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse,” “People are divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong,” “There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude and respect for his parents,” “Most people don’t realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places,” “Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals and should be severely punished,” “The businessman and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor,” and “Familiarity breeds contempt.” I suggest that Adorno and co-workers were, in devising the F scale, grouping toward a measurement of *patrism*. Patrists fear tenderness; I suspect that they were deprived of it and particularly of cuddling when young, and that (as Geoffrey Gorer thinks) a clue to so-called national character can be found in child-raising practices and vice versa—recall Section 1 above.

For what it is worth, then, I suggest that the demand that one cleave to only one other person exclusively and possessively is patrist, as is the whole double standard; that matrist leads to acceptance of nonpossessive love (including Greek love) as legitimate expressions of tender feelings; that nonexclusive love represents a step in the direction of loving one’s neighbor as oneself, irrespective of gender or age; that a free mind (matrist) can love different individuals in different ways as the situations warrant, consistently with his and their needs under *erōs*, *philia* and *storgē*; and that any sexual reform movement will eventually have to acknowledge these attitudes, being in fact a movement towards matrist.

I suggest, as well, that there are deeper reasons than meet the eye for patrist antagonism to nonpossessive love (specifically Greek love, even more than androphile homosexuality): patrists, being proselytizers, recognize these things as a threat to their spread of the True Gospel; they see the direct rebellion against their standards; they may have some inkling that the man and boy in a Greek love situation are often co-conspirators against patrist attitudes; they, being guilt-ridden, jealously resent the possibility of others living relatively guilt-free. More specifically, patrists are antagonistic to tenderness, particularly in males, as they regard this as a feminine characteristic, and (to patrists) men should differ as much as possible from women.

I suggest also that the patrist can be feared, or even respected, but that he can hardly ever become the object of anyone's most tender feelings; being by this criterion unlovable, he tends in turn to reject love as sissified and unworthy of a he-man, or perhaps more often confuses it with other feelings. (Hence the mixture of possessiveness and jealousy in the double standard.) Philip Wylie explored this conflict between matrist and patrist attitudes toward love in *Opus 21* and partly also in *Finnley Wren*; but W. H. Auden neatly summarized it in his poem "Sept. 1, 1939") (*italics mine*):

The windiest militant trash
 Important Persons shout
 Is not so crude as our wish:
 What mad Nijinsky wrote
 About Diaghilev
 Is true of the normal heart;
 For the error bred in the bone
 Of each woman and each man
 Craves what it cannot have,
Not universal love
But to be loved alone.

And this book? Auden, in the same poem, says it for me:

All I have is a voice
 To undo the folded lie,
 The romantic lie in the brain
 Of the sensual man-in-the-street
 And the lie of Authority
 Whose buildings grope the sky:
 There is no such thing as the State
 And no one exists alone;
 Hunger allows no choice
 To the citizen or the police;
We must love one another or die.

In summary: I have advanced 24 hypotheses, with supporting observations.

1. Cuddling is an actual need among infrahuman mammals and humans alike.
2. It is a primordial manifestation of affection.
3. Its elaboration and differentiation increase with increasing complexity of the nervous system (as one goes up the evolutionary scale), being greatest in human beings.
4. Deprivation in this instinctoid need has bad emotional consequences on youngsters, impairing their own capacity to give affection.

5. Sex play is a specialized and highly elaborate form of cuddling.

6. Much of what is interpreted as adolescents' search for sex is in fact a more or less disguised (even to themselves) search for physical affection of various kinds, given and received.

7. Nos. 5 and 6 taken together have led to and reinforced a common confusion between love, cuddling and sex, the taboos on the last affecting the other two as well.

8. There are two continuous spectra, one (attitudes) from hatred through dislike to indifference (the zero point) to friendship and love, the other (physical expression) from destruction through rejection to indifference (the zero point) to handholding and cuddling in increasing elaboration and disinhibition, sex being near the upper end of this scale; human relationships can be charted using these scales or spectra as orthogonal axes or dimensions of experience.

9. The threshold between friendship and love is crossed, often almost imperceptibly, where the other party's satisfactions become as important to one as are one's own, whether in symmetrical or asymmetrical relationships.

10. Love, in this sense, becomes possible only with the onset of adolescence; its earliest normal objects are of one's own gender.

11. Love, in this sense, does not occur at first sight, but is instead a growing-together of personalities.

12. Love, in this sense, must be sharply distinguished from "falling in love," which is a sudden onset of sexual desire or infatuation.

13. Infatuation is often a necessary precondition for an adolescent's coming to appreciate the opposite sex.

14. Love is usually a mixture, in varying proportions, of "deficiency-love" (projection of one's own need to be loved) and "being-love" (genuine concern about the other party seen in his unique individuality).

15. Possessiveness and exclusiveness characterize not "being-love" but nearly undiluted "deficiency-love" and various counterfeits of love, even to the point where fathers become jealous of their children, thus precipitating oedipal situations.

16. Asymmetrical love relationships (i.e. where the parties to them are notably unequal in some important respect), more than symmetrical ones, are characterized by an existential instability, making nonpossessiveness all the more necessary.

17. A love relationship involves attempts at satisfactions of three classes of needs, under the headings of *erōs* (sexual), *philia* (common interest), and *storgē* (direct concern with the other party's satisfactions).

18. *Erōs*, *philia* and *storgē* can also refer to or manifest themselves as separate types of relationships, or components of a single relationship, or (as in Greece) castes of women, or roles divided among various partners in a multiple relationship.

19. The Greek division of women into three castes corresponding to the three headings—and their own capacities and interests—represented not “subjection” but a realistic solution to the problem of giving women a role involving neither subjection to men nor competition in their world.

20. In many if not all stable love relationships a division of roles under each of the three headings occurs with complementary functions being assigned each member of a pair, these complementary assignments or assumed responsibilities not always being the same from one pair to the next.

21. Stereotypy in “male” and “female” roles, and possessiveness, are survivals from patrism, while flexibility and nonpossessiveness relate to matrism, where matrism (as attitude-cluster or cultural pattern) involves sexual permissiveness, freedom and high status for women, libertarianism, and “live and let live,” whereas patrism is guilt-ridden, authoritarian, fearful of change and spontaneity, prone to maximize sex differences and to convert all others to one’s own rigid path.

22. Patrists were probably deprived of cuddling as infants and children, wherefore a clue to social attitudes can probably be found in child-raising practices as well as vice versa.

23. Any change in a society’s sexual practices is indissolubly bound up with change in the whole social outlook (from patrist to matrist and vice versa).

24. The nonpossessive love seemingly possible only to matrists represents a step in the direction of loving one’s neighbor as oneself regardless of gender or age—which in turn may be our only long-term alternative to destruction.

VI

SEXUAL ASPECTS OF GREEK LOVE

The stronger personalities defy the taboos: the weaker ones turn to indirect forms of expression.

—G. RATTRAY TAYLOR

As the caterpillar chooses the fairest leaves to lay her eggs on, so the priest lays his curse on the fairest joys.

—WM. BLAKE

*Though law cries 'hold!' yet passion onward draws;
But nature gave us passions, man gave laws.
Whence spring these inclinations, rank and strong?
And harming no one, wherefore call them wrong?*

—G. COLMAN in Don Leon

*The mere word 'carnal' shall not me affright;
Nor will I cease, in puritans' despite,
To love the boyish body with the sprite*

And hymn it too. —E. E. BRADFORD

1. *Toward an Orthopsychology of Sexual Behavior.* My basic thesis in this chapter is that physical manifestations of affection, including but not limited to sex, are roughly the same regardless of gender or (within certain obvious limitations) age of their objects. And, in the same way, the distortions arising from guilts, taboos, etc., are also very much the same from one sex to the other, from adolescence into maturity.

To a completely open mind this sounds fairly obvious and natural. Nevertheless, and not too surprisingly, it has been the recipient of considerable opposition, mostly on the part of patrist-oriented individuals who claim that there is only one 'natural' mode of sexual behavior. Partly this has been from a rigid insistence on the connection between sex and impregnation of the female; partly from rationalizations of prior aversion to certain sexual techniques (the particular ones tabooed differing to a certain extent from one individual or social stratum to the next); partly indeed from mistaken ideas about the techniques actually in use among homosexuals, and from ignorance and hostile guesswork about the techniques in use in Greek love.

Acquaintance with the facts culled from those actually involved in these practices and from descriptions of them in the erotic literature of the past, can destroy the basis for these objections, whether or not it will yet affect the objections themselves.

It will nevertheless be profitable to begin with an attempt at an orthopsychology of sex, more or less parallel to the orthopsychology of love attempted in the preceding chapter, and necessarily partly derived from the latter. Before enumerating principles and describing practice, we might as well proceed from the well known to the less known, from the criteria of health representing a consensus in modern psychiatry to more unfamiliar material. (Of necessity I draw principally on the Gestaltists and the so-called "Third Force," especially Maslow, as few others have specifically attempted to enumerate criteria of health.) The tabulation to follow summarizes the criteria with respect to the sexual area of human experience. The reader should nevertheless remember that "healthy" and "unhealthy" represent regions on a continuum, not rigidly defined or mutually exclusive classes. Self-evidently there are degrees of unhealth; in all probability there are also degrees of health above the minimum required to adapt to the common situations facing the individual. I do not feel unsafe in asserting that the minimal criteria here enumerated will apply in at least equal measure to these unusually healthy individuals, of whom Maslow's "self-actualizers" may be only a small number.

VARIABLE	HEALTHY	UNHEALTHY
capacity for love or deep friendship with one's sex partner	marked	diminished, distorted or absent
feeling-tone after sexual climax	{ relaxed euphoria; tenderness	varies from relief to dullness to disgust with partner; usually, tenderness less in evidence than before
jealousy, possessiveness	minimal; Taoistic "let-be"	often maximal, even when demand made of partner that latter should not be jealous (onesided double standard)
heterosexuality (once person is of age to appreciate opposite sex)	accepted naturally	obsessively overemphasized, feared, or otherwise distorted—sometimes absent
biological male or female role consistent with gender	accepted, flexible	obsessively overemphasized, distorted—sometimes renounced
dominance/submission	minimal	often maximal or obsessively overemphasized as supposedly necessary to a relationship

sadomasochism	usually absent	often necessary crutch
artificiality or assumed persona	absent	may be present
range of means to gratifica- tion or of acceptable types of partners	without limitations other than prudential	often markedly limited
fetishism and other crutches to gratification	minimal	often compulsive

There is no book known to me which gives, in detail, a complete theory of healthy sexual behavior—a complete orthopsychology of sex. My sources for the admittedly sketchy material to follow are of necessity varied. The principal ones include Freud, in scattered writings; Sándor Ferenczi, likewise; Wilhelm Reich^{125, 126}; Paul Goodman¹²⁷; additional insights being derived from Albert Ellis,^{37, 51} Ford and Beach¹⁹ (for data on comparative mammalian psychology and cross-cultural comparisons), Kinsey²² (for material on comparative human behavior across the various social strata), Frances Bruce Strain,¹²⁸ Lindner,⁹⁰ L. Barth,¹²⁹ R. L. Dickinson,¹³⁶ Arnold Gesell's studies,¹³¹ and others. The particular selection principle from among the various facts, insights and conclusions provided by these is of necessity mine; the test for validity of my formulation will be as follows: (1) Observation of behavior and attitudes of individuals raised in sexually permissive milieux. (2) Observation of subsequent behavior and attitudes of individuals successfully analyzed, i.e. from whom all remaining symptoms have been cleared away. Insofar as much of the material does in fact derive from those sources, my projected schema can be said to have successfully undergone some testing; but then, the testing preceded the precise formulation, so further investigation is of course necessary.

The mammalian norm, to begin with, is that of 'polymorphous' sexuality—the adjective is Freud's, but all it really means is that the healthy infant, youngster or mature person is capable of deriving biological excitement (and specifically sexual excitement) from many different sources. As an infant, and later as a child, some of these sources may not be what adults consider specifically sexual. The differentiation between specifically sexual (genital) urges, more generalized excitement, and the cuddling urge (to give and receive), is present to some extent from a comparatively early age, but the degree of differentiation increases with the maturing process. Reich speaks of infants' having oral orgasm, but insofar as this term means anything,

it means that there are several ways in which accumulated excitement can be discharged, according to the formula tension→charge→discharge→relaxation. Explosions of anger and temper tantrums are other such means. A sneeze is still another. The orgasm is more specific, serving as a safety-valve; unresolved tensions there dissipated would otherwise lead to symptom formation.

In health, there are no guilt feelings attached to infantile or childhood masturbation. Such masturbation, in health, is an *inevitable* consequence of the child's exploration of his own body in search of knowledge of its various functions, sources of pleasure, different ways of acting and experiencing, etc. The common belief that a child, allowed to indulge himself in this way, will become obsessed with the practice to the supposed detriment of his health and the neglect of other activities, is completely false; the orgasm mechanism is self-limiting and almost foolproof—once a child (or an adolescent or adult) has had enough orgasms, or a single intense enough one, during such play, he or she will not be capable of any more for a while; he will most likely be more interested in rest or even sleep than anything else, and he will later be exhilarated enough to go to other activities with renewed joy. But over the longer run, the orgasm is one source of pleasure among many, and a source more likely to be resorted to in times of tension or dissatisfaction from other causes, or (later on) in friendly explorations with a companion. (I derive this conclusion from the fact that the majority of recorded sources of sexual excitement among children are nonsexual.¹³²)

The more characteristic infantile and early childhood behavior interpreted by Strain and others as sexual includes such practices as thumbsucking, biting companions, and affectionate cuddling; the implication is that specifically genital differentiation has not occurred yet, or more accurately that genital behavior has not yet acquired a specifically sexual connotation to the youngster as a source of pleasure much different from other sources of pleasure. And in health, in the absence of early “don't touch” and “dirty, nasty” and masturbation prohibitions, this differentiation proceeds gradually and without disturbance or obsessiveness. Thus pre-school and grade school children grow up without any particular sense of shame or modesty (unless, as usual, this is forced on them by parents), and the common “playing doctor” and similar games provide an excuse for guilt-free mutual investigation and even manipulation. Kissing games, and wrestling with more specifically sexual overtones, and the like, come later on.

As adolescence approaches, the healthy child is exuberant, and very likely to have tried to share his genital pleasures with companions.

Inasmuch as these experiments have preceded the youngster's arrival at a stage where he can genuinely love, i.e. empathize with a partner, they are less likely to match the adolescent and mature coital patterns to be described below than they are to consist of masturbation à deux or with several others. These experiments are still simply one source of pleasure among many; they are one kind of game among many.

In the healthy and uninhibited child, adolescent or adult of either gender, the actual process of reaching orgasm has marked similarities beyond a certain stage, and at the climax the bodily reactions occur in reflex form, conscious control no longer possible. Inasmuch as the process is little understood and seldom observed except under unhealthy conditions, a description is in order; my criteria derive from Reich,¹³³ Goodman, Moshé Feldenkrais¹³⁴ and others.

Preliminaries, whether to fantasy, masturbation, or sexual play with a companion, present no noticeable regularities, save that in health when erection in the male (or sexual swelling of clitoris and breasts, and outflowing of sexual secretions from the cervical glands and glands of Bartholin, in the female) occurs, there is excitement in the pelvic region with a definite urge to make thrusts forward, to rub the genitals against something soft, warm and preferably slick. (In the more generalized cuddling urge the entire body wants to press, stroke or rub against, or to be pressed, rubbed or stroked by, something soft and warm; there is more pleasurable sensation on mucous membranes if the gentle frictions are against something slick, as in nursing or kissing. Here is the source of the relation, and part of the confusion, between the generalized cuddling urge and its highly specialized form occurring as sex.) Rigidity in the abdomen is unhealthy and usually a sign of fear of one's sensations. Holding the pelvis rigid rather than allowing it to make its forward thrusts is automatic evidence of disturbance, inappropriate inhibition, even sickness. The too common pattern of adolescent or adult males' masturbating by holding their breath, holding pelvis and abdomen rigid, and rapidly manipulating their genitals to orgasm is *completely undesirable* for the same reason. Usually it testifies to guilt and haste to get it over with before interruption occurs—often just to get it over with, period. This is exactly parallel to the rigidity in sex-frightened girls which becomes frigidity with their husbands. In health, on the other hand, the excitement manifests itself by free, spontaneous, copulatory pelvic thrusts—against the hand or pillow or toy animal or partner—and each thrust brings a surge of pleasure and further excitement and a desire to continue with further thrusts. Usually the rhythm is such that one exhales with each thrust.

Erection in the male, or sexual swelling of labia and clitoris in the female, is pleasurable, partly from anticipation of further satisfaction to come, partly in the sensations obtained by pressing, rubbing or stroking these sensitive areas. The healthy individual of whatever age is gentle in this activity; though there is an urge to penetrate, or to receive, there is no urge to hurt the partner. The popular notion of female passivity is absolutely wrong; where such passivity occurs, it is usually (according to Reich) "due to masochistic phantasies of being raped." Ideally, caresses continue, but in health the only conversation during sex (other than during intermissions or rest periods) is likely to be terms of endearment: if one's attention is really on one's partner and their shared pleasure, it is unlikely that conversation will turn to the stock market or rock 'n' roll or the habits of the *coati-mundi*.

With penetration, or in masturbation when one begins in earnest to thrust against hand, pillow, etc., pleasurable excitement increases; and as a result of mutual, slow, spontaneous, effortless, gentle sliding frictions the excitement builds up primarily in the genitals, though secondarily also in lips, breasts, anus, and in general wherever there are mucous membranes. Interruptions can occur, or changes of position, or rest periods, prolonging the pleasure.

A considerable amount of experience is usually necessary to find individual ways which increase one's own pleasure; experience, and open-mindedness, and imagination, and a certain degree of empathy, of ability to identify with one's partner and visualize correctly what will bring him or her more satisfaction. For sex is at once the most selfish of all pleasures, and the most generous; and this is why in the long run the most pleasurable sex acts are those performed with a partner about whom one genuinely cares. The empathy with the partner, mentioned before, is a part of close friendship or love, and this itself is hardly possible prior to adolescence when the capacity to love develops, parallel with the ability to perceive one's friends as unique individuals. But an immediate corollary is that, early in adolescence, this empathy is likely to occur most easily between two chums of the same sex, whether age-mates or in Greek love. Further maturation and branching out will be necessary to enable the adolescent boy to want, and learn how, to *give* actual pleasure to a girl rather than simply to use her as a means to an end. Before this wider empathy develops, one hears much about "getting a lay" and similar crudities; but in health the boy is exuberant, uninhibited, and willing to experiment, and he is naturally friendly, making the path towards heterosexuality easier.

At a later stage in a given sexual act, the bodies begin to become more and more excited all over, not merely in the so-called erogenous zones. Usually an individual begins sweating profusely, panting and gasping deep breaths; in health, from this point on, he no longer has conscious control over what he is doing, and his body behaves in reflex fashion. Phantasies (especially phantasies of having a different partner) disappear. Excitement begins to concentrate still more in the erogenous zones. Interruption here is emphatically unpleasant and psychologically harmful. Consciousness begins to cloud over; one is aware only of intensely pleasurable sensations, many being of a "melting" kind difficult to describe except that they flow.

At the onset of the (completely involuntary) climax, convulsions occur, often of the whole body; they tend to arch the back and make the pelvis swing forward and up, the head forward and down. There are rhythmic anal and penile motions, contractions of the vaginal sphincter, etc. Healthy individuals surrender completely to these convulsions, not attempting to control or fight them even to prolong the pleasure. Many individuals involuntarily groan or vocalize in other ways, sometimes even with tears. Pre-adolescent boys may occasionally ejaculate a few drops of some clear liquid, which may consist partly or wholly of urine(?).¹³⁵ In adolescent boys the ejaculate—which may be spurted forth with considerable force—consists largely of prostatic and other lubricant gland secretions; as they grow older the proportions of these change and the quantity of motile sperm cells increases, as does the viscosity of the semen. Dickinson's *Atlas*¹³⁰ speaks of dribbling rather than actual ejection, but this generalization is clearly in error; dribbling is usual only in old age or ill health, ejaculation is especially vigorous in youngsters. In females there is of course no real ejaculate, but orgasm is attended by spontaneous sharp contractions of anal and vaginal sphincters and considerable secretion of clear viscid liquid by cervical and Bartholin glands.

The excitement is discharged, and both partners experience relaxation; superficial blood vessels (which had been greatly expanded) return to normal; heart rate, blood pressure and most bodily processes return to normal, the heavy breathing and sweating diminish, etc. Occasionally the boy may experience hypersensitivity of genital surfaces even to the point where touch is painful, but this usually lasts for only a few seconds. The relaxation itself is pleasurable, whether only for a minute or two, or (as in older partners) for longer periods. The common notion ("omne animal post coitum triste") that afterwards one is exhausted, indifferent, disillusioned, no good for anything else, or that one becomes hostile to the partner, is testimony to severe

disturbance in the sexual sphere.¹³⁶ In actuality, the healthy individual remains tender towards his partner afterwards as well as during the event. Reich says that a desire for sleep thereafter is usual. This is less often true with younger partners; adolescents often quickly build up enough energy for additional sex play within a few minutes after one orgasm. The emotional tone may be anything from relaxed tenderness to joy and exhilaration. There is no disgust at the sweating or the presence of profuse secretions, etc., nor at having used oral or anal techniques in building up excitement or in bringing on orgasm. With this degree of rapport between partners, before-and-after bathroom intimacies (e.g. sensual play involving caressing and pleasurable sliding contact between lathered bodies in a shared shower) are usual, and bodily individualities become objects of shared delight.

Temporary unavailability of a suitable partner during sexual need, in healthy adolescence or adult life, is sufficient reason for masturbation. Tender and sensual feelings are ordinarily directed to the same person(s) though without necessarily involving the "falling in love" syndrome mentioned in Chapter V. It is often difficult to tell where affection leaves off and sensuality begins, or vice versa, and in the last analysis it is not really important when both are part of the same relationship. Notice that *the preceding description of sexual behavior is for practical purposes independent of gender*; the female's emotional involvement may differ, but the actual sex play is not especially different from that of the male. Moreover, there is no logically assignable reason why healthy sex play leading to orgasm must needs involve coitus. I have already brought up this point, elaborating on one made by Albert Ellis. Now if petting to climax, or mutual masturbation, or anal intercourse, or oral techniques (including particularly "69" or "soixante-neuf," which is simultaneous oral stimulation by both partners), can result in a reasonably healthy orgasm for both partners if they are male and female, clearly in the absence of guilt feelings or other inhibitory circumstances they can result in the same kind of satisfaction if both are female, or if both are male, whether of same or different ages. The important thing is not legality, for present purposes, but establishment of this proposition as at least theoretically feasible: sexual satisfaction is sexual satisfaction no matter from whom obtained, and its desirability or undesirability must be decided on entirely other grounds than gender or (within certain very broad limits) age.

The above attempt at an orthopsychology of sex differs from the conventional Freudian view (which after all describes only what he conceived to be the norm, on the basis of disordered people com-

ing to him "from certain strata of moneyed Austro-Hungarian society of the early 20th century) in several important respects. (1) The excitement-and-release cycle is similar in both sexes. (2) Polymorphous sexual excitability is taken as the norm, not as something to be outgrown; bourgeois monogamy appears as an inhibition of all forms of sexual release but one. (3) In health, the oedipal relationships are absent, being symptomatic of some underlying disorder, as is shame or unwillingness to experiment or to accept one's own feelings. (4) In health there is no "double onset of sexuality," no latency period; the presence of a latency period is evidence of disorder. (5) Sexual cycles begin before reproductive cycles, and continue afterwards. (6) Orgasm is orgasm, however achieved, and it becomes unhealthy only under conditions of diminished contact with the partner, muscular armoring and stasis, diminished sensation, restriction on possible means of reaching it (e.g., fetishism, sadomasochism, compulsive avoidances, etc.).

We proceed now from the general to the specific subcase of Greek love. Before discussing the particular sexual techniques common in Greek love relationships over the ages, it will be appropriate to summarize the usual features that a boy finds attractive in a man when the prospect of a sexual relationship arises, and vice versa, followed by the so-called seduction techniques. The reason for doing so is not the pornographic one which prudery would imagine, nor yet to give advice on *How To Do It* for prospective recruits, but rather to put the facts down in black and white where until now ignorance has been world-wide, to enable understanding of these things to arise and cast out fear, and to show that Greek love behavior is, in the last analysis, much like any other, but with realistic adaptations to the fact that a boy is built differently from a girl but can be a source of sexual enjoyment anyway, whether to another boy or to an older adolescent or a man. Too often until now patrist fears of homosexuality, and in particular of Greek love, have produced rationalizations that such sex play is physically harmful. We now can destroy the basis for such rationalizations.

2. *Factors in Attraction Between Boy and Older Male.* To a young adolescent in need of masculine identification—the combination of hero-worship and loving guidance—physical attractiveness of the older adolescent or man in question is usually much less important than the fact that he is successful in the specific ways in which the boy would like to be; he is someone to whom the boy looks up, on whom the boy projects his own aspirations, etc. More important still, the attraction increases once it has become evident that the older

A.B.

party has become aware and accepts the relationship, that in some way he actually cares about the boy. Love follows on their becoming companions and sharing confidences. The emotional rapport is far more necessary as a preliminary to Greek love (as against merely casual sexual experimenting together with one's playmates) than is the physical type to which the older party belongs. This is an essentially feminine reaction, but (so far from impugning the boy's essentially masculine outlook) it is a natural and useful aid to the boy's later being able to develop empathy with girlfriends. *Having felt in a certain way himself, he can thereafter appreciatively understand what girls mean when they describe their own feelings about the idol of the moment or, later, about him.* Here we have not only a down-to-earth meaning for the common psychiatric formula that every individual contains masculine and feminine traits, we have also an actual instance of those traits functioning in adolescent development.

After a sexual relationship has begun, the individual peculiarities of the boy's love object (e.g., particular tone of voice, manner of caressing, interest in folk music, curly blond hair, etc.) become themselves objects of cherishing and admiration, parts standing for the whole, all invested with memories and associations pointing to a love relationship which itself is, and long remains, a high point in the boy's life. In the same way, subsequent love affairs build up around themselves similar groups of cherished individualities. (If this seems to have a familiar ring, it should; the identical process goes on in millions of heterosexual affairs the world over.)

In some instances a boy may seek out other affairs—heterosexual or homosexual, Greek love or otherwise—because of accidental resemblances. In a more healthy psychological state, of course, he will seek or accept each new affair as it comes, as something unique, on the basis of its own individual qualities rather than because the other person resembles a former love object. Adolescents' too-common obsession with merely physical attributes—"vital statistics" and in particular breast size, or hair color, etc.—can be unhealthy if it induces a boy to pass up a promising relationship merely because the girl at hand does not resemble some currently fashionable stereotype; but fortunately in many instances she has qualities immediately visible and audible and tactile which can outweigh illusory stereotypes. Often simply her willingness to accept his advances or even her interest in the boy as a person is enough.

On the other side of the coin, it is often other qualities than superficial good looks and either girlish delicacy or masculine vigor which make a boy attractive to another male. Sometimes it is the

sheer genuineness and exuberant intensity of the boy's crush (what Friedenberg calls "authenticity") that open up the older adolescent's or man's own feelings. (This has been known to occur as a first-time awakening to both parties to such an affair, neither having previously considered anything of the sort in the past.) Attraction on this basis can happen at the beginning of a friendship or, perhaps more often, after it has well advanced and developed some intimacy.

However, there is a more specific but little-discussed transient physical feature which can make a boy or girl in early adolescence highly attractive to either sex. This is readily observable in any place where young teens congregate, though photographs will not accurately communicate it. As there is no satisfactory word in common use for the phenomenon, I must borrow the jargon of translators of Greek poetry and speak of it as the "bloom" or "prime." With the onset of puberty, or sometimes just before or after the first pubic tuft sprouts, there occur specific changes (doubtless glandularly induced) in skin and hair. In youngsters who do not have acne, the skin—especially on and around the face, but to some extent all over the body—becomes more delicate in texture than before; color is higher and sometimes Renoiresque; extremely fine, colorless hair (vellus) sprouts, adding to the silkiness of the skin's texture; eyelashes often appear unusually long and beautifully curved; lips seem unusually sensuous; head hair takes on lustre and luxuriance. This bloom often lasts until, in boys, beard and coarse body hair (on chest, abdomen, thighs and buttocks) develop. In girls the bloom more gradually fades, to be replaced by more specifically womanly looks, or else—more often these days—it is obscured by cosmetics. The period of bloom is highly variable: some individuals never have it; others lose it by age 13 or 14; still others keep it into their 19th or 20th year, despite beard growth. But sooner or later the skin coarsens, however slightly, its colors fade, coarser hair replaces the vellus, and the other temporary beauties vanish. And to an ancient Greek, the boy would be no longer a sexual object but a man ready to go out and raise a family on his own.

Boys are very often aware of this bloom phenomenon in themselves. Friedenberg¹³⁷ even says that adolescent boys are more vain than girls. They are, however, rarely aware that it is the bloom which attracts other individuals, and often seek admiration on the basis of muscular development, etc., which always provides reassurance that they are safely masculine.

Today, even as in ancient Greece, however, it is a combination of factors which makes a boy attractive to an older boy or man. Some

of these are immediate and superficial—emphatic masculinity, or on the other hand delicacy and obvious need, or the combination of either or both of these with the bloom—and others are less apparent. The subtler qualities can be many. Sheer need to be helped, flashes of intellectual brilliance, uninhibited exuberance, unaware or partly aware sexiness, genuine friendliness—all these and others often contribute.

3. *Enticement Techniques Between Boy and Man.* There are so many individual variations on this theme that it would be all but impossible to catalogue them. The general idea behind them is to make it happen that both younger and older party become simultaneously aware that each is sexually excited and that each is available.⁸⁶ Sometimes one uses such excuse as “Ain’t it a shame that we don’t have any girls here?” or “If we had a girl here, this is what I’d do,” or even “If you were a girl, this is the way I’d love you,” but it is not usually necessary to make any such substitution or excuse. Often enough, instead, there are simply terms of endearment, and the obvious groping⁸⁷ or undressing. (See also Chapters VII, VIII, for specific examples.)

But before that almost anything can happen. I have already pointed out that very often it is the younger party who makes the first overt move. When he and the older boy or man are alone together, conversation can be, and often is, about anything and everything of common concern, from philosophy and shared hobbies and girls to personal advice and answers to nagging problems. As with conversations between adults, the subject can also turn to sex. Coon⁸⁶ described (as I quoted in this footnote) how a fourteen-year-old news-boy used such a turn of conversation as an opportunity to display his own sexual excitement to an adult friend. Or occasionally the parties will get into friendly wrestling, discovering their own excited states during the proceedings, or while showering, sharing the same bedroom, tent, bed or sleeping bag. Or friendly arm-in-arm sitting, walking, or hand-holding at a movie, etc., can lead to cuddling, and this in turn to shared excitement. Or the boy may admire his older friend’s body at the Boys’ Club gym, the school gym, the YMCA or the beach, perhaps repeating the admiration in privacy and using it as an occasion to feel or explore with his hands. Or in sheer mischief he may begin to undress his friend and explore or deliberately stimulate him. Or the question of comparing physical development may come up. Many boys require reassurance that they are not retarded or unmanly in their own rate of growth, genital and otherwise, and

this discussion can itself lead to sexual arousal. The variations, as I said, are endless.

I have less complete information about the techniques used by older males to persuade more frightened, reluctant, or inexperienced boys that they should indulge in sexual experimentation. From what I do know about this, the usual procedure seems to be to try to gain the boy's confidence. (For, after all, his consent is necessary to the affair.) Sometimes the mere display of sexual excitement by the man, and inquiry as to whether the boy is in similar need, suffice. Sometimes extensive talk about sex and sex techniques and comparing experiences brings arousal. Sometimes prolonged courtship (with reassurance) is necessary, even as with reluctant girls.

Other variations are mentioned in Chapters VII and VIII. The important things to remember are that mutual consent is necessary for maximum enjoyment; that the most effective techniques are in fact those that do not impugn the boy's masculine self-image or automatically give him the idea that he is being made into anything queer; that merely forbidding certain types of association, certain occasions, etc., will not eradicate the sexual aspects of Greek love or adolescent friendships, as the opportunities for private conversation are so varied as to be endless. Better than trying to eliminate the possibility in puritan fashion would be to take advantage of it, using the man-boy association as an opportunity for the youngster to obtain some much-needed intensive guidance of a kind not readily available from professionals, at a time when it is most likely to do good; for *whether or not sexual experimentation occurs during such a relationship is far less important than the positive benefits of such a relationship*, as I have been at considerable pains to point out in Chapters II, III and IV.⁹³

4. *Sexual Techniques Between Boy and Man.* Ignorance on this issue is likewise inexcusably frequent. The usual prudery-inspired, fear-ridden opinions born of ignorance and dread have it that all the man wishes is forcible anal intercourse with a helpless, agonized and struggling youngster—that a boy is merely a substitute for a girl, an inadequate and inappropriate but more readily available, persuadable or intimidatable sex object. *That this poisonous nonsense ever gained currency even amongst old beldames is testimony to the strength of prudery's death-grip in this culture.* I write what follows in the hope that in at least some partly open minds truth can cast out fear. My evidence for what follows, even as for the enticement techniques described in the preceding section, comes partly from erotic literature

and art of all periods from ancient Greece to the present, and of many different nations; partly from intensive interviews with people who have been involved in such scenes as either younger or older partner to them; and partly from discussions with psychiatrists and others who have had access to such data.

Once again, the variations are almost endless, but a few principal patterns are especially common, and there have been changes over the centuries—changes hinted at in the literature (Part II below, *passim*). Oral-genital stimulation was very rare in ancient Greece and Rome, and it was generally looked on as degrading; apparently, it became common only around the 18th century. So-called 69 was unknown to the ancients, as their written erotica contained no expression known to have this meaning, and their visual erotica never depicted the practice. The earliest occurrence of the numeral 69 with a sexual meaning, or of its name “soixante-neuf” or “six-à-neuf,” or a description of the practice, seems to have been around the time of the French Revolution. Its absence in the *Dialogues of Luisa Sigea* (1660) is significant. Anal intercourse, on the other hand, was apparently much commoner in earlier centuries than it is now. Intercrural copulation (between the often oiled or sweaty thighs)—the so-called “English method”—was comparatively rare before the 18th century but has become frequent in boarding schools. Elaborate kissing methods occur now much as they did in ancient Greece. Caressing, cuddling, petting are much the same as with girls, and they have always been much the same. To details:

a. *Manual methods*. Masturbation by each partner while sitting or lying side by side, usually snuggling up to each other, perhaps hugging with the free arms, has long been common, especially while the boy is still inhibited about doing anything more sophisticated. Naturally, this can be combined with caresses of any variety, over any or all areas of the body—as can all the other techniques.

At least equally common is mutual masturbation, perhaps as the climax to fondling. This can occur without or with the use of lubricants such as saliva, vaseline, KY or similar surgical jellies, soap, etc. And it can also be preliminary to other methods. The sheer spontaneous movements of one's partner's body can be very enlightening to boy or man. A lesson very quickly learned in such activities is that the erogenous zones on male and female are the same; even the nipples of a boy in early adolescence (and occasionally later on as well) are often extremely sensitive. The Greeks had a phrase for “to stimulate the nipples” of a boy or girl—*thlibein titthón*.

b. *Oral techniques*. So-called French kissing (“deep kissing,”

“tongue kissing,” “soul kissing,” etc.) was known in ancient Greece and Rome even as today, and it has not changed very much. The Greek terms are *glōttopoieîn* and *kataglōttízein*. The principle involved is always that the tongue exploring the partner’s mucous membranes can give him or her considerable pleasure; as any experienced woman can testify, the proper method is gently playful exploration rather than mere thrusting.

I have already mentioned the nipples of a boy as an erogenous zone; they respond especially sharply—even startlingly!—to tonguing. In the same way kissing or tonguing the genitals, particularly the glans, has a similar effect. (The Greek terms are *leíkhein* and *likhmázein*.) On young and inexperienced boys the effect can be almost unbearably intense. A technique which seems to have been a French invention is the so-called tongue bath, wherein most areas of the partner’s body are vigorously explored by one’s tongue. This sometimes is done mutually—each to the other, simultaneously. Outside of this specific context, perineal and perianal tonguing (“rimming”) are much less common, perhaps for hygienic reasons as much as reasons of taboo. “Ear frenching” (exploring the partner’s ear with one’s tongue) also occurs in foreplay, the sensations spreading throughout the body even as with french kissing and nipple-tonguing.

Actual oral intercourse is given two names. The person using tongue and lips on the other’s genital is said to be performing *fellation*. (Latin, *fellatio*, cognate with Greek *thēlázein*.) The person inserting his phallus into the partner’s mouth is said to be performing *irrumation*. (Latin, *irrumatio*, from a verb originally meaning to give the nipple to an infant.)

The sensations experienced by the irrumator are approximately the same as those experienced by the same person performing vaginal intercourse with a woman who knows how to contract the vaginal sphincter muscles, except that with the woman there is the considerable advantage of face-to-face contact. In instances where the man has fellated his boyfriend, often he has used this fact to further the boy’s education in what to expect in heterosexual experience. This would seem the honest thing to do.

The sensations experienced by the fellator vary from case to case. With some individuals there is a recreating of what appears to be the sensations associated with breast feeding. With others the sensation is mildly pleasurable and of much the same kind as that found in tongue kissing; the stimulation comes then partly from awareness of the intense pleasure obtained by his partner. Much the same can be said of individuals who indulge in *cunnilingus* (stimulation of mons

veneris, labia and clitoris with tongue and lips), and for much the same reasons. As for the odor and taste of pre-coital mucous secretion, Bartholin secretion, and semen, these vary so much from one individual to the next as to make generalizations unsafe, but for many boys and men the experience is pleasant enough and the taste at least not objected to.

This brings up a point rarely touched on in the literature, but brought sharply to my attention by Norm T. (see Chapter VIII, below). Much of the excitement in sexual contact with male or female comes from observing one's partner's reactions—squirming, delighted squeals, sighs, endearments, other obvious manifestations of pleasure—and from knowing that one is giving one's partner such delicious sensations. The pleasure, then, is at least partly empathetic. And when two individuals care enough about each other to take delight in giving each other such sensations, their own physical pleasures are thereby enhanced a great deal more. Some homosexuals and some women find that this empathetic feature is the greatest part of what they get out of sexual contact; it is this, in fact, which makes tolerable the sex lives of some women whose husbands do not know how to bring them to orgasm, or who do not even know that females can have orgasms.

In all honesty, it must be admitted that oral intercourse can have disadvantages, though these are not insuperable. Great penile length can stimulate the gag reflex in a fellator. Great penile diameter can make a man's boyfriend unwilling to attempt fellation. Inexperienced fellators can provide irritation with teeth, particularly when the partner's organ is very large, or occasionally by reflex biting down or clamping down when near their own orgasm during 69. Irrumators who are less than clean can be offensive. And of course face-to-face contact is anatomically out of the question. For these reasons the Greeks objected to oral intercourse. In antiquity there was more reason than now; soap was uncommon and usually so alkali-saturated as to be irritating to the skin, the usual substitute after athletic exertion being the "strigil" or scraper with which one scrubbed off the dirt-caked mixture of sweat and olive oil, presumably finishing off the job with a fleece or a piece of rough cloth.

The above remarks are, naturally, equally applicable in homosexual and heterosexual contact. As one would expect, most of the sexual techniques described in the chapter are similar whether with a boy or a girl partner, and the point will be emphasized that a boy's experience of them with a man in Greek love can be of value in giving him experiential knowledge of what his girlfriend or wife will be enjoying with him in turn.

c. *Whole body contact techniques.* In this important class there are four principal kinds in use between males. One of them is a frank substitute for vaginal copulation; the others are also common between man and woman. Needless to say, the number of different positions in which they can be performed is very great, and any of them can be combined with indefinitely variable kinds of caressing.

The first major whole-body technique I discuss here does not have a common name in any language known to me; I call it "the big embrace." It is very often used by Lesbians, and possibly even more often by very young children of either sex (even when their partners are unaware of it) in wrestling or romping. In the "big embrace" the "active" partner clasps the other's leg or trunk between his own legs, and rubs his genitals against the other's body, while holding him or her with his arms. I have also known this "big embrace" to be used by women in heterosexual contact when penetration is unsatisfying (e.g., during menstruation) or impossible (e.g., after the man has had his orgasm and is no longer capable of further erection). Insofar as it involves actual contact with a partner, endearments and caresses, it is a decided improvement on masturbation, even though the mechanism is much the same.

The second is the so-called English method, earlier mentioned. This got its name from its common occurrence among boys in British "public" schools (which are actually boarding schools). It is also one technique Oscar Wilde is known to have used with his boyfriends. With this method the taboos attached to anal intercourse and oral intercourse can be avoided, and the partners can roll apart instantly in the event of interruption, proof of sex play being more difficult under the circumstances. The English method is defined as copulating between partner's thighs, either belly-to-belly and face-to-face or belly-to-back. Kinsey indicates that a great deal of preadolescent homosexual contact is of this kind.¹³⁸ In practice, both partners can increase their pleasure in this technique by one using the abovementioned "big embrace" while the other is copulating intercrurally. The copulation can be between the upper thighs or along the perineum, and pressure here can itself be a source of sexual pleasure.¹³⁹ This method is particularly enjoyable when both partners are oiled up or sweaty (or lathered up in the shower). Since the ancient Greeks are known to have anointed themselves and their boyfriends with olive oil before some sexual activities, the chances are fairly good that they may have experimented with this technique, using it instead of anal intercourse when the boy was unwilling to allow himself to be penetrated, or when he had some rectal condition (e.g. a fistula or painful fissure, etc.) rendering anal intercourse difficult or unpleasant. The

terms *mērizein*, *diamērizein* probably meant English method. In the combination of belly-to-belly and face-to-face embrace, one partner copulating intercrurally and the other using the "big embrace," this method is a fair approximation to some aspects of heterosexual intercourse, and it has been used among youngsters playing at doing exactly this, as well as in Greek love for giving the boy some idea of what the girl feels like in intercourse—genital stimulation, weight on her chest, close embrace, etc.

The third technique is pedication or anal intercourse, also known as buggery, and sometimes mistakenly called sodomy or pederasty. (The term "sodomy" is too vague to mean any one sexual technique; "pederasty" literally means sexual love of a boy, and its misidentification with anal intercourse comes from the common Greek practice whereby anal intercourse was the preferred sexual technique with boys.) This one technique for many centuries of Christian domination was the most rigidly tabooed and violently proscribed of all sexual practices, whether between husband and wife or in any other situation. Legal and other official denunciations of it used unbelievably violent language: "abominable and detestable crime against nature," "odious vice of which modesty rejects the name and nature abominates the idea" (Gibbon), "infamous abomination" (Mantegazza), etc., ad nauseam. During the 19th century and later it was rarely mentioned at all except via the prissiest and most evasive euphemisms (?) imaginable: "praepostera venus," "venus aversa," "Greek," the "unnameable way," "contra naturam," "the posterior Venus," "the living altar where the back changes its name" (Joyce). I have already mentioned in Chapter III that anal intercourse, even between husband and wife, was punishable by death in Britain until the 19th century, and that it is still punishable in the U.S.A. by long prison terms. It is for these reasons among others that J. A. Symonds, Edward Carpenter, Havelock Ellis, and other apologists for "inversion" as a natural and incurable condition rather than a new kind of debauchery, were so insistent that inverted desire and practice did not necessarily include anal intercourse. And it is possibly for the same reasons that anal intercourse has become less common than some other techniques. In point of fact, it is rather uncommon in Greek love as practiced today. When anal intercourse does occur, whether between man and wife or in other sexual pairings of any kind, it can occur in many positions—two basic ideas being indefinitely varied: face-to-face and belly-to-belly with, often, legs wrapped around the "active" partner's trunk or neck; or belly-to-back with head turned to meet partner's face. Use of a lubricant is common. Stimulation by hand of the "pas-

sive" partner's genitals is also common. (Cf. Martial, XI, 22, transl. Chapter XI, below.)

That the "passive" partner also receives pleasure is unequivocally true, even though this may seem paradoxical to individuals who have never experimented in this manner. Acquaintance with the neuroanatomy of this region can explain why this is so. The sensory nerve fibers going to the anal region arise from the same part of the spinal cord as those going to the genital region (the so-called pudendal or sacral plexus, from the second, third and fourth sacral segments of the cord): the principal nerves involved are the inferior hemorrhoidal (to the anal sphincter and mucous membrane and skin around the anus), the perineal, and the dorsal nerves of penis or clitoris. In addition, the inferior mesenteric ganglion includes nerves of the parasympathetic system serving anal and genital regions, and the second to fourth sacral segments of the cord also are nearest in location to the nerves of the sympathetic system serving the same regions. In sexual excitement, sensory nerves, motor nerves, and the sympathetic and (especially) parasympathetic systems are simultaneously active.¹⁴⁰ Where so many nerves are active in the same region at the same time, the signals from them tend to become associated or to reinforce each other. It is also quite possible that in individuals of either sex, nerves in regions other than the genitals themselves may end in the so-called Meissner's corpuscles, which are generally supposed to carry sexual sensations. In addition, the anal and genital areas share some muscles in common, and (as Kinsey says¹⁴¹) the activity of either area may stimulate the other, resulting in definite erotic associations with anal stimulation, and in many cases actual sexual feeling referred to that area. This can sometimes come as a surprise. Youngsters and adults have often unexpectedly experienced sexual arousal associated with insertion or withdrawal of a well-greased rectal thermometer or enema nozzle. Some women are known to use the latter specifically for that purpose during masturbation.

And among boys and men who report specific sexual pleasure from being the "passive" partner in anal intercourse, there is still another and less known reason. Anal intercourse, particularly in certain positions, can result in prostatic massage as well as in stimulation of the nerves in the muscles of the so-called pelvic sling. Prostatic massage is notoriously responsible for sexual stimulation and some overflow of secretion long before the orgasm. And the nerves of the pelvic sling give sexual sensations; Kinsey thinks that they are probably responsible for much of the sexual gratification felt in deep vaginal intercourse as well as in anal intercourse. Highly skilled women

take advantage of both these facts by routinely inserting a finger to give such stimulation to their partners in vaginal intercourse. Though the Greeks had many words for anal intercourse, the finger-insertion technique seems to have been known mainly as *siphniázēin*.

However, I must mention that anal intercourse, like fellation, can sometimes have disadvantages. These are principally a result of great disparity in size, or of lack of gentleness, absence of lubricant, or presence of chronic rectal spasm. In addition, if the "passive" partner already has some physical disorder in the anal area such as hemorrhoids, fistula in ano, fissures, or polyps, anal intercourse can be irritating even under what would otherwise be the most favorable circumstances. Normally, the anus is very distensible, as any proctologist can confirm; constriction is generally from chronic muscular spasm and is often associated with constipation—ultimately deriving from fear, whether fear of specific local injury or of some more generalized trauma. The chronic muscular spasm—a form of what Reich and the Gestaltists call "armoring"—is to be clearly distinguished from the normal tonus and often results in pain at stool or at routine medical examination. It is exactly comparable to the spasm known as vaginismus, responsible for so much marital unhappiness. These remarks hold for anal intercourse with males or with females.

The fourth technique is *soixante-neuf* or 69, in French "*six-à-neuf*," defined as simultaneous fellation (oral intercourse) by both partners, and so called from the head-to-foot, side-by-side position commonly used. Many youngsters know even in grade school that the number 69 has some sexual connotation (bringing forth embarrassed giggles and snickers) long before they learn just what practice the number refers to and why. Sometimes they get the idea that there are 69 coital positions listed in some (mythical?) sex book. The 69 position has, as well, more taboos attached to it among lower-class and lower-bourgeois boys than any other save passive acceptance of anal intercourse, as there is not only the association of sex with excretion, but also somehow the idea that fellating another boy or man is a feminine thing to do.

Despite all this, *soixante-neuf* does occur among individuals of either gender who have become sufficiently disinhibited with each other, and it affords considerable pleasure to both parties, for reasons already obvious from the discussion of oral intercourse above. It has advantages over ordinary fellation in that there is a genuine mutuality, each giving the other a comparable pleasure; the distinction between "active" and "passive," or dominant and submissive, disappears. As with the other techniques, there can be considerable variation in

positions and caresses—one partner on top rather than side-by-side, legs wrapped around neck or trunk, etc. It is a rather rare technique in Greek love, though it does become increasingly common with increasing maturity of partners—and, I suspect, with increasing duration of relationships, as the partners become more disinhibited. And, like the other techniques described above, this may be tried for variation's sake rather than used exclusively or even preferentially.

Disadvantages associated with *soixante-neuf* are those associated with fellation in general, mentioned above, but to a certain extent these are mitigated in that the position permits a greater extent of caressing than does simple fellation. One other rather uncommon disadvantage of 69 in Greek love—or in marriage, for that matter—is great disparity in trunk length, requiring the taller partner to adopt a bent or bowed position making trunk clasping difficult.

I omit here any discussion of flagellation or other sadomasochistic practices, or of fetishism, because all available evidence indicates that they are very rare in Greek love, if they occur at all. Licht found no reference to them at all in Greek literature relevant to boy-love, nor have I found any in the later literature. The flagellomania which infested Britain a couple of centuries back ¹⁴² is, of course, not related to Greek love; there is no evidence that the proctors and headmasters who flogged their pupils got into any actual love relationships with their victims, nor that they flogged their steady boyfriends, if any. On the contrary, a man who establishes a Greek love relationship with a boy—I am not speaking of a casual encounter—almost inevitably has a great capacity for tenderness, which rules out sadism.

The information available to me on sexual practices in Greek love is nearly unanimous on this point: whatever the preferred sexual techniques, the older partners are often if not usually at least equally concerned about awakening their boyfriends to new sexual experiences, some of them applicable to the boys' later heterosexual development, and about giving their boyfriends pleasure, as about their own sexual needs. Sex is a part of the general sharing in a love experience, whether Greek love or any other manifestation; and much of the overriding satisfaction comes from the empathetic aspect—from knowing that one is actually giving pleasure to one's partner. The techniques above described are well adapted to this end.

VII SOME UNCOMPLICATED GREEK LOVE AFFAIRS

Baseball and tennis have yet to successfully compete with the orgasm. —LEE R. STEINER

"If you go to the park, you will find that those who seem to be most lovely and lively are, for the most part, the very ones who make love most directly, without fears and ideas."

—*Rosalind*, in PAUL GOODMAN'S *Empire City*, 358.

EXCEPT FOR THE FIRST ONE (WELL ATTESTED BY HIS FRIENDS), ALL individuals involved in the case histories to be presented here are personally known to me, though I cannot claim to be equally intimately acquainted with them all. "Uncomplicated" here means that the sexual friendships proceeded without trouble from parents, other authorities, or internal disruptions, during their courses, though to be sure some were prematurely terminated by geographic removal. To protect the anonymity of the individuals, all names and locations have been changed, in addition to a few occupations and other details where those might give some clue to their identities.

1. *Prof. Angelo da C. and his adopted protégés.* This internationally known Italian scientist and author, married and childless, has on several occasions gone to his homeland from the U.S.A., and each time adopted a boy of twelve or so, with the full consent of the boy's parents, usually paying them liberally into the bargain. In every instance intellectual promise shown by the youngster was a deciding factor. After bringing each boy back to the U.S.A., he put him through the finest schools, finally letting him go only after he had gone far enough in his education to continue under his own steam, and after he had at least a tentative engagement to be married. In the meantime, each relationship was conducted in the classic Greek love fashion, with the combination of intensive guidance and love charac-

terizing the more judiciously and discreetly handled affairs. I cannot answer for the sexual angle, but my informants are reasonably certain that it was present. The scientist had only one protégé at a time, which is again in the ancient tradition; he has had, in all, five or six, for varying lengths of time according to the boy's age at the beginning of each affair and at its termination. The scientist is well known to the sexual reform movement, and his life pattern has served as a shining example to many.

2. *Rabbi Chaim M. and his pupils.* This Conservative Jewish clergyman and teacher, married for over fourteen years and with three children of his own, found himself—much to his surprise—reacting sexually when one of his pupils after school not only confessed to a crush but cuddled and groped him. Rabbi M. had long ago been aware of early homosexual feelings in his teens, but considered them as a transient phase outgrown when he began to go out with girls; there had never been any recurrence in the meantime. The boy was insistent, and sex play followed, in which a great deal of physical affection was manifest. As they continued to see each other after school, the friendship deepened, with sharing of confidences. For obvious reasons of prudence, though the rabbi often brought his boyfriend home for dinner, he kept the sexual side unknown to his wife. His obvious difficulties of conscience did not last long, as he found a valuable precedent for this sort of love in the affair of David and Jonathan, honored in Torah and Talmud (see Chapter III, above), where the term for “love” invariably was the same one used elsewhere to denote the sensual affection between husband and wife. And so the rabbi allowed himself to love the boy uninhibitedly, getting together with him after school, on occasional Sundays, and at sympathetic friends' homes, as well as on journeys during which they shared hotel or motel rooms. Despite living in a neighborhood where delinquent gangs were common, the boy grew up under the rabbi's intensive guidance without getting into any serious trouble, and eventually began dating a neighbor girl. His affair with the rabbi continued for about six years in all, until the boy was drafted (at age 19) and shipped overseas. I understand that upon his return from army service the boy married his girlfriend and that the rabbi has since then taken another boy under his wing, but I do not know for certain if this affair has developed a sexual aspect.

There is of course no guarantee that the boy would have developed any differently without the rabbi's guidance or without the sexual play. I am, however, reasonably sure that no harm accrued to either party to the relationship; from all appearances, it seems to

have been discreetly handled, without interference in the heterosexual relationships of the boy or the rabbi, and apparently without lasting guilt feelings on the part of either one. One could only wish that other love affairs of any kind might proceed equally smoothly.

3. *Graduate student and borderline delinquent.* Ralph R., graduate student in anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, phoned one of his friends only to find him out of town and the friend's younger brother Mike (age 14) on the other end of the line. In the ensuing conversation, it developed that Mike knew very well who Ralph was, having heard a great deal of enthusiastic table-talk about him, and having long wanted to meet him. During a lull in the phone talk, Mike asked Ralph to tell him exactly what he was doing and what he was wearing at that precise moment. Ralph, unwilling to lie to a youngster, admitted to being alone and nude, sitting in front of an overworked electric fan in the 90° heat. The mention of nudity led to a discussion of nudist camps, from which Mike led the conversation toward sex, describing some of his own experiences of "fooling around" and wanting to hear about Ralph's. As one might expect, the talk aroused both of them, and Mike proposed to come over to Ralph's apartment, at some time convenient to both when Ralph would be otherwise alone. Once there, talk led to games, and at this and later similar meetings the games included some frankly sexual ones: the "pants race," whose object was to determine which one could completely undress the other the fastest, in one variation this having to be done one-handed; another kind of race with object to see which could get the other most quickly sexually aroused; and still another kind of competition having to do with which of them could produce the longest seminal spurt or the greatest quantity. Ralph's reactions varied from amusement to wonder at the fertile sexual imagination of this youngster, who seemed to come up with a new sexual game at almost every meeting. But before long a genuine affection was added to these reactions. They began to share other confidences. Ralph gave Mike some badly needed advice (based on his own experiences) on how to make himself pleasing to girls and how to give them pleasure; mere groping and insertion obviously would not suffice. Mike began describing some of his own earlier activities. It developed that he had for some years been associating with members of a delinquent gang, and was more or less identified with the gang, though luckily enough he had not gotten into any rumbles. More usual sources of fun were things like vandalism—breaking into school on weekends and smashing almost anything breakable—and dancing of the frenetic rock 'n' roll variety. Mike admitted that part

of his enjoyment of the dancing was the sexual arousal it brought on, the rest being the sheer excitement of rhythmic motion. Ralph got him to see that the mere arousal leading to no climax was frustrating. After a few months of increasing intimacy of friendship, Mike gradually began to drop his association with the gang members and seek other friends, and to take an interest in other kinds of music—certain classical numbers and eventually modern jazz. Still more gradually and hesitantly, the boy began to show physical affection for Ralph at their meetings—a prolonged handshake, an arm-in-arm walk toward the door at parting, a spontaneous hug at good-byes, eventually spontaneous caressing during sex play and outside of it, and an interest in *soixante-neuf* and other techniques indicating that he wanted to give Ralph the same kind of pleasure he himself was getting. In short, the “Lolita phenomenon” was disappearing.

On the other hand, despite all of Ralph’s efforts, the boy retained a curious preoccupation with big-bosomed wenches amounting to a fetish, rendering him unwilling to date girls not enormously endowed in this respect. Mike’s masturbatory imagery invariably involved girls of this kind.

Eventually Ralph got an academic assignment which was to take him to the West Coast. On the Saturday before he was to leave, Mike brought over his two closest boyfriends—with whom he had also had some sex play, though Ralph had not known either of them—for a farewell party. At this party the sex play involved all four, together and by pairs. But what was far more important, Mike felt he was doing Ralph a great favor by making possible this orgy; he did so without displaying—and apparently without feeling—the slightest jealousy or possessiveness; and he was more openly affectionate on this occasion than he had ever been before. He and Ralph regarded it as a major breakthrough, even though in effect it was also a breakup; both wept at parting.

For practical purposes this ended the affair, though somewhat over a year later Ralph looked up Mike during a vacation trip east. He found that the boy was no longer especially interested in any kind of sexual experience except with women, and that the preoccupation with breast size was still there albeit perhaps a little less insistently. There was no recurrence of the earlier identification with delinquent gangs. Mike had a new consuming interest—playing jazz trumpet. The boy had saved up his allowance to buy a beaten-up but still usable instrument, and was making a real effort to develop professional skill at it, though he was not yet good enough to join any of the local groups. At age 16 he managed to obtain some sexual satis-

faction through heavy petting with a girl at a summer camp, but (as he admitted to Ralph on a subsequent meeting) he would have been far more satisfied had the girl been better endowed under her bra. That he nevertheless welcomed this experience seemed to represent a partial outgrowth of the obsession with breast size. I have no information on his subsequent sexual development.

Clearly, the friendship between Mike and Ralph, which included and then outlived a sexual phase without resentment at the ending of the latter, had some positively good effects. At its beginning, young Mike had been on the borderline of delinquency through his identification with a gang and his destructive activities. As a result of the affair, the boy forsook the gang and the vandalism; and one may assume on good grounds that his growing from a fairly purposeless existence to a meaningful vocational plan in music was also related to his friendship with Ralph. Evidently, too, Mike's heterosexual development was without any impediment referable to the affair. That he became able eventually to give affection to another individual certainly is an improvement, though conceivably it might have happened (later on?) without Ralph's aid. That the breast fetishism did not disappear despite Ralph's efforts is hardly to be blamed on him; it is a common enough pattern, and one may guess either that Mike will find a girl with satisfactory measurements or that he will find one with compensating qualities, as do so many other bourgeois youngsters with this same preoccupation.

And Ralph? During the affair with Mike, he continued to "go steady" with a girl, but this affair also ended with his trip west. Mike always wanted to meet Ralph's girl, particularly after seeing a busty photograph of her, but the opportunity never came up. At last report Ralph has found another girl and they expect to be married soon.

4. *The scoutmaster and the artist.* Pierre V., of French-Swiss origin, emigrated to the U.S.A. in his childhood. Like most of the other boys in his neighborhood, he eventually found himself in the Boy Scouts. Sharing a tent with a chum on one occasion after another, he found himself increasingly often sexually excited at seeing his friend nude, and eventually he grew bold enough to speak of his desires. The sexual experiments that followed were high points of his boyhood. After this particular friend came others. After his middle teens he made some attempts to date girls, having been told that sexual experience with them would be even more pleasurable. He found himself all too often at a loss, being shy and unsophisticated and with neither the car nor the big bankroll nor the athletic prowess that the girls seemed to value most in boys. When he finally did get

as far as heavy petting with them, he gained what seemed little pleasure from the experience, especially considering the time and effort that had gone into getting even this far; and always in the back of his mind was the comparison with his Scouting experiences. Worse, the complications of jealousy and possessiveness and unpredictability and irrational demands on the part of his girlfriends bewildered him: his boyfriends in even their early teens had never been so irritating at their worst. And there was so much less he could talk about with girls, and so many taboos that had to be observed with them. . . . Unsurprisingly, he found the National Game not worth the effort, gave up girls as not his “dish of tea,” and accepted his own limitations in this area. After Eagle Scout rank and the Explorers followed what Pierre referred to as “sublimation” in spare-time work as scout-master and counselor in several local boys’ clubs and camps in the Chicago area. By now a skilled and well-paid draftsman and renderer, Pierre found himself with plenty of time to devote to the clubs and camps, and guiding boys seemed more and more like a lifework worth his devotion—and providing its own rewards.

Though I have not enough details to quote specific instances here, Pierre worked extensively with South Side delinquents, in conjunction with various settlement houses and professional guidance people, who recognized his ability to gain the confidence of these youngsters, but who remained unaware of his sexual orientation. I gather that Pierre occasionally frequented gay bars, and on a few occasions allowed himself to get into more or less casual relationships with Scouts.

After a few years of this, Pierre reached a turning point. Hearing screams coming from a tent at Scout camp one evening, Pierre found a delicate, fragile-looking boy being tormented by bullies who despised his “sissiness.” Pierre broke up the fracas, rescued the bruised and tearful youngster and took him to his own tent. There he confided in Pierre, and a close friendship developed, recalling Pierre’s own boyhood affairs. The boy—we’ll call him Alan—was 14, and interested more in art than in anything else; he had been pushed into Scouting by a father who wanted to “make a man out of him.” In the years to follow, Pierre helped out young Alan in many ways, most notably by getting him into the Chicago Art Institute, supplying him with financial support, encouragement, and art materials. I do not know when the sexual aspect developed, but when I met them five years after the affair had begun, the sex was taken for granted as a long-time thing. In the meantime, Pierre began to introduce Alan around as either nephew or protégé, and eventually both the boy’s relatives

(the father having died in the meantime) and Pierre's own accepted the pair as both belonging to the family. Pierre suspects that the sexual aspect is known to both families, but nobody says anything about it.

Alan, as I write this, is now 22 and continues living happily with Pierre, sharing a house on Chicago's Near North Side; he has had some paintings exhibited locally and is beginning to achieve recognition in professional art circles. I have no information about the boy's heterosexual side, if any, but clearly Pierre and Alan have found in each other a relationship both stable and satisfying.

Despite the claim that this is a classical instance of a man luring a boy away from heterosexuality, the relationship here described looks like an adaptation with fewer disadvantages than many others for both parties. Pierre says that his friend had never shown any particular interest in girls. I think that it might have been worthwhile for Pierre to encourage such an interest. Possibly he did, but I question how vigorously he could have done so, considering both Pierre's limitations and his vested interest in continuing the relationship. Despite all this, the positive benefit to Alan is unquestionable: through Pierre he obtained both opportunity, economic aid and encouragement to develop his own potentials at a time when these might otherwise have been far more difficult to obtain, particularly in the presence of opposition from the boy's father and his contemporaries alike.

This case is the only one of the fifteen to be cited herein in which both partners became for practical purposes exclusively homosexual. It is therefore of some theoretical interest in relation to the common objections to Greek love by those who say that in it a man can lead a boy away from heterosexuality. Though the number of case histories herein is of course too small to admit of generalization or statistical deduction, it is my definite impression that only rarely is an exclusive homosexual involved in Greek love. The modern pattern is for such to find their age-mates or, very often, older men as lovers. Kinsey did not publish the statistical materials which would allow a definite decision on this point, and as successors at the Sex Research Institute have not yet transferred the interview data to punched cards, I have no alternative to waiting until then for confirmation or refutation of my impressions. Indeed, some of the more superficial anti-Greek love polemicists have claimed that the man in a Greek love situation is in fact a heterosexual who responds unnaturally to the yielding, graceful, delicate—in short, the feminine—attributes of a boy.

Which brings up the question of whether Alan or any other

slender “sissified” youngster routinely makes a normal heterosexual adaptation; the question, in short, of constitutional factors in homosexuality. This is a very large and much disputed subject, somewhat removed from the purpose of the present book. As Dr. W. H. Sheldon has not yet published his own observations on the subject, and as nobody else seems to have done the necessary research, all I can do is provide some impressionistic observations relating to the physical type (slender, willowy, soft and fragile) to which Alan belongs. This type—energized ectomorphy with noticeably more gynec factor than average, and a little less androgenic factor than average—is disproportionately common among homosexuals of the “queen” variety, both the vociferous minority that have given the sexual reformers a bad name in the U.S.A. and the quiet housewifely kind. It is likewise disproportionately common in occupations of ambiguous sexuality: interior decorators, department-store window dressers, dress designers, dry-goods salesmen, spiritualist mediums, antique store and art gallery personnel, etc. It is disproportionately uncommon among bourgeois married couples, and in occupations of unequivocal masculinity. It would seem, to judge from instances known to me, that boys of this kind often find the bourgeois masculine sex role unwelcome; they find themselves at a disadvantage with their contemporaries’ rough games, or in competition for girls who value the He-Man, and adolescent rebellion often takes with them the form of rejecting the whole pattern, in trying to become what they feel themselves constitutionally meant to be. Sexual behavior *not* requiring them to pretend to be otherwise, therefore, often seems natural—and it may take the form of homosexuality or of finding a woman who has herself rejected the bourgeois sex roles.

In Alan’s case, one may therefore guess that he would inevitably have had his troubles trying to make a satisfying heterosexual adjustment in this culture—especially had he stayed on Chicago’s South Side! It does not follow that he would inevitably have become homosexual, with or without contact with Pierre; it does, however, seem probable that he would have gravitated to some atypical pattern.

Confirmation, for the skeptic, may be found in the work of Franz J. Kallmann,^{142a} whose famous studies of identical twins (several thousand pairs in all over the past few decades) yielded 45 pairs in which either twin had any homosexual experience. In each of these 45, the other twin of the pair also had homosexual experience, whether the pairs were raised together or separated at any point from infancy to adolescence; in 44 of the 45 pairs, the Kinsey ratings for any one pair were identical, i.e. if one twin was exclusively homosexual, so was his

brother (or her sister); if one was only moderately involved, so was the other twin; and so on. In the 45th pair, both had homosexual experience, but differed in the degree of involvement. Whatever else this may mean, it certainly means that one must not shut one's eyes to possible constitutional predisposing factors in the rejection of the conventional heterosexual roles, or the degree of such rejection.

Pierre's earlier history is also of theoretical interest. The literary parallel is of course George Gordon, Lord Byron; in his later affairs with boys he seemed always to have been seeking to relive his own boyhood love experiences. So too with Pierre. The question that obviously arises is, why does this not happen more commonly? In Greece, one might have expected a larger number of men who, remembering their own boyhood experiences of love at the hands of an older man, thereafter sought older men as lovers. And doubtless this did occasionally happen, despite some social disapproval. Similarly in modern America: why do we not more often find men who, like Byron and Pierre, try to relive their passionate boyhood affairs with other boys? So far as I can tell, the only answer that makes sense is one framable in Gestaltist terms. The perpetual attempt to relive the past is an attempt to finish "unfinished business"; if some phase or stage of growth has genuinely been lived through, thoroughly experienced, savored and completed, it is outgrown, and fades into the background, no longer being "unfinished business." A person who is successfully learning differential equations will presumably not feel any need to go back and relearn algebra. But if he finds himself over his head, he may well go back and review more elementary topics. A person who genuinely appreciates Proust, Joyce, Mann, etc., will hardly settle for a steady diet of *The Hardy Boys* or Tom Swift books, however fond of these he may have been in his own earlier years; but this does not preclude occasional nostalgia and reopening the old favorites, nor reading them to his boys, in full realization that he is now different.

But in Pierre's case we need not assume that his affair with Alan was solely an attempt to relive something, though his earlier affairs seemed to be largely such. With Alan his role from the start was that of a protector, a patron. As a boy, Pierre's affairs were presumably symmetrical or nearly so; as a social worker/counselor/scoutmaster, Pierre chose and lived a quite different role, one in which any relationship with a boy—sexual or otherwise—was of necessity asymmetrical.

Which brings up another theoretical issue recurring in these case histories, one already touched on earlier. The boy who gets into a Greek love situation often, though not always, is already in trouble,

and the man enters the boy's life as a solution to outstanding problems, as a protector or rescuer. Sometimes the problem is the simple one of poverty with its associated miseries; sometimes mainly a vocational one; sometimes, as in Chapter VIII, it is far more serious. Again and again, Greek love seems to be validated as an emergent solution or "rescue." This was not ordinarily true in ancient Greece, and it is certainly not routinely the case in other kinds of love affairs, heterosexual or homosexual, though it is not altogether excluded. Conceivably this "rescue" situation overrides the taboo normally segregating individuals into the company of their age-mates; not inconceivably, it might take some such psychological emergency to do so when the boys are not themselves already in rebellion against that taboo, or to validate for them the occurrence of taboo forms of sexual behavior as part of the relationship. In case 1, the professor entered these youngster's lives as a rescuer from poverty and lack of opportunity for development of unusual capacities. I do not know what was the problem with the rabbi's boyfriend; perhaps simple love-starvation—a regrettably common thing. With young Mike it was obscure but seems to have been the coexistence of hairtrigger sexuality (the boy is reported to have had nineteen orgasms in one afternoon!) and the need of someone who could give his life a meaning; there was an aimlessness even about his earlier vandalism. In the later case histories the boys' problems to which Greek love provides opportune solutions will be more obvious.

5. *The photographer and his deaf assistant.* Among the floods of refugees from Germany in 1933 was a widowed photographer, Erich von L., whose work appeared then and later in nudist magazines and others both on the Continent and in the U.S.A. Erich was also active in the sexual reform movement under Magnus Hirschfeld and in the FKK or German nudist movement. Once established in the U.S.A. as a naturalized citizen, Erich bought a small farm in Pennsylvania, setting up his photographic laboratory there. Over the ensuing years he became friendly with many of the local youngsters and their families; by the early 1950's he was regarded as an institution. The boys often visited him, sometimes picking up pocket money by doing errands or routine work of other kinds. Sometimes, with parental consent, they modeled for him.

One especially moody and taciturn boy of 15, named Eddie, became particularly dependent on Erich for emotional support, showing up at any hour of day or night in obvious anxiety. At the same time, he was frequently very irritating with his tantrums and destructive rages. Erich found out that the boy was almost entirely deaf and

extremely sensitive and resentful about his condition. He promptly bought young Eddie a hearing aid and offered him a chance to "make it up" by learning the photography trade as his assistant. Eddie's family, noting the abrupt disappearance of the destructive rages, were overwhelmingly grateful for this help; they would have done almost anything for Erich. Over the next two years, Eddie spent more and more time with Erich, often staying at the farm and eventually living there fulltime with occasional visits home. His family, being very poor, did not object, as this relieved them of a mouth to feed.

I do not know how the sexual aspect of the friendship developed, but I do know that it did; Eddie and Erich began sharing a bed, and continued to do so until Eddie was about 18, at which time he began to "go steady" with a girl whom he had gotten to know at high school. Erich afterwards married his secretary. I think that there were occasional sexual contacts between Erich and Eddie thereafter, but they became less frequent as each grew more preoccupied with the woman in his life. At last report, Eddie is engaged and will probably become a competent photolab technician, whether or not he finishes college.

The boy's problem here was unusually obvious and its solution very easy. I rather suspect that Eddie might have begun to believe himself unloved and unlovable due to the communication failure imposed on him by his deafness and the paroxysms of rage induced by his futile efforts to understand and make himself understood. (The deafness seems to have been acquired in childhood rather than congenital.) In which case, almost anyone making a real effort to solve that problem would appear as Prince Charming indeed. As for how the sex play began, one can only guess. My own guess is that affectionate hugging and caressing by Eddie, after the hearing aid transformed his life, probably led to groping and realization of his own sexual excitement, and that Erich, long womanless and apparently experienced with boys in the past, was more than cooperative.

6. *Pre-medical student and ex-vandal.* Richard Y., while still in pre-medical studies at Temple University, became friendly with a local pharmacist. After several invitations to dinner, he was accepted as a family friend, and from then on there was always a place for him at the dinner table or in the spare bedroom at the pharmacist's house. During the next two years the friendship deepened, and Richard proved of help with the studies of the pharmacist's older son, while trying also—with little success—to communicate with the younger boy, Les, then 12. This boy had long been a problem: he was a perpetual troublemaker at school, with grades varying from mediocre to failing; he was incapable of sustaining interest in anything, despite a reported

IQ of over 160; he ran around with a gang of toughs, and was known to have been involved in vandalism somewhat like that of Mike in case 3—breaking windows, flinging firecrackers into houses, entering poorly guarded factories and warehouses by night and sabotaging machinery, etc. Despite four or five narrow escapes, he had not gotten into police hands, but the whole family feared that he might be arrested at almost any time. The pharmacist, noticing how his older son was blossoming out (especially scholastically) under Richard's attentions, discussed Les's problems with Richard and asked him to do anything he possibly could to help, as all were nearly at their wits' ends, but at once neither poor enough for social workers nor rich enough to afford a psychiatrist for the boy. And the clinics had long waiting lists, as they always have . . .

Richard immediately suggested that sibling rivalry was probably one of the more important factors. Les presumably felt jealous and inferior to his big brother and was trying to assert himself—and his masculinity—in ways providing more immediate excitement than the brother's relatively tame (academic) pursuits. The pharmacist, noticing Les's persistent "baby" fat together with long thin arms and legs, suspected a glandular abnormality, and privately asked Richard to examine the boy if he could get an opportunity to do so without being obvious about it; if Richard agreed with this judgment, the next step would be to take Les to an endocrinologist. A few nights later, Richard casually accompanied the boy to his bedroom, discussing something or other, and while Les was undressing for bed, noticed the obvious beginning of puberty together with equally obvious sexual arousal. Les, embarrassed, shoved Richard out of the room. Richard reported his evaluation to the pharmacist, who was much relieved: puberal onset, no trace of hypogenitalism or other immediately apparent abnormality; the trouble was presumably psychological and the first pressing need was to try to do something about the sibling rivalry.

In the year to follow, Richard made special efforts—with the pharmacist's full consent—to develop a friendship with Les, to show the boy that he accepted him and was not neglecting him in favor of either his (Richard's) girlfriend or of the older brother. Les gradually warmed up and became less rude, less suspicious, less uncommunicative. Richard began taking the boy various places—movies, theatre, fairs, galleries, museums, etc.—in efforts to find something that would excite Les's interest. Natural history finally proved successful—the weird diversity of animal life, nature "red in fang and claw," strange methods of reproduction, bird courtship dances, etc.,—and Les began intensive reading in addition to haunting museums and asking per-

sonnel thousands of questions. Les and Richard found that they had more and more to talk about, and the boy began, first warily and then more willingly, to open up to Richard about his personal problems.

On one winter morning Les woke Richard up with a knock at the bedroom door and a low-pitched but urgent "Can I come in?" and promptly climbed into bed with Richard, saying that there was something he had to talk about with him right then. Discussion of whatever problem it was got interrupted by Les's snuggling up against Richard for warmth, showing sexual arousal, and groping him. Richard found himself responding, and it took little urging on Les's part to induce him to indulge in sex play. It developed that Les was no novice at this, having already indulged similarly with a couple of his schoolmates, and wanting to share this pleasure with his most recent confidant. Richard, though experienced with both sexes, had till then never allowed himself to respond to a boy as young as 13, but rationalized his acquiescence on the grounds that the boy had started it of his own free choice and in full knowledge of what was involved, that nobody was being hurt, that the boy was actually benefitting from other aspects of the relationship, and that this was probably just a stage Les would pass through, as his psychology texts said most boys passed through it.

Through the year following, the relationship continued, with family approval, and with sex adding secret excitement to it. Les's interest in natural history continued to develop; he grew able to sustain scholastic interests long enough to make better grades than ever before; he drifted away from his hoodlum companions and began to notice girls. By this time they had also begun to notice him; he had shot up about nine inches in height and was now fairly handsome.

The last I heard, Les was helping his older brother in some business venture the latter had begun; he was expecting to enter college in another year, and was so far as I know quite happily heterosexual. He had not seen Richard for a couple of years owing to the latter's going to medical school in another state, but had heard from him occasionally. Richard, for his part, expects to marry as soon as he gets his M.D. degree.

The evidence is not entirely conclusive, but this case does seem to differ from the others in that Richard did not appear as an immediate way out of the difficulties; in fact Richard practically had to court the boy for several months before he would even accept a nonsexual friendship without considerable reserve. Nevertheless, Richard did appear eventually as a *de facto* solution to a problem—once again, as

with Mike, aimless vandalism, lack of orientation; but (quite other than as with Mike) sibling rivalry provided severe complications.

I have the strong impression from these cases, and others to follow, that what these boys needed was not someone to tell them "Do this" and "Don't do that," nor yet someone to remind them of society's disapproval of this, that or the other, but someone who could ask the right questions and who could help them to get what they wanted in the deepest sense. In Les's case, the benefits are so obvious as not to need emphasis; and one may question whether the boy would have discovered natural history (or any other worthwhile consuming interest) either so painlessly or so quickly without Richard's continuous help. Whether or not natural history becomes a lifework for this boy is unimportant; what is important is that for the first time he found something to commit himself to, something providing a meaningful direction and focus for his energies.

7. *The teacher and the toughie.* Claude M., a graduate student in candidacy for his doctorate in Harvard's School of Education, on weekends hung around with the Harvard Sq. "folknik" crowd—bohemians with a consuming interest in folk music—as a welcome relief from the stuffiness of many of his academic associates. At one of the many parties thrown by this group, in addition to the usual spaghetti feed, cheap Italian red wine, guitars and banjos in the Green St. tenement, there was a curious addition. This particular party was to welcome the arrival of a well-known folksinger from New York, recently widowed, who was planning to make her home in Cambridge with her 12-year-old son. She had brought the boy to the party, and for some unexplained reason he took to Claude right away. Growing tired of the folksinging, Jimmy amused himself with some hand puppets, but after Claude showed up and took a friendly interest in Jimmy and the puppetry, the boy threw the puppets aside and began wrestling with Claude. Nobody else was paying attention to them; as usual, people kept wandering in and out of the party all evening, equally unnoticed unless they joined in the singing. After a while, Jimmy's wrestling became a bit more in earnest, but its intention was not to hurt Claude: instead, despite all Claude could do, Jimmy in a few minutes nearly tore off Claude's trousers. Claude said into the boy's ear, "Cool it, kid—you know you've almost pulled my pants off?" Jimmy answered, "That's what I was trying to do." Claude said, "Look, you could get us both into trouble that way." Jimmy whispered back, "Let's go into the bedroom, then nobody'll care if we pull our clothes off." Claude demurred; Jimmy insisted, and underlined the demand by pulling down Claude's zipper. Claude

provided some distraction by tickling Jimmy until he let go, but they did eventually go into the bedroom, unnoticed behind the noise of the singers. The wrestling resumed and ended with each disrobing the other. Jimmy, already puberal, was acutely sexually excited. Claude had become so during the wrestling. Jimmy admired the size of Claude's organ and pointed with pride to how his own had grown in the last few months, etc., using the comparison as an opportunity for fondling both. "Didn't you ever fool around this way, Claude?" Claude had to admit it, though insisting that he was not queer and in fact was then engaged to be married. Jimmy confided in Claude that he had already "gone all the way" with a girl cousin.

But Claude was unable to find any good reason not to cooperate with Jimmy in the sex play the boy wanted so much. The layout of the apartment was such that even should anyone else wander into the bedroom he would be heard in plenty of time for Jimmy and Claude to dress, so that the element of danger was minimal. The boy obviously knew exactly what he was doing and what he wanted, with in fact a singular degree of openness and frankness about it; indeed this was about the most direct sexual approach Claude had ever heard of short of outright rape. Claude "co-operated with the inevitable," to the great enjoyment of both, and to less uneasiness on his own part than he would have expected, since this was the first time he had had anything sexually to do with a male in some years, and the first time in his life he had been with so young a partner.

In the months to come, Claude struck up a friendship with Jimmy's mother, whom he kept running into at the folknik parties and elsewhere. As they shared literary interests, and as the woman found in Claude a suitable accompanist for her own vocal exercises and for the Schubert, Brahms and Wolf lieder which she sang in addition to the folksongs, there was plenty of basis for friendship. As he saw more of her, inevitably he also saw more of Jimmy, who now and again wanted further sexual contact. As Claude lived within walking distance of the pair, sometimes they showed up at his apartment, sometimes he showed up at theirs, occasionally with presents for the boy, to whom he was becoming attached. Here at last was some solace for Claude's loneliness while he was waiting for his fiancée to get her degree at Bryn Mawr.

Eventually Jimmy began to spend nights at Claude's apartment, and their sex play developed many variations of technique. One disturbing element that began to become increasingly obvious was that Jimmy was prone to fits of rage which made him impossible to handle while they were on, but after he had blown off his steam, he became

bafflingly sunny as though nothing had happened; yet almost any trivial irritation could set off one of these. (The pattern turned out to have been copied from his mother.) Another was that the boy became very demanding of attention and eventually also of money. Only later on Claude learned why; Jimmy was enrolled in Milton Academy, and the day pupils without plenty of pocket money were at a marked social disadvantage. Jimmy often found himself unable to join his schoolmates at movies or other pastimes because he could not pay his way in. This situation did not resolve itself until Jimmy transferred to a public school, where he got along somewhat better.

Both Claude and Jimmy long believed that the sexual element in their friendship remained unknown to their common acquaintances, though of course everybody knew that the boy had become very close to Claude. What, then, was Claude's surprise some months later to learn from a confidant that Jimmy's mother had been joking about it with some of her friends, wondering just how Claude and Jimmy were Doing It, but taking for granted that they were—and accepting the fact as “something the boy would have to go through sooner or later, and far better that it happens with someone who really cares about him.” Thereafter, though the boy's mother often brought him over to Claude's place even at night, and never objected to Jimmy's wish to spend the night with him, Claude was often a little nonplussed as to just what he dared admit, if anything, or as to the deeper meaning behind the woman's casual remarks. On one such occasion, she and Claude stayed up talking until after 2 A.M.; Jimmy had long since fallen asleep across the big double bed where his mother and Claude were seated talking. The woman offhandedly remarked that she hoped Jimmy wouldn't be depriving Claude of sleeping space. Claude was startled, but recovered quickly and equally offhandedly replied that he would pick Jimmy up and put him on the bed in the other bedroom, as he had done before in similar circumstances; the boy did not easily wake up, as they both knew very well . . .

During the nearly two years that this relationship has persisted, Claude reports that the biggest difficulty has always been Jimmy's materialistic orientation. From the beginning, Jimmy has been extraordinarily forthright and direct in saying what he wanted, reasonable or unreasonable. Under Claude's influence, Jimmy—after a long period where he seemed to be testing Claude's limits of patience and understanding—has begun, ever so slowly, to inch away from wanting merely material things: toys, money to buy toys, money to spend on movies or amusement parks. Sometimes the money demands turned out to be for buying birthday or Christmas presents for his mother.

Parallel with this gradual improvement, Jimmy has begun to treat some of his own boyfriends to outings; in addition, the boy has begun, ever so hesitantly, to display physical affection to Claude, and to concern himself genuinely over Claude's wellbeing, even to warning Claude of oncoming fits of rage so that nobody would get hurt. Partly in reaction against his mother's pattern, partly in expression of his own physical nature (Jimmy is exceptionally tall and overmature for his age, with athletic proportions of bone and muscle), Jimmy—though a good student—is becoming less and less interested in academic matters and increasingly concerned with athletics as a profession. Judging by his phenomenal Little League performances, quite possibly he will qualify for professional athletics in one form or another in a few years. One could wish for a better fate for a bright youngster, but at the moment this is his daily and nightly preoccupation, and it is something he both enjoys and finds himself naturally talented at.

Jimmy is also preoccupied, as one might expect, with the problem of getting a girl, but he does not yet seem capable of enough tenderness or subtlety to make girls happy in the way that he might possibly do in a few years; right now he is still concerned with the status of having a girl for his very own, and with how girls will react to him in bed with his newly-learned repertory of techniques. His approaches so far have been too bold and forthright to fit in well with the demands of the National Game, but one may hope that with maturity will come sophistication; even so, a couple of local nymphets have found him attractive enough to indulge in heavy petting with him—no Lolita phenomenon here.

The major remaining difficulties, slowly being worked through, are the recurring intermittent fits of rage, and a truancy problem. The ancient public school to which Jimmy now goes is not satisfactory academically or in any other way; Jimmy is hoping against hope that he will be able to go to some private school next September, and is willing to risk losing a year's credits should that be the price for the transfer after so much truancy from his present school. Claude, knowing the wretched school and the boy's antagonism for the old frumps running it, has no better argument for inducing Jimmy to continue there even for the time being than that continued truancy might result in a stay at a reform school; any other argument would be unrealistic, as the boy is well ahead of his grade level. Jimmy's mother has encouraged the boy to share a bed with Claude when Claude has stayed overnight at their apartment, and has quietly let Claude know that she believes Jimmy old enough to take responsibility for his own actions, and Claude responsible enough not to do anything that might

hurt the boy. Beyond this, she has not objected or moralized, and she will not embarrass either Claude or her son by discussing the matter further.

In all, one can find no evidence that the boy has been harmed by this experience, and much evidence of benefit. Jimmy obviously was in need of a surrogate father or other loving and nonauthoritarian adult from the time of his father's death. Why he seized on Claude is not certain; possibly he would have gone for anyone who behaved in a reasonably friendly manner—but perhaps equally probably he recognized in some intuitive way that Claude was a kindred spirit. The sex play can be ascribed to the wrestling and to Jimmy's fearless forthrightness. One can only regard it as fortunate that Jimmy did not make his approach to an adult who would turn moralistic and denounce him as a delinquent or a psychiatric case, disrupting the party and causing endless ill feeling. Not merely fortunate, but extraordinarily libertarian, is the mother's attitude. She and Claude still do not discuss the boy's sex life, but since nobody is making any objection, the status quo remains. Whether the sexual aspect of the friendship will continue after Claude marries is still too soon to guess. Possibly it will depend on whether Claude gets a teaching assignment locally or only in some other part of the country. Claude does not assume for a moment that it will interfere with his relationship with his wife. He has privately expressed concern, though, whether Jimmy would feel let down, neglected or abandoned during the honeymoon. One can only wait and see.

8. *The 'bad penny' that worked a computer.* Robert E., on the verge of graduating from Columbia, kept encountering thirteen-year-old Scotty S. in off hours—at one or other of the local chess clubs, at the West Side YMCA, at settlement house gatherings, at the public library, at concerts, at the Museum of Modern Art. The degree of overlap among their interests made friendship easy, and over the ensuing four years they spent increasing amounts of time together; each found a complement in the other, each filled a need in the other's life. Because of various family troubles, Scotty never finished high school, but he continued his studies on his own, partly under Robert's tutelage. In all respects save only sex this was a classical instance of Greek love. Both, as they later told me, were thinking of the possibility of sex in this increasingly close emotional involvement, but each was unwilling to mention the subject to the other for fear of rejection or a breakup.

But during the fourth year, on one of Scotty's frequent visits to Robert's apartment, he went to bed with a high fever. Robert nursed him back to health over the next few days. One night as he was

sitting beside Scotty's bed, the boy tremblingly seized Robert's hand and guided it down to Scotty's abdomen and below; he mumbled incoherently about having wanted Robert—all of him—for years. With this encouragement, Robert caressed him and comforted him, and once the boy had recovered, frank sex play began. During most of the next couple of years they lived together, Scotty eventually taking the College Boards and being accepted into a small liberal-arts college. At present Scotty is supporting himself by computer programming for one of the management-consultant firms in Long Island; Robert is on the staff of a firm of importers in New York City. Though they now live apart, and though both are still "playing the field" with women, each occasionally comes back to the other; though the sex play has recurred, neither one considers himself homosexual.

One can only speculate how often friendships of this kind begin and continue for years without either member daring to admit sexual interest in the other. Very likely, without the half-delirious(?) overture by the boy, the friendship might have continued indefinitely without either so much as seeing the other naked. It is clear that the warm emotional relationship was of value to both and that the sex play was so much extra icing on the cake. But what is not clear to me is how close two friends can be while still too inhibited to admit their deeper feelings for each other.

9. *The art collector and his living treasure.* Avery G., descendant of two old New England families numbering among them three signers of the Declaration of Independence, five colonial governors and two presidents of the United States, after one unhappy marriage acknowledged that his Exeter Academy crushes represented his true inwardness, and adopted a double life. By day he pretended to make passes at the pretty secretaries in the offices of the national magazine of which he was an executive. By nights and on weekends he frequented the plushier gay bars and theatrical parties, Greenwich Village, 57th St. and Rockport art galleries and auction houses. At one of the 57th St. art galleries he got to know fifteen-year-old Ronnie, who held a summer job there, and to share the boy's enthusiasm for early American art. And it was partly because of Ronnie's enthusiasm that over the next few years Avery amassed one of the finest private collections extant of Copleys, Wests, Peales and other treasures. During the school year, Avery would frequently summon Ronnie on weekends for art-hunting trips into the Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Massachusetts backwoods. Ronnie's parents knew only that this art-buying work was not only keeping Ronnie out of trouble, well fed and well dressed, but that it was also helping to support them; this quieted their own misgivings about the boy's seemingly unmasculine interest

in art. Gradually Avery spent less time at the gay bars and more time taking Ronnie to museums, lectures, concerts, private art exhibitions, theatre and ballet performances, etc. Ronnie's experience and range of knowledge broadened considerably, while Avery began to acquire a purpose in life in addition to his art collection—namely cherishing Ronnie's unique qualities. They do not remember just when or how the friendship ripened into love, or when or how the sex play began in earnest. But Avery put the boy through Haverford College, and afterwards (for appearances' sake) induced Ronnie to leave his family—with whom the boy no longer had much in common—and take a little studio apartment in the East Seventies, where he could paint in privacy, and where for practical purposes he and Avery lived together much of the time. Ronnie developed a reputation as a prodigy art expert even before he graduated from college, and this subsequently helped him earn his own living.

His affair with Avery continued for over eleven years, though the sexual aspect dwindled in the years after he graduated from Haverford. The last I saw of Ronnie, he was newly married to a nurse, happily continuing to support himself through his knowledge of the art business and to paint in his spare time. Avery still is always ready to help out if Ronnie needs him, but I do not know if he has yet found himself another protégé, though Avery has admitted to me that he is now lonely and has been since Ronnie grew up, even though he knew all along that it would have to end this way.

What this case proves, if anything, is that even a Greek love affair in which the man is predominantly homosexual is not automatically a threat to the boy's heterosexuality. In addition, wealth and social position often enable an individual to "get away with" activities and associations which would bring suspicion, obloquy and even prosecution onto people of lower rank. One may perhaps raise an eyebrow at Avery's insistence that the boy leave his family after graduating from college, but this would have had to come sooner or later anyway: Ronnie was already 21 and felt stifled in the presence of his uneducated relatives, with whom he had no interest in common (and had not for many years), and with whom there was increasing friction because the boy had become socially upward mobile, leaving behind himself them and their neighbors and their little world of TV wrestling matches, evenings in bars and Saturdays at the racetrack.

I have chosen these nine instances rather than others because I wished to give some idea of the diversity of types involved in Greek love. That all but one of the men involved were college graduates, many of them with higher degrees, may be taken partly as a result of

limitations in my own experience—I have not too many proletarian or otherwise uneducated acquaintances—and partly as tending to confirm Kinsey's conclusion that a greater variety of sexual experience is found at the upper and lower educational (and social) extremes than in the middle. The association of several of the partners with visual arts is mainly because I got to know them through such circles. Doubtless if I had been more closely associated with theatrical or musical circles, I would have been able to find instances of Greek love in them, as well. There does not seem to be any particular reason for associating Greek love with one occupation and not another. I make no claim that these case histories are typical—only that they have much in common with others, and that from these nine the reader can get some idea of how judiciously handled affairs grow and decline. If they read unexcitingly, this should be no great surprise. Heterosexual love stories in which there is no real conflict or opposition, no villain, nothing—well, almost nothing—but wish-fulfillment rarely read too excitingly either.

But in the chapter to follow a much wider range will be found, and with it all the excitement one could expect.

VIII

SOME DIFFICULT GREEK LOVE AFFAIRS

The insult of seeing the better reason brushed aside . . . The insult of seeking the common joy and being regarded as an enemy. The hurt of being uselessly proved to have been right. The hurt that is done to children when they cannot yet fight back . . . The hurt of having to take the world as it is just in order to have some world or other, and there is no other.

—PAUL GOODMAN, *Empire City*, 619.

I am certain of nothing but the holiness of the heart's affections. —KEATS

The fault was that we could not love without anxiety, but this was not our fault . . . These boys loved me, as I loved them, with a guilt and complicity reverberating from the earliest black hell. The tears came into my eyes because we could not love without anxiety.

—PAUL GOODMAN, *Parents Day*, 10-11.

ALL INDIVIDUALS IN THE CASE HISTORIES TO BE PRESENTED IN THIS CHAPTER are known to me (except for one former partner in affair No. 3), though again I cannot claim to be equally intimately acquainted with them all. "Difficult" here means that the affairs—they did not always get to the point of overt sex—proceeded only in spite of continuing trouble from parents or other authorities, or from internal disruption, during their courses. As before, all names and locations and some occupations and other details have been changed; to protect the anonymity of the parties to these relationships is here still more necessary.

1. *Another graduate student and a delinquent.* Barry D., while conducting a long-term love affair with a woman whose husband continued to refuse her a divorce, gradually got to know various members of the woman's family; in one instance this resulted in his spending many summer weekends at a small estate in eastern Massachusetts,

with a widow who proved to be one of those natural mother types—a girl of 13 or so, a boy of eight, and their two dogs and twenty-seven cats together with an unknown number of ducks and assorted other forms of life. Unsurprisingly, she also had occasional boarders—local drunks who came around for a free flop, and for a couple of years a deceptively innocent-looking blond boy of 11 or 12 with a dismal record. Barry was warned to keep away from the estate because of the likelihood that the blond boy—we'll call him Toby—would make life miserable for him by such tactics as throwing his clothes and suitcase into the pond, breaking his electric razor or eyeglasses by using them for target practice, etc. With curiosity much piqued, and without any particular fears, Barry went to the estate anyway on his next free weekend, and promptly made friends with Toby, making a special point of reassuring the youngster that he was on his side. (He regarded this as perhaps practical field-work, useful both before and after he would be getting his Master's degree in social work.) In less than twenty minutes Toby was pouring out all his troubles, and before the afternoon was half gone the two were inseparable. Toby had found a sort of substitute father or big brother or something—he didn't bother to give the relationship a name—and in exchange for this acceptance he was quite willing to "lay off the rough stuff." During the rest of that weekend and into the next week there was no trouble, no destructiveness of any kind, from Toby—an absolutely unprecedented state of affairs. Instead, on that weekend and later ones the boy continued to hang around Barry, asking questions revealing a surprisingly acute intellect, gradually warming up and becoming overwhelmingly affectionate—something he had never previously been known to do.

As pieced together from available records and the boy's own story, Toby had been in a rough situation all his life, and his resentment of the world was understandable. His parents were alcoholics who beat him when he cried, and who frequently left him locked up in the house alone when they went off on their weekend binges. Neighbors heard the altercations between the parents, and the disconsolate wailing of the abandoned, hungry and filthy child. Predictably enough, the boy was taken away from the parents by court order before he was five, and placed with a senile grandmother—the only other living relative—who had forgotten most of what she ever knew about raising children. Lacking affection, lacking even a toy he could call his own, he began to try to hurt back the society that had so badly hurt him. By age eight he had already been thrown out of three different public schools for being a chronic truant, extremely destruc-

tive to school property and disruptive to classes. He had been making the rounds of juvenile courts and social workers for stealing that was only later recognized as kleptomania. Understandably, he looked on adults as all too ready to enforce their wishes on him with threats of anything from bed without supper to jail or beatings, and often more than just threats. Until Barry's arrival, he knew nothing of love from anyone, though the "natural mother" who ran the estate where Toby was boarded was doing her best to care for him with as few upsets as possible.

Toby's being boarded at the estate was a matter of chance. An old busybody of a woman, whom I'll call Gertrude—though her real name was a household word only a few years back—"rescued" the lad from his grandmother and kept him at her own house for a few days until she found she could not handle him there, and took him out to the estate. Gertrude received more than her share of hatred from Toby, and for understandable reasons. She was a crackpot, a religious fanatic who made her own fancied contribution to the brotherhood of man by taking in drunks, drug addicts and other derelicts off the street, giving them free lodging, but enforcing her own weird rituals and faddish diets on them and on little Toby alike. The boy found himself always at odds with her wretched guests; he also found the food inedible and disposed of his portions on the floor or into the garbage can, surviving by taking money from her purse (or occasionally begging it from outsiders) and buying food outside. Knowing Gertrude, I am quite certain that she was beyond the stage where she could express any affection for the boy.

Barry returned to the estate on a number of successive weekends that summer, making a project out of rehabilitating this boy. At this he was notably successful. There were a few episodes of relapsing into the old patterns, but these became more and more infrequent and—significantly—the hostility and destructiveness were not generalized, but rather directed to appropriate targets: Gertrude, or more often the drunks who continued to infest the estate and who all too often would make the boy the unwelcome target of their aggressive (or in one or two cases possibly sexual) attentions. And so the drunks would find their clothes, shoes, dentures and (most often) liquor bottles in the pond, or they would find themselves drenched from a conveniently placed bucket as soon as they approached Toby. And instead of breaking windows, Toby would break the bottles of cheap wine the drunks had brought in. Barry had made the boy see exactly what his behavior had been reflecting, and how his having a hard time at the hands of grownups had made him resentful and prone to generalize

wrongly that all adults were cruel and hateful, whereas the truth was that only certain ones were that way and it was natural to become angry with those particular tormentors.

This clearly represented an improvement, whereas a total suppression of anger would have been a very grave sign indeed—a sign that Toby had been entirely broken in spirit. Maslow has wise words to say apropos of this situation:

“At the very least, we know that the healthy child is also able to be justifiably angry, self-protecting and self-affirming . . . Presumably, then, a child should learn not only how to control his anger, but also how and when to express it.”^{142b}

On the other hand, side by side with this redirection of Toby's aggressions toward appropriate objects, came a capacity for love. From the beginning Toby clung to Barry as he never had to any other human being; Barry interpreted it as the natural reaction of an affection-starved child. But on one sunny day beside the swimming pool, apropos of nothing in particular, Toby told him, “This fall I really do want to go back to school.” On Barry's asking why, the boy said that he had two reasons, one being that he wanted to learn how to find answers on his own to the kinds of questions he had been asking Barry—knowing that Barry wouldn't always be around to answer them. Barry said, “And the other reason?” Toby beckoned to him and whispered, “So I can learn to write love letters.”

From that moment on Barry believed that his project was a success, and it seemed so. Toby began showing courtesy and solicitude hitherto unseen in him. Often he would wake early and tiptoe down to Barry's room and wake Barry by climbing into bed with him, where they would cuddle and share confidences. In Barry's weekday absences the boy's talk was again and again of how wonderful Barry was to him; every little success, every new discovery or insight, became automatically something he wanted to share with Barry, or something of which he would ask “What will Barry think of this?” or “How would Barry like this?” And when Barry arrived on weekends, Toby was beside himself with joy; everything else in the week seemed only a preparation for Barry's coming, and at the moment of arrival Toby's unforgettable eyes—long-lashed, robin's-egg blue and seeming to dwarf the rest of his features—changed abruptly from their usual expression of anguish to delight, a change more than once compared to sudden opening of a door long shut, or to the emergence of the sun from behind clouds.

This idyllic scene was ruined when Gertrude began showing up at the estate and removing the boy on weekends specifically to avoid

his seeing Barry. She believed dogmatically that Barry's interest—or any adult's interest, except hers—in Toby was automatically unnatural and evil, despite the total lack of evidence of sexual play in this particular relationship. She was also heard to say that “children do not need affection after infancy”—to the open contempt of all who witnessed this remark. More important still, though she would never admit it in these terms, she was extremely jealous. Though she took pride in having “rehabilitated” other disturbed youngsters, she had been able to do less than nothing for Toby, while this interloper of unknown credentials got results within a single weekend.

The boy responded by redoubling his hostility and destructiveness against Gertrude, smashing her furniture, sabotaging her automobile, etc. After a few days of continuous warfare Gertrude gave in and brought him back to the estate, but insisted on forcibly taking him away on weekends, for the sake of his morals. It was thereafter a race against time for Barry, often touch and go whether he could arrive at the estate before Gertrude did. . . . And when he actually saw the old harridan, a furious argument with accusations and counter-accusations invariably ensued, and Toby's rages on being torn away alternated with floods of tears which still failed to move Gertrude from her selfrighteous practice.

For six months Toby did not get to see Barry at all—apparently part of the time the boy was back at his grandmother's, or boarded elsewhere, or else left at the estate only until school let out on Fridays and then promptly snatched away lest Barry show up even for a few minutes. The boy's behavior, for long exemplary, deteriorated under Gertrude's care. His grades dropped from A's to C's and worse; the destructive rages returned, but always aimed at the drunken tormentors or at Gertrude—more often the latter. And there were more kleptomaniac episodes.

The final meeting between Barry and Toby was an especially dreadful occasion. Gertrude had brought him back to the estate for a New Year's celebration, promised to allow him to stay, then after leaving him there changed her mind and phoned in that she would be coming to get him—apparently she had in the meantime thought of the possibility that Barry might show up despite six months' absence. This phone call produced rage and panic on the boy's part, culminating in his running away from the estate, breaking into a local gas station and robbing the cashbox of some \$15—apparently with the idea of running away from Gertrude. He was caught and held in jail for a couple of hours until the woman who owned the estate came to reclaim him. On his return, Barry had just arrived

bearing belated Christmas presents. Toby, extremely upset, clung to him and wept inconsolably. At this point Gertrude came in, screeching accusations that Barry was to blame for all this, that he was several dozen kinds of filthy pervert, etc., etc. Toby lashed out at her, shouting that he loved Barry and that Barry loved him and was the only person in the world who loved him, and that he hated her for taking him away! When Gertrude forcibly dragged the boy away to the car, screaming and kicking and dragging his heels, all the other people present—including local youngsters and some relatives—denounced the old prude for her filthy mind. Barry left, much upset, and could never again bear to return; he later told me that he felt as though something had been killed in him that day, or as though part of his own flesh had been gouged away. (He never saw Toby again; my follow-up information comes from various clerical and social work sources in the Boston area.)

During the three years following, Toby was alternately in boarding schools, Gertrude's house (remaining her implacable enemy), and in hiding with various bohemian acquaintances in Boston. He repeatedly came to the attention of the SPCC, the police (for theft and vandalism), and Boston child welfare agencies, but despite many recommendations and some offers by families to adopt him, he was not placed into another home—apparently Gertrude had enough political influence to prevent it. Barry sent in a full report on the case to the SPCC, eliciting shocked reactions and promises of action. On one occasion, when a social worker went out to the estate, all the other people concerned with Toby's case placed the blame on Gertrude. Thereafter, on five or six occasions Gertrude sneaked the boy out of the house to avoid confronting welfare investigators, and at other times they came to her house only to find that the boy had left for parts unknown.

Eventually Toby ran afoul of a particularly harsh old judge who didn't believe in the soft-hearted guff purveyed by social workers, and who shouted at him in court, "Why do you keep on acting this way when so many people care about you?" That the boy had been heard to say, "I don't care about anyone, 'cause nobody loves me—except only Barry!" did not seem relevant to the judge at all. That fifteen families showed up in court offering to adopt Toby didn't move the judge either. He sentenced him to the oldest and strictest reform school in Massachusetts, where the boy will presumably remain until he is 21—and probably permanently committed to the underworld.

The evidence is clear enough: Barry's influence, and apparently nothing else, brought this youngster out of a pattern of overt destruc-

tive delinquency; their mutually acknowledged love, bearing all the earmarks of Greek love even though not involving sexual contact, induced Toby to re-examine his way of life and redirect it into more constructive channels. And forcible withdrawal from this affair, withdrawal with moralizing and threats from the only meaningful human relationship Toby had ever known, occasioned his return to a previously abandoned pattern of destructive hostility. Toby is now fifteen, and has nearly completed his first year at the reform school. Letters from him indicate considerable mental regression. Under happier circumstances he might have found his way into a first-rate college; the types of questions he asked Barry at age eleven showed high IQ and a markedly scientific turn of mind. It is difficult to restrain one's indignation at the waste, ruin and sheer misery resulting from the flagrant mishandling of Toby's case by Gertrude and by the authorities. I understand that some people (including Barry and his wife) are still interested in adopting Toby, though it is still moot whether adoption will prove possible, or whether the boy can now be salvaged.

2. "*Adding Incest to Injury.*" Several months before the scheduled marriage of Alice F., computer programmer, to Harvey W., technical writer, she informed him in dismay that her alcoholic Polish father and weak mother had just moved into her New York City apartment for a visit supposed to be only a week long, but likely to stretch out for a couple of months to judge by the amount of clothing they brought along. And that this time they had also brought her sister—18, vaguely pretty but entirely vapid and with nothing to recommend her below her huge mop of curly red hair—and her brother Alec, going on fourteen. The brother was nearly as much a problem to Alice as were her parents; despite a high IQ, his sole interests at the time were his hoodlum friends, hot-rods, pool, and rock 'n' roll. Not only was Alice deprived of peace and quiet, but she was almost crowded out of her apartment. Worse, her father had begun to drink again, and this would almost certainly mean a fight with shouting and furniture-smashing at some point in his binge; and her brother—the usual opponent in these battles—was expressing open scorn of Alice's scientific and mathematical interests as improper for girls.

Harvey comforted her in her upset state. In the ensuing discussion various possible solutions were brought up and discarded. It would be out of the question for Alice to abandon the apartment to them, moving in with him; not only was there the danger of damage to Alice's books and furniture during her father's drunken rages, but there was the additional likelihood that she would be disinherited and on top of that unable to collect the money her father already owed

her; moreover, she did not want to antagonize her other relatives. Bringing in the police would be a last resort but might be necessary if father became intolerably destructive in his drunken rages. Harvey figured that his own presence might help somewhat, that the tempest might stay down to a dull clamor in presence of their daughter's betrothed; and that he would probably have to get to know his in-laws sooner or later anyway. As for the brother, Harvey said he thought he could conceivably get through to him, as he had worked with settlement-house kids some of whom were more difficult cases than Alec sounded to be.

The parents disliked Harvey for being a non-Catholic, even though their daughter had long since left the church; the mother resented his wanting to take her one and only Alice away, and the father thought him effeminate for not getting drunk with him like a man. The red-headed sister had no particular opinion, being preoccupied—as always—with her hairdo and her little portable radio screeching its Elvis Presley numbers. Alec seemed quiet enough and at least not antagonistic; Harvey did his best to make friends with him. The boy was curious and expressed a mild interest in future meetings.

Alice, thinking that possibly good reports from Alec might make her mother more reconciled to the marriage, began to bring the boy around. He and Harvey found common interest in rock-hounding; Alec had a particular sense of wonder about fossils hundreds of millions of years old that could be discovered in commonplace-looking rock strata, and that could be identified as ancestors of modern life forms. Harvey, without moralizing or in any other way trying to stress the status difference between him and Alec, began picking him up at Alice's place and taking him on rockhound trips, to museums and other kinds of exhibits, and to various shows, sometimes with Alice, sometimes without. On one such trip, Alec suddenly turned to Harvey and asked him, "Why are you doing all this for me?" Harvey, who had been expecting that question, answered that he'd begun as a favor to Alice and because he wanted to be friends with at least one of his inlaws, but that he had continued because he had grown to like Alec very much. After this Alec relaxed and was able to confide much more in Harvey.

On the following Thursday evening, after affectionate three-way confidences between Alec and the couple, Alice kissed Harvey good-night, preparing to take her brother back home—and then on a sudden impulse she urged Alec also to kiss Harvey goodnight. After a little hesitation, he did so, at first timidly and then suddenly boldly throwing his arms around a surprised Harvey. The next day the boy pestered

Alice to take him over to Harvey's place or else show him how to get there himself. Having work to do on Saturday morning and afternoon, and not being able to take him along before then, she gave him directions on how to get there. Very early on that Saturday morning, a sleepy and tousled Alec rang Harvey's doorbell, waking him up, and hugged him long and warmly as soon as he entered the house. Harvey returned the embrace, and walked back into the bedroom to dress, intending thereafter to prepare breakfast for them both; but Alec followed him and wouldn't let him dress, playfully tussling with him on the bed instead, then kicked off his shoes, pulled Harvey down onto the pillows and pulled the covers over them both, snuggling up and cuddling uninhibitedly. After dozing off awhile in Harvey's arms, he roused himself a little, fumbled at his own trousers and at Harvey's pajamas, disclosing his own sexual excitement and stimulating Harvey to the same condition. He whispered into Harvey's ear, "Let's." Harvey, after some quick soul-searching and recall of his own adolescent experiments, whispered back, "Promise to keep this just our secret—not to tell anyone, even your mother, even Alice?" Alec nodded vigorously, and pulled off his own clothes, reaching out from under the blankets and throwing the garments onto the floor. Harvey did likewise. The sex play lasted a couple of hours and left both of them exhausted but very happy, in conflict between wanting to spend more time just cuddling and getting up for breakfast and some excursion or other. They ended up chasing each other naked around the room, whichever one caught the other tickling him until he escaped. . . .

After returning from the zoo late that afternoon, they called Alice, and on that evening and for the next couple of days she came over for more confidences, but Alec—though he wanted to stay the night with Harvey—had to return with her, to avoid possible trouble with the parents. Then and later, Alec seemed much more receptive to new ideas, advice, and suggestions, after sex play and other physical affection with Harvey. In particular, Harvey prudently rebutted the usual churchly arguments against sex outside of marriage. They also compared notes on other churchly doctrines, which now—looked at objectively—seemed too silly to take literally any more. Alice joined in here, going on at length about how she had once been devout but had dropped the church after studying science and history and finding the contradictions in churchly versions of both.

In addition, then and afterwards Harvey did his best to broaden Alec's interests: hot-rods could be generalized to mechanical matters of other kinds; mechanics implied physics and engineering; and other

kinds of music, both in classics and jazz, possessed as much intrinsic excitement as rock 'n' roll, and there was a lot more to them. Alec found this latter remark true enough on listening to some of Harvey's records, and said he'd be looking into the rest when he got back to school.

As Alec's 14th birthday came during the visit, the parents decided—on Alice's urgent recommendation—to leave him with his sister for an extra week's vacation in New York City after they returned home. Alice promptly celebrated by throwing a party the first evening after the parents' departure. Before the guests arrived, she and Harvey indulged in some long-awaited petting, as he had come early for that purpose. Alec came in while they were still on the couch in each other's arms, and heard his sister speculating about the need that every child has for cuddling and that few of them ever satisfy. Seeing Alec, she invited him to come and join the fun, which he did. Both Alice and Harvey cuddled Alec—to his and Harvey's surprise. She quietly let the boy know that she was aware not only of his love for Harvey, but that she was all for his fooling around or doing anything that would make him happy. Alec clung to her and practically sobbed out his relief and delight and gratitude. After all, this made it practically official. . . .

Around 4 A.M., after many of the party guests had left, but Alice and Harvey and three or four others were still up, the shiny-eyed Alec, noticing that Harvey was as exhausted as he was, sleepily asked Alice if he and Harvey could sleep in the big double bed for awhile. Alice smiled and told them to go ahead. Alec literally led a somewhat embarrassed Harvey by one hand into the bedroom; they disrobed each other and promptly fell asleep in each other's arms, too tired for more than half-hearted attempts at lovemaking. Alec woke up in Harvey's arms, kissed him awake and still sleepily whispered to him, "Harvey—I *love* you. . . ." An hour or so later they came out of the bedroom, all rumpled, to find Alice and her best girl friend still up and talking animatedly. After breakfast, Alice privately told Alec, "Don't worry about her—your secret's safe with me." From that time on Alec became emotionally closer to his sister than he had ever been before. Some nights he spent with Harvey; at other times there were more three-way petting sessions.

Over the first couple of holiday weekends during the ensuing school year the boy returned to visit Alice and Harvey, despite increasing parental opposition. Alec's interests remained broader than they had been, and the good results were discernible in his grades, school projects, and after-school activities. And the relationship with

Alec seemed, if anything, to draw Alice and Harvey closer together.

But the bitter end began when the father went on another of his drunken binges, beat up the mother, kicked the pregnant sister (who had lately married a local barber) and caused her to die of hemorrhages, and failed to beat up Alec only because he escaped to a friend's house. The mother took Alec to another town, where she had relatives. The father escaped prosecution for manslaughter only by some adroit political maneuvering involving a plea of guilty to drunk and disorderly and a few more bribes in addition to a fine. At the other town, living in cramped quarters with his mother and her sister's brood, Alec had to go to another and inferior school, where he did not do too well, especially as he had no privacy for doing homework. A few weeks later a sobered-up father came to Canossa, literally begging the mother on his knees to come back. She finally yielded to his entreaties—big male tears often have an effect where other signs of repentance do not—and Alec returned to his former school. But during the same school year there were four more such binges, and each time Alec had to move back to the other town with his mother, aunt and cousins. His being shunted back and forth from school to school brought his marks down and down, killed his new-found incentive, disrupted all his friendships. Not surprisingly, he became sullen and hostile, particularly as he had not been allowed to go back to New York any more. His father began daily inveighing against the coming marriage and damning both parties to it. After the fifth binge the father bought a white Cadillac convertible on credit, and the next time he started drinking, only a couple of weeks later, he insisted on driving the mother around in it, putting it through its paces at speeds up to 90 mph. (Alec had in the meantime slipped away somewhere, fearing to be in the same car with a drinking driver.) Unsurprisingly, he made a total wreck of the unpaid-for car, landing them both in the hospital. He got off with a few cuts and bruises; she received a spinal injury and was paralyzed from the waist down. Alice had to return and take care of Alec and her mother. It began to look as though the move would be irrevocable, as the mother left the hospital a few weeks later as a permanent invalid. At Alice's urgent insistence, Harvey went up there to visit her. The father made a most unpleasant scene, denouncing Harvey and trying to poison both Alice's and Alec's minds against the forthcoming marriage. Alice and Harvey had a long talk about the situation and decided that they would have to postpone the wedding until such time as Alice could leave the parental home: the atmosphere there was intolerable. Were they to marry as originally planned, Harvey would have to leave his

job, as Alice had done, and most likely live in or near her parents' house, literally within shouting distance of her unspeakable father. And who could tell what the next drunken binge would bring?

By this time Alec was failing in almost all school subjects, though he had started out that year with A's and B's. Having somewhere gotten himself an old rattletrap of a motor scooter, he spent what little time he had to spend at home tinkering with it, the rest of his free hours somewhere across town with friends whom he never brought home. He would not talk with his sister or with Harvey.

Harvey, disconsolate, returned to New York and eventually started going with another girl. I have no further information on Alec's fate.

Once again, it is clear that the Greek love relationship had beneficial effects, and that a peculiarly destructive parental situation—the kind of truth stranger than fiction—nullified these effects. All three parties to the affair were certain that there was no possibility of the parents' having any inkling of Alec's involvement with Harvey. It is beyond doubt, for one thing, that the father—a most vindictive, hate-filled individual—would have used any such information to send Harvey to prison and Alec to reform school.

Alec's refusal to talk to his sister or Harvey might have many causes, and one can only speculate. I doubt that guilt feelings were involved; most plausibly, he was simply afraid that his father would overhear anything he might say, and use it against him. It is clear that he was in a severe emotional disturbance, and so preoccupied with mere survival as an individual that he could not immediately open himself to possibly dangerous situations. (Dangerous obviously because of his father's continual shouted threats.) In New York, he was surrounded by love; in the little Rhode Island town where his parents lived, he had to stay with a father who had already proved capable of physical violence and even homicide. (The kick aimed at the sister's pregnant belly was no accident—the father had earlier tried to force her to take abortifacient drugs.)

I have the testimony of all three parties to this love that neither Alec nor Harvey regarded himself—let alone each other—as in any way queer; their physical affection was simply a way of having fun and expressing their love for each other, but it was something that other people would not understand. By confirmation, in school Alec was quite popular with girls and thoroughly enjoyed dating them, at least until the time when he was shunted back and forth between schools too quickly to establish himself as part of a group at either one. Harvey had taught Alec lovemaking techniques, and Alec already

knew that the orgasm from masturbation was much the same sort of climax as he got from his games with Harvey and as he would eventually get with some girl. Interestingly enough, Alec expressed the common contempt for swishy queens without at any time identifying their sexual behavior with his own.

3. *A father's betrayal and a lover's sellout.* Norm T. at age 12 was already a problem for school psychiatrists and authorities. During the seventh grade in his Washington, D.C. school, he made life miserable for teachers, organizing harassment campaigns with friends (such as hissing and making other noises whenever teachers' backs were turned in class: one teacher had to leave school for several weeks "for nerves" because of such harassment); always getting into fights, on one occasion he fractured another boy's skull by bashing it against a brick wall; sent to a military school for "discipline," he made considerable money by smuggling contraband comic books. And during the next summer he was arrested for peeping-tom activities, but because of his parents' influential position, he was held at the police station pending their arrival, rather than being formally booked and sentenced.

But by age 14, and his freshman year in high school, Norm developed an interest in ham radio, and one of his schoolmates introduced him to a 19-year-old disc jockey in one of the local radio stations, as a person sharing this and other interests with young Norm; and this changed everything. At their first meeting Norm and Fred experienced an enormous natural empathy, and discovered a vast area of contact and common interest; it was apparently the first satisfying intellectual friendship either of them had made. Norm began seeing Fred daily after school; Fred often took the boy driving in the country, sometimes with a couple of bottles of beer to make their intimate talk even more easy and pleasant. Their conversation ranged over the gamut from philosophy to sports. Later on, Fred gave Norm a set of keys to the radio station, and Norm often sat in at Fred's DJ sessions, afterwards staying up all night with Fred sharing confidences. Fred loaned him books, introducing him to Thoreau, Whitman, Thomas Wolfe, Henry Miller, Patchen and avant-garde literature generally together with jazz—quite a change from Norm's earlier preoccupation with comic books, Lovecraft and *Weird Tales*. Norm credits Fred with having awakened him to philosophical issues he would never have encountered in school, and specifically with inducing him to exercise a healthy skepticism and independence of mind, to emancipate himself from unquestioning acceptance of the Social Lie.

Over the next few months the relationship grew increasingly

close. As Fred and Norm sat up all night in the radio station, after everyone else had gone home for the night, they would often be arm-in-arm, sometimes indulging in cuddling; later on this got to the point of heavy petting, but never to orgasm. (Norm thinks it stopped short of orgasm because of religious inhibitions, both of them belonging to conservative Protestant denominations, though Fred was outwardly cynical. And now, seventeen years after, Norm is convinced that the relationship would have been better off had they been less inhibited about the sex and more open about their feelings for each other.) From being the wild delinquent of a couple of years earlier, Norm quieted down, though he was still chronically in trouble from his late hours with Fred.

The relationship continued under increasingly difficult conditions, for five years. Fred married a woman ten years older than himself during Norm's senior year in high school, invited everyone else to the wedding except Norm (which hurt Norm badly), but continued the relationship with Norm despite the wife's jealousy. Norm in the meantime had made himself a nuisance among local girls as a perennial lecher. Nevertheless he did not regard himself as in any way abnormal or queer.

Norm graduated from high school. Fed up with the local educationists, he wanted to go to work right away, but his father adamantly insisted on Norm's going to college. The next thing he knew, Fred was also urging him to obey his father and go to college, and promising to Norm that he would remain in college with him, stick by him until graduation. But when Norm did enroll in college, he found that Fred had disappeared, not finishing his own courses; and he learned afterwards that Fred had taken a highly paid electronics job in California, not even bothering to say goodbye. Norm felt cheated, abandoned, and he was acutely disturbed at this development. A few letters were exchanged later on, but the old rapport was gone: Fred had gone back on a solemn promise, and this withdrawal hurt Norm badly, affecting his emotional life for years to come, and making him less ready to open his heart to anyone.

Norm finally graduated from college, and married for the first time. On a later occasion, visiting his parents (who were by then in California), he and his wife looked up Fred, and stayed with him and his wife for a few days. One morning while the wives were out shopping, Norm saw an old letter from his father to Fred lying around openly. He read it and learned what had happened; his father had known of the affair and had coolly taken advantage of it by offering Fred this lucrative electronics job on condition that he would

drop college immediately and persuade Norm to go to college. The location of the work was far enough away that Norm would no longer be able to spend time with Fred, and would stay at home nights and study, the way a normal boy should.

It is impossible to set down in a few words the stunning effect on Norm of this revelation of his father's betrayal of him, and of Fred's silent treacherous acceptance of it. Was love something to be thrown away so lightly after five years? Was Norm's father always such a devious conniver? Was *nobody* dependable in this wretched world?

That night Norm could not sleep for crying, nor could he tell his own wife what it was about, then or later. The next day, while the two wives were out again, he and Fred had one final discussion over the breakfast table. It was abstract and philosophical: Norm dared not bring up their earlier relationship, nor reveal that he had seen the fatal letter from his father. But he continued to think of their five years of love, and his life passed in review before him with an "about-to-die" feeling. He tried to make that final session into a kind of reliving of their earlier intimacy, intellectual and emotional, to deceive himself (however briefly) into thinking "It's once again the way it always was" between him and Fred. But without success. . . . That afternoon Fred looked at him in puzzlement when Norm made some vague excuse about having to go and stay with his parents, and moved out. They never re-established the rapport, and from then until the present day Norm has been ambivalent towards Fred, always grateful for his waking him up to philosophy and literature and jazz, but withal resentful at Fred's having literally sold Norm out for a quick buck. Norm has also remained even more ambivalent towards his father, at once admiring the man's competence and neat handling of people and situations, and hating him for having broken up the first genuine love experience of his life, as well as—later on—for the father's sneers at each of Norm's wives, and at Norm for becoming an artist and writer rather than a businessman.

Of Fred's later history I know only that he failed at the electronics work, and went back to small-town disc jockeying. Norm is now happy with his third marriage, and he is an excellent and empathetic husband and father. Between marriages he had other affairs, both heterosexual and homosexual, but these were always with people his own age or older. He says unequivocally that the homosexual relationships benefitted him in subsequent heterosexual affairs, partly by awakening him in ways he had not earlier been awakened in his first crude seductions of girls, but mainly by inducing him to go

through essentially female emotional experiences—which gave him, he says, “a great deal more understanding of female psychology and more empathy with female attitudes. It resulted in a permanent improvement in my relations with the opposite sex. In spite of the fact that I was much better looking then than I am now, girls used to regard me (with some justice) as a ‘creep.’ That they no longer do is at least partly the result of the fact that I am not such a stranger to their point of view as I was before the first homosexual experience where I went ‘all the way.’ One thing it gave me was a clear picture of what a woman experiences during intercourse, and the felt knowledge of what my partner is experiencing is more sexually stimulating to me than any other single element of the experience.”

Norm theorizes that it may have been the same sense of shame that prevented Fred and him from ‘going all the way’ that eventually prompted Fred to sell him out. “By thus betraying me, he proved to himself, perhaps, that he wasn’t a ‘queer’ and didn’t really care about me at all. I like to think that it proves just the opposite . . . that it took a pretty strong act of psychological violence to wrench out the deep roots we had buried in each other.” I rather think that both alternatives might be true at once. Norm is favorable to the idea of Greek love, emphasizing that his own experience of it did him a great deal of good—the emotional damage came not from the love affair but from the betrayal. However, he has not himself as yet gotten into such a relationship with a boy, partly from fear that it would make his already jealous wife still more insecure, but mainly, I think, because the opportunity has not arisen. Norm thinks that if he does get into such an affair, at least he will do much better for his boyfriend than Fred had done for him.

4. *The misplaced pacifist.* Charles C., a newspaper columnist, got to know 15-year-old Tim at various meetings of one of the local photography clubs in Philadelphia. Finding that they had more interests in common than merely photography, Charles became a frequent visitor at Tim’s home, and Tim often dropped over to Charles’s place, ostensibly just to borrow books for help in school projects, but more and more for friendly conversation. In the meantime, Tim’s parents, like other dutiful Status Seekers, not only moved into an overpriced little house on the Main Line, and proudly displayed their membership in the Episcopal Church and the Republican Party, but they also sent their son to an expensive and highly rated Quaker private school; and this introduction of their boy to the peaceable ethic of the Society of Friends was the undoing alike of the peace within their household and of the growing friendship between them and Charles.

Over the next couple of years, Tim idealistically accepted Quaker ethical views, and in so doing became increasingly disgusted with his parents' pious hypocrisies. He took his doubts and worries to Charles, who (though himself a nonbeliever) consistently urged that the boy follow his own conscience.

Arguments between Tim and his parents became increasingly frequent, as he found himself unable to accept their brand of cant, or to dutifully agree with father's dinner-table pronunciamientos, or to take the yesman's part in conversations with their executive-class associates. Avoiding his parents' social life, he incurred their irritation; expressing his own doubts and half-formed opinions, long in flux, he brought down their wrath, as his opinions were—to them—nothing short of subversive. Still worse, instead of expressing an interest in majoring in science, which might get him a high-paying technical position, or in business administration, which might lead to a future as an executive, Tim early and consistently wanted to paint. Not even advertising or commercial art, but fine art; and since almost nobody could earn a living in serious painting, the boy said that he expected to earn his living partly by teaching, partly by writing. "At least this way I'm not helping make bombs." To prove that he was serious, he actually sold some articles to magazines over the following summer, the first few with Charles's help, the later ones on his own.

Noting the coincidence in time between Charles's arrival into the boy's life and the unwelcome changes in Tim's thinking, the parents made of Charles a scapegoat, blaming him for all these strange ideas he had supposedly been feeding Tim through the books he had been lending him. Charles suddenly found himself unwelcome at Tim's house, and the parents tried to prevent their son from ever seeing him again. Charles pulled a few wires and got Tim a summer job, seeing the boy occasionally after work or on weekends when Tim was ostensibly going to stay with school friends. The relationship became closer as it grew more conspiratorial.

By the time Tim was 17, he began to worry more and more about the likelihood that he would have to contribute to human misery by killing people in the next war. Charles suggested that Tim's Quaker school experience provided the automatic answer to that problem side by side with the awareness of it. If Tim were genuinely averse to violence, he might as well work with the American Friends Service Committee and follow its advice on the draft when he got called up. Tim did so, and found there not only kindred spirits but an approach and a viewpoint with which he thoroughly agreed; he became an active worker for peace. His parents, predictably, were still more antagonistic to Tim for joining the "peaceniks"—a term which they

equated with "beatniks." Still seeking a scapegoat, they began restricting Tim's social life, forbidding him to stay overnight at friends' houses, reading his mail, monitoring his phone calls. They finally found out by accident that he was still in touch with Charles, and naturally assumed that this was at the bottom of the continuing trouble. Their restrictions on his activity became more severe. As these restrictions cut down on Tim's opportunities to date local girls, he resented them the more fiercely; the only evenings without shouted quarrels between father or mother and Tim were evenings when they were out of the house.

Nevertheless, Tim was not devoid of emotional resources. He and Charles developed an increasingly close emotional link, the more so because their opportunities to see each other were few and brief, and neither one felt like wasting a moment on trivialities. Tim found in Charles a source of strength, a confidant he could trust, someone always tender and sympathetic, someone who saw his side in the continuing warfare with parents, someone who appreciated him as a person. Charles—a longtime bachelor for whom some women came and went, and the few who were always warm towards him were tied up elsewhere in unwelcome marriages—found in Tim an understanding companion who shared his enthusiasm, his joys and his sorrows, and someone with whom he never ran out of things to talk about.

The sexual angle to their friendship began over two years after the friendship itself had started, and it came as a total surprise to both of them. They had long been close enough for arm-in-arm talk, but neither had so much as alluded to sex other than in casual mentions of their outside experiences. One day after work, Tim, while in relaxed conversation, somehow brought up the subject of what either of them would do if he had positive information that he would have only one more year to live before atomic warfare destroyed everything. Charles's own speculation amounted to giving up all his long-range plans and concentrating on pleasure and creation for its own sake, and enjoying his remaining friendships, followed by suicide at the last moment before the bombs began to fall, on the grounds that a quick death by sleeping pills was preferable to long-drawn-out agony from radiation burns. This had a startling effect on Tim. The boy turned sheet-white and clung to Charles, trembling and sweating. In a shaky voice he told Charles that he couldn't stand it any more, that he loved him, that he was sexually excited to an unbearable degree. And he groped Charles and urged that they "do something about it." They did, and the sex became a continuing source of additional emotional closeness between them.

The nearest they ever came thereafter to a communication failure, let alone a quarrel, was when Tim expressed fear that he and Charles were perhaps growing apart because he, Tim, was so deeply involved in peace work, and Charles was not actively part of that scene. Charles got the boy to talk about it in detail; there were some tears, but he reassured Tim over and over again that a breakup on such trivial grounds was about the last thing he would have to fear; for after all, ever since he had known the boy he had explicitly tried to get him to develop his own individual pattern of likes and dislikes, of pre-occupations and commitments, of interest and talents, rather than copying either his parents or Charles or anyone else. This was exactly the comfort Tim needed.

Tim continued to date girls whenever parental restrictions on his time made it possible, which was not often; but only rarely did he date any given girl more than once, as he found none of the locally available ones particularly to his liking. They tended to be too superficial for his taste, and he had insufficient opportunity to explore the field. Though opportunities for homosexual affairs also repeatedly occurred, Tim refused them, averring that he was entirely heterosexual. He did not at any time regard his secret affair with Charles as contradictory to this position.

Though Tim's parents never had any suspicion that his friendship with Charles had developed a sexual element, they continued increasingly to blame Charles for the boy's pacifist orientation and for the ongoing warfare within the family. This atmosphere of continuous emotional upset (from which the boy found escape only on dates and during his rare stealthy visits to Charles) began to affect Tim's school grades. The parents sent him to a psychiatrist—only to receive the unwelcome news that he was on Tim's side and that, speaking as a professional, he advised the parents to give the boy more freedom and to cut down on trying to dictate his life patterns. The improvement was brief indeed, as they quickly relapsed into their old patterns. Nor did Tim's good record during his first year at college improve matters; his parents continued what can only be called a continuous harassment campaign, and even the emotional support that an occasional phone talk with Charles might provide became impossible because of continuous surveillance. Tim now lives only for the day when he can leave home permanently without threat of being brought back forcibly by police—presumably when he turns 21.

A superficial evaluation might have it that Charles's net influence was bad, in that it precipitated warfare between Tim and his parents, to the detriment of Tim's school record and emotional life, even irre-

spective of the sexual angle and subsequent deceit. A closer examination with even a partly open mind, however, forbids any such judgment. Notice that instead of deliberately trying to convert the boy to agnosticism or atheism, or for that matter advising him to stick with the parental church, Charles advised him to follow his own conscience, molded as it was through Tim's years at Quaker schools, and emphasized this by encouraging the boy to read a wide range of authors rather than showing him only one side of any such questions. Under the circumstances, Tim's later involvement with the AFSC and the peace movement comes as no surprise. For him to give up pacifist work, as his parents demanded, represented going against his own conscience. As long as his parents were opposed to this, being devout Republicans and Episcopalians, conflict was inevitable, and it is useless to assign blame. Of such conflicts of loyalties tragedy is made, and Charles's role was but that of a catalyst. In this light the sex appears as a very minor and incidental feature of the relationship.

One may speculate as to what would have become of the relationship and of Tim's subsequent emotional state, had Charles angrily refused the importunate sexual solicitation as dirty or perverted. In all likelihood Tim would have been more upset than ever; he would have felt rejected, even betrayed, his deeper feelings trampled on. The unexpected sexual arousal, coming in the circumstances in which it did, can most probably be interpreted as a sort of sudden focusing of a lot of tensions, anxieties and apprehensions, a sudden physical realization of how much he actually loved Charles, a sudden realization of need to be loved in a very specific way, a fear of losing someone who had come to mean a very great deal to him, and much more. Charles's permitting Tim to perform the "big embrace" and intercrural copulation, together with some mutual masturbation and a lot of caressing, probably constituted a genuine act of mercy. There is no evidence of ensuing sexual guilt, nor of interference with Tim's heterosexual interests; Tim's main concern during the sexual episodes was that Charles should get something like the same satisfaction he had gotten, and the only anxiety he ever manifested over the sexual aspect was lest his parents find out by any means, however indirect.

In addition, I cannot forbear to point out that in awakening Tim to philosophical and other issues, Charles did the boy no disservice but an actual benefit. Confronting these issues and developing one's personal ethical code are part of growing up, as is facing the conflicts engendered by this informal self-education. As highly rated as is the school to which Tim was going, it is unlikely that the books alluded to would have been on his required reading list.

5. *With Cloak and Dagger Through Darkest Tennessee.* Twelve-year-old Howard, blond, overgrown and concealing a Dennis-the-Menace attitude behind the traditional horn-rimmed glasses, came to national attention about six years ago through some newspaper story about his being a "child prodigy." The story did him little good, as he had to remain in public school in the little Bible Belt town in eastern Tennessee where his parents lived. Neighbors resented him, school bored him to the proverbial (and often literal) tears, while his stagnation increased after he had read everything in the tiny public library, and his grades began to slip farther and farther down. His parents were sympathetic but bewildered. In his spare time he read his bushels of mail, discarding most of it as junk, and indulged in weird hoaxes and practical jokes with his few companions—their-selves the town outcasts. There was also the kind of casual sex play common among early adolescents; but over the next couple of years this came to mean far more to him than to his friends, though he never dared admit the fact even to them.

Before the newspaper-stimulated mail dwindled to zero, it yielded him three or four worthwhile penpals. During the ensuing four years he met all of these, principally on vacation trips with parents or relatives. One of them, Floyd E., a magazine editor, whom he met only briefly, nevertheless was from the beginning an unfailing source of ideas for dealing with boredom, of unfamiliar books, of challenging projects, of advice and comfort. Neither then knew that the other had any homosexual interests. Each knew of the other's heterosexual concerns. But it was in effect Greek love by mail, as each had come over the years to mean a great deal to the other.

On the eve of a vacation trip to Washington, young Howard wrote Floyd a curious letter asking many questions about sexual techniques and particularly about homosexuality, saying that he had just finished reading Jess Stearn's *The Sixth Man* and seeing the movie "Advise and Consent," both of which raised more problems than they settled. Floyd replied with a rather unfavorable criticism of the Stearn book, on the grounds of its limited and biased knowledge of the subject, and recommended a number of more reliable sources, but suggested that some of these questions had better be answered in person in case his parents might accidentally see the letter (prophetic words, these!).

Howard, now 16 and of adult appearance, showed up in Washington, temporarily staying with a family long associated with his relatives, and visiting the Smithsonian Institution and other familiar attractions. When Floyd showed up in Washington on a business trip,

they got together, and Howard finally admitted that his concern with homosexuality was much more personal than the letter had indicated. He had in fact been long aware of how much the erotic play of several years before had meant to him; he had been having erotic dreams of this kind, and feeling immediate overwhelming attraction to handsome young men (mainly in the 18-25 age range) whom he saw here and there, but he never got together with them largely because he didn't know how to tell if someone would be likely to accept a proposition rather than administer a beating or call for a policeman. Nor could Howard convince himself that this was anything over which he had any control, let alone any power to suppress. "I don't deliberately choose to dream about these beautiful young men. I don't deliberately choose to get an erection when I sit across from one of them in a street-car," he said, adding that he felt it as much a natural part of his makeup as was his simultaneous similar feeling for girls. And yet all the psychiatric literature he had seen—a considerable number of books—said that this attraction was sick, but most of the authors assigned this "sickness" different and incompatible or mutually contradictory origins! He had no desires to become female, nor to act nor to dress like a female; he simply found himself becoming sexually excited at the nearness of certain individuals of either gender, and having these erotic dreams.

At this juncture came a knock on the door of Floyd's hotel room, and in walked Steve, a graduate student majoring in psychology. The subject was changed; Steve and Howard became friends within minutes after the introduction, and the three planned a trip to one of the local resorts for the next day. During that excursion Steve made a remark which unintentionally revealed his own homosexual interest (he was unaware that young Howard was of similar mind, or that he knew the argot). Howard immediately picked up the conversational tag-end, and before the day was over he and Steve agreed that they wanted each other. And instead of moving into the YMCA as earlier planned, Howard moved into Steve's apartment. Thereafter he was in a kind of double Greek love scene: sexual with Steve, nonsexual (but emotionally almost equally close) with Floyd. After his few weeks in Washington were over with, Howard occasionally traveled there again on weekends to visit Steve, and his letters and phone calls to Floyd indicated that finding this immensely satisfying relationship had probably saved his sanity. Another and more surprising development ensued: Howard began an affair with a young widow in his own home town. The widow knew about, and was entirely sympathetic with, Howard's homosexual side; for after all, she too found young

men attractive. And Howard discovered that each time without exception he was much more emotionally open, affectionate, and sexually passionate with the widow after coming back from a sexual meeting with Steve. Both of them became necessary to his sense of well-being.

That fall Howard's school grades began to improve for a while. He and Steve continued to remain in contact by letter and long-distance phone, after Steve had returned to graduate school in New England. Floyd kept getting joyful letters from Howard on the progress of his relationship with the widow.

But one evening Howard became sick and had to be quickly driven to the local hospital. In his fevered and upset state he left in his typewriter an unfinished love letter to Steve. His parents, until then entirely ignorant of this side of Howard's life, read the letter in his absence and on Howard's return began an emotional storm like nothing the boy had ever before experienced. They blamed themselves for God only knows what deficiency in his moral training; they blamed him for keeping up a relationship he knew to be sinful by their rigid Protestant code, likely to hurt them, illegal, hazardous, likely to impair his chances at a decent career, and at the very best sick. They felt it their Christian duty to put the boy under constant surveillance, to intercept any further mail from Steve, to monitor all phone calls for or by the boy, and to send him to a psychiatrist. Anything to break up the "unnatural" relationship—no matter how much suffering it would put young Howard through.

Howard got around the mail interception by having personal letters come thereafter to him c/o the sympathetic widow (who was now even more a comfort in his acute distress), and by making and receiving phone calls from her house. The plan to send him to a psychiatrist would have been quite acceptable, save that the psychiatrist his parents chose turned out to be a narrow-minded moralist who talked only in vague generalities, and who refused to let Howard discuss anything except the homosexuality itself—no "digressions" being permitted into earlier life, other interpersonal relationships, or anything else! He apparently expected to convince Howard intellectually that homosexuality in any degree is evil and must be given up the way one might give up a food to which one is allergic.

From that day to the present writing, Howard's life has been an alternation between furtive conspiratorial meetings with the widow, the school grind, and the hated sessions with the psychiatrist. Steve is meanwhile trying to interest some members of the admissions board at his university in Howard's case, with early admission as the object;

it seems fairly likely that this will be granted, but Howard's mental health is in some danger in the meantime. Howard reports that he is trying to induce his parents to send him to a different psychiatrist, and they are not completely unfavorable to the idea.

Once again, an unsympathetic critic could point to this case history and claim that it proves how undesirable and dangerous such relationships are. A closer look reveals, however, that Howard's homosexual component was manifest well before his first overt experience with anyone older; that parental discovery was sheer accident and might never have happened save for the illness; that his Greek love relationships did provide him with satisfaction for undeniable needs: intellectual stimulation hardly available otherwise, and emotional support when it was most necessary; that his homosexual experiences directly enhanced a heterosexual relationship; and that these all afforded him a welcome escape from an essentially unsuitable, sterile and boring Bible Belt environment into something much more broadening. In particular, if Steve succeeds in getting Howard accepted into the university, this benefit will make up for a lot of earlier misery.

And once again we encounter the feature that homosexual activities in some way stimulate and enhance subsequent heterosexual relationships, in direct contradiction to Bergler. I have noticed this time and again, not only in the case histories told here, but in numerous other interviews with individuals involved either in Greek love or in androphile homosexual affairs. I have no ready explanation for it other than the theory given by Norm T. in an earlier case history in this chapter. This theory seems plausible enough and no ready objection to it arises. Certainly a patrist, with his extreme emphasis on sex differences, his rejection of any acceptance of a feminine component in every man's makeup, his fear of homosexuality, his attitude towards women as inferior or sinful creatures, would not be readily capable of the understanding of female psychology that seems to characterize more profoundly loving individuals. Norm T. mentioned that this very empathy with his wife or girlfriend, this cooperative awareness of the pleasure she is getting, is an extremely important source of excitement, of pleasure, of satisfaction for him. Howard has made much the same observation, and I have heard it repeatedly and independently from others. For that matter, many homosexuals with whom I have discussed such matters have told me that often enough they are accommodating rather than eager, gaining their own satisfaction from (woman-like) knowing how much pleasure they are affording their partners, even more than from the actual physical stimulation. It is certainly true also of many women. Kinsey speaks

of vicarious sharing of experience^{142c} and sympathetic responses,^{142d} and compares anal penetration to deep vaginal penetration (II, 581), using terms indicating that Norm's theory above mentioned is consistent with the findings of the Sex Research Institute. We have already seen that homosexual activity, in many individuals, has been found not to interfere with their subsequent heterosexual adaptations; but the discovery that it can *enhance* the latter by enabling them to understand their girls' responses is very important.

6. *The Fatal Weekend*. The events I am about to describe may stretch the credulity of some readers, and the tolerance of others. I can only say to the first that I was an eyewitness to many of them, and interviewed the participants to get other details, their stories confirming each other circumstantially; and to the second that I am too aware of the implications of Jesus's admonition about 'casting the first stone' to make moral judgments. I can also suggest that skeptics read the well-known Terman and Hollingworth studies on gifted children. I offer this case history not as anything typical, but as a sort of sociological microscope, in which one can see, in immense magnification, the psychological processes commonly found in Greek love—and some of the dangers awaiting a youngster whose need for manifest love and guidance remains unsatisfied.

A graduate student whom I shall call Kenneth became friends with various members of an old Boston socialite family in 1954, through one of his fellow-students whom they had befriended. During many dinners and evenings at their Back Bay town house, over the chessboard and the Go stones, he became the special friend of their older boy, then nine and already well known in the area as a chess prodigy. At the family's Christmas party he finally met the boy's much talked-about best buddy, whom I shall call Pat, and to whom this chess prodigy looked up in awe. Pat was not quite eleven, and the sort of youngster one could not avoid noticing in a crowd: tall, pure blond (but lightly tanned) and with eyes that can be described only as bluish violet; and with a commanding presence seen in few adults, a self-assurance admitting of no doubt. By standing tall he might have passed for a fourteen-year-old; his stride and coordination suggested that age or older, as did his low and well-modulated voice. When he talked with other youngsters, they listened to him and he led them; when he talked with adults, he used the vocabulary of a college graduate, and used it naturally and without any noticeable errors.

I learned afterwards that this boy was reputed—on apparently excellent grounds—to have an IQ far in excess of 200. I know from talking with him that he had been reading college textbooks and

technical works for a couple of years, and that the range of subject matter included among other things astronomy, geology, various biological specialties, psychology, cultural anthropology, history and philosophy. I overheard him, at a later date, discussing with Kenneth the Thomistic proofs of the existence of God and pointing out the untenable assumptions underlying them (such as the so-called 'principle of plenitude,' described in Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being*, though he did not use this name for it; and the very dubious grounds on which Aquinas rejected infinite regress and a universe lacking a definite beginning in time). I heard both from his little friend the chess prodigy and from Pat's stepmother that Pat is an excellent acrobat, skier and marksman, and I have seen him exhibiting phenomenal form in swimming, using various kinds of strokes. In short, this boy was extremely advanced in just about all directions, and to think of him as just another ten-year-old would be to misjudge him, and what follows, so completely as to render understanding impossible.

Pat and Kenneth became friendly, though not yet too closely, at that Christmas party. They saw little of each other during the following winter and spring, though there were occasional meetings and messages passed back and forth via the chess prodigy. During the summer of 1955, the family shared with Pat's family one of the huge beach cottages just outside Newport, R.I., and on one weekend they invited Kenneth to stay there.

Here I should add a few details about Pat's family. His parents had divorced and remarried, and part of the time he was in the custody of his father and stepmother (professional people connected with the film industry, the father a rough-tongued tennis addict, stepmother a very gentle and soft-spoken woman of infinite sympathy—a natural mother type with several children by an earlier husband); the rest of the time he was in custody of his real mother and stepfather. I did not meet these two, but others who know them well have described them to me; the stepfather is wealthy and preoccupied with becoming more so, and is out of town much of the time, while the mother is a weak, ineffectual person whose main way of dealing with crises is to scream, and whose perceptiveness about her own children must be described—in all charity—as dull. Pat's education seems to have been almost entirely self-made, without his mother's knowledge; while she thought him to be out in the playgrounds or at other youngsters' houses, Pat was usually in the main reading room of the Boston Public Library or one of the other libraries—Harvard, Tufts, the Athenaeum, the Massachusetts Historical Society, etc., occasionally sneaking into the stacks, or he would be at the Museum of

Fine Arts pestering various staff members with questions, alleging that he was working on some school project.

During the weekend, Kenneth rapidly became a great favorite among the children—the chess prodigy and his little brother, Pat (now 11 and rapidly growing) and his stepbrothers and stepsisters. Pat's stepmother occasionally entrusted the whole brood to him at the beach. Almost inevitably, though, the friendship deepened between Kenneth and Pat; they had more in common than Kenneth did with anyone else in the household, in either family. This was recognized and nobody thought it in the least degree odd; Pat had “always”—which probably means for the preceding couple of years, anyway—chosen adults for companions wherever possible. All was not harmony, however; Pat's father took a mild dislike to Kenneth because he was not an athlete, and it wasn't manly to avoid the tennis court. (Swimming didn't count.) Pat's lumbering 16-year-old stepbrother gave way to his old (jealousy-inspired?) practice of tormenting Pat—once too often: I saw the latter part of the ensuing fight, in which Pat literally climbed up on the brother, using feet, fists and elbows, toppled him over and finally stomped on him. We separated them, and the brother shook hands and promised “never again”—but carefully avoided Pat for the remainder of that weekend. Where the boy had picked up gutter-fighting methods I still do not know; possibly he had learned them from comic books or TV.

Toward the end of the long weekend (Thursday afternoon to the following Tuesday) Kenneth and Pat became so inseparable that to find one you had to look for the other. Sometimes they were alone together, especially when the other kids found their discussions too full of big words for comfort. I have the distinct impression that in a very deep sense they regarded each other as equals; that this was in some respects a symmetrical relationship. I know that they did not regard each other as competitors, nor as teacher and pupil in the usual sense. I know that Kenneth did teach Pat some things, and recommend books, and give advice; but in many other respects they talked as man to man, without pretense or formality, and Kenneth never let himself “talk down” to Pat despite some thirteen years' age difference. I emphasize this point because the relationship between them was in no sense that of adult to child, and it had more elements of symmetrical friendship than are usual in Greek love.

Saturday night, after a day at the beach, the adults were already in the midst of their nightly poker game, and the kids were in bed (save for the 16-year-old, who was somewhere in town, possibly with a girlfriend.). At some time during the evening I heard a faint voice

calling "Kenneth," and he left his kibitzer's chair and did not come back. Later on I found out what had happened. Pat had been badly stung by sandflies or something of the kind while at the beach, and was unable to sleep for the itching. Why he called for Kenneth rather than for his stepmother is uncertain; possibly he knew somehow that Kenneth would be available whereas his stepmother would be busy with the poker game. Kenneth went upstairs to the kids' bedroom (containing eight bunks), found Pat in misery, took him into one of the disused adult bedrooms, dosed him with antihistamine pills, and liberally applied analgesic salve. Since Pat had been wearing only a bathing suit when stung, the stings were naturally on areas that would normally have been covered by pajamas, and as a result the youngster remained naked until the salve dried, and apparently long afterwards as well. I gather that they talked and afterwards they cuddled; Pat, though only eleven, was already pubescent, and became aroused by the application of the salve on thighs and lower abdomen. Pat seems to have given Kenneth, in mock wrestling, the "big embrace," but I do not think that anything more happened, other than much additional cuddling and mutual sexual caressing. Hours later that night Pat put on pajamas and went to bed, suspecting (correctly) that his father would shortly show up. Kenneth also went to bed. The father a few minutes later knocked on Kenneth's door, wanting to know if he had been using the analgesic salve, and if so, where was it; but apparently neither he nor anyone else voiced any suspicions as to what the two had been doing, if anything. The next morning Pat woke Kenneth up, but though there was plenty of cuddling I do not believe there was any additional overt sex play, then or later. There was little enough opportunity for privacy.

The final day arrived, and Kenneth had to go home—partly because he had a job to return to, partly to make room for several of Pat's relatives who were moving in. I saw Pat on Kenneth's lap, crying bitterly and inconsolably. I later learned that Pat was broken up because Kenneth would have to leave, and that on top of this he had been telling Kenneth about his school problem, which was something Pat could not handle. It seems that at age five he had been thrown out of kindergarten as uncooperative and given to asking the teacher impossibly embarrassing questions; and that when he started in first grade, he found himself entirely without companions and without access to anything he found interesting to do: the "Dick & Jane" books were an unbearable bore to a boy used to reading things like Gray's *Anatomy* and Bertrand Russell's *History of Western Philosophy*; the teachers shushed him rather than listening to his complaints, and

he alternated between corner sulking and “Dennis the Menace” helionism. And the pattern continued into the fifth grade, which he had just completed that spring. And from first grade on, he had daily begged his mother to take him out of school, as he found the place of no value—he knew everything in the books, but was forbidden by teachers to bring anything more advanced to classes; he was still without any friends he could share his own interests and knowledge with, and his classmates’ games were a bore. But (and here Pat broke down and bawled in the retelling) his mother continually insisted that he had to give up any crazy idea that he was any different, or any better, or any brighter than anyone else, and that he would have to stay in public school to learn to act like all the rest. This prospect was, to him, one of unmitigated horror. Apparently his mother was either callous or totally unaware of Pat’s accomplishments and his obvious difference from his schoolmates.

Later on Pat shoved a petition under my nose, asking for my signature (he had gotten over twenty others). The petition—in elaborate calligraphy—was to the socialite family, praying them to bring back Kenneth as soon as possible and as often as possible. He ceremoniously delivered it to his father, who was somewhat taken aback, but who made vague promises that he would, though he could not predict exactly when. Kenneth finally got into the car with his baggage, said goodbye to everyone—and noticed that Pat had disappeared. They drove over the winding roads to the gate, preparing to turn onto the main road which would eventually take Kenneth and the socialites back to Boston. And all of a sudden, Pat darted out from behind some bushes, and flagged the car down. Thinking that possibly someone had forgotten some piece of luggage, the driver stopped; but all that happened was that Pat put his arms into the car, hugged Kenneth, withdrew, waved a desolate goodbye, and returned to the bushes, once again bawling. The driver turned to Kenneth, shook his head and said, “You sure charmed him, didn’t you?” Nobody else said anything during the journey. I was in the car, and the sight of Pat in such agitation and unfeigned sorrow was disturbing indeed. So far as I know Kenneth never saw him again; there were a few phone calls, and afterwards Pat was “not in” to any calls from Kenneth. (I told this story once omitting the sex element, years afterward, to a social worker. The woman wept, and told me that this was one of the most poignant love stories she had ever heard.)

I later talked with an aunt and uncle (sister and brother-in-law of Pat’s father). The subsequent developments were not pleasant. Pat evidently talked a great deal about Kenneth, and his father resented

it (particularly as Pat was not especially fond of him since the divorce, whereas he made no secret about how much he loved Kenneth); later on, when Pat was returned to his mother's custody during the school year, she became very jealous of Kenneth for similar reasons, and afraid to invite Kenneth around, hoping that if she ignored the situation, it would disappear. Pat's performance in school was no better than usual, and his emotional state was worse. Later on, all the youngsters in his school were given an IQ test. Pat, though obviously bored with it, came out with a top score. So far as anyone knew, he had never had any such test before. The mother's reaction on hearing about the test was something like "My God, what have I done? I didn't think he was unusually bright." She then took him to the headmaster of a local private school said to specialize in the gifted. He was insistent: registrations for the following year had closed four months before. She was equally insistent that he should talk to Pat. The headmaster said that he would talk to him, but would not make any promises. They were closeted for an hour and a half, and (as Pat's mother told the aunt) the headmaster came out, blanched and drenched with sweat, and in a shaky voice told her that he would accept Pat on a special-student basis.

I heard, still later, that Pat's career at the new school was almost as traumatic as it had been at public school. A teacher called him stupid on the second day of class because he was unfamiliar with something or other—it had not been in his public school curriculum, and he'd missed it in his outside reading. Pat promptly walked out and did not come back. The headmaster found him at home, and talked to him for a couple of hours, insisting that it had been a horrible mistake and promising that he would see to it that such a thing would never happen again. But happen it did, with the same teacher, in the same week and for much the same reason; and Pat once again walked out, never again to set foot within the school walls. His mother made arrangements with some teachers at that school to tutor him privately. He became increasingly moody and withdrawn and shortly after Thanksgiving complained of agonizing stomach pain. It proved to be an ulcer. The details I have from here on are fragmentary, but one can imagine the sort of home life which would give a twelve-year-old boy an ulcer. The last I heard—in 1959—Pat was still dividing his time between home tutoring in Chestnut Hill and his father's ski camp in Vermont. And he was still extremely dissatisfied with both sides of the family.

And Kenneth? The last I heard, he has still not forgotten Pat, and more than one of his girlfriends has been shaken up by hearing from him the true story I have told here. More than once he has

been startled by seeing pure blond hair and blue-violet eyes in a crowd—but never a sign of recognition.

There are doubtless some readers who will accept at least intellectually the idea that a man can love another homosexually, and that in rare instances a man can find genuine love in a relationship with a teen-ager. Probably many of these readers will balk at the idea of such a relationship with an eleven-year-old, even so extraordinary an eleven-year-old as Pat. To them I can only say: one must judge each case on its own merits.

It is abundantly clear from this story that the relationship between Kenneth and Pat had all the earmarks of authentic Greek love. Sullivan⁴⁸ insisted that adolescence was not a matter of chronological age, but of psychic development. In mental ability Pat was a superior adult. Terman used to say that a person generally seeks other people of about his own mental age as associates; feeble-minded adolescents and adults, out of their depth with their agemates, play with younger children; normal or average children run around with their agemates; gifted ones prefer adolescents or adults. This was obviously true of Pat. It is also obvious, from my own contact with him and my own observation of him with Kenneth, that he insisted on being regarded, as far as possible, as an equal, and with him it was not a mere game—he *felt* himself the equal of any adult even though his body had not yet matured. (And he compensated for that by developing athletic skills.) Kenneth tells me that Pat was interested in girls, though he took it for granted that the ones he was attracted to—girls in their late teens—would have eyes only for older boys, and that his chance would come later on. In short, chronological age aside, Pat was adolescent, and should have been recognized as such.

It is difficult to say exactly why he put such a huge emotional investment in Kenneth. I would guess that Kenneth was the first person he got to know at all well, the first person who treated him unhesitatingly as an equal, and the first who shared so many interests in common with him. Other adults for the most part did not spend much time with him, or—unpardonably—looked down on him as just another child. I gather that Pat needed guidance, much as do many adolescents, and that in particular he needed advice on how to handle the school problem, how to get along with his schoolmates, his brothers, and his two sets of parents (apparently only his step-mother having any insight into his nature and needs), and much else. Kenneth certainly made a beginning in trying to cover these areas of acute concern, but the relationship was forcibly ended before he could be of maximum help.

I will not hazard a guess as to whether there would have been

any further sex play, nor whether it would have affected Pat's heterosexual interests. And I refuse to moralize on this point. I can only say that the love relationship was deep enough that Kenneth would not have done anything knowingly to hurt Pat or his chances at a healthy development—nor, on the other hand, would he have willingly rejected Pat's spontaneous displays of affection. They were too genuine—and too intense—to be spurned without danger of hurting the boy's feelings. Wherever Pat is now, I only hope he is happier than he was in 1955-56.

The above fifteen case histories, though certainly not a statistically significant sample, nevertheless provide findings of considerable theoretical interest. To answer possible charges of bias in selection of case histories, let me say right away that the uncomplicated instances of Greek love actually do in my experience outnumber the difficult ones; that long-term ones do outnumber short-term ones; and that the trends deduced below from the 15 cases presented here can be confirmed in the other forty-odd cases of which I have any knowledge. Rebuttals will have to cite depth studies of larger numbers of Greek love pairs, and as yet these do not exist in the literature; for the present, the above fifteen will have to serve as a start. Inclusion of the other forty-odd would have added bulk to an already lengthy volume without adding a great deal of illumination.

There follow some tentative generalizations not earlier covered, but illustrated by the above case histories. First, concerning the boys in the Greek love relationships:

1. In *every* instance known to me in which a boy takes a markedly active sexual role in a Greek love situation, or in which he initiates the sexual aspect, he is unusually mature and sophisticated for his years, and as a rule quite masculine.

2. In *every* instance of the above, the boy undergoes puberty early: age 10 to 12. This means the majority of boys involved in Greek love in my observations. I believe that this may account for some of Sir Richard Burton's speculations about the "Sotadic zone."¹⁷ Ethnically, many of these lads were of mesomorphic Mediterranean stock (though to be sure Toby and Pat, in cases 1 and 6 of Chapter VIII, were of Old American origin, ultimately Old North European).

3. In every instance of Greek love where the boy is of a late-maturing or gynandroid constitutional type, the relationship is of a different kind from the above; sexual aspects appear late if at all—often some months or years after the relationship begins—and the affair resembles a surrogate parent-child relationship at its outset, changing later on.

4. Greek love appears to be independent of ethnic origin of the boy, though in its overtly sexual form it is not independent of his religious origins. I know no instances of orthodox Jewish boys getting into such relationships in which overt sex played a part; the rabbi's pupils (case 2, Chapter VII) were Conservative. Devout Catholics are rare, and in general Kinsey's conclusions tend to hold good here—the less the orthodox religious involvement, and the further the departure from the lower middle class, the higher the amount of sexual activity.

5. In every instance in which the boy ever displayed any heterosexual interests, they were at least not interfered with by the Greek love experience and in many they were positively enhanced—whether the Greek love affair proceeded smoothly or traumatically. Norm T.'s homosexual experiences to orgasm came only in later life, and they likewise enhanced his subsequent heterosexual relations (see cases 3 and 5, Chapter VIII).

6. I know of no instance whatever of Greek love in which the boy has later developed into a transvestite or even into a queen. The female impersonators and other queens whom I have known—together about twenty—are a diverse lot, but they agree in rejecting their own masculinity and in *lacking any experience in Greek love* as older or younger partner; usually they find the idea of a man loving a boy rather than another man or woman quite grotesque, indecent or unintelligible. One may tentatively guess that this development of effeminacy as a way of life is somehow connected with the lack of rejection of masculine guidance in early adolescence.

7. Instances where the boy involved in Greek love becomes exclusively or nearly exclusively homosexual in later life are very rare. This refutes Dr. Neustatter,⁴⁰ and explicitly confirms Friedenberg⁹³ in his contention that male love-objects in adolescence are notably *absent* from the histories of boys who later become exclusively or nearly exclusively homosexual.

8. Instances where the boy involved in Greek love becomes an invert¹⁴³ are very rare, and judging from the studies of inversion available (as distinct from homosexuality), the development of inversion seems to be quite independent of the presence or absence of Greek love in the individual's history.

9. Neurotic traits displayed by boys involved in Greek love situations are diverse enough—when they are present at all in noticeable degree—so that one cannot ascertain a pattern of neurosis characteristic of, or in any way obviously related to, the Greek love relationship.

10. I know no instance where the boy involved in Greek love has become subsequently involved in prostitution.

11. The only instances known to me of overt destructive or predatory delinquency *following* a Greek love relationship are boys who were traumatically torn away from their lovers. (Case 1, Chapter VIII.)

12. In every case in Chapter VIII, the damage done to the boy has come not from the love itself, not even from the sexual involvement, but from the consequences of being torn away from the relationship. This remark holds also for every other instance known to me where such a relationship was forcibly disrupted. In every case without exception, the disruption did the boy unequivocal harm. This complete uniformity of this connection should be very instructive. Note the parallel with the Bender and Blau conclusions.⁴¹

13. *In every case known to me, the boy benefitted by the relationship.*

Second, concerning the men in the Greek love relationships:

14. Exclusive homosexuals are a small minority, effeminate queens and inverters not found at all. The Kinsey ratings are generally 2 to 4. (Recall that a Kinsey rating of 0 means exclusive heterosexuality, 3 approximately equal heterosexual and homosexual involvement, 6 exclusive homosexuality.)

15. Usually, the men in question do not regard their Greek love affairs as constituting marital infidelity or as excluding them from simultaneous involvements with women.

16. In a large number of instances, though possibly not in all, the man shows up as a friend in need, even a rescuer, at the outset; a solution to a boy's emergent problems which might otherwise prove too much for the youngster. Possibly in some cases this serves to validate a relationship cutting across the age-lines, such relationships (sex aside) requiring validation simply because of the extreme age-mate segregation in this culture.

17. There does not seem to be a characteristic pattern of neurotic symptoms found more often in the boy-loving adults known to me than in others.

18. Men so involved come from many different social strata and ethnic origins; as in conclusion #4, devout involvement in an orthodox religious denomination is rare, and the less such involvement and the further the departure from the lower middle class, the higher the amount of sexual activity.

19. Men who enter Greek love relationships and go as far as sexual involvement with their boyfriends are invariably capable of overt tenderness to a degree uncommon in this culture. No Mike Hammer types here.

20. I know of no instance of Greek love in which the man was

actively connected with the underworld, though conceivably such might exist.

21. In every case where the man and boy were forcibly separated (as in Chapter VIII), the effect of such disruption on the man was always a marked emotional disturbance, enough so as to exclude any possibility that for him the boy had been merely a convenient casual sex object.

The above fifteen case histories may not therefore “prove” anything, but they certainly illustrate, in considerable variety, the ways in which Greek love situations develop, with both the hazards and the benefits of such relationships. I believe that they also illustrate, better than can mere didactic description as in some earlier chapters, the principles I have been trying to enumerate: the ripening of friendship into love, the boy’s specific needs, the guidance aspect, the compatibility of Greek love with heterosexuality, the frequency with which the boy is the actual seducer, the variety of ways in which the sexual aspect develops (sometimes only years after the love relationship has begun), the genuinely reciprocal nature of Greek love, and its entitlement to the name of love even where sometimes the threshold between friendship and love is obscure. I think that as an illustration of the range and diversity of patterns, these fifteen cases are as nearly representative as could be adduced. (Though one may well ask if there is any such thing as a “typical” Greek love affair any more than there is a “typical” heterosexual love affair!) Contrary to the usual editorial requirement for writers of homosexual fiction, I have not shown any cases ending in death or prison. Though such may occur, I have no personal knowledge of any; the nearest I can recall is a young man who committed suicide over acute depression (in which his current girlfriend figured regrettably prominently) some years after having “graduated” from a Greek love situation. Those who go to prison—and again I have no personal knowledge of such individuals—are simply those who get caught, and I have no compelling reason to believe that the psychology of their relationships is much different from that of the luckier individuals. Even the distressing instances in Chapter VIII were not individuals caught in bed with their boyfriends. By far the largest numbers of arrests of homosexuals in major American cities, according to various attorneys and others speaking before Mattachine Society meetings, are for open solicitation in public places such as lavatories, theatres or parks.

Bergler would say, of course, that such individuals wanted to get caught, according to his theory that all homosexuals are psychic masochists. That many relationships, both of the androphile and the Greek

love kind, begin, continue for months or years, and end peacefully without coming to police attention, tends to throw some doubt on any such blanket generalization, no matter what degree of psychic masochism or punishment-seeking guilt may be found in those who court disaster by prowling in public places.

But then, Bergler also claims that there are no genuinely ambierotic individuals, only "homosexuals who may be capable of lustless mechanical sex with a woman." I find no need to make any such gratuitous unprovable assumption—it neither explains anything nor enables new valid conclusions to be drawn. I find no need to assume that the heterosexual relationships of the men or adolescents involved in Greek love are, then or later, "lustless" or "mechanical," any more than are those of individuals not so involved. Such thinking betrays a kind of all-or-none assumption to the effect that a person is A or B and that if he claims to be both he is merely B pretending to be A; just as if it were impossible to savor both meat and fish, or to enjoy both Mozart and Charlie Parker. The wives and girlfriends of Ralph, Richard, Claude, Ronnie, Barry, Harvey, Norm, Charles, Floyd, Howard and Kenneth, of the above case histories, among many others, have already given Bergler the horselaugh on this very point; and I would imagine that a woman would be in an excellent position to know if her husband or lover merely perfunctorily gave her "lustless, mechanical sex," or if he really enjoyed her in bed even as outside of it.

From the case histories in Chapter VIII, and from others known to me, and from theory earlier presented, one may tentatively generalize that the most formidable antagonist of all to the Greek lover is the type of woman known as the Philip Wylie *mom*, whether or not she is a biological parent of the boy involved; jealous, possessive, holding firmly to the umbilical apron strings which she has done her best to tie around the boy's neck, moralistic, obsessed with propriety and status regardless of the cost to anyone else in individual happiness or independence, she incarnates Mother Seredá^{143a} and Mrs. Grundy, and cloaks hostility and destructiveness under do-goodery.

By the time a boy is adolescent and therefore perhaps ripe for Greek love, his mother—fortunately not always a Wylie mom—has already moulded him to nearly the full extent possible for her. But her influence is being inevitably strongly modified by those of teachers and contemporaries in and out of the school. Of necessity, in this culture, her influence has to be for the first few years that of a trainer

and a domesticator, giving and withholding, at first without explanation—in short, a tamer, a “civilizing” force. The big pitfall for any mother, other than the culture-bound one of imparting a basic insecurity to her child by what Margaret Mead calls “conditional love” (“Mommy won’t love you if you do that”), is one indissolubly bound up in her socializing role. The time-binder par excellence, she transmits value-judgments and life-patterns and conformities from her own generation to the next, insuring as emphatically as possible that her offspring’s life will be in many important ways very much like the life to which she herself was accustomed. In this is the pitfall: in transmitting common life-patterns, she can unintentionally transmit the distortions and anxieties accompanying them; in transmitting conformities, she can transmit a fear of change or of questioning the status quo, a fear of modifying one’s responses according to changing circumstances; in transmitting value-judgments, she can transmit false or distorted evaluations, and all too often she—together with teachers and authors of books aimed at her offspring—will transmit the Social Lie, insuring the child’s eventual disillusionment, discovery that mommy isn’t always right or even reliable, and the consequent rebellion.

And it is exactly this feature which is exaggerated to ludicrous (but withal tragic) distortion in the Wylie mom; and it is exactly this rebellion which the Wylie mom tries to quell in her attempts to restore the status quo. And it is the same rebellion that is tacitly or even overtly encouraged by the Greek lover. Insofar as he helps his boyfriend to grow up, to be an individual in his own right, he is setting himself—and the boy—into polar opposition to the Wylie mom (whether mother, aunt, grandmother, teacher or social worker). This conflict is very deeply rooted in this culture; I do not know how it can be resolved save by wholesale cultural changes. Possibly we may have to go back and learn more of the surprising truth about how the Greeks regarded women.

Supplementary Notes. Unfortunately, quite a number of rather important questions remain unanswered, and I can only hope that subsequent research enables someone to find reliable answers. I cite a few of these questions here:

1. What kind of people are the adults who get involved in Greek love? Are there any common patterns, even if no uniformities? Any characteristic neuroses?

2. Are they often individuals who themselves were recipients of

Greek love in their own boyhood days? (The case histories available to me indicate that in most cases they are not, but I hesitate to generalize.)

3. Do they ever become the super-healthy "self-actualizers" that Maslow describes? Is there any particular limitation on mental health imposed by Greek love?

4. Is Greek love something that frequently gets outgrown in later years? (The adults known to me ranged from 20 to 63 years of age.)

5. What relation is there between Greek love and possessiveness or jealousy? Do recipients of Greek love learn to love their own wives in a nonjealous fashion, or do they slip into the common double standard, or something in between? (My information on the boys involved does not permit generalization; they appear nonjealous but sometimes jealousy may be concealed, not coming to the surface save in stress situations luckily as yet spared these boys.)

6. Similarly, are adult Greek lovers jealous about their boys, wives or girlfriends? (Information available to me tends to indicate that they are less often overtly jealous than, say, the average Southern White He-Man, but then I do not know how they would behave in stress situations. Generalizations here would be unwarranted.)

7. Or are adult Greek lovers chronically promiscuous, not really becoming involved with any one woman? (This is difficult to answer, as there is often confusion between "playing the field" in search of a stable commitment and actual promiscuity, which I define—after Goodman—as basic indifference to the identity or individuality of one's partner so long as he or she fills one's need for immediate warmth, etc., without demanding the effort of actually working into a relationship.)

8. In sexually permissive societies which sanction patterns analogous to Greek love, is there any built-in sexual distortion, or set of other restrictive taboos, e.g. on certain sexual techniques? Are these societies characterized by more love and tenderness than modern America?

9. Is there such a phenomenon as an adolescent who is so self-sufficient that he does not need any of the benefits which Greek love might provide? If so, will he enter willingly into the National Game, or seek heterosexual satisfaction in some other way, and with what motivations?

10. Is the heterosexual behavior of Greek love people actually a coverup for a deep fear of women? If so, is this more true of them than of other people? The protagonist in Tesch's *Never The Same Again* is clearly insecure with women; is such insecurity commoner

in Greek love people than others, and is it one reason for adults turning toward boys?

11. Data available to me suggest that unsophisticated, culture-bound and clergy-ridden strata of common man are especially rare among Greek lovers. Can this be confirmed by Sex Research Institute data?

12. How about the frequency of Greek love, with or without sex play, by clergymen of the various faiths? How are these affairs handled? Is the benefit to the youngsters different in kind or degree?

13. How much of a parallel to Greek love is discernible in Celtic fosterage, or in the relations between knights and squires, masters and apprentices (especially, e.g., in Elizabethan companies of actors), noblemen and pages, cowboys and their sidekicks, captains or older seamen and cabin-boys, etc.? Fictional representations (cf. the rare unexpurgated version of James Hanley's *Boy*, and various stories by Saikaku Ihara, etc.) may represent wishful thinking or guesswork rather than familiarity with common patterns.

14. Do such social parallels or counterparts to Greek love, or actual social sanctions for Greek love, invariably imply a social stratum in which women are scarce or kept at home, and why? (In at least some instances the *mise-en-scène* is that of young male trainees taking part with others in strenuous, adventurous or even dangerous occupations, to a certain extent as a trial of their own capabilities.)

15. If so, is this state of affairs a cause or an excuse for the development of Greek love? Were plenty of women available, would these men be so ready to discover the attractions of these adolescents?

16. To what extent, if any, has the presence of "handsome hunks of teen-age trade" as sidekicks of comic book heroes, especially Robin in the Batman series, made youngsters more accessible to Greek love relationships? (I think I could make a good case for claiming that the Batman & Robin comic books are aimed partly at adults who find teen-agers attractive, but mostly at youngsters in the full flush of their early-adolescent hero-worship stage, youngsters for whom a Greek love relationship would not be alien but in fact welcome. But I question to what extent this would be true for other comic book heroes' sidekicks: not often is any affection indicated between hero and youngster save for occasional life-saving episodes, whereas Robin seems as necessary to Batman's exploits as vice versa. This was still more blatant in the Batman series published before the regime of the prudish Comics Code Authority.)

17. What about the ethnic and rural vs. urban sociology of Greek love? How much bias is introduced by the fact that most of

the instances in my observation have been educated urban individuals of other than negro or oriental ancestry? I have heard of a classical instance of Greek love between a farmer and his apprentice in a mid-western state, tolerated by the community as a quasi father-and-son relationship; is this a common pattern?

18. What about the reports that the transient or migrant workers called hoboes often enter into quasi Greek love relationships with teen-aged runaways? Is this actual Greek love or merely casual association for sex in exchange for food and shelter? What happens to the youngsters? Do they stay with the hobo life and perpetuate the pattern with other boys, or indulge in homosexual relations with other adult hoboes when they themselves grow up, or return to urban society and become heterosexual?

19. What about the street-corner boys who engage in casual sex with lonely men for money?⁸⁴ How often does the casual sex (with or without blackmail, etc.^{85,144}) metamorphose into actual Greek love? My observation would seem to indicate that such boys have less chance of meeting sympathetic adults than do boys of other social strata where such meetings are facilitated by common membership in settlement houses, hobby clubs, etc., validating the development of friendships for other than merely sexual reasons.

20. What relationship, if any, does the presence or absence of early preadolescent or adolescent sex play with one's contemporaries have in making a boy willing to indulge in similar sex play with a man in a Greek love situation? Can Friedenberg's claim that this is rare among boys who grow up to adult-type homosexuality⁹³ be proved? D. W. Cory has told me of instances of young men completely repressing all memory of such early sex play and indignantly denying any such experience in process of rejecting later homosexual propositions even from their former sexual playmates (cf. the dénouement of Vidal's *The City and the Pillar*). Does this type of repression ever occur following a Greek love relationship?

The problems outlined above and remaining unsolved can provide material for any number of sociological, anthropological and psychological Ph.D. dissertations. One can only hope that the research will be conducted in a non-moralizing manner.¹⁴⁵

PART TWO

History and Literature

"If we knew nothing at all about Taoism, we could still reconstruct from Chinese Sung painting what the Taoist felt about man and nature . . .

When a civilization has lived in terms of a certain image of man, we can see this image in its art; sometimes this image is present even when it was never articulated in thought, the artist in this way anticipating the philosopher."

—WILLIAM BARRETT: *Irrational Man*, 52-53.

ARGUMENT: *The attitudes common in past and present cultures towards love, and particularly towards Greek love, can be deduced more accurately from the literature and art having this as its theme than from the legal codes relating to sexual practices. Over the past three thousand years, the literature and art relating to Greek love have varied in much the same manner as have those relating to other manifestations of love. Were Greek love merely a sub rosa special interest like sadomasochism or transvestism, one would not expect this to be the case, and the erotica of flagellation, bondage, and related sadomasochistic themes in fact do not vary greatly over the centuries; whereas with Greek love, the parallels to heterosexual love, as expressed in art and literature, remain remarkably close throughout the cultural mainstream here under study (Greek, Roman, medieval and modern Europe and America). The shifts in attitudes to both heterosexual love and Greek love have come as part of much larger-scale cultural changes (matrism to patrism and vice versa). Material favorable to Greek love is apparently at a maximum in quantity and quality in matrist periods when material favorable to heterosexual love is also high in quantity and quality. Material favorable to Greek love becomes much more sparse and often of low quality in periods when hetero-*

sexual love itself is denigrated. Distortions in attitudes in either reflect themselves in similar distortions in the other. The parallels are so detailed as to provide ample confirmation in fact for the hypotheses earlier discussed according to which Greek love appears as a particular manifestation of a much broader main stream of love, rather than anything comparable to a fad or a kind of fetishism.

ALTHOUGH TRACES OF THE THEME OF MALE LOVE IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER appear in all major civilizations of which any literary or artistic traces remain to us, as well as in many smaller or less important cultures, the line of influence important to the present study—specifically of boy-love rather than of homosexual love between adults—runs from Hellas through Rome, medieval Europe, and later Europe and America to the present day.

The special contribution of Greece, namely the explicit tie-in of boy-love with the ethical aim of “kalokagathía”—global excellence, fine mind in fine body—appears, so far as we know, among the Doric-speaking tribes sometimes around the 8th or 7th century B.C., there being treated by poets as something already accepted, even as an institution. It continued to develop and, apparently, to become more common, until well into the Periclean period, manifesting itself differently in the different city-states. In Sparta, boy-love was explicitly exploited for purposes of military morale, a boy’s “inspirer” (this being the literal meaning of the term applied to his older lover or guide-companion-friend) being held publicly responsible for the boy’s conduct in Sparta itself and in foreign wars. In Attica its aim, on the other hand, was more or less openly to prepare boys for public life, to show them how one should behave in society (by example rather than precept). Its effect was to reduce alienation between adolescents and the adult world—perhaps to abolish it. Insofar as the so-called “gnomic” verses of Theognis (including hundreds of lines of advice directed by the poet to his wayward boyfriend Kyrnos), and the *Iliad* with its celebration of the love between Achilles and Patroklos, formed part of every schoolboy’s training, the association between a boy’s further education and passionate love between him and a

man could not be forgotten. Boys knew what to expect, and it was up to them to accept or reject would-be suitors.

Greeks talked freely about their love-relationships with boys in much the same manner as they talked about their love-relationships with girls. (Kimon Friar tells me that the same thing is still true in modern Greece; there are no "gay bars.") The important difference between the affairs with boys and those with girls was the status change attending marriage. A girl once married took on thereafter a full-time role and was considered to have no further time for public life other than religious rituals; she was not "subjugated," but on the contrary was head of the household (the *gynaikonitis* or women's quarters including all the non-public functions of a home). A Greek man's entourage often would include a *hetaira* or a boyfriend (or both) as well as a wife; the *hetaira* and boyfriend occasionally lived with him, but more often would have their own homes. These fulfilled different needs in the man's life and in general one was not expected to feel a conflict among the several loves.

Courtship of boys by men resembles in many respects courtship of girls, whether these were *hetairai* or nonprofessional girls. *Hetairai*, unlike the usual prostitutes (*pornai*), accepted presents and lived on them, or lived as long-time guests of their patrons, but they did not usually make specific charges for their time or their favors; the class distinction was fairly sharp and this was one of its manifestations. In the same way it was accepted and even expected that a suitor would bring presents to a boy he was courting (such as pets, or ceramic vessels personalized with the boy's name and *KALOS*, "beautiful," etc.), or give presents to his steady boyfriend during the tenure of the relationship. But it was considered a disgrace for a boy to demand a particular amount of money; explicit prostitution was scorned because it falsified and commercialized a relationship which was originally intended to be one of love.

The relationship between man and boy might be brief, if the boy became dissatisfied with the man, or it might last seven or eight years. Ordinarily the boy became desirable as a sexual object at the onset of puberty or shortly afterwards, when he came into "bloom" (see Chapter VI), and he was said to become a man (therefore ready for marriage and outgrowing the role of man's love-object) when he developed coarse hair on trunk, buttocks and thighs. Traditionally a boy was "ripe for love" at 15, and the man was supposed to be not more than 40; but in practice these limits were stretched greatly. Some boys came into bloom at 12, and the story goes that the poet Pindar died, age 79, in his boyfriend's arms at the gymnasium at Argos.

Sexual techniques in use in Greece were described in Chapter VI, above, except that oral-genital contact was frowned on.

When the Roman armies conquered Greece and Greek-speaking regions, this coarse horde of patrist peasants-turned-soldiers did not in any sense continue (let alone develop) the Greek ideals. True, they continued the separation of *erōs*, *philia* and *storgē* that was characteristic of Greece, but they held women in a much lower status than had the Greeks; the father was now absolute master of his family, holding the power of life and death over wife and children. Greek love was unknown in the Roman empire except among the small minority of educated Hellenists, who continued to read the old masters and pass on their ideals to boyfriends and pupils. Occasionally the teacher in a Roman school would be a Greek slave, but Roman education was brutal and utilitarian; Rome was all, the individual was nothing, *kalokagathía* was dead, patrist orientation emphasized almost exclusively the masculine virtues of heroism, endurance, etc., in an environment in which battle was frequent and pain and death an everyday occurrence. Soft or effeminate males, i.e. those less masculine than their fellows, became objects of scorn, and it was no disgrace to dishonor them by raping them. (However, for a man willingly to take a so-called feminine role in bed was enough to get satirists busy spreading derisive jingles about him all over the city.) A Roman male might have a "concubinus"—a boy with whom he went to bed, usually a slave—but in no sense was such a boy the recipient of anything like Greek love; the sensual element was dominant. The nearest thing to a cult of Greek love in the Roman Empire was the Antinoüs religion founded by the Hellenist emperor Hadrian. And as Greek classical education gradually disappeared, so did Greek love, even in the outlying provinces . . . an early instance of the generalization that the ups and downs of Greek love are closely tied up with the vicissitudes of classical education.

By and large, Rome was a singularly loveless society. A Roman "loved"—in a manner of speaking—Rome, his wife, and his children, in about that order; but the term "love" covered a grim clinging to status relationship and moral principles. Tenderness was virtually absent; and one had one's fun outside, as burlesqued in Petronius's *Satyricon*. The cruelty and indifference to individual needs was perhaps understandable for a perpetually militarized, on-guard society; but this does not make it excusable.

Christianity, in rejecting Roman cruelties and Roman sensualities, gave what seemed to be the *coup de grâce* to Greek love as well, in that the Christian ascetics made no distinction whatever between

the Greek love of the developing individual and the Roman brutalities. The asceticism was consistent with the common Christian belief that Judgment Day would be coming very shortly (giving the cruel Romans their deserved eternity in hell, and their Christian victims their eternity in heaven—getting their revenge by watching the tortures of the damned). If one believed in a just-around-the-corner Judgment Day, two alternatives were possible depending on one's belief in an afterlife: one might seek pleasure, or one might spend one's entire time preparing to meet God, and the Christians insisted on the necessity of the latter. This was understandable enough. But the body-hating fanaticism of St. Paul, to make matters far worse, became assimilated to some similar idiocies from Manichaeism and similar ascetic cults, the Neoplatonism of Philo Judaeus, etc. And still worse, Christianity in this hideous form eventually became a state religion. Laws promptly followed, working far-reaching changes in sexual and other aspects of Roman society; the decline and collapse of Roman civilization—and with it what little was left of the Greek—followed. Though one cannot blame this entirely on Christianity, nevertheless this religion's role was quite marked.

Kalokagathía was dead, and with it Greek love. The superstitious Emperor Justinian blamed on boy-lovers (and homosexuals of all kinds) catastrophes such as earthquakes, famines, plagues, barbarian invasions, and he made edicts punishing such individuals by death with torture. The code of Emperor Justinian, insofar as it so harshly penalized male love, remained in force in Europe until the time of Napoleon, and in England until more recent decades. (See Chapter III.) Greek manuscripts were preserved by Byzantine monks and transmitted to the Arabs. (Significantly, the Arabs translated many of them, and boy-love became a prominent feature of Moslem culture.) Arabic translations of Greek writings gradually reached medieval Europe.

Education was still pretty thoroughly monopolized by the monasteries. Intelligent children were dragged off to them at an early age and found themselves, too often, bound by vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, which they had taken while still too young to fully realize the implications. To an increasing degree, particularly after the eleventh century, they began to resent this. Many began to leave the monasteries, ostensibly on permissible pilgrimages, but increasingly often to wander throughout Europe, sometimes as brief guests of other monasteries or local farms, sometimes (particularly if they could sing, dance, make verses, play musical instruments, juggle, or entertain in any other way) from feudal manor to feudal manor, from court to

court, bearing news, gossip, rumors and diversions of all kinds, in exchange for meals, wine and occasional chances at the local girls. These wandering monks, by the 12th century, had rebelled against the churchly idea that the world was evil and our life by right is and must remain a valley of tears. They rediscovered for themselves the beauty of nature and the beauty of the local boys and girls, and their lyric poetry shows it. The rebellion even went so far as to occasion the growth of a burlesque monastic order, the *Ordo Vagorum*, sometimes called also the Sect of Decius, Goliards, or Wandering Scholars, though more often execrated as "Gyrovagi"—nomads, the term of abuse being somewhat comparable to "Beatnik!" but even more derogatory. Many of the Wandering Scholars were popularly reputed to be boy-lovers, though this may have been merely another of the common abusive epithets heaped on them. Hilarius "of England," pupil of Abélard, whose poems show him to have been a goliard, actually did write love verses to his boyfriends, verses of unashamed passion; something decidedly unusual for the 12th century. Later on, Provençal troubadours and French trouvères, often following a way of life akin to that of the goliards, started the strange fad of "courtly love," composing love-poems of great intensity addressed to unattainable noblewomen; the unearthly love there celebrated had overtones of mysticism, representing in many instances the love between man and an equally unattainable God. Some troubadours loved boys; Dante put two in hell for that reason. (Taylor, 92-3.) Some theorize that the Sufiist (Arabic and Persian) love-poems addressed to boys, and the later Renaissance sonnet cycles similarly addressed to boys, may have had a similar mystical symbolic meaning, and there is some reason for the belief that the Renaissance sonnet cycles may have represented a sort of turning inside-out of the courtly love ideal. In all these the gender of the love-object was less important, it seems, than the combination of beauty and innocence. But often the sensual content was too obvious to be ignored.

Be this as it may, with the Renaissance rediscovery of Roman writings, and thereafter of Greek, literate people found it fashionable to ape the ancients in every way they could. And so they rediscovered boy-love (and, to a certain extent, *kalokagathía*); and poems became full of classical references—often enough to Jove and Ganymede, Hercules and Hylas, etc. The poems might be rationalized as imitations of Theokritos or of Virgil's Second Eclogue, etc., but they were often frankly passionate and evidently sometimes acted out. The imitation of the Romans, fortunately, did not extend to lowering the status of women; rather, as Rattray Taylor points out, this was a

matrist period, and there were women of great renown for intellectual ability as well as beauty, though I do not think that they were explicitly called hetairai.

Kings had their favourites; noblemen their pages and minions; Leonardo's studio included several beautiful boys, some of whom served as models for female beauty as well as for male; and the young adolescent in bloom, with often a skin texture and coloring suggesting a girl, became a favored type for young saints, angels, etc. Similarly, boys whose voices had not yet cracked took female roles in dramas, exactly as in China and Japan, and as in ancient Greece. These boy-actors had their coteries of fans, even as did the castrati in later centuries, and names such as Kynaston, Dicky Robinson, Nat Field, are famous in the history of the theatre.

In England, the Puritan reign of terror closed theatres, dispersed actors, and almost killed off arts and secular literature for 18 years. The effects of this patrist recrudescence, though violently reacted against in the Restoration period, have remained with us to the present day; pleasure of all kinds has been more restricted and more guilt-contaminated than it was before 1642. And to this barbarian distortion we may attribute such distasteful developments as the flagello-mania of the 18th and early 19th centuries, the defloration mania, etc.

On the Continent, the religious wars had a similar, though less severe, effect. Granted that the Lutheran and Calvinist reformers were more moralistic than the Roman Catholic church which they were attempting to destroy, nevertheless the Counter-Reformation movement seems in retrospect to have made churchly practices more puritanical than before. Jansenism was condemned as heretical, but its influence was never extirpated. Southern Europe seems to have been less affected than other regions.

Kings continued to have their favourites, and in some circles boy-love achieved tacit recognition. The rise of opera after Monteverdi made both possible and desirable the use of vocal virtuosi. A need of epicene voices for the roles of mythological heroes, etc., led to the use not only of boys and countertenors, but also of highly trained castrati, a popular Italian export. These fantastic vocalists got their coteries of admirers, male and female. Pornographic literature became big business, and included homosexual materials as well as heterosexual. Rocco's *Alcibiade, fanciullo a scola*, long attributed to Pallavicino, went through two editions; this book was practically a set of lessons on how to obtain a boy's consent to a love affair. In France, public opinion seems to have become somewhat more liberal, and the Encyclopedists' activities helped. Early in the Revolution, erotic

literature included (for apparently the first time in history) open acceptance of oral-genital sexual positions. The Terror was apparently only a brief setback; the Code Napoléon (1804) included no penalties for male love save when "public decency" was violated, or force used, or when one partner was too young to consent. An encyclopedia published in Leipzig in 1837 actually included a long article on boy-love.¹⁵

In England, however, boy-love never again attained the popularity it formerly enjoyed under the Tudors, partly because the taboo on anal intercourse was strengthened first by the Puritans and later by the Wesleyan reformers, partly because of anti-Turkish prejudice. There was evidently some tolerance, otherwise *The Relapse* and *Roderick Random* might never have seen public print. Byron's *Memoir*, which might have done something to combat the taboo, regrettably was burnt; but George Colman the younger, who had seen it, issued under Byron's name (1823-36), the *Don Leon* poems which were a frank polemic. Beckford's *Vathek* remained little known. Passionate friendships at public schools were tacitly acknowledged but anyone getting caught at physical expression of them was punished. The so-called "English method" (see Chapter VI) and oral techniques increasingly supplanted anal intercourse.

Wesleyan-dominated Victorian England nevertheless saw the development of a curious cult of boy-love, especially in the Anglican clergy. It is likely that *Don Leon* (2nd edition, 1866) and *Leaves of Grass* helped to trigger this off, along with publication of increasingly comprehensive editions of Greek poetry, some only lately discovered, and the appearance in the 1860's of Ulrichs's polemical pamphlets. Quantities of outspoken sentimental verses got into print and the reviews ranged from guarded to enthusiastic. A coterie of Victorian paidophilic poetasters (the "Calamites") formed, and as in many such circles, their published writings developed ingroupish cross-references. In the meantime Verlaine's affair with Rimbaud became notorious, and various writers attempted to refute Ulrichs, without much success.

In the 1890's the movement reached a kind of apogee with publication—by the British equivalent of the Government Printing Office!—of *The Chameleon*, Oxford undergraduate magazine subtly unified by the theme of boy-love. To it Oscar Wilde (already a hero to the boy-lovers) contributed. Unfortunately, Wilde's disastrous connection with Lord Alfred Douglas—ironically, well over 21 then—resulted in court trials, in which *The Chameleon* figured, and in imprisonment and total ruin. The boy-loving coterie had its first martyr of inter-

national significance, and its first political setback: for up to then, its output had begun to seem almost respectable though sometimes a little decadent.

But it was not a fatal setback. Whitman's fame multiplied enormously; Symonds's writings, including his posthumously published studies of Greek boy-love and modern homosexuality, reached wide circulation; Edward Carpenter popularized Ulrichs, though regrettably and dishonestly denying the sexual element; Stefan George contributed increasingly explicit poems, many of them centering around his cult of Maximin, a sort of latter-day Antinoüs. The George-Kreis (about which a book-length study could be written) exerted enormous influence. The Reverend E. E. Bradford's books of extremely outspoken Calamite verse got rave notices in little literary reviews and metropolitan newspapers. Even Thomas Mann touched on the subject, though delicately and for symbolic purposes, in *Death in Venice*.

Despite this increasing literary awareness of Greek love, however, the movement to make it seem a common and recognized part of human life (as in Greece and Elizabethan England and Renaissance Italy) suffered grave political damage, perhaps less at the hands of puritans than at the hands of some other sexual law reform movements and of educators. No matter how much the remaining Calamites emphasized Greek love and its educational value as proven in Greek literature, classical education's decline rendered that literature less and less often a part of higher education. And during the same period—from the Wilde trials until the rise of Hitler—the sexual reform movement on the Continent (presumably realizing that pleas to legalize Greek love would get nowhere) began to emphasize almost exclusively the plight of inverters as an innocent and unjustly persecuted minority having female souls in male bodies. Havelock Ellis added his enormous influence to this Ulrichs-Symonds-Carpenter school of thought, devoting a whole book to inversion. Even Freud showed the influence of these ideas. Eventually they filtered down to later psychiatric thought and the general public. Magnus Hirschfeld's Institute collected and published data of incalculable value, giving scientific respectability to the movement. Homosexual undergrounds—not merely inverters—regarded themselves as belonging to something like a racial minority and linked themselves with the sex reform movement. Success seemed in sight—but in 1933 the rise of Hitler crushed sexual law reform in Germany, and its guiding figures were scattered. And the antiquated punitive laws still remain in force.

The result has been that homosexual behavior has tended more and more to consist of androphilia, a search for mature masculine

sex objects. To a certain extent this represents homosexuals' buying the propaganda line that they are a "third sex" (despite psychoanalytic rejection of this thesis, and its eventual abandonment by other scholars); to a certain extent it is the homosexual organizations' answer to the perennial smear about their "corrupting the youth of the nation." Greek love, no longer supported by classical education and familiarity with Greek literature, has in truth become—in Alfred Douglas's prophetic words—"the love that dare not speak its name." And while, as always, many homosexual pairs live their lives in respectable secrecy, masculinity-renouncing effeminate queens—many calling themselves inverts—have gained a measure of respect in some circles: an *inversion* indeed of Greek ideals. And how ironic that many of them justify themselves by appealing to Greece!

But ever so subtly, and without reference to the continuing "third sex" propaganda, the theme of Greek love is returning. Items like the Gerald Tesch novel *Never the Same Again*, and certain recent films, and Roger Gellert's play *Quaint Honour*, are definite harbingers. To these might well be added the increasing frequency of beautiful young adolescents in physical culture magazines, and the still more rapidly increasing frequency of the same kind of boys in advertisements.

It is, nevertheless, still moot whether increasingly puritanical laws in some regions of the U.S.A. will win out, or whether the gradually burgeoning post-Kinsey sexual reform movement will succeed. If the former, we may dread another patrist epoch with heterosexual love likewise being denigrated. If the sexual reformers succeed, however, we may look forward to another matrist period with—if Taylor is right—desirable consequences in the fine arts; the penal laws on sex will, under those circumstances, perhaps not be explicitly repealed, but they will most likely become unenforceable. Speed the day. . . .

IN ANCIENT GREECE

THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT IS DRAWN LARGELY FROM THE DETAILED researches in Müller,¹⁴⁶ Meier,¹⁵ Symonds¹⁴⁷ and Licht.¹⁴⁸ Bowra's *The Greek Experience* devotes little space to the topic (39-41 and part of Chapter V) and mainly tends to confirm Symonds while adding almost nothing new, but confirmation from a scholar of such high renown as Bowra is nevertheless of value. Citations from the Greek are in my own translation, unless otherwise noted, and they are of necessity held to a minimum in the present volume. A sequel, *Literature and Art of Greek Love*, will provide more abundant documentation.

1. "Homer" and the Heroic Age. For the purposes of this study, I accept the conclusions of Rhys Carpenter¹⁴⁹ and Richmond Lattimore,¹⁵⁰ to the effect that the final redactor ("Homer") of the oral epic material which has come down to us as the *Iliad* worked sometime in the 7th century B.C. from materials which were then much older but by no means contemporaneous with the events described in the poem. The epic material was intended primarily for oral declamation, and it reflects the customs and outlook of Heroic Age tribes rather than those of Mykēnai (Mycenae) or other representatives of late Minoan civilization.

"Homer" worked principally by selecting and arranging material from what may have been a much larger epic cycle. The *Iliad*, instead of chronicling the ten years of the Trojan War in full, concentrates on the tragedy of Achilles. Though not conforming to the Aristotelian laws, nevertheless it does qualify as tragedy. Achilles is unquestionably a tragic hero: he is a supreme warrior, of semi-divine status, but nevertheless meets his crushing blow (the death of his friend

Patroklos) by reason of his tragic flaw—wrath, resulting in his refusal to accept the “restoration by Agamemnon of the slave-girl over whom the quarrel had begun in the first place. The terrifying results are consequences of choices he, Achilles, had freely made.

Though the theme of boy-love does not enter as such into the *Iliad*, nevertheless “Homer” figures in the present study precisely because the later Greeks believed, on dubious grounds, that Achilles and Patroklos were lover and beloved, either Achilles being the older and Patroklos the boyfriend (as Aeschylus suggests in extant fragments of his lost tragedy, *The Myrmidons*) or vice versa (as Plato’s *Symposium*, speech of Phaidros, 179E ff, suggests). *Iliad* XXIII, 84-90, is too ambiguous. No passage in the *Iliad* gives any reliable clue to the ages of Achilles and Patroklos. All the vase-paintings representing Achilles are naturally of later date than “Homer,” but they mostly show him bearded, one exception being a red-figured kylix in Berlin, illustrated by Licht (S.G. II, 126). That both Achilles and Patroklos slept with women captured in Lesbos and Skyros (*Iliad* IX, 663 ff) proves nothing: either or both could have been adults or teen-aged males. Should any more fragments of the post-Homeric “Epic Cycle” or “Cyclic Poems” turn up, we might find an early view—one perhaps only a generation or two beyond “Homer”—of the relationship. But for the moment, “Homer” provides us with no evidence whatever concerning boy-love in the pre-Hellenic era.

In the absence of reliable evidence, however, we have nothing to proceed on save later Greek guesses.¹⁵¹ These are partisan, as I shall show below. The oral epic materials certainly do not make a great show of emphasizing tender passion between Achilles and Patroklos, or later between Achilles and Antilochos, or between any of the pairs of heroes in *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. Boy-love is certainly hinted at in the references to Zeus and Ganymede (*Iliad* XX, 231 ff; cf. V, 266), which allusions take it for granted that the hearers know the Ganymede story well and therefore need no extensive mention of it in the epic. (It is certainly unwise to assume these to be later interpolations.) The Oriental practices alluded to in *Odyssey* XIV, 297 and XV, 449 are certainly regarded as unusual, as alien, non-Achaian.

The oral epic originated, therefore, in an age in which boy-love in the later Greek sense had hardly developed, and in any event was not as paramount in religious, ethical, military or educational importance as it later became. Instead, a reasonable minimal view might be that Achilles and Patroklos were soldier buddies writ large, and

that their love for each other, literally boyhood friends in the shadow of death, had possibly some *erōs* with certainly a great deal of *philia* and *storgē*, in an age in which wives were left home to take care of the young, *hetairai* were a rare peacetime luxury, *pornai* or camp-followers served mainly physical needs, and female captives (whether formerly slave or free) were held as little more than *pornai*. Nevertheless, this love between soldier buddies was obviously very intense, and the very intensity of it (emphasized by its being in the shadow of death: clinging to a companion in such extreme circumstances is perhaps less understandable to someone who has not experienced it) played some role in the later development of the ethic of boy-love in Hellas.

In short, it was not considered inconsistent with manly virtues, with heroism, with all-round excellence, for a young man to acknowledge openly his love for a fellow-soldier, in terms far more extravagant than those found in the blandishments of young men for girls. Nor was it considered a mark of effeminacy for him to weep and carry on in an unrestrained orgy of grief at the loss of such a beloved companion. (There are plenty of World War II counterparts to this, where a soldier would display conspicuous bravery on the battlefield, but on finding his buddy dead beside him would break down and bawl like a baby: personal, immediate emotional support seems to be necessary for carrying out one's duties in combat without developing severe intrapsychic strain.) Granted these things, and granted that the *Iliad* became part of every schoolboy's education, a bible, a textbook in How to Behave, the association between acceptable standards of manliness and passionate friendship was almost an inevitable outcome.

Of particular interest in this connection, for both the ethical reasons above mentioned and the psychological reasons hinted at in the preceding paragraph, is the *Iliad* material on Achilles's mourning for Patroklos, where (and only where) his love is admitted in full intensity. I leave open the question of how conscious this love was before the actual loss occurred, how aware either party was that it had developed to this degree of intensity.

The translations of "Homer" which follow attempt to give some impression of the metre, but should be read quantitatively (*prolong* the accented syllables). I acknowledge the help of F. H. in their preparation.

(Antilochos, son of Nestor and close friend of Achilles, has just broken the news of Patroklos's heroic death, the quarrel over the miraculous suit of armor and Hektor's bearing the latter away.)

. . . Grief's black cloud closed in on Achilles.
 Clutching with both hands the dark dust, over his fair hair
 he poured it,
 smirched all the charm of his fair face; black ash
 covered his tunic.
 He himself now outstretched, grand in the dirt in his
 grandeur,
 ravaged his hair, with his hands ripped. Female slaves
 they had captured,
 wailing in loud grief, ran out the doors round greatheart
 Achilleus,
 beating their breasts with their hands, knees down low,
 loosened, fainting.
 At Achilles's side wailed Antilochos, shedding salt tears,
 groaning at heart while he held Achilles's hands, for
 he feared lest his
 friend might cut his throat with his sword. Then loud
 howled Achilles . . .

(*Il. XVIII, 22-34*)

(Achilleus's mother Thetis, the sea-nymph, heard her son's lamenting, came up from the sea to comfort him, and pointed out how the Achaian losses were the work of Zeus and ultimately the result of Achilleus's own prayer. Achilleus's reply follows:)

" . . . But what pleasure do I get? Patroklos my comrade
 is dead,
 dearest companion, worth more than all others, worth
 my own life,
 Lost! I have lost him . . ."

(*Il. XVIII, 80-83*)

(The mourning continues into the next night. Achilles falls asleep and the ghost of Patroklos appears to him, asking him to bury his bones as soon as possible, with proper rites; and after prophesying Achilles's own soon-to-come death, asks that Achilles's own bones be buried side by side with Patroklos's and a single urn—Thetis's gift—hold the ashes of both. Achilles replies:)

Then spoke Achilles swift-footed: "O why have you
 come here, dear comrade,
 giving commands in such detail? Of course I will do
 all you say. But
 stand close to me, let us throw our arms round each
 other—if just for

only a moment—and take our full satisfaction in
grieving.”
Thusly he spoke, and he reached out—but he could
not grasp the spirit,
for it was gone like a smoke-wisp, under the ground
with a faint wail . . .

(*Il.* XXIII, 93-101)

(After barbaric but extremely impressive funeral rites, Achilles attempts to light the funeral pyre of Patroklos, in vain. But it must be lit if Patroklos's spirit is to be appeased and permitted to cross over the Styx. Achilles then prays to the two winds Boreas and Zephyros, north and west, to come to his aid, and his prayer is heard.)

Then two winds with awesome sound rose up, and they
drove all
clouds in confusion before them. They came on the
sea blowing whistling
blasts, and they roused up the waves. They came down
on Troy of the rich soil,
fell on the funeral pyre, and loud roared the noise
of the blaze as it
rose upward, dreadful and huge. And all night long
the two blasts screamed,
piling up flame; and all night long swift-footed
Achilleus
dipped wine out of a gold mixing bowl with a two-
handled cup, and he
poured it around on the ground, drenching the soil
with the wine, as he
called to the ghost of the wretched Patroklos. And
just as a father
mourns as he burns up the bones of a son who died
newly-wed to the
grief of his family, so mourned wretched Achilleus as
he burned the
bones of his friend, and groaning he dragged himself
round the pyre.

(*Il.* XXIII, 211-225)

(Nor did Achilleus's grief end with the burial:)

Only Achilleus wept still, remembering his long loved
companion,
nor did sleep all-subduing seize him; but turning
now this way, now

that way in yearning, longing for Patroklos's strength
and his manhood.
Much they had gone through, much they had suffered in
battles and hardship,
crossing the seas of anguish together. Remembering
all this
he let fall swelling tears, lying now on his sides,
now on his back,
now prone, face to the ground; then soon upright he
would stand, pacing
round back and forth along the seashore . . .

(*Il.* XXIV, 3-12)

Licht is right: "all this is language of love, not friendship."¹⁵² Other passages could be cited as well, e.g. *Il.* XVIII, 314-343; XIX, 314 ff.

This prolonged and immoderate wailing and weeping would be frowned on today as childish or womanish, as certainly unmasculine, immature, indecently exaggerated, and a lot of other pejoratives. (Jewish funerals with their hired mourners and their open wailing often strike nonparticipants as grotesque.) But recent psychiatric testimony tends to confirm that exactly this sort of wild mourning is in fact much more mature, much more healthy than the stoic and repressed practice common in English-speaking lands; getting the sorrow and agony out of one's system in this way enables one to return afterwards to normal life with minimal residual tension. Goodman, alluding to tantrums in contrast to the so-called "mature" lip-biting silence, says of the former,

"It offends the adult audience because of their repression of the similar tantrum, not because of the sound and fury but because of the unconscious distraction. What is here called maturity is likely neurosis. But if we think of the adults of Greek epic or tragedy or of Biblical Genesis and Kings, we notice that they—not undistinguished for their intellect or sense of responsibility—do indeed carry on in a most infantile manner."¹⁵³

And,

"A loved one dies; there is a sad conflict between intellectual acceptance on the one hand and desires and memories on the other; the average man tries to distract himself, but the superior man obeys the signal and engages himself in the suffering, calls up the past, sees his present hopelessly frustrated; he cannot imagine what to do now that the bottom has fallen out of everything; the grief, confusion and suffering are prolonged, for

there is much to be destroyed and annihilated and much to be assimilated, and during this time he must not go about his unimportant business, deliberately suppressing the conflict. Finally the mourning-labor is complete and the person is changed, he assumes a creative disinterest; at once new interests become dominant.”¹⁵⁴

And so in the *Odyssey* Achilleus is spoken of as making Antilochos his buddy now that Patroklos is gone (*Od.* XXIV, 78; and cf. III, 109; XI, 467; XXIV, 15).

Here as elsewhere, apparently, the Greeks found in their bible, “Homer,” justification and accepted authority for doing what was actually in many respects healthy. One might as easily find similar justification in the Epic of David (parts of 1 and 2 Samuel) for both requited male love and Achillean lamenting over the death of a beloved companion. The passages are familiar enough: 1 Sam. 18 gives us, “The soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul,” and “Jonathan and David made a covenant, because he loved him as his own soul,” as well as Jonathan’s giving princely garments to David; 1 Sam. 19 and 20 tell of how Jonathan saved David’s life, even at the cost of lying to his father (and risking his own life for so doing); 1 Sam. 20:41 hints at the kissing and weeping at parting; and finally David’s threnody for Jonathan in 2 Sam. 1:19-27 includes the famous line, “Thy love for me was wonderful, passing the love of women.” Rev. Montague Summers says somewhere in fact that Achilleus and Patroklos were the David and Jonathan of the ancient Greek world. He is probably following the well known passage from Aeschines’s *Oration against Timarchos*, to the effect that “Homer” did not dwell on the passionate love between Achilleus and Patroklos, as he justly thought that any cultivated man would be able to read it between the lines: there was no need to elaborate on the obvious. But more important is the cultural parallel. One may say with some reason that King David lived in a Heroic Age somewhat comparable to that of the Achaian raids known to legend and epic as the Trojan War; and in fact the accepted period for the latter is not more than five or six generations before the traditional date for David. In both these Heroic Ages men were not overly sentimental about women; romanticism was not part of the culture. I earlier alluded to rabbinical attitudes towards the love between David and Jonathan—it received praise for being disinterested (i.e. not for material gain) and for persisting lifelong in the face of the fact that by all normal criteria the parties to it should have been enemies. I also pointed out in Chapter III that the word translated

as *love* in the Epic of David always has sensual connotations—an overwhelming passion, not a mere friendship.

The above remarks apply whether or not we assume that the respective love affairs came to any sort of physical expression. I have already alluded to the possibility that the Achilles-Patroklos affair may have remained a love more or less tacitly accepted, perhaps not much spoken of between them, perhaps not coming to physical expression, but triggered into passionate intensity only when Achilles realized Patroklos was going out to battle in his (Achilleus's) armor without him—when for the first time there was an acute threat of loss (the recent novel *Look Down in Mercy* explores this situation in a modern setting); or possibly only realized in depth when Achilles saw Patroklos's corpse and his own irreparable bereavement. I now raise the question: how close was the parallel with the David and Jonathan affair? Certainly both were intensely aware of their love for each other in life, but the threat of loss arose early in the relationship. Under this pressure, at least some measure of direct physical expression took place (the embracing, kissing and weeping at parting). I conclude, with some hesitation, that quite possibly Aeschylus, Aeschines and the other Greeks, knowing well the soldier-buddy attachments from their own experiences in battle and those of their ancestors, were psychologically right in ascribing some kind of realization and physical expression to Achilles and Patroklos.

Whether or not one can speak of a "real" or "factual" Achilles and Patroklos is beside the point: the question is whether homosexual love even under these circumstances was an accepted part of the Achaian way of life. But given that the oral epic material was extensively reworked by "Homer" sometime in the 7th century B.C., perhaps not too long before Tyrtaeus or Hesiod, the conclusion is clear enough that those who recited "Homeric" poems were addressing an audience of non-Achaian Greeks, some Arcadian or Cyprian, later Aeolic, still later Ionic, and versions probably became standardized in text only in Peisistratos's time (6th century). (The recitations, which would have taken over twenty hours if continuous, could only have been piecemeal save at some religious festival such as the Panathenaia.) *Greeks of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. were already, as will be shown below, well aware of the place of boy-love as well as of comradely love in common life.*

The observation that "Homer" recitations took place at Panathenaic festivals or other religious observances is significant. In a very real sense "Homer" was canonical scripture to the Greeks; attitudes or practices there described became automatically sanctified in tradi-

tion, and scholars labored long on difficult exegetical questions. The use of "Homer" as a source of an ethical code in the Greek schools becomes understandable. In this context Symonds's observation ¹⁵⁵ is an obvious corollary: "Homer" stood in a double relationship to the historical Greeks, in that they modeled their mores on precepts and examples in "Homer" (not caring, if they even knew, that "Homer" was describing people of different ethnic stock at a different epoch in altogether different circumstances from their own), and secondly in that they misinterpreted "Homeric" precepts differently in succeeding historical periods. The relationship is therefore very much parallel to that between the various biblical writers of the Old Testament and the Jews and early Christians, and still more obviously parallel to that between the whole conglomerate Bible and medieval and modern Christians. A book might be written on this parallelism, exploring the historical, psychological and sociological processes by which it came about. It is one of the singular paradoxes of history that misinterpretations of comparable Heroic Age material yielded on the one hand a basically aesthetic ethical system of *kalokagathía* and the "golden mean," in which desires were not evil in themselves, but only when disproportionately indulged or repressed, and on the other hand a puritanical ethical system in which all desires save that of union with God were more or less contaminated with sin, and most desires were evil in themselves.

Unsurprisingly, then, the love between Achilles and Patroklos, as suggested in the *Iliad*, was assumed by hearers of "Homeric" recitations to have been of the same type as that between Zeus and Ganymede, Herakles and Hylas, etc., etc.^{154a} "Homer" provided a kind of sacred authority and sanction for this kind of love.

Unsurprisingly, too, the poems of the "Epic Cycle"—which often take up, in extant fragments, questions left open or obscure in "Homer"—enlarged on the boy-love topic. The so-called *Little Iliad*, attributed variously to Lesches of Lesbos, or Thestorides, or Kinaithon or Diodorus, or "Homer," describes in some detail the abduction of Ganymede by Zeus, but makes Ganymede the son of King Laomedon of Troy rather than the son of King Tros (as in *Iliad*, V, 266). The fifth of the so-called "Homeric Hymns," *Hymn to Aphroditē* (202 ff), likewise describes this event, in still greater detail, but once again makes the boy the son of Tros. Beyer ^{154b} rejects, on excellent grounds, any attempt to ascribe a non-Greek origin to the Ganymede myths.^{154c}

That this very early religious material deals with boy-love, dwelling on Zeus's admiration for beauty in the male, is no accident; its meaning to the participants in the ceremonies, as to the schoolboys

who read this material, must have been, even then, not that gods are humans writ large, nor yet that beautiful boys should be sacrificed to the gods, but rather that *excellence is considered most worthy by the gods even as by men, and excellence in a growing boy means not primarily facial beauty but kalokagathía, fine mind in fine body, both being largely the responsibility and the achievement of the boy through training in school and gymnastics.*

A brief note on Greek gymnastics is in order. Extant evidence, both from written material and artwork, particularly vase-paintings and statues, leaves no room for doubt that the Greek ideal of physical excellence is not the musclebound exaggeration found in the Roman statues of Hercules and modern physique magazines—even late 6th century professional Greek athletes, with their emphasis on brute strength, would have considered this laughably grotesque—but rather balance, symmetry, excellence of proportion, and particularly grace in motion—grace or “style” in performing even everyday actions. Adolescent awkwardness, so commonplace today, would have been considered shameful in ancient Greece; and the gymnastic exercises were meant not to produce bulging muscles but to sharpen a boy’s coordination and dexterity to a degree of fineness uncommon today outside the ballet. I shall return to this point in the next section.

2. *Pre-Socratic Greece.* The first thing that has to be understood, in any study of Greek customs, is the origin of the various tribes known under the common designation of Greeks or Hellenes. So far from being a homogeneous people aboriginal to the islands where their civilization flourished, they were, from what can be ascertained, a group of loosely related migratory tribes, small and independently militarily organized, speaking a quite diverse group of dialects more or less mutually intelligible (Doric, Aeolic, Ionic, Attic, etc.), coming apparently from somewhere in the north (the Danube river basin has been repeatedly suggested) and ousting the earlier inhabitants from the lands they progressively occupied. They invaded partly by land, partly by sea, and they conquered or drove out the earlier inhabitants in much the same way that the various Germanic tribes treated the inhabitants of the dying Roman Empire.

In this context many of the customs to be described below become understandable. In particular, survival under these conditions became and remained permanently contingent on tribal defense; the Dorian tribes, particularly, both in Crete and Sparta, were for long on year-round bivouac, and the Spartan tribal organization retained, more than any other, its emphasis on military readiness into late centuries, to the detriment of other values.

A migratory people, small in numbers and forced to remain perpetually on guard against foreigners, hardly has opportunity for luxury, and the functions of each sex and age early become defined in terms of the needs of the tribe. The women are needed for domestic duties and in particular as child-bearers. Boys are potential tribesmen and therefore potential defenders. Adolescents are already capable of aiding in the defense of the tribe against invaders, as well as of siring children. Education thus has to fit each age-group in both sexes for its proper role in social life. (The echo in Plato's *Republic* where 'justice' represents the situation in which everyone fulfills his proper function or role is no accident: indeed, in the present context it acquires a degree of the obviousness which it had to the Athenians of Plato's day and which it has lost to most Europeans and Americans.) The girls must be trained for managing households, for bearing and rearing children; the very name of woman in Greek, *gynē*, is derived from *gonē*, childbearer.^{154d} In a fighting society, woman's place is at home not only because of her full-time occupation as mother and housekeeper, but also for her own protection; and woman, despite her high and necessary role in society, cannot be romanticized. Boys' education of necessity must emphasize survival skills. These include not only use of weapons, etc., but sharpening of wits and development of alertness, quickness, coordination, strength: in short, competence to cope with any situation at hand. The tribe is only as strong as its weakest link; therefore—with a small population, and a high death rate from battle—it *cannot afford* to rear defective infants. Having been on the move for centuries, each tribe has had to learn the hard way that defective infants become sickly children and both an encumbrance and a survival risk for the tribe, as well as—almost inevitably—incompetent in later years in the battle line. Exposure of defective or sickly infants, to Christians a seemingly heartless custom, had to become a uniform practice; *there was no alternative consistent with survival*. Every child counts, every child is of value as a potential member of the tribe, every tribesman is needed in defense. A society having to live with these realities for several centuries does not quickly discard them when once in unchallenged possession of its chosen territory.

Some means of social cohesion is necessary in any society; in a fighting tribe such as almost any of the Greek tribes of this period, social cohesion is of necessity indissolubly bound up with military morale. It follows, then, that this has to be a primarily male affair. The obvious solution, in a tribe having the *Iliad* as a permanently

available and constantly (through oral declamation) kept-in-mind collection of glorious exploits worth emulating, ethical sourcebook and compendium of exemplary or cautionary tales, is to follow the obvious suggestions therein. Comradely love therefore becomes an obvious path to social cohesion. Symonds's attempted reconstruction becomes, in this light, quite convincing:

"They (i.e. the Greek tribes) went forth, a band of warriors and pirates, to cross the sea in boats, and to fight their way along the hills and plains of Southern Greece. The dominions they had conquered with their swords they occupied like soldiers. The camp became their country [hence the city-state form of organization—J. Z. E.], and for a long period of time they literally lived upon the bivouac. Instead of a city-state, with its manifold complexities of social life, they were reduced to the narrow limits and the simple conditions of a roving horde. [We need not assume that they had previously lived in city-states: a simpler assumption is that the city-state later grew out of the bivouac—J. Z. E.] Without sufficiency of women, without the sanctities of established domestic life, inspired by the memory of Achilles, and venerating their ancestor Herakles, the Dorian warriors had special opportunity for elevating comradeship to the rank of an enthusiasm.^{155a} The incidents of emigration into a distant country—perils of the sea, passages of rivers and mountains, assaults of fortresses and cities, landings on a hostile shore, night-vigils by the side of blazing beacons, foragings for food, picquet services in the front of watchful foes—involved adventures capable of shedding the lustre of romance on friendship. These circumstances, by bringing the virtues of sympathy with the weak, tenderness for the beautiful, protection for the young, together with corresponding qualities of gratitude, self-devotion and admiring attachment, into play, may have tended to cement unions between man and man no less firm than that of marriage. [Xenophon^{155b} says that in Sparta the love between man and boy was considered as conjugal.—J. Z. E.] On such connections a wise captain would have relied for giving strength to his battalion, and for keeping alive the flame of enterprise and daring. Fighting and foraging in company, sharing the same wayside board and heath-strewn bed, rallying to the comrade's voice in onset, these men learned the meanings of the words *Philētōr* and *Parastatēs*. [Respectively "lover," with connotation of older admirer, wooer, etc., and "one who stands beside," i.e., comrade on the battlefront.—J. Z. E.] To be loved was honorable, for it implied being worthy to be died for. To love was glorious, since it pledged the lover to self-

sacrifice in case of need. In these conditions the paidaerastic passion may well have combined manly virtue with carnal appetite, adding such romantic sentiment as some stern men reserve within their hearts for women.”¹⁵⁶

The way this worked out in practice was slightly less simple. Returning to our not-so-hypothetical small Doric-speaking tribe: the theme of comradely love is constantly being brought to mind in the recitations of parts of the *Iliad* with the heroic examples of Achilles and Patroklos in the forefront, proposed for admiration and emulation. The myth of Zeus and Ganymede, mentioned as common knowledge in the *Iliad*, is a continuing reminder of the worthiness of excellence in the eyes of the gods. And did not their ancestor Herakles have young Hylas as companion on the Argo? and did not Hesiod write of Herakles's love for Iolaus?¹⁵⁷ And did not their patron god Apollo love Hyakinthos?^{157a} The kind of boyish excellence prized by Zeus and by Herakles must have meant exactly the sort of all-round excellence, *kalokagathía*, in the adolescent which is recognizable as a harbinger of global competence in the adult; there is nothing else it could mean, no other quality that the gods could have had in mind, could have cherished so highly. *For since the gods are like human beings but possess every human quality in superhuman degree and in balance, clearly it is the godlike in little that they prize in their boyfriends. And it is exactly this balance among worthwhile qualities which tribal education attempts to produce in growing boys. It is exactly this all-round competence which makes a good soldier, a good father, a good provider, a good citizen,*¹⁵⁸ *a good statesman, once the boy is grown up—"the whole man"; it is therefore exactly this combination adults cherish in adolescents, and which makes these adolescents admirable and lovable. Moreover, they can learn only so much in school; the rest has to be gotten by example and close association with honorable adults who already have in some measure the desired qualities.*

Part of the training is, then, precisely this association between man and adolescent. Part of it is indeed on the battleground; but before that the schooling must needs include some way of training hand and eye, form and coordination, and of honoring those who prove especially proficient. The games—already sacred from the *Iliad*—provide a logical way. And so the tribesmen become, over the years, enthusiastic followers of the athletic competitions, connoisseurs of good form, of bodily grace.

This connoisseurship was even taken for granted in comedies,

without ridicule. Athenaeus (I, 15b) quotes a few lines from something by Damóxenos (? 4th century B.C.) on this very point; my translation is free but gets across the comic intent:

You see, this sexy kid from Kos was playing catch,
 Maybe 17 years old. I mean, *he* came from Kos,
 The place where people say gods walk around in boyish
 shape.
 Anyway, whenever he'd make a throw or catch, and flick
 A sidelong glance at us to see how we'd react, we ALL
 Stood up and cheered! I never dreamed o' *form* like
 his before—
 You know what I mean. I had to leave right then,
 I tell you—
 (Holding my robes like so)—I couldn't take it any
 longer.
 If I'd stayed around I'd still be eating out my heart.
 And even now, oh God, I think I've fallen for him—*hard!*

The Greek text makes clear that what I translate as “form” means not only bodily shape but also grace in movement, excellent coordination—much the same as in its modern athletic connotations, justifying the pun.

Unsurprisingly, in later centuries, this heroic epoch was felt as an ideal from which the more citified Greeks had tended to fall away, as the continuous challenge from outsiders tended to lessen to sporadic conflicts. Heroism was not dead: Thermopylae and Plataea and Salamis stood as imperishable proof of this; but opportunity for exercise of heroic derring-do became less and less common. And boy-love became less and less exclusively militarily oriented. The drinking-songs and dinner-table stories celebrating pairs of lovers (man and boy) became less often concerned with military exploits and more often with tyrannicide or even with the boy's beauty, or the man's steadfastness in the face of refusal until the boy was won over, or perhaps reckless feats done by a wooer in order to win his lad, even as in heterosexual affairs. In some such way genuinely tender feelings seem to have begun to show up even in the Dorian ideal of boy-love.

But while the Greek civilization developed and emerged from the stark garrison life which had characterized its beginnings, boy-love—by now a recognized part of the Greek way of life—began to take on two opposed forms. One of these was primarily Dorian, military, devoid of the least trace of effeminacy, assimilated to “Homer” as above mentioned, and therefore with some *religious* significance. (The above characteristics are well known and documentable. I shall attempt to

develop the *hypothesis* that the religious aspect of boy-love was later assimilated to Orphism, particularly in the exoteric or misunderstood form commonly accepted by the Greek populace.) The second form was apparently Oriental in origin, assimilated to Phoenician and Persian customs, and it tolerated some degree of effeminacy. Later on the two forms became blended in the popular imagination, and the austere Dorian form became more a verbally honored tradition than an active governing principle, somewhat like Christianity in Wall Street or politics. The two traditions persisted side by side for generations, even centuries. They must at first be considered separately, as only so can I account for the contradictory Greek attitudes and legal opinions which have puzzled so many commentators on the Greek scene for centuries.

A. *Dorian Boy-Love*. Summarizing the content of a great many writings, both of the period and later, Licht and Meier have, together with most other students of the phenomenon, agreed on at least the following least common denominator: In the Dorian tribes of Crete, Sparta, Southwest Asia Minor, etc., a boy reaching prime or bloom—anywhere from age 12 to 16—was expected to pair off with an honorable man of his own tribe. His older lover was called, in some regions and times, *erastēs* (wooer) during the courtship, *philētōr* (lover) after the boy had accepted him and the relationship was recognized publicly. However, the commoner Doric word was, especially in Sparta, *eíspnēlas* (inspirer). The boy was called *erōmenos* (beloved), or more commonly in Doric, *aītas* (hearer, listener). In the strict practice, man and boy stayed together, sometimes sharing the same bed, but sexual play was officially forbidden. In practice it went on anyway, as a kind of unofficial incentive for the relationship to continue. Once boy and man paired off, the boy learned by precept and example how to behave, how to cope with life situations. The Spartans regarded these unions as conjugal^{155b}; a man was held responsible to the tribe (i.e. the city-state) for his boyfriend's conduct in military life, until the boy had gone beyond the age at which such unions—preparations for adulthood—were conventionally at an end. Ordinarily this was when his beard and body hair came in—maybe from 2 to 9 years after puberal onset. Though proof is impossible, I suspect that there was less physical variation among ancient Greeks than among modern Europeans, or Americans, partly because of inbreeding and consequent genetic drift and homogeneity of stock, partly because the physical weaklings were not allowed to survive: exposure of defective infants, and extremely rigorous training, amounted to a process like natural selection but much more rapid.

Significantly, “Theognis” speaks several times of the necessity for selective breeding among humans even as among farm animals, race-horses, etc. Plutarch’s *Life of Lyscurgus* speaks in detail of edicts by that mythical or ancestral lawgiver—or whoever acted in his name—to the effect that a man was considered as violating his duty to the state if he did not pair off for these ethical purposes with some boy, and a boy was held to be a disgraceful type if he did not make some effort to find himself an honorable lover—somewhat like a boy today who refuses to finish high school. Aelian^{158a} also claims that the ephors even punished boys who refused to find lovers, and fined those who chose the questionable rich. Plutarch^{158b} says that the state punished the older lover of a boy who screamed from pain in battle.

To most commentators from the time of Plutarch to the present, “Dorian” has meant preeminently if not exclusively Spartan. This is in error: in actuality, the earliest institutionalizing of boy-love seems to have come in Dorian Crete; and there were Dorian settlements not only in the Peloponnesus and Crete, but also at Megara, Corinth, Knidos, Tarentum, Rhodes, the Sporades, Southwest Asia Minor and many parts of Sicily. Dorian customs quickly became idealized by other city-states and tribes of non-Dorian origin, even though local conditions were not favorable for imitation of Spartan institutions. Partly this was because everyone admired Spartan bravery.

As a result, though beginning with the Doric-speaking tribes, the institution of Dorian boy-love did not limit itself to them. Plutarch¹⁵⁹ gives the story—which may have some historical basis—that the Chalkidians adopted it, after having previously rejected it, in frank emulation of the Dorians, in admiration of their bravery, and probably in the notion that the custom was in some way connected with Dorian valor in battle. Whether or not one does accept the story as having any historical basis, certainly the custom did spread over most of the Greek city-states, though with varying degrees of emphasis on the primarily ethical/educational basis, as customs and attitudes obviously differed from tribe to tribe. Idealized legend continued to insist that the relationship should be nonsexual, but nobody believed it, and the comic poets scoffed; the laws against sexual penetration were, as one wag has it, honored more in the breach.

Boy-love as admiration for sheer beauty was early justified from the epics. *Iliad* II, 671 mentions Nireus as next to Achilles the most beautiful among the Achaeans; and the myth of Ganymede, whenever and wherever told, emphasized the boy’s beauty. There is no inconsistency here so long as we recall that *kalós* (beautiful, fine, excellent, etc.) to a Greek meant not merely a pretty face but sym-

metry, proportion, fine structure, excellent coordination—in short, someone so described was understood to have global excellence. From “Theognis,” and from the usual descriptions of the beauty of heroes, one gathers the overwhelming impression that the Greeks, like W. H. Sheldon today, identified excellence of function with excellence of structure; and in fact the formula *kalòs k’agathós*, often found as a noun *kalokagathía*, summarized this in a way that the modern cliché “fine mind in a fine body” does not quite succeed in doing. To a Greek, beauty of performance could be seen in even the most commonplace actions; but it was displayed to greatest advantage in the games. Informal games were not merely fun, they were training for the rather rigorous adult life awaiting the boy; and public games were usually connected with ritual (cf. *Iliad* XXIII, *passim*). The gods were described, and portrayed in cult statues, as superhuman but of a beauty very characteristic of young human beings. A beautiful person, then, was in that respect considered to be godlike. I shall return to this important point later on, under the topic of aesthetics in Greek religion.

The institutionalization of boy-love among the Dorians took at first a curious ceremonial turn—a symbolic ravishment. Bowra¹⁶⁰ suggests that a “forcible” initiation rite (puberty rite?) may have been in practice, citing archaic 7th century inscriptions from Thera (an island in the Cyclades with a Dorian settlement). I suspect, rather, that it was one of the variants of the Cretan custom¹⁶¹ whereby a lover, ordinarily of equal rank to the boy or higher, notified the boy’s relatives and associates some days in advance, then snatched the youngster up off a street agreed on in advance (ritually pursued by those relatives and associates), held the boy as house guest for two months, finally dismissing him with legally established gifts: military equipment, an ox—later used in sacrifice to Zeus and a ritual meal—a goblet (for libations?). Afterward a boy so honored acquired the honorific designation *kleinós* (famous, celebrated); evidently many man-boy unions took place without this ceremonial. I suspect that these events were ritual re-enactments of the myth of Ganymede, and it is significant that on Crete the abduction of Ganymede was ascribed not to Zeus but to the legendary King Minos. Ritual abduction of this elaborate kind was probably not an everyday occurrence, but Aristotle avers¹⁶² that the Cretan legal code tolerated and regulated boy-love as a population control measure. Note the military implications in the ritual: the boy received armor, sword, shield, etc., from his lover; and we may assume that he later became his lover’s companion-in-arms. Licht¹⁶³ quotes a cautionary tale from

Plutarch on how forcible kidnapping of a boy resulted in several deaths, bad harvest and famine through the wrath of Poseidon, illustrating the point that even such abduction ceremonies must remain symbolic rather than actually attended with violence.

Later on, in both Dorian colonies and the non-Dorian city-states which had adopted such customs, or in effect most of Hellas, the school instruction of boys consisted not only of practical learning—reading, writing and the absurdly difficult arithmetical system, everyday skills of all sorts—but also gymnastics (for both ritual and *kalo-kagathía*: these were not so much aimed at developing strength, particularly after the 6th century, but at developing coordination and graceful movement) and something relating about equally to ethics, civics, aesthetics and religion. The textbooks for these were invariably “Homer” and some of the other poets, particularly the collection of “gnomic” verses commonly attributed to Theognis of Megara (?570-490), Solon, etc., but apparently added to at various times by various hands. The “Theognis” verses are a sort of Lord Chesterfield-cum-Poor Richard’s Almanac of their day, but with more religious emphasis; some twelve or thirteen hundred lines (with nearly 200 more lines of interpolations) survive today and from them we can form a fairly good idea of the kind of social ideal inculcated into Greek boys in the 6th to 3rd centuries and later (though to be sure sometimes ridiculed as old-fashioned); they were approvingly quoted as late as the time of Marcus Aurelius, and Julian the Apostate praised them in his defense of paganism (ca. 362 A.D.). I have already mentioned Theognis’s lines on selective human breeding. Many others consist of advice to his boyfriend Kynos (identified as the son of Polypas the oligarch) on how to behave. As school texts, these became moral admonitions to generations of Greek boys. They were excellently suited to this purpose, being concise, simple in language, and full of obvious practical common sense. Kynos, and therefore the reader, was advised to be true to the good cause and loyal to comrades, to avoid the rabble, to be brave and have no hesitation about wreaking vengeance on the foes of the state. But more importantly for the purposes of the present study, Theognis took for granted that his readers would, then or later, be courted by men; and his advice was not a moralistic “shut your ears,” but rather to choose someone worthy (i.e. like Theognis), and once the agreement was made, to stick to him, to remain a loyal listener and beloved, rather than flitting from one suitor to another, or antagonizing the lover or making him jealous or trying to force him to continue to court favor with bribes or the like. Possibly the most famous lines of Theog-

nis (237 ff) are those quoted by G. Lowes Dickinson on how his verses would make their recipient immortal; they find an echo in Shakespeare's Sonnets XVIII and LXIII. The effect of these school-book materials on the subsequent secular or practical ethic of boy-love—Dorian with admixtures—cannot be overestimated.

In addition, exemplary tales such as that of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the tyrannicides, also got into the common folklore, and the improvised drinking songs (*skolia*) which were a feature of many banquets often had such themes. Greek boys grew up daily with the notion, from all these and other sources, that love made easier not only bravery but all the difficult and highly valued virtues. In fact, this was an intensive propaganda campaign on behalf of an institution which the Dorians had used successfully in their own military, political and ethical development. I quote one of the famous drinking songs, apparently of late 6th or early 5th century origin and variously attributed to Simonides or Epicharmos:

Hear the four best things a man can ask of life:
 health unmarred lifelong, beauty of form and act,
 honest gain of wealth—and while one's still a boy
 to come to brightest bloom among heroic lovers.
 (Bergk, 8; Hiller, 6; Diehl, 7; Edmonds, *Lyra*
Graeca, III: *Skolia*, no. 7.)

In the same way Xenophon^{163a} takes it as common knowledge that the bravest regiments are always those made up of pairs of lovers—older and younger side by side in battle. (This may have inspired the 4th century Theban "sacred band" of 150 such pairs, celebrated by Plutarch.¹⁶⁴) I could spend many pages, as does Licht, on illustrating these points, but the important one is that such opinions were part of the common currency of speech and thought, the folklore, the clichés, the popular songs of the day, and not only in Dorian settlements but all over Hellas. Much the same sentiments can be found in the ancient Aeolic lyric included as no. XXIX in most collections of Theokritos.

B. *Oriental Boy-love*. We know of this earliest from the court poets of Eastern monarchs—Anakreon at the court of Polykrates of Samos is the most familiar of these—and from various descriptions. Here, boys were favorite sexual objects of rulers and others, eventually of commoners as well. Often enough frank effeminacy was tolerated in them, and the boys were not only proud of their girlish beauty (which in many instances they tried to enhance by epilation and cosmetics) but also fickle and coquettish in the manner of

women, making matters deliberately difficult for their suitors, leading them on, enjoying being courted for the sake of the game, even sometimes demanding rich gifts. (The road to open prostitution was short and easy.) All these things eventually became common knowledge and boys adopted similar practices in Athens even as everywhere else. The austere Dorian ideal of bravery was a faraway thing not often remembered.

Though we do not know for certain if the Skythinos to whom Meleagros of Gadara ascribed the following lyric is the 6th century one from Teos said in some accounts to be the father of Anakreon, this does seem to be an early example of an outspokenly erotic cry of anguish in the Oriental tradition, at a boy who played the role of teaser:

To me has come great woe, great war, great fire:
 Elissos, fully ripe in years for love,
 just sixteen—but with every charm
 both small and great, and when he reads a honeyed
 voice, and honeyed lips to kiss, and now
 most guiltlessly to receive love's juice within . . .
 And what will become of me? "Feast your eyes
 but don't touch me," he says. Alone at night
 how often I shall lie awake, my hands fighting
 against this futile love.

(Anth. Pal. XII, 22)

It is in this Oriental tradition that we find the hundreds of references in Licht to the specifically androgynous beauty of boys. But, as I shall show below, this ideal of transient androgynous beauty characterizing the boy (even the athlete) in his bloom also had a religious aspect, and the mingling of these various traditions produced the common (and confused) image of Greek love characteristic of later Greece, the image most moderns have of it, if they give it any thought at all.

Anakreon is an important figure here, partly because he was popular and much imitated (the hundreds of pretty little verses known as the "Anacreontea" are doubtless only a small fraction of those actually in circulation in Hellenistic times), partly because some of his verse definitely suggests that he was aware of the religious significance of boy-love as I shall try to establish it. Though popularly he is credited with writing only on love, some of his poems seem to be fairly conventionalized celebrations of the beauty of the royal favorites (cf. Martial and Statius on Domitian's cupbearer Earinus), but others show that he was not treating the subject lightly: the

numinous, even the divine ideal, lurked or even blazed out in the boys of his experience. The Scholiast on Pindar, *Isth.* 2, 1, says that Anakreon, asked why he wrote no hymns to the gods but only to boys, replied "Because they [our loves] are our gods." This sounds like a flippant remark, but in the light of the cult of the boy god I hypothesize below, it may have been an actual profession of faith. Hardly flippant is fragment 48 (Edmonds), on Smerdies:

Alas! The Love-god struck me down with mighty hammer
Like a smith, drenched me in the wintry mountain-stream.

And, if I am correct, the famous fragment 4 (Edmonds) is also anything but the trivial little verse it might have seemed to others:

O boy with a maiden's eyes, I seek you,
but you will not listen to me, nor do you know
that you hold the reins of my soul.

(To anticipate slightly: I suspect that the charioteer image has the same source and significance here as in Plato's Myth of the Charioteer in the *Phaedrus*.)

This fragment shares with certain Shakespeare and Michelangelo sonnets and some of Whitman's poems the distinction of having been bowdlerized, the wording changed in at least one edition of Athenaeus (that of Joshua Barnes) to make it seem to be addressed to a girl—doing violence alike to metre and sense. The same edition omitted altogether other Anakreon verses to boys.¹⁶⁵

Before going further with this study I must make some attempt to solve the most serious problem confronting any student of Greek boy-love. This is the contradiction between Greek attitudes in poetry (even that presented on the tragic stage of Dionysos's festivals) and in the laws and philosophies. The contradiction is partly between the Dorian and Oriental ideals as they coexisted before becoming commingled. Some claim that 6th and 5th century Greece was a paradise for boy-lovers; others that the laws were more severe than those current in modern Europe.¹⁶⁶ It is easy enough to speak of laws being honored only on paper, despite the condemnation of Timarchos after Aeschines's speech (and a condemnation,¹⁶⁷ as Aeschines says, justified on the "to be accused is to be guilty" principle!); but it is less easy to account for the laws' existence, particularly in the context of Dorian boy-love. It is still more difficult to account for the approval of tragic and comic productions relating to boy-love.¹⁶⁸ True enough, the Athenian laws applied only to Athenian citizens, not to the non-citizen immigrants; their severest provisions were against rape, forcible

prostitution, and slaves' becoming lovers of boys (slaves hardly being in a position to teach a boy how a free citizen should behave); and Licht claims that the protestation that it was done out of affection offered a way out.¹⁶⁹ But why should such laws have been passed in a city-state where the greatest poets celebrated boy-love year in and year out, acknowledging it in themselves and ascribing it to gods, demi-gods and heroes? And why did Aristophanes praise boy-love in the *Symposium* of Plato, and excoriate its more sensual forms in the speech of Just Discourse in *The Clouds*? Was this Just Discourse supposed to represent the comic poet's own view or to lampoon something absurdly old-fashioned? And how account for Plato's own views, laudatory though ascetic in the *Phaedrus*, *Charmides*, *Lysis* and *Symposium*, and extremely severe in the *Laws*? The latter perhaps can be accounted for as the embittered production of a man of eighty, but in the earlier works Plato seems to be quite ambivalent.¹⁷⁰

Clearly, this is no easy matter. A hypothesis to account for these difficulties and contradictions must not be a mere congeries of undocumented ad hoc assumptions. It should fit in with what is known of Greek religion and ethics, these being central issues in the Dorian ideal of boy-love. (For, as pointed out earlier, the latter was assimilated to religious classics like "Homer" and the Homeric Hymns.) The hypothesis I have developed will, I believe, prove satisfactory at least as a basis for future research.

Let me begin with a brief account of certain aspects of Greek religion. Hesiod's *Theogony*, though hardly in a class with "Homer," was nevertheless a prime sourcebook, a systematic compilation of ancient myths. Significantly, in Hesiod, Dionysos is mentioned, and Erōs is the power that formed the world *by uniting the separate elements*. Pythagoras is identified with a religious system hardly distinguishable in most details from Orphism, and contributing much to Plato's philosophy. The distinctively Pythagorean element seems to be the concept that the universe is a kind of hegelian synthesis (Hesiod's Erōs at work) of pairs of opposites: odd and even, limited and unlimited, single and manifold, right and left, male and female, rest and motion, straight and curved, light and darkness, good and evil, "square" and "oblong" (i.e. symmetrical and asymmetrical?). Now this radical dualism, in terms of which nothing exists without its opposite, is definitely a Persian, Zoroastrian, conception. Both sides of any pair of opposites were necessary for the synthesis. In particular, man consists of male and female elements, light and dark, good and evil—and by analogy, spiritual and fleshly. Here is of course part of the origin of Plato's Myth of the Charioteer (with the light

and dark horses) in the *Phaedrus*. Ethically the aim was balance, rather than destruction of the lower aspects (the Christian error and source of misery).¹⁷¹

I hypothesize that these Hesiodic and Pythagorean ideas were assimilated to the simular dualisms of the Orphic religion, in esoteric and exoteric (public) forms. The role of Erōs (alias Phanes) in Orphism is not completely known but the god certainly played a role in the cosmogony similar to that assigned him by Hesiod. Orphic doctrines, in exoteric forms, became common knowledge¹⁷² and consisted of a much watered-down version of the esoteric doctrines, lacking some of the more alien levels of meaning and mythological details of the Passion of Orpheus as shown in the rituals.

Among the exoteric Orphic myths were the following: Orpheus, son of Apollo (or, some say, of Oiagros) and one of the Muses, and therefore a demigod, seer and musician, after the well-known episode of the loss, regaining and final loss of Eurydikē, went to Thrace and started a cult of boy-love. Afterwards the Thracian women, as maenads, tore him to pieces.¹⁷³ Orpheus in the meantime had founded the rites of Dionysos, rites of religious frenzy. Their distinctive character was that union with the god, or seizure by him, took place in a state of altered consciousness, of ecstasy. Man sprang from the ashes of the Titans, who had eaten Zagreus (an avatar of Dionysos). Aside from the esoteric meaning of all this mythological jumble—something quite different from the popular misunderstanding,^{173a} although only the latter is important for present purposes—symbolically all these doctrines are important, and my hypothesis is that out of them came a specific mystique of boy-love as a cult of transience, of beauty ever fading and being renewed in yet another avatar of the Boy God, the eternally renewed and rejuvenated Dionysos. It is no accident that statues of Dionysos are always feminoid, that Anakreon (frag. 4, earlier quoted) ascribes the eyes of a girl to the boy then incarnating this ideal, and that there is a certain feminine grace to all the idealized figures of youths save for the archaic kouroi (which seem to be assimilated only to the Dorian ideal).

Let me go first into some of the more obvious symbolism. Orpheus's musicianship may be taken as symbolic of the peculiar power of music (as indeed of any of the fine arts, but in Hellas *especially* of music, as Plato repeatedly testifies) to produce enormous emotional response, far in excess of what might have been predicted from the simple means used: divided plucked strings, primitive reeds. (And it is no accident that music was an extremely important part of each boy's training.) If, then, music was so intimately bound up

with religious ritual, each type being associated with a particular aspect of ritual, small wonder then that to music was attributed ethical value—modern counterparts, perhaps, being the outlooks of people growing up predominantly with Scottish bagpipe music, or jazz, or intellectually demanding classics from Bach to Beethoven, to name only three contrasting systems. But in Hellas *all* art had religious connotations.

The Eurydikē story—aside from its esoteric meanings—very likely was taken, or mis-taken, to mean (among other things) that one should not attempt to interfere with the divinely ordained course of nature; and specifically that one should not attempt to romanticize woman; woman is basically wife, mother, housekeeper, childbearer and cherisher, and the relationship should remain (as in the Heroic Age) calm and without excessive passion: passion's fit place was in other contexts, primarily religious ones. That Orpheus is credited with having begun the cult of boy-love is equivalent to giving it a semi-divine origin as well as a religious, even a ritual, meaning. In loving the transient beauty of the boy in bloom, one is performing homage to the god responsible for this beauty, or temporarily incarnate in the boy.

Orpheus's violent death, then, may well have been—in popular thought—taken to mean the expiation of his fatal flaw: not necessarily having started a cult of boy-love (for such cults were of very early date and we know no other instance of any such expiation); not even necessarily having offended Dionysos, though that story is indeed told by some commentators; but, very likely, misplaced passion for woman outside the religious context. It is quite possible that ritual plays were presented depicting Orpheus as tragic hero, with this as his fatal flaw.

And why Dionysos rather than Erōs as the god celebrated in boy-love? If my hypothesis is correct, Erōs will have corresponded to the attraction between man and boy (as well as that between the sexes); but Dionysos the androgynous, Dionysos the ever-renewed Boy God, Dionysos the god of ecstasy and divine madness, Dioynsos whom Sokrates neglected until the end of his life (only in jail realizing the fact and trying too late to make up for it), was the god who possessed a person in love; for being seized by love for someone was regarded by many poets (not to mention the general public) as a madness, though perhaps one to be welcomed rather than avoided or cured.

And the origin of man in the ashes of the Titans means that man is partly divine (Dionysos/Zagreus¹⁷⁴), partly bestial and de-

structive (the Titans). The relationship of this to the dualism expressed in Plato's Myth of the Charioteer is once again obvious.

I am, in fact, postulating a parallel to the later love cults of Persian-Arabic Sufi'ism and the Catharist Provençal troubadours. (See Chapter XII, below.)⁹⁸ Such a parallel is not as unlikely or unreasonable as it might sound: this quasi Orphic cult of boy-love, the Sufi'ist cult of the Cupbearer, and the Catharist cult of the Beloved Lady all derive ultimately from the same Persian Zoroastrian sources. If we accept this parallelism, the riddle is read. The poetry of boy-love, Eastern and later Dorian and still later syncretic forms, uses what was originally a standardized symbolic vocabulary corresponding in some details to those found in the Sufi and troubadour poems. In particular let me point to the extravagant, even worshipful, praises made to the beloved (often significantly the courted one who forever says No) and the perennial manipulation of the same figures of speech, the same epithets, the same appurtenances. In this case, even as in Sufi'ism and medieval Europe, *the common people, hearing the poems, but not knowing the esoteric religious symbolism in them, took them at face value and wrote their own more or less similar ones later on* (even as Renaissance men wrote quasi courtly poetry while obviously knowing nothing of the original Catharist symbolism), *eventually applying the surface attitudes to daily life and rationalizing thereby their own love affairs.*^{174a} The parallel continues: men of the Romantic epoch devoted themselves passionately to women using the more or less debased vocabulary introduced centuries earlier for symbolic purposes by the troubadours, etc. I think that this process accounts for the syncretism of later Greek love, as exemplified in the poems of the Anthology and elsewhere.

This hypothesis is, so far as I know, the only explanation yet advanced which accounts simultaneously for all the following difficulties:

1. The existence of a standardized vocabulary of boy-love. (Meaning one thing on the surface, quite another to the cognoscenti.)
2. The strongly aesthetic element in religion. (Aesthetic quality was seen in a happy combination of opposites—the work of Erōs; harmony as in avoiding extremes and holding to the synthesis. This is spelled out in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, but it of course dates back much further. One might even say that the adolescent in bloom, as a love object, is a suitable mean between the unsuitably unready child and the overripe man; the adolescent beauty as essentially androgynous avoids either the extreme of femininity or that of masculinity, being a harmonious though brief synthesis of both; boy-love is the golden mean between exaggerated sensuality and exagger-

ated asceticism; etc., etc. In addition, a source of religious awe, for the Greek, almost certainly lay in the strange emotional power possessed by music and by fine arts—i.e. beauty—generally. After Pythagoras, the mystical explanation given to the initiate probably consisted partly in some kind of demonstration of the relationship between numerical proportions and music, e.g. the well-known relationship between length of strings under constant tension and pitch of notes produced by them. Possibly, too, numerical proportions were demonstrated on cult statues or paintings. A common mystical insight through the centuries has been that the universe comprises a number of simple processes indefinitely repeated on many scales from the smallest to the largest. The Pythagorean numerology was ideally adapted for demonstrating this point to initiates. I can easily see how it could be used for the basis of a religion.)

3. The resemblance of the standardized vocabulary of boy-love to that of Sufi'ist poetry of boy-love, and to that of troubadour poetry of courtly love. (All derive from a common source.)

4. The insistence that the relationship with the love object should remain physically unconsummated, even to the point of legal restrictions, just as in courtly love. (In Orphism, purity rules assured escape from the reincarnation cycle. Having sexual relations with the idealized beloved brought the relationship down to earth, destroyed its religious aspect.)

5. The emphasis on androgynous beauty, in the face of the Dorian tradition, even outside the dissolute courts of Polykrates and similar Eastern potentates where presumably it was purely sensual. (The adolescent in bloom is a synthesis of male and female beauties, therefore a work of Erōs and as representative of the god, an object of worship.)

6. The correspondence between a cult of transience in beauty and a cult of transient madness and of death and rebirth in Orphism. (The boy is a kind of fleshed embodiment of Dionysos; the god, as beauty, dies in him with the passing of the bloom, only to reappear in another, even as Dionysos transiently inhabits anyone in religious frenzy.) Cf. #8 below.

7. The extremely laudatory language used on boy-love (and on the poems and plays thereof) by those same Greeks who elsewhere scorned physical connection. (They are presumably praising the religious aspect.)

8. The frequent comparisons of the person in love with a boy, to a madman or drunk. (He is represented as having been seized by the god, to be therefore beside himself, in a frenzy, in ecstasy.)

9. The presence of Greek love as a frequent theme of tragedy

and comedy even in a city-state where there were laws restricting the physical connection. (Tragedy and comedy were ritual elements of the festival of *Dionysos*, of all imaginable gods. The conclusion is obvious.)

Later on, after the common people had taken up this practice, this seeming poetic fad, enjoying the results while disregarding the religious significance,^{174a} a sort of syncretism of the Dorian and Oriental forms of boy-love gradually developed. This first took the form of the athletic cult.¹⁷⁵ Youngsters who had shown excellence of form in the games (partly secularized but still in many cases, including all the most important public games, connected with religious festivals) were lionized and courted by almost everyone.¹⁷⁶ Their names (followed by *kalós* = beautiful) were scrawled on walls, doors, trees, tombstones, rocks, everywhere,¹⁷⁷ even as today young swains cut their sweethearts' initials with their own, within rude arrow-pierced hearts, on fresh cement sidewalks, school desks, tree trunks, etc. The difference in Greece: almost always the names were of boys, and some were lionized by the whole city. *LEAGROS KALOS*, "Leagros is beautiful," appears on dozens and dozens of surviving Attic red figure vases (and six black figure ones) of about the end of the 6th century;¹⁷⁸ Licht suggests that many such vases found a ready market when inscribed with the name of a boy who was then idolized by everybody.¹⁷⁹ The fad of putting boy favourites' names on vases continued for about 70 years (!) in Attica.^{178, 180} The athletic cult itself did not die out until after amateurs had given way to burly and ungraceful professionals, for whom victory by any means (and therefore the valuable prizes) was more important than good form, and whose presence destroyed the aesthetic pleasure formerly available in the games.¹⁸¹

Contributory, of course, was the custom of nudity in athletics. From the earliest days, Greek boys and men (save for a very brief period around the end of the 6th century, when white loin pieces apparently comparable in function to the modern jockstrap were in use)¹⁸² routinely stripped naked for any kind of athletic performance. Thucydides (book I, ch. 6) credits the Spartans with the introduction of nudity in athletics. The nakedness which "Homer" (*Il.*, XXII, 66) and Tyrtaeus (I, 21) describe as shameful is the unesthetic nakedness of an old man; nakedness is routine on statues (the *kouroi*) from their very beginning in the 8th or 7th century B.C., and on Attic black figure vase-painting from the middle of the 7th century.¹⁸³ Presumably it was no novelty even then. In actual preparation for athletic performances, the nude performers, boys or men, were thoroughly anointed and rubbed down with oil, over their entire bodies.

Partly this was for increased suppleness, partly to avoid catching cold, partly to add "challenge in wrestling, partly for obvious aesthetic reasons.¹⁸⁴ Under those conditions, a young body would gleam like the finest bronze, a delight to the eye indeed!

The athletic cult did manage to produce (like almost everything else in Hellas of that period) valuable results: sculptors used the young athletes as models, vase-painters did likewise (and many of the results are genuine masterworks), some of their paintings documenting various aspects of boy-love.¹⁸⁵ And then, too, there are the poems of Pindar, many of them victory odes composed specifically to honor young athletes who had triumphed in the athletic events at various religious festivals. Pindar was held in the most extraordinary reverence by his contemporaries and later Greeks—a reverence perhaps a little hard to understand today even despite Richmond Lattimore's excellent translations of the victory odes. (U. of Chicago Press, 1947.) Pindar's poetry is declamatory, full of recondite mythological allusions, of piling up of images upon images, frequently producing an almost barbaric splendor. His influence was doubtless very great in legitimizing for the mass of Greeks the cult of athletic boys as love objects. The story goes ¹⁸⁶ that Pindar prayed to the gods (pleased as they presumably were with his poems) to give to him the most beautiful thing in the world, and the gift was Theoxenos of Tenedos, son of Agesilaos, who came into bloom and accepted the aged Pindar as lover. And Pindar died, aged 79, in this boy's arms, in the gymnasium at Argos. But before then, he had at some banquet improvised a skolion or drinking song about Theoxenos, which became one of the most famous things he ever did. (Bergk, frag. 123.) I quote it in Symonds's translation.

ON THEOXENOS: DRINKING SONG

O soul, 'tis thine in season meet
 To pluck of love the blossom sweet
 When hearts are young;
 But he who sees the blazing beams,
 The light that from *that* forehead streams,
 And is not stung,
 Who is not storm-tossed with desire,
 Lo! he, I ween, with frozen fire
 Of adamant or stubborn steel
 Is forged, in his cold heart that cannot feel.

Disowned, dishonored and denied
 By Aphroditē glittering-eyed,
 He either toils
 All day for gold, a sordid gain,

Or, bent beneath a woman's reign,
 In petty broils
 Endures her insolence, a drudge
 Compelled the common path to trudge.

But I, immune to that disease,
 Wasting away like wax of holy bees
 Which the sun's splendor wounds, do pine
 Whenever I see the young-limbed bloom divine
 Of boys. Lo! look you well;
 For here in Tenedos
 Grace and Persuasion dwell
 In young Theoxenos . . .

The word translated as "Persuasion" is *Peithō*—the name of a goddess personifying seductiveness, enticement, enchantment: evidently a title of *Aphroditē*. There is much evidence of the scholarly Pindar's attention to the religious aspect of boy-love: note that he is saying that a man who denies this desire is displeasing to the Goddess!

At this point the contradictory attitudes to boy-love put into the mouth of Sokrates by Plato become comprehensible. Plato, always the reactionary, wished to reestablish the heroic Dorian ideal (even then antique), as part of his utopian plan of social reform, and purge boy-love of its questionable Oriental-effeminate-sensual component, restoring it to its original religious purity. This is spelled out in the *Lysis*, *Phaedrus* and *Symposium*, and appears by implication in the thoroughly Dorian-oriented *Republic*. In this connection, note Robert Graves's justified sneer (in the introduction to the revised paperback edition of *The White Goddess*) aimed at the hypocritically desexualized bed scene between Sokrates and Alkibiades described in the *Symposium*: Sokrates would have been far more honest to have *had* the sexual affair which obviously both of them wanted, and not to romanticize or sentimentalize his own self-denial. For such phony romanticizing hypocrisy is a disloyalty to the Great Goddess of erotic religion, which the actual sex affair would never have been. (And Sokrates himself realized so at the end of his life, learning the music of Dionysos while awaiting the cup of hemlock.) Plato, then, is important in the history of Greek love only through his own mistaken views and attempts to bring back a past which he himself only poorly understood, and through his readers' later misunderstanding of these attempts in turn. Plato is about the most inappropriate starting point for anyone who wishes to understand Greek love as it was practiced at any period in Greek history. We may therefore dismiss Plato from further consideration in this study.

3. *Post-Sokratic Greece*. The most notable features of the cult

of boy-love thereafter: lessening identification with athletics, lessened connection with religion, increased mingling of characteristics of the old Dorian ideal with the Oriental resulting in a frank sensuality hitherto more rare, increased effeminacy, increased prostitution. Comic poets and others lament how in the good old days a boy was content to receive gifts as expressions of delight and gratitude on the lover's part, whereas now they begged and whined and wheedled, and now not for toys or pet sparrows, but for money and for expensive gifts. We hear this theme recur again and again into the Greco-Roman period and into the Roman Empire. There were even brothels specializing in boys; and older males epilated themselves and wore garments supposed to suggest that they were still of proper age to attract lovers.

The poetry of this period provides excellent documentation. The collection known as the Palatine Anthology, containing over 4,000 epigrams collated by one Constantine Kephalas, 10th century Byzantine scholar, in fifteen main sections or "books" (arranged by subject matter), includes a considerable number relevant to boy-love. These are found mostly in Books V, X, XI and XII. This last, including the so-called *Moûsa Paidikē* (*Musa Puerilis*, Muse of Boy-love) of Strato of Sardis, is the largest single source—over 250 in all. Symonds somewhere says that were the whole of other Greek verse lost but the Anthology, almost the whole life of Greece could be reconstructed therefrom. This is not much of an exaggeration; the poems range from about 700 B.C. to nearly the time of Kephalas, their authors range from Simonides down to Imperial ruffraff and monkish pedants, and the quality, mirroring the shifting civilizations that produced them, varies from an awesome grandeur (as in the magnificent epitaphs by Simonides) down to the most drivelous sort of doggerel; their subject matter includes almost every phase of Greek life.

I take no position on whether the Anthology's two famous epigrams on "Aster" attributed to Plato are by the philosopher, save to agree with Dudley Fitts that they are certainly worthy of him, being the translator's delight and despair. Certainly their attribution to Plato is ancient; the proem to Meleagros's Garland mentions "the golden bough of the ever-divine Plato, shining everywhere in excellence." And among these perhaps one of the two most famous is VII, 669, which I roughly english as:

My boy, my star, my Aster!
 with your two eyes you look up at the stars;
 would I were heaven, ever to look on you
 with a thousand eyes.

Part of the difficulty is that the boy's name is Aster and means star; we have no similar punning name in English, other than the girl's name Stella, which clearly would falsify the sense—as some translators have already failed to realize. The other justly celebrated one is VII, 670. Shelley's paraphrase "Thou wert the morning star" is pretty pallid compared with this epigram, called by Mackail "perhaps the most perfect epigram every written in any language." Every word is charged with double meanings and intense emotional overtones. The best translation I know of is that of Mary Renault, in *The Last of the Wine*—a book which gives a better re-creation of Periklean and post-Periklean Greek life than any other known to me, a book difficult to finish without tears, a book which does more than this study to illuminate Greek love in the late 5th century B.C.:

Light-bringing dawn-star, kindled for the living:
Bright torch of Hesperos, sinking to the dead.

Miss Renault gives some account of the double meanings in this epitaph in the appendix to her book. To the ancients, Hesperos was the most beautiful of all the stars: cf. Sappho, frag. 133; Catullus, LXII, 26; Philostratus, epistle 6.

That part of the Anthology in which we are most interested here derives principally from three collections not otherwise preserved:

(1) *The Garland of Meleagros*. Meleagros, usually called Meleager of Gadara (ca. B.C. 95), collected the best epigrammatic verse—mainly love-poems, elegies, epitaphs, and such—of ca. 700 to 200 B.C., adding to them many of his own poems. A connoisseur and excellent stylist in his own right, he included none of his contemporaries' poems: a rather significant comment on his own period. (I sense a parallel between him and Robert Graves.) The collection began with a proem characterizing each poet included with some characteristic phrase—I mentioned its remark about Plato above. J. W. Mackail (in *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*) describes Meleagros as an essayist comparable to Addison and Steele.

(2) *The Garland of Philippos* of Thessalonica. Philippos seems to have flourished in the Augustan period. A rather small minority of egghead Hellenists among the Romans preferred to write in Greek, and Philippos's collection consisted of examples of their work. The quality is generally far inferior to that of the Meleagros collection, but these poems do often have anthropological and sociological value.

(3) *The Moûsa Paidikē* of Strato of Sardis. This erotic versifier was a contemporary of Emperor Hadrian. (Marguerite Yourcenar yielded to overwhelming temptation and had Strato and Hadrian

meet in her *Hadrian's Memoirs*.) His entire theme was boy-love, and apparently he wrote not only on his own account but also on behalf of his friends. Together with the Stratic epigrams making up most of Book XII of the Greek Anthology, we find a number of others of uncertain or unknown provenance.

The Anthology, then, will provide our major (though not sole) source for documenting the attitude of boy-lovers in the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman periods. The changes will be fairly obvious. First, however, let me mention a few relevant customs which seem to have developed in the post-Socratic epoch. Banquets often would include not only boy musicians and girl dancers as part of the entertainment, but often enough boys, whether slaves or young sons of the banquet-giver, as attendants; and in later periods¹⁸⁷ it was more or less expected that these were for the aesthetic delight of the guests. Sometimes they were subsequently courted. Later still, in Greco-Roman times, they were openly seduced. In addition, men would sometimes hire boys to be their pages or cupbearers, and use this prolonged association as occasion for some lovemaking. Boys came to know that one led to the other. The line between this availability and outright prostitution became more and more tenuous, even as the distinction between lovers' free gifts and payments for sex became tenuous. Aristophanes in the *Frogs* has his chorus speak of the good man who has not "cheated his boy-love of his promised pay," and in the *Plutus* (153) is a reference to the report that "boys do this very thing, not for their lovers, but for money: But not the good boys, but the minions; the better ones do not ask for money." (Licht¹⁸⁸ furnishes numerous other examples.) A somewhat quaint and, to our eyes, romantic custom was that whereby the love-struck man, at night after supper or party, would go to the house of the boy he sought, lyre in hand, and serenade the youngster, hoping for a kind word or welcome;¹⁸⁹ often enough several would be found at the same house, as rivals. In general the parents left it up to the boy to choose which serenader, if any, he would encourage to return; ideally, this depended on the man's character, but in practice it seems to have been often a matter of prominence or wealth. Asklepiades of Samos (fl. B.C. 290) wrote a poem, somewhat corrupt in text, but superbly paraphrased by Dudley Fitts as "To Zeus of the Rains," which poignantly evokes the image of the lonely man in love with a boy, after some evening party trudging on down darkened streets, rain-drenched because unwelcomed in his boyfriend's house.¹⁹⁰

This same Asklepiades also shows, not in adumbration but in all its woeful clarity, the same kind of world-view we later see in

Catullus (Carmen V: "Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux") and in the medieval *Ordo Vagorum* (see Chapter XII): let us drink to joy, let us play the game of love even though failure awaits us in the end, for life is brief and there's no returning. Fitts has paraphrased part of this as well,¹⁹¹ and the theme recurs in later Greek writing. (Cf. Philostratus, epistle 64, this chapter *ad fin.*)

Kallimachos (B.C. ca. 310-240), for his last twenty years head of the great library at Alexandria, and one of the most recondite of the Hellenistic poets, was given not only to boy-love but to surprisingly acute psychological observation. In XII, 102 there is more than meets the eye at first:

Through the frost and snow, Epikydes,
the hunter follows every track of hare and hind
up and down each mountainside. But if you say,
"Look! here lies one wounded," he won't stop.
Just so, too, my love pursues elusive game,
flies past the most inviting boys that line its path.

This was cynically paraphrased in Horace, *Sat.* I, 2, 106-109. But cynicism anent boy-love was nothing new. Addaeus of Macedon (a contemporary of Alexander the Great) provides an early instance:

HONEST ADVICE FROM ONE WHO KNOWS

When you see a handsome boy
don't hesitate: call a flame a flame—
kindle him, your hairy torch in hand.
But if instead you blurt
"I'll honor you as a brother"
—why then your shame will bar him from your bed.
(Anth. Pal. X, 20)

The expression translated "I'll honor you as a brother" apparently was a common formula in agreements between lovers when no sexual acceptance was sought. Mary Renault's *The Last of the Wine* hints at such agreements.

A problem not completely solved is the curious fad of this period (echoed in the 17th and 18th centuries) of dressing up like shepherds, taking "pastoral" nicknames, and exchanging verses full of countrified allusions, suits to pseudonymous Daphnises, Chloes, Phylises, etc. The extant poems of Theokritos and similar items ascribed to Bion, Moschos, and others, belong to this fad, and Virgil imitates it in his own pastoral stuff. (Virgil's Second Eclogue is principally notable as ancestor of Barnefield: cf. Chapter XIII *ad fin.*) Boy-love was a recessive element in this tradition, but there are references in Theokritos, VII, 96-127, XIII, XXIII, and especially XII; and the

Nor did Hellenistic poets hesitate to touch on what would once have been considered taboo ground. The following epigram of Dioskorides (fl. 200 B.C.?) to this ear and eye recalls nothing so much as Caravaggio's *Amore Vincitore* (see Chapter XIII)—prepuberal yet obviously *far* from innocent. My translation, admittedly rather free, suggests what Dioskorides might have said to the boy himself:

(Anth. Pal. XII, 14)

Meleagros himself, though living in the 1st century B.C. and therefore in Greco-Roman times, in language and sentiment harks back to earlier epochs. His surviving poems celebrate at least eight boys whom he loved at various times (XII, 256), and there are poems praising at least fourteen others, which suggests that like Strato (XII, 258) he wrote verses on behalf of other lovers. (Were some of these verses delivered to boys or left under their doors? It seems likely.) Meleagros's greatest passions were, one gathers, for the boy "Myiskos" (probably a pet name: it means *little mouse*, and Licht enumerates dozens of such pet names for boyfriends) and the girl Heliodora. He seems not to have experienced any particular conflict among his various affairs. XII, 86 seems to spell out his overall view:

The bold brat wins.

No. XII, 167, framed as one of the serenades supposedly sung at a boyfriend's house door, is full of double entendres, mostly untranslatable:

Though chill the wind, the sweet-teared Erōs
bears me, revel-swept, to you, Myiskos.
While desire's unceasing gales toss,
I sail the foam-born Aphroditē's seas
till into your snug harbor you receive me.

I can only speculate if this is typical of such serenades. Certainly we hear little enough of the Dorian ethical tradition of boy-love in Meleagros; rather, he—and many of the other Hellenistic and Greco-Roman poets—treat their boy love-objects in much the same romantic fashion as they and others celebrate their girls. And they could be sentimental enough, in the better sense of the word. Anth. Pal. XII, 125 is much imitated—most recently perhaps by Symonds in *A Lad's Love*, VII, below, Ch. XV. My translation is nearer Meleagros's original:

PHANTASM

Erōs last night under my cloak
brought me honeyed dreams:
here was a softly-laughing boy,
still in bloom at eighteen;
clasping close his tender flesh,
I gathered empty hopes. And still
I burn for him. And still my eyes
seek Sleep, who caught him once for me,
that winged phantasm.

My lonely soul,
ill-starred in love, even in dreams
cease to take the flame in vain
from beauty's fleeting wraiths.

But the notion that a sudden onrush of love-interest in a boy, of sexual longing for him, was full of anguish, is—though apparently sincere—an echo of the much earlier tradition, seen even in Anakreon. Meleagros's own outcry (XII, 127) was one of those honored by being included in J. W. Mackail's selection. My translation is fairly close to the original in content though not in form:

ALEXIS

High noon—Alexis strolled past me,
while summer cut the wheatfield's tresses.

And doubly burnt was I:
once from the sun's fierce rays,
again from Alexis' shining eyes.

The former night allayed,
the latter dreams made worse. For Sleep,
for others a relief, brought me

anguish redoubled, framing
beauty's image behind my eyes—
a living, breathing, speaking flame.

And now I rest no more—until
I clasp Alexis in my arms.

Comparison with the next pair, presumably not many decades later than Meleagros, already shows a marked Roman influence, though as yet in a minor degree. Automedon of Kyzikos is all but unknown save through his verses, which were included in the *Garland of Philippos*; he is thought to have flourished in the first century B.C. Anth. Pal. XII, 34 shows some of the unofficial results of becoming a gymnasium attendant or trainer (*paidotribēs*, literally the man who gives the boys rubdowns):

REWARDING OCCUPATION

Just yesterday I dined
with Demetrios,
the boys' wrestling-trainer—
luckiest of men.
While one boy lay upon his lap,
a second leaned upon his shoulder,
a lovely third brought us our supper,
and still a fourth poured fragrant wine.
In fun I said to him,
"My lucky friend, pray tell—
do you get to train
the boys in bed as well?"

Statyllius Flaccus is known only by the following verses (also in the Philippos cycle) and by three rhetorical exercises, variations on the theme of the man who promised Apollo a sacrifice of a cock should his boyfriend Polemon come back safely from a sea trip, but refuses to fulfill the vow since the boy came back bearded and hairy-thighed, his bloom and sexual desirability forever vanished. (XII, 25-27.) One Tullius Laureas (XII, 24) tried his hand at the same

theme, even to the boyfriend's name, and probably others did as well—very likely it was a classroom exercise.

POETIC JUSTICE

Just as he's getting his beard,
Ladon, the once-haughty youth,
fair once, and cruel to lovers,
has fallen in love with a lad.
Nemesis is swift.

(Anth. Pal. XII, 12)

From here on, the remnants of the Greek tradition are pretty much confined to Strato of Sardis, contemporary of Emperor Hadrian. Strato was a frank and unashamed sensualist; his verses are pretty but sometimes quite coarse. We have no way of knowing which verses were for other boy-lovers. There is no evidence that he knew of the work of Catullus, Horace or Martial, nor does he allude to the Antinoüs cult. I shall represent this largely dreary period by a few fairly typical verses of Strato, and the post-classical Greek rhetoric by one of the letters of Flavius Philostratus. I should mention here that Strato constituted a source-book for Licht, who evidently regarded him as a good representative of the earlier traditions. This is perhaps not the safest assumption one could make. The need to trace divergent and convergent traditions chronologically has forced me to deviate from the arrangement of Licht's themes. Interestingly enough, Kephelas (opening Book XII) remarked apologetically that Strato delighted in the diction of the epigrams, not in their meaning, and quoted an aphorism that "a chaste woman will not be corrupted even doing an erotic dance"—Victorian prudery 900 years ahead of its time. We are fortunate that he did not tamper with the texts.

The verses of Strato selected here illustrate some of the various themes to which he returned again and again. The first one, XII, 192, serves pretty well as an epitome of one characteristically Greek attitude. It would appear that some boys, perhaps realizing their own lack of natural gifts, apparently sought to attract lovers by use of cosmetics, permanent waves, etc.: a phenomenon not unknown today.

NATURE'S GIFTS PREFERRED

I am not charmed by needless curls
by artifice, not nature, taught,
but by a boy fresh-dusty from the playground,
and by the gloss and hue oil gives his limbs.
My love's far sweeter—unadorned.

The next one I give in John Addington Symonds's exceptionally free paraphrase—revealing just as much of Symonds as of Strato, but definitely in the spirit of Strato. *Cyprian* means relating to Aphroditē; *Cyprian petals* are lips. The original said little or nothing of the content of the last two stanzas save that the poet bought wreaths and crowned his household gods with them, beseeching them to grant him the boy.

THE LOVER AND THE GARLAND-WEAVER

Today when dawn was dim I went
 Before the garland-weavers' stall
 And saw a boy whose beauty sent
 (Like stars of autumn when they fall)
 An arrow of swift fire that left
 Glory upon the gloom it cleft.

Roses he wove to make a wreath,
 And roses were his cheeks and lips,
 And faintly flushed the flowers beneath
 The roses of his fingertips.
 He saw me stand in mute amaze,
 And rosy blushes met my gaze.

"O flower that weavest flowers," I said,—
 "Fair crown where myrtle blossoms white
 "Mingle with Cyprian petals red
 "For love's ineffable delight:
 "Tell me, what god or hero blest
 "Shall bind *thy* garland to his breast?

"Or can it be that even I—
 "Who am thy slave to save or slay—
 "With price of prayers and tears may buy
 "Thy roses ere they fade away?"
 He smiled and deeper blushed and laid
 One finger on his lips and said:

"Peace, lest my father hear"—then drew
 A blossom from the crown and pressed
 Its perfume to the pinks that blew
 Upon the snow-wreath of his breast,
 And kissed and gave the flower to be
 Sweet symbol of assent to me!

Roses and wreaths with shy pretense
 As for a bridal feast I bought,
 And veiling all love's vehemence
 In languor, bade the flowers be brought
 To deck my chamber by the boy
 Who brings therewith a greater joy!

In XII, 4, which follows, the "bloom" is of course the peculiar physical attraction described in detail in Ch. VI. The phrase translated as "And answering him back" (*tòn d'apameibómenos*) is a cliché in "Homer," occurring hundreds of times as metrical filler. The reference is here obviously to a relationship of equals; but the idea that affairs with younger boys constituted play is very much nearer to the Roman attitude than the Greek.

TO EACH AGE ITS OWN

Delightful to me is the bloom of the twelve-year-old
 boy,
 but better the lad of thirteen; and the fourteenth
 and fifteenth
 are years still more precious in blossom. The choice
 of the gods is
 the sixteenth; the seventeenth only for Zeus is
 reserved.
 But if you are pining for youths who have gone past
 those years,
 you aren't seeking play—but a love-mate's "And
 answering back."

The remaining Stratonian efforts are mostly self-explanatory. I could, like Licht, have included many which celebrated, like those of earlier writers, the various parts of one's boyfriend's anatomy, but felt this an unnecessary duplication of effort. Suffice it to say that the various paidophilic poets, Strato not excepted, dwelt at length on the charms of their boys' eyes, lips, hair, skin, etc., in much the same vein as versifiers of later centuries smitten with girls.

CATALOGUE ARIA

Cloud-white boys in thought I seize,
 and honey-skinned ones too.
 Blond and dark-curled lads both please—
 so do the blue- and hazel-eyed:
 But most of all I'll woo
 this dark-eyed firebrand to my side.

(XII, 5)

The one to follow, XII, 246, suggests that in Strato's day it was not cricket to have more than one boyfriend at a time, though no obvious reason for such limitation presents itself. I gather that the two boys were twins because the word *zeugos* in the original means *yoke* and suggests equality between them.

DILEMMA

These splendid twins love me. Upon my oath,
I don't know which of them to make my master—

Dear Zeus, I love them both:

I must choose, but I can't!

One comes, the other goes: my heart beats faster—
always the boy beside me can most enchant.

The next few illustrate the preoccupation with the brevity of the adolescent bloom, and the anti-fetish which body hair and beard constituted to boy-loving Greeks. Earlier instances are likewise abundant. The quotation from "Homer" (*Odyssey*, XI, 66) in XII, 251, is turned to a purpose hardly suspected by its author; the 'cheeks' are not those of the boy's face. Judging by XII, 224, Strato's suit must have been successful.

EXHORTATION, WITH HOMER'S HELP

Till now we've only gazed and kissed,
for you were only a little boy,
reluctant Diphilos:
but let things happen that fit your age—
receive my love in its fit place.

For Homer rightly says:
"But now I supplicate for them behind
that will no longer be with you"—
your lovely hairless cheeks.

This invites comparison with Strato's verses on Theudis (XII, 178), quoted further on.

EHEU FUGACES

Noble is the path on which we walk,
you and I together, Diphilos.

Think now how to keep it so.
To each one's lot has fallen a winged thing:
in you is soaring beauty, in me is love.

Though now they sing with single voice,
I fear that if we leave these gifts unguarded,
first one, then both, will lift sad wings and go.
(XII, 224)

CARPE DIEM NOCTEMQUE . . .

How long must we steal kisses
 and hide our very greetings?
 How long, my boy, can true love wait,
 while we prate of this and that,
 and you ever find excuses
 not to hear nor spurn my suit?
 'Wait too long and we lose the good'—
 but, my Pheidon, before they come,
 those envious hairs that steal your bloom,
 let us add fond deeds to words.

(XII, 21)

REMONSTRANCE

No, not for stealing fire are you in chains,
 ill-advised Prometheus—
 but for spoiling Zeus's clay. In making man
 you added—horrors!—hairs.
 From you, the hateful beard.
 From you, boys' thighs grow rough.
 For this the eagle which bore up Ganymede
 devours you night and day—
 For hairs torment Zeus also. There's your crime.

(XII, 220)

"WHEN DAY IS DONE"

When Theudis shone among the other boys—
 like the rising sun among the stars—
 I sighed aflame. And so I still burn now,
 while the down of night creeps up those cheeks.
 For though he's setting, yet he's still the sun.

(XII, 178)

But probably the most outspoken epigram on this theme is not by Strato at all, but by some anonymous author very much in his tradition:

TO A RELUCTANT BOY

Enjoy your beauty's brief hours:
 too soon they'll slip away.
 One swift summer makes a fresh-faced kid
 into a shaggy goat.

(XI, 51)

The next one by Strato (XII, 205) is of some anthropological interest. It would appear that youngsters before their prime were

considered safe; men preoccupied with prepuberal children were presumably so rare in the hinterlands of the Empire of Strato's time that the children were left pretty much to their own devices. The Wylie Mom had not yet become such a jealous guardian of her son's morals as in more recent decades.

‘THE TIMES ARE OUT OF JOINT’

My neighbor's gentle boy already smiles
and winks and flirts with me; plainly he wants it.
But he—alas—is only twelve years old!
The unripe grapes, I see, are still unguarded;
but wait six months—
and see watchmen and fences . . .

In XII, 237, Strato summarizes the common contempt for outright prostitution:

DECEIVER DISCOVERED

Farewell, cheatful one—
begone with your pretenses, you who swore
you'd “never submit to sex again,” be off!
For now I know, and you can't hide
where, and when, and how,
and who, and for how much.

The next four (all by Strato) are mostly self-explanatory, though perhaps some readers may have to be reminded that books in his time were not made like modern ones, but instead consisted of rolls or cylinders of parchment. They were read by gradually unrolling them from one spindle and rolling them onto another. This clarifies the references in XII, 208:

DEDICATION ON A SCROLL-BOOK

Happy little book, I don't begrudge your luck:
some boy reading you surely will caress you,
press you with his chin or to his satin lips,
or roll you as you rest upon his tender thighs.

Blessed little book,
often in his bosom, or touching his fair skin
naked and unafraid, you'll tell him much alone . . .

but little book, I beg you,
say something once in a while even on my behalf.
(XII, 208)

STRATO TO A YOUNG ANGLER

My boy,
I'm the fish
which you have caught
with that hook you made.

Pull me where you will,
but don't run off
or you might
lose me.

(XII, 241)

TO A JEALOUS HOST

Either don't be selfish with your friends
or don't provide such handsome serving-boys!
For who's immune to love or song or wine?
And who on earth won't look at lissome lads?
This is the way men live. But if you wish,
Diophon, there's still one place under heaven
where neither love nor revelry will be found;
go straight to hell, and there have for your guests
blind Teiresias and chained-up Tantalos;
the one sees nought, the other can do nought else.

(XII, 175)

RETALIATION

So you think I wrong you when I kiss you?
Revenge yourself then—in the selfsame way!

(XII, 188)

This one invites comparison with Catullus XCIX. . . .

The next three (also by Strato) are more properly erotica, giving some idea of a few matters Licht said little about. The context of XII, 3, is that a boy's lover, during anal intercourse, routinely hugged, caressed and fondled his boyfriend, paying particular attention to the boy's genitals, making certain that the boy obtained ample satisfaction from the contact. Martial knew of the practice and disapproved of it (Epigrams XI, 22), on grounds that can only be called fallacious. The Greek names (*lalou*, *kōkō* and *saura*) which I have translated as "bubbler," "tail" and "lizard" are evidently slang of the period; the exact meaning of "kōkō" is not as certain as that of the others.

OBJECT LESSON

Diodoros, let me teach you:
our boy-loves' pendants come within three classes,
and here is how fond lovers name them.

"Bubbler" call the untouched peak;
 "tail" the one which just begins to swell;
 "lizard" that which throbs against the hand—
 but when that one's fully grown,
 how address it you know all too well.

(XII, 3)

In the next one, "rosy-fingered" is the famous Homeric epithet for dawn.

DISCOVERY

Only the other day
 the lizard between my Agathon's thighs
 was rosy-fingered, just like Homer's Dawn . . .
 but look at it now—
 you'd have to call it rosy-armed!

(XI, 21)

(Strato returned to this identical idea in XII, 242, alluding to a different boy.)

"LUCKY PIERRE"

The bed groans loud:
 two give and two indeed receive—
 but look again—just three are there:
 I seem to tell a marvel, but it's true.
 The middle youth both gives and takes;
 enjoys the boy before, delights
 the man behind . . .

(XII, 210; cf. XI, 225)

A perhaps appropriate leave-taking of Strato might be, not his disclaimer in XII, 258, that he "ever scribbles this and that for this boy-lover and the other, since some boy-loving god in fun gave him the welcome gift," but rather his meditation on how and why men—the discoverers of boy-love—have the advantage over all other animals: XII, 245.

MEDITATION

Every wordless beast knows sexual joys.
 But we're indeed one up on those
 since only we make love to boys.
 Pity men who're only women's toys:
 the rapture that their kind foregoes
 no beast or coward ever knows.

And the following anonymous epigram sums it up succinctly enough:

DE GUSTIBUS

As an eagle came great Zeus to Ganymede;
 as a swan he overcame the gold-tressed Leda.
 Argue not which kind of love deserves the throne.
 One seeks boys, another burns for girls alone;
 Like Zeus, I love both.

(V, 65)

We might as well close our consideration of this frankly decadent period by quoting one of the Epistles of Flavius Philostratus, called "The Sophist," "Athenian," "Lemnian," "Tyrian." These were apparently literary exercises, reveries to be read silently rather than declaimed; their addressees usually do not come alive and may have been only imaginary ideal figures. No. 33 was the origin of Ben Jonson's To Celia ("Drink to me only with thine eyes . . .") and it is not surprising that this and others have been imitated by poets: they are strangely full of poetic imagery and often show plain evidence of having been revised from earlier verse form (some passages still being scannable as poetry). The usual anthologies quote only earlier ones marked as to be sent to a boy, with roses, or to a woman. This hardly gives a fair sample of Philostratus, but that would be outside the scope of this study. Even the love letters to boys cover a wide range: nos. 1, 3, 4 and 46 vary the theme of a gift of roses, no. 14 bids farewell, no. 15 praises a boy's attractiveness despite his beard having come in (echoing *Odyssey* X, 277), no. 58 praises a boy for shaving off his beard, no. 27 chides one who doesn't want to be attractive to men, and there is even one to an open prostitute. But the one I translate here, no. 64, is in some ways the most archetypical of all. The word I render as "chastity," *sōphrosynē*, means basically "the virtue of restraint in general, sobriety, self-control, etc." and has the connotation of stuffiness. Philostratus's mention of eternal night recalls Catullus, *carm.* V (Chapter XI, below).

The chastity about which you have so great an obsession I know not what to name, whether perhaps perverse opposition to the promptings of nature, or philosophy fortified by philistinism, or unyielding fear of pleasure, or even scornful disdain of life's delights. But whatever it may be, and whatever it may seem in the opinions of the sophists, nevertheless however respectable it is in repute, it is grotesquely unhuman in practice. And what is so great about being, forsooth, a chaste corpse long before leaving life? Crown yourself therefore with flowery wreaths in revel before you too wither away; preserve your beauty with anointing of sweet oil before all corrupts; find and cherish lovers before you find

yourself completely alone. For it is good to fortify yourself at night against that other eternal night; to drink before you thirst; to eat before you hunger. What day do you imagine yours? Yesterday? It is dead. Today? You are not making it yours. Tomorrow? I do not know if you will live so long. You and your days are toys of fate.

Judging by when Philostratus wrote these brooding lines—4th century A.D.—he might as well have been addressing Greek society as a putative boyfriend, Greek society into which Roman Christianity had already made fatal inroads.

XI

BOY-LOVE IN ANCIENT ROME

I HAVE ALREADY MENTIONED THAT THE ROMANS WERE ORIGINALLY, and largely remained, a race of pragmatic and brutal peasants; surrounded by hostile tribes, they became equally brutal soldiers. To them the lust for power was natural, pain and death fairly commonplace, sadistic torture a titillation for jaded mobs. Otto Kiefer's *Sexual Life in Ancient Rome* ¹⁹² is a fairly comprehensive sourcebook, but the reader will need a strong stomach. Romans made much of their own Heroic Age and civic virtue in that epoch, but these were a far different sort from their Hellenic counterparts. Granting somewhat similar social conditions resulting in small garrison communities, but without the appreciation for subtleties of excellence characterizing the Greeks, unsurprisingly the Romans began to value highly such qualities as bravery against the enemy, endurance even of torture, granitic integrity in internal civic affairs, and ultraconservatism when confronted with alien religions and customs. They were, and remained, a patrist society where the Greek tribes were in important respects matrist. Not surprisingly, their poets emphasized the common patrist loathing for effeminacy in men, masculinity in women. The Roman schools, taught usually by resentful slaves, became places of sadistic torture, and children early learned to be, or at least to appear, brave under floggings.¹⁹³ Tenderness was rare and apparently confined to dissidents, mostly Greek-trained. A man, once married and head of a family, literally had the power of life and death over wife and children, and misuse of such power was common. Ideally, he loved (in a manner of speaking) Rome, his wife, and his children, in about that order, but the term 'love' here means predominantly loyalty to an established order and a fierce opposition to anything that would attack it.¹⁹⁴ Rome was a pretty loveless place; and when the Empire, safe for the moment

from external invaders, began to relax, the result was not development in the common man in the street of any capacity for love, but rather development of a kind of sensuality which conservative Old Guard Romans and egghead Hellenists alike distrusted and later came to despise.

In such a society as this, Greek importations, however fashionable in some circles, fitted but ill. Greek gymnastics ¹⁹⁵ gave way to gladiatorial combats; instead of athletes being judged on good form and style, they were judged on brute strength. The statues of ideal males, when not rude copies of older Greek models (often emphasizing the androgynous quality of the latter to a point where it becomes grotesquely obvious that even the copiers did not quite know what the Greek sculptors had originally had in mind) tended all too often to become muscularly exaggerated monstrosities such as the usual statues of Hercules.

The Romans seem not to have had any indigenous counterpart for the Greek Erōs; Cupido was originally, it appears, a personification of Desire or Longing, but as the god of love, the son of Venus, the name is not found prior to the time of Cicero, and boy-love was not idealized in any way, nor was it institutionalized in the Greek manner. It is a wonder that it developed at all; probably the minority of Hellenists got away with it because Romans commonly kept one or more slave-boys as "concubini," persons to go to bed with; sex pure and simple (cf. the Horace satire quoted below). More rarely, a Roman would love a free-born youth; but public opinion would be very harsh against the parties to such an affair if the man took a passive or "feminine" role, or if the boy remained in the usual boyish passive role after his beard began to come in, or if either of them used his mouth to bring the other to orgasm.

Male prostitutes or professional minions were apparently tolerated by Roman law, but they held—particularly if beyond boyish years—a very low place in the social order, though it is said that they had their own annual festival-day (April 23).

Despite the inroads of Christianity and other barbarian ascetic cults (e.g., Manichaeism, Mithraism, etc.) some watered-down version of the Hellenic ideal somehow took root and flourished for a few hundred years in the provincial hinterlands, and—though more self-consciously—among intellectuals in Rome itself. It is from these traditionalists that we get any evidence about Greek love. Some of these, e.g. Strato of Sardis, have been mentioned in the preceding chapter, as post-classical Greek, since they wrote in Greek.

But for the most part the homosexual literature in Rome has to

do with concubini, with orgies (for details see Petronius's *Satyricon*; Arrowsmith's unexpurgated translation is superb, pushing the anonymous or pseudo-Wilde translation into the shade), with how minions and effeminate persons have corrupted the Rome of homely Republican virtue, etc., etc.; outside Petronius there is not much variety, and most of what there is I personally find distasteful, save only for Catullus.

Of the more or less Hellenized Romans, we might as well begin with Lucretius Carus (B.C. 98-55?). One of the more profound of the Roman poets, he is best known for his didactic work *De Rerum Natura*—based on the Epicurean philosophy and ultimately on the “atomic” theory of Demokritos of Abdera. He finds a place in this study not because he was a boy-lover—not enough is known of his life to make possible any such conclusion—but because in book IV of his masterpiece, in a section relating to erotic love, he speaks of sexual desire as foretelling the nature of its own fulfillment, and in effect says that this is true regardless of the gender of the partner.

DISCOURSE ON VENUS (Excerpt)
 Thus the lover, whom Venus' arrows pierce
 (whether from a boy with glowing body
 or from a swaying, shining woman shot),
 swiftly seeks his archer, intent to clasp,
 surround, unite and spurt his jet within—
 wordless, his desire foretells fulfillment.
 The latter we call Venus; love is named
 Cupido, “Desire,” from that desire.
 (IV: 105 ff)

I could fill pages and pages, as did Bulliet in Chapter V of his *Venus Castina*, with scandalous anecdotes on the Caesars and their boyfriends, beginning with the usual remark characterizing Julius Caesar as “wife to all men and husband to all women,” and the usual story that he prostituted himself, in female garments, to king Nicomedes of Bithynia, “the Queen's rival and the inner side of the royal couch.” There is no point in doing so: Roman sensuality has been the subject of diatribes for some 2,000 years, from Petronius and Martial and Juvenal to the present day, and I could add nothing constructive to these.

Rather, I shall proceed to perhaps the most important figure in a history of Roman boy-love, and possibly the only one prior to Emperor Hadrian for whom the Greek ideal of boy-love was still meaningful: Gaius Valerius Catullus. Born in (how prophetically!) Verona, about

B.C. 87, this strange man—possibly a Romanized Celt—early gravitated to the bohemian intellectual circle of Valerius Cato. Not the stern Roman moralist, this Cato, but a provincial Hellenist; and under his influence Catullus read the Greek poets and wrote paraphrases and imitations of them—Sappho and Kallimachos in particular—and, most of all, drank in from them a world-view which fused with his own unique personality to produce a brief life at whose white-hot intensity we can only guess from his own blazing poems.¹⁹⁶

It is no exaggeration to make Catullus the spiritual ancestor of later bohemian “enthusiast”^{155a} movements culminating in today’s hipsterism. Norman Mailer¹⁹⁷ defines the philosophy of Hip in terms of the search for the more apocalyptic orgasm, for self-transcending experience even at the cost of suffering or shortening of life. This Faustian quest can most easily be traced, as Denis de Rougemont suggests, back to the Tristan myth; but I am inclined to think that in some measure it goes back beyond the troubadours, beyond the goliards (the Indulgence of Surianus¹⁹⁸ justifies their mention here), to Catullus. Whether or not he philosophized about this way of life, he certainly lived it. In Cato’s bohemian intellectual crowd (presumably much like lesser figures in Paris, Bloomsbury, Pfaff’s Tavern and Greenwich Village of 1400 to 1900 years later) Catullus was as wild as he was brilliant, drinking hard, carousing night-long, declaiming his fiery verses, demolishing rivals and enemies with barbed lampoons, exchanging boyfriends and girlfriends with others in his group, and—like those who followed in Tristan’s path—eating his heart out for the beautiful, aristocratic and very likely psychopathic ‘Clodia, alias “Lesbia,” realizing only too late that his passion for her was hopeless: she could not continue to return his love in honesty or intensity anywhere near his own. Clodia, for Catullus, becomes a symbol of the kind of love that drives its victim mad when it does not make him a god.¹⁹⁹

But Catullus finds a place in this study not because of his proto-hipsterism, nor yet because of his affair with Clodia/Lesbia, but because in the canon of his poems that have come down to us are several relating to his boyfriend, known to us only by the family name of “Juventius.” There were Juventii in the neighborhood of Verona²⁰⁰ and very likely that is where this boy (“flosculus Juventiorum,” “little flower of the Juventii”: *carm.* 24) came to Catullus’s attention. What may well be Catullus’s first poem of the series addressed to, or alluding to, “Juventius,” is his courting poem, *Carmen* 48, “Mellitos oculos tuos, Juventi”—frequently translated and imitated:

TO JUVENTIUS

Juventius, my love, if you would let me,
 I'd kiss your honeyed lips and eyes forever:
 nor cry Enough with half a million kisses—
 no, not even if in their profusion
 they outnumbered all the grain in Asia.

The word Catullus uses here, and regularly, for “kiss” is *basiare* (as verb), *basium* (as noun); the ordinary Latin word was *osculum*. Gilbert Highet—who has written a brilliant study of Catullus, worth consulting in this connection even though it says nothing of Catullus's affair with Juventius—points out that the common European words for kiss (old French *baser*, modern French *baiser*, Italian *bacio*, Spanish *besar*, Portuguese *beijar*) all derive from Catullus's neologism.²⁰² The poem in which he seems to have introduced the word, *Carm.* V, “*Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,*” is easily one of the most famous of them all, and it summarizes his philosophy in a few unutterably poignant words. We live only once, and do not return; love is one of the few things that make our brief span worth the effort, therefore let us live and love, my Lesbia, not caring what moralistic old sourfaces might say. We cannot depend on an afterlife; therefore, to hell with philosophies which seek to make us sacrifice what does make life worthwhile in favor of some unknown fate. Life is a dangerous game, and to win is only to not lose too soon. (The echoes of this in the goliards and later bohemians and modern hipsters are, I believe, no accident.)

The affair with Juventius was stormy. Though doubtless flattered speechless by Catullus's courting poem above quoted, and others, the boy did not, could not, cherish Catullus as much or as consistently as the poet did Juventius. One gathers that they were together for a time, certainly more than a few days: *Carm.* XV exhorts Catullus's friend Aurelius to take care of Juventius during the poet's absence—while admitting that he is more afraid of Aurelius's own actions than of the mob around, desirous of the boy as they might be. *Carm.* XXI curses out Aurelius for seducing Juventius, threatening to treat Aurelius in much the same way that the monstrously ithyphallic garden god Priapus was said to punish thieves (i.e., to force him to submit to buggery or irrumation, a dishonor for an adult Roman).²⁰³ In *Carm.* XXIV the poet addresses Juventius frankly as a would-be prostitute, pragmatically suggesting that if he intends to make a living off his good looks, he could do much better than waste time on his (unnamed) would-be lover lacking money or slaves. Once again in *Carm.* LXXXI he pleads with the boy in similar vein: “Juventius!

Just for fun, honeyed Juventius, while you were
playing,
I snatched one little kiss, sweeter than ambrosia.
But you—you wouldn't let me get away with it: and
for a stretched-out hour
you racked me, impaled me on a cross, nor could I
clear myself
by any repentant tears, nor lessen by one atom your
heartless savagery.
Meanwhile you were washing away the last traces of
my kiss
(as though the taint of some filthy bitch's foul
disease),
nor did you cease to flay me in every manner,
handing me captive to Love, that merciless jailer,
so that so soon the little kiss (once sweeter than
ambrosia)
was to become bitterer far than hellebore . . .
If that's the way you want to treat your lover,
Don't bother, kid: I'll find me someone nice.
(Carm. XCIX)

I hate—and yet I love thee too.
How can that be? I know not how;
Only that so it is I know,
And feel with torment that 'tis so.
(tr. Abraham Cowley, 1667)

We do not know if this was early or late in Catullus's career; but what is plain is that his poems to or about Lesbia become increasingly

cynical. In *Carm.* LVIII he speaks to his friend Caelius about “that Lesbia, our Lesbia, the One and Only Lesbia,” whom he formerly loved more than himself, in such vein as “and look what she’s doing now: playing the whore in alleyways.” And I detect a strain of the same cynicism in his references to homosexual play: jocosely threatening to do the Priapus act (*Carm.* XVI, “*Paedicabo ego vos et irrumabo*” —“I will ram it up your arse: I will ram it down your throat!”) on a couple of his friends who claimed to find effeminacy in his verse because they contained cartloads of kisses; lampooning Julius Caesar and Mamurra (alias “*Mentula*”) ²⁰⁴ for decadent lusts, etc., etc. The following example is perhaps a little too personal to be completely typical: “*O rem ridiculam, Cato, et jocosam/ Dignamque auribus et tuo cachinno./ Ride, quidquid amas, Cato, Catullam:/ Res est ridicula et nimis jocosa./ Deprendi modo pupulam puellae/ Trusantem: hunc ego, si placet Dionae,/ Pro telo rigide mea cecidi.*” (*Carm.* LVI) Frederick Adam Wright ²⁰⁵ has englished this:

Dear Cato, who can find a zest
In every kind of quip and jest,
The other day I saw a sight
That would have filled you with delight:
A boy and girl, upon my life,
Playing the parts of man and wife!
With Venus’ leave I took the brat
Myself, and gave him tit for tat.

Otto Kiefer suggests an additional meaning to this: the “girl,” says he, was “Lesbia,” and the boy a rival (or, perhaps, one of the males she simply picked up in alleyways?) ²⁰⁶ With this in mind I translated the same verses as follows:

CATULLUS TO VALERIUS CATO

sends greetings:

O Cato, listen—this is so fantastic
I simply have to tell you of it! Laugh,
my friend, as wildly as you love me.
Atop my Lesbia I saw this boy,
this sapling, stripped and panting. So I fell,
mainly for Venus’ sake, upon the lad
and with my reddened rigid spearhead
held him to his chosen manly duty.

And in so doing, of course, he both disgraced the rival and made matters acutely uncomfortable for Lesbia. But boy-lovers, later in

Rome and in more recent centuries, remember Catullus less for these cynical lines than for the Juventius poems translated above.

The next poet of high repute—though of not a hundredth the merit of Catullus—to deal with boy-love was Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro, B.C. 70-19). Virgil's two essays in this line became very famous and were in later centuries often translated and imitated. In the 9th book of his *Aeneid*, Virgil tells of the heroic deaths of the lovers Nisus and Euryalus. This material, though cold and deliberately calculated to stimulate the right emotions in Virgil's audience of aristocratic patrons and patriotic Roman gentry, is nevertheless moderately effective, as it is in the direct tradition of the Theban band and other (Dorian style) heroic deaths of lovers in battle. We may speculate that he felt a need of some love interest comparable to the Achilles-Patroklos affair which unified the *Iliad*; being unable to create one from his own experience or direct poetic inspiration (having little of the former and none of the latter), he had to draw on Greek models, albeit writing from the Trojan (Etruscan?)¹⁴⁹ or proto-Roman viewpoint.^{207a}

Virgil's other poem of boy-love imitates not Homer but Theokritos and other pastoral poets. This is his Eclogue II, excerpted below. Some commentators think that this poem contains genuine personal feeling, directed at a boy named Alexander (quasi "Alexis" in the poem). I cannot discern it; whatever may have been his capacity for love, about the only thing that shows in the poem is metrical skill and direct imitation of the Greek bucolic poets. Virgil sang in this tradition about boy-love mainly because this theme recurred in Theokritos and other poets of that genre.

J. W. Baylis has translated it in hexameters—with about as much compelling emotion as is in the original:

Corydon, keeper of cattle, once loved the fair lad
 Alexis;
 But he, the delight of his master, permitted no hope
 to the shepherd.
 Corydon, lovesick swain, went into the forest of
 beeches,
 And there to the mountains and woods—the one relief
 of his passion—
 With useless effort outpoured the following artless
 complainings:
 "Alexis, barbarous youth, say, do not my mournful
 lays move thee?

"Showing me no compassion, thou'lt surely compel me
to perish.

"Even the cattle now seek after places both cool and
shady;

"Even the lizards green conceal themselves in the
thorn-bush;

.

"Alone in the heat of the day am I left with the
screaming cicadas,

"While patient in tracking thy path, I ever pursue
thee, Beloved."

I do not pretend to know if the name "Alexis" was taken from that of Meleagros's besought boy in Anth. Pal., XII, 127, rather than being a standard name in the pastoral tradition. But "Corydon" here certainly is the origin of André Gide's title for his philosophical defence of androphile homosexuality (!); and the same name, divided and transposed into "Don Cory," presumably gave rise to the pseudonym "Donald Webster Cory" chosen by a world-famous defender of the same practices.

Nor is the echo of the pseudo-Theokritean Idyll XXIII an accident; J. M. Edmonds²⁰⁷ says that Idyll XXIII was in fact known to the Latin poets. The omission above is of more of the same kind of rural comparisons, which go on and on and *on*, tediously in the pastoral tradition. Such was Virgil's reputation that this dreary Second Eclogue became a model for later poets of our theme! Richard Barnefield protested that his own *Affectionate Shepherd* (see Chapter XIII, below, *ad fin.*) was only "an Imitation of *Virgill*, in the second Eclogue of *Alexis*."

Usually grouped with Catullus, but in actuality living a generation later (ca. B.C. 54-19), is P. Albius Tibullus.²⁰⁸ He was a neurotic friend of Horace, and all we know about him is well summarized in Highet's *Poets in a Landscape*. Though some of the poems in the ten books of elegies attributed to him are of inferior quality and betray the style of other unidentified authors, Tibullus is represented by enough fine elegies to qualify as a master, albeit a self-tortured one. He seems to have been attracted to people to whom he meant little more than a means to an end—namely money; and in his poems love and cynicism mingle, whether addressed to the freedwoman Plania alias "Delia" (a common whore) or to the capricious boy "Marathus," prone to tease the poet and taunt him with his—Marathus's—affairs with older women. I detect, nevertheless, traces, though only traces, of a capacity for love and for the Greek attitude—he did not feel able

to tolerate in himself the complete cynicism of Horace and Martial (see below). The relevant passages are in the first book of elegies, nos. 4, 8 and 9. The Loeb Class. Lib. edition of Catullus includes text and translation of these poems of Tibullus as well. Here I quote him in a more cynical mood. The speaker is Priapus, god of buggery:

ADVICE FROM PRIAPUS (Excerpts)

Devotee and lover, you who burn for boys,
 stay ever wary of the cold No-saying blooms.
 Beware—for each deserves your love:
 he for brave and skilful horsemanship,
 this one whose snowy breast cleaves the calm water,
 that one's staunchness, the other's modest cheeks.
 But even while they spurn your pleas and promises,
 hope on—and soon enough they'll come around . . .

Whatever whim your wayward one may venture,
 consent: complaisance makes the way for love.

At length surprise him, seize and snatch a kiss—
 sweet despite initial fight, still sweeter
 when he learns to give them—last and best
 when he clings in passion round your neck.

(I, 4:9-16, 39-40, 53-56.)

The remaining Tibullian material on boy-love consists largely of laments over the inconstancy and wilful perversity of Marathus, a theme which had occupied poets since Theognis, but one which rarely displayed the masochistic aspects visible in Tibullus. The suspicion arises that his "Marathus" was a sort of Lord Alfred Douglas figure, hardly worthy of respect. And to me it is significant that this kind of decadence does not appear in Greek writings on the subject; such a boy would not have been thought worth pursuing.

But after Tibullus we have almost nothing on boy-love itself. Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) mentioned boys in passing, but clearly he never took them seriously. Seemingly never young (in violent contrast to Catullus), Horace was a hedonist with a touch of Epicurean moralism, an agnostic with a dash of rustic superstition; a libertine who was nevertheless more an observer of life than a participant; and a marriage-scorner who left numerous poems to pseudonymous women who never come alive in them and who may never have existed.²⁰⁹ It is strange that, despite his stay in Athens, and his introduction of many Greek metres into his poems, Horace did not become more Greek in his attitudes. Possibly he was never able to

overcome his early hardships as a son of a slave, or his later poverty prior to his coming under the patronage of Maecenas. For all that, he still became a master in poetry, especially in the four books of Odes or Lyrics: intense, subtle, highly compressed, full of memorable phrases and images, worldly wise, and showing a technique of incredible refinement; four books which he himself called a monument "more enduring than bronze" (Carm. III, 30).²¹⁰

Fairly typical of Horace's offhand attitude towards boys as sexual objects—hardly love-objects—is this glimpse from his early Satires. The Second Satire from Book I (*Ambubaiarum collegia*) has to do mainly with adultery; to Horace the man in love is, all too often, absurd, ridiculous, less than human in his posturings, vain promises, blindness to the actual qualities of the girl or boy he's—shall we say—hung up on. Fools, trying to avoid one vice, stumble into its opposite; either too little or too much is the common result. Horace's advice: be sensible, be moderate. Courting an 'honorable' woman means in effect that you spend much money on her and end up buying a pig in a poke. (Horace's language is about as slangy as this.) Better go after call girls and at least see what you're getting into before you pay for it; it will cost you less in the long run—in time and anguish as well as money. (An attitude strongly reminiscent of the modern *Playboy*!) To the man who insists on so-called honorable courtship and rejects anything less, any other way to satisfaction, Horace says:

And surely you don't mean to tell me, pious one,
that when thirsty you'll drink only from a golden
goblet?
hungry, you'll touch nothing but pheasant under glass?
Or when you're horny, you'll still "grin and bear it"
even though a slave-girl or a good-looking boy's
right there
at your service? Not me! I like *my* sex-life free
and easy.

(Satires I, 2:113 ff)

In the eleventh of his early and savage Epodes, Horace bitterly recalls his own experiences of being in love. Three years after he had abandoned his pursuit of the gold-digger Inachia, he once again finds himself trapped. Clancy's recent version ²¹¹ hits the right note:

And now I am mastered by love for Lyciscus
who boasts he is more tender than any little woman,
from which nothing friends say has power to free me,
not their honest advice nor their strictest admonitions,

nothing but another flame, for a dazzling girl,
or for a graceful young boy, who leaves his long
hair unbound.

(Ep. XI, *ad fin.*)

But by the time when Horace got around to composing his Lyrics, he was seemingly beyond all that. No. 20 of book III warns his friend Pyrrhus of the probable consequences of paying court to beautiful young Nearchus—the battle likely to come between him and the boy's mother, with the boy disdainfully watching the competition:

Can't you see, Pyrrhus, the peril in fooling
with the cubs of an African lioness?
A bit later you will run from rough fighting,
fainthearted robber,
when she breaks through the enclosing lines of boys
to bring incomparable Nearchus back:
a mighty duel, will the prize come to you,
or is he for her?
In the meantime, as you draw out your swiftest
arrows, and she sharpens her terrible teeth,
rumor has it that the judge of this contest
spurned the palm with his
bare foot, and takes his ease with a gentle breeze
in the scented curls that cover his shoulders,
handsome as Nireus was or the boy Jove
snatched from Ida's streams.

(Carm. III, 20. tr. Clancy)

The fourth book of Lyrics, ten years later than the first three and only five years before the poet's death, nevertheless contains two poems to a boy Ligurinus (IV, 1 and 10). Both appear to contain some genuine feeling. The first, under the guise of a reproach to Venus and a plea to spare the poet her cruelty in forcing him once again to enter the competitions of love, confesses that despite all his insistence that he's grown too old for all that, he still cannot help dreaming of Ligurinus. The other takes up a theme often in later years returned to by Strato and other poets of the *Moûsa Paidikē*: Ligurinus, you are still cruel while still desirable, but all too soon your beard will come, and nobody will bother courting you any more, and you will regret not having behaved in more kindly fashion to the people who were interested in you.

Those wars, Venus, are long over,
and now you provoke them again. Please, please,
spare me.

I am not what I was when dear
Cynara ruled me. Put an end to your efforts,

cruel mother of sweet Cupids,
to soften the stiffness of a man now fifty
by your gentle orders: go where
the young men invite you with flattering prayers.

This is a better time for you
to bring, drawn by your swans' glowing wings,
your joy to
the home of Paulus Maximus,
if you're looking for the kind of heart to catch fire.

For he is noble and handsome,
and speaks well in defending his troubled clients,
a young man of many talents
who will carry the banner of your service far;

and whenever he is happy
to have conquered the gifts of a spendthrift rival,
he will set your marble statue
under a cedar roof, beside the Alban lakes.

There you will breathe in plentiful
incense, and you will find delight in the music
of the Berecynthian flute
mingled with the strings, with the pipe not
forgotten;

there, twice every day, the boys
and delicate virgins will chant the praises of
your divinity, their white feet
beating the ground in triplettime Salian dance.

As for me, not woman nor boy
nor the hope that believes its feelings are re-
turned
pleases me now, nor drinking bouts,
nor having fresh flowers wound about my forehead.

But why, ah Ligurinus, why
does a tear now and then run trickling down my cheek?
Why does my tongue, once eloquent,
fall, as I'm talking, into ungracious silence?

At night I see you in my dreams,
 now caught, and I hold you, now I follow as you
 run away, over the grassy
 Field of Mars, over flowing streams, with your
 hard heart.

(Carm. IV, 1. tr. Clancy)

O you are still cruel, still ruling by the blessings
 of Venus,
 but when the soft down shall grow suddenly over your
 arrogance,
 and the curls that now ripple about your shoulders
 have been cut off,
 and the color that now is fresher than the blossom of
 a rose
 has faded, Ligurinus, and your face has turned coarse
 and bristling:
 "Ah," you will cry, as often as you see your change
 in the mirror
 "the way that I feel today, why was I not like that
 as a boy,
 "or why will my cheeks not return unchanged when I
 feel in the mood?"

(Carm. IV, 10. tr. Clancy)

After Horace the material even on boys as sexual objects becomes of less and less interest (save for the already-mentioned *Satyricon* of Petronius). Statius, epic poet at the court of Domitian, touches on the subject in a vaguely Greek manner, but mostly to praise the looks of the cupbearer Earinus or various heroes (cf. *Silvae*; *Thebaid*, IV, 251 ff; VI, 564 ff). Martial, savage writer of bawdy or corrosive lampoons in the tradition of Lucilius (book XI, Anth. Pal.), evokes a Rome full of tightwads, lechers, whores, minions, stinkards, parasites, etc. Like Tibullus, Martial was doubtless a case of interest to psychiatrists, with noticeable sadomasochistic trends, and without much capacity for love (not that Roman education ever favored the latter). Several of his poems to boys and girls specifically ask them to refuse, so that his ardor would be whetted. Book I, 46 is fairly typical:

When you say "I'm in a hurry—do it if you're
 going to,"
 Hedyllus, my weakened ardor flags at once and droops.
 Tell me wait: held back, I'll go faster. Hedyllus,
 if you're in a hurry for it, tell me not to be.

Others explicitly repudiate the usual scene of boys yielding only after prolonged courting:

You want to be courted, Sextus: I wished to love you.
I must obey; as you demand, I'll court you.
But if I court you, Sextus, I'll not love you.

(II, 55)

Still others are sensuality pure and simple, though of a harmless sort:

How delicate the down upon your cheeks—
a sunbeam or a breeze rubs it away.
With just such fleecy film are ripening quinces
veiled, which gleam bright from a maiden's thumb.
Whenever I've kissed you even five times round,
your down gives me a beard upon my lips.

(X, 42)

In much the same vein are the tributes he wrote to Earinus, Emperor Domitian's cupbearer.²¹² They are pretty little verses, of no particular depth and without relevance to Greek love per se; but then, there is little or no evidence of love in anything Martial wrote.

Nor did the whims of his boyfriends induce Martial to give up the chase:

Polytimus is always running after girls;
Hypnus unwilling admits himself a boy;
Secundus' rump feeds on the acorn-shaped gland;
Dindymus is dainty—and wishes he weren't;
Amphion should have been a girl. These boys' caprice,
their pride, their querulous disdain—my friend,
I'd rather have these than five millions dowry.

(XII, 75)

But it is for a much cruder sensuality that Martial has become famous, or even infamous; and it was this sort of Roman practice which led to the inevitable revulsion by practitioners of the various Asiatic religions, then and afterwards common in Rome. This is not to say that Martial's lampoons played any part in such revulsion, however. The two following examples are fairly typical of the sort of thing for which Martial became notorious—and very likely much feared—and they are included here as anthropological documents of the period, documents of the sort of thing that went on not only among fanciers of boys but among the boys themselves. I make no

excuse for the coarseness of the result; Martial made none for the coarseness of his Latin verses.

That your hard mouth receives white-cheeked Galaesus'
 softest kisses, that your naked Ganymede
 shares your bed—it's too much (who'll deny it?)
 but let it be enough: at least don't wake
 their manly passion with your lecherous hand.
 This harms them worse than ever could your tool;
 your fingers make them into men too soon.
 Then comes the goatish smell, the fast-grown hairs,
 the beard (their mothers' rude surprise); and then
 in baths by day they aren't worth looking at.
 Nature divides the male: one part is meant
 for girls, and one for men. Keep to your part.

(XI, 22)

Martial's superstition is interesting; evidently he believed that stimulating one's boyfriend's genitalia (to make sure he too was enjoying the proceedings, as customarily in Greece) during anal intercourse hastened maturation, the end of a boy's bloom and the end of his sexual desirability. Needless to say there is no basis in fact for this superstition. His reference to the baths is also of some importance. Roman baths—a sort of combination YMCA, men's club, turkish bath, massage parlor and athletic club—early became notorious (especially among Christians) for the sensuality of their habitués. To Romans, nudity—as usual at the baths—was almost entirely a sexual matter, and therefore the baths became increasingly a homosexual hunting-ground, perhaps comparable to modern turkish baths.²¹³ In the following vindictive denunciation of a boyfriend's greed, the expression I translate as “Go screw!” is the Greek word *laikázein*—a slangy, derisive expression with roughly the same force, perhaps in context more like a greatly intensified “Go to hell!” Telesphorus is mentioned in some other Martial epigrams, and apparently he was learning to commercialize his sex early.

Telesphorus, when you see me hot and horny,
 you ask a whopping price. Can I refuse it?
 And even when I've said “OK,” unless I'm
 under oath, you still withdraw that rump
 with which you get away with so damn much.
 What if a barber, razor at my throat,
 suddenly says “Your money or your life!”?
 I'll promise. He's no barber, but a robber.

And fear's a tyrant. But the very moment
 that his razor's back in its crooked case,
 I'll tear the bastard limb from limb. But you?—
 Don't worry, kid, I wouldn't *want* to touch you.
 My left hand, dripping from my tool, would say
 "Go screw!" to your loathsome avarice.

(XI, 58)

Nor was Martial the only writer to deal with such unsavory matters. We know that there was plenty of similar erotic verse which has not survived. I have already mentioned the scandalous stories told of the Roman Emperors.²¹⁴ Nor, if the *Satyricon* and Juvenal's ferocious (and still not adequately translated) satires can be believed, were such practices limited to the imperial courts.²¹⁵ (Of course Juvenal's aberration in being an implacable woman-hater impairs, to me, his credibility.) Good, mediocre and poor poets and light versifiers amused themselves with writing verses dealing with the monstrously phallic garden god Priapus and his ways with boy thieves, women, and men. The so-called Priapea²⁰³ are outside my field, nor do I wish to make a long digression on these whimsies. Suffice it that people of all classes were enjoying themselves at the expense of anyone they could persuade or subdue, and that many were cruel (particularly to slaves, freedmen, and lower-class boys). The Roman government got into the act by levying taxes on male prostitutes, at least until the time of Emperor Philippus (died A.D. 249). Several more or less ambiguous laws followed, apparently in an attempt to revive the so-called Scantinian laws proscribing male love, but in the face of the Antinoüs cult it is dubious how effective they were.²¹⁶

On the Antinoüs cult itself, the last flowering of the Greek ideal in Rome, an entire book could be written, and many studies now exist.²¹⁷ A good summary can be found in Marguerite Yourcenar's extremely moving reconstruction, *Hadrian's Memoirs*.²¹⁸ The bare outlines of the story are well known: Hadrian, somewhere in his travels, met and loved the mysterious Bithynian boy Antinoüs. The boy later died under enigmatic circumstances; some claim that he sacrificed his own life to save that of the Emperor. Whatever the truth of this—and it is now undecidable—it is a matter of record that Hadrian set up a religion centering around the deified Antinoüs, founding a city as a center of this cult, ordering medals to be struck, statues carved, ceremonies created. We know something of the latter; a papyrus has been discovered describing the myth of the lion hunt in which Antinoüs saved Hadrian from the lion's claws.²¹⁹ What is

known of the rituals indicates not only the dissemination of this and similar myths, but the ceremonial representations of the Passion of Antinoüs, his death and resurrection, in a mystery play. This was a religion of transiency, akin to the earlier Dionysos and Osiris cults and some aspects of Orphism, and very Greek indeed in feeling. Antinoüs was, for all intents and purposes, an embodiment of ephemeral beauty, of the godlike in the human being, which arrives unpredictably and departs equally unpredictably, beyond the will or control of its bearer, and which deserves veneration and admiration during its brief tenure. We have already seen parallels to this Jungian archetype in the earlier hypothesized cult of the Boy God, and in the next chapter its reappearance under a different guise will get attention. In modern times the Maximin cult of the Stefan George Kreis is its nearest parallel; Kiefer²²⁰ even goes so far as to quote at length from some of Stefan George's poems to Maximin who—significantly—was also beautiful, mysterious, and short-lived, dying under enigmatic circumstances, apparently following presentiments of his own passing. It is indeed unfortunate for the subsequent history of mankind that this Antinoüs cult did not survive, being blotted out by Christian iconoclasts intolerant of anything different from their own narrow-minded rigidity; and it is equally unfortunate that the Maximin cult did not long flourish, being blotted out by Hitler's hordes with their similar intolerance of difference.

The antisexual tradition, which began showing up in Asia Minor long before the Roman soldiers took over all, continued and spread with the growing popularity of strange foreign cults among the lower classes. These cults seemed to promise to the downtrodden some measure of freedom from the Roman yoke; Roman sensuality was identified with Roman cruelty, and to reject the former was symbolically to reject the latter and with it the legitimacy of the hated Empire. Roman recognition of this insult was one reason for the persecution of the Christians (along with the Mithraites, Manichaeans, etc.). But eventually, pressure from Constantine's armies—mostly of barbarian origin and full of these same downtrodden converts to Christianity—forced Constantine to adopt Christianity and make it official; later emperors were themselves Christians of similar barbarian origin. And as a result laws were passed drastically altering the sexual and social life of the Empire, contributing largely to its demoralization and collapse. One does not readily break an ideological backbone without disastrous consequences. In burning their social bridges behind them, the victorious Christians burned up good and

bad alike, and on them rests the responsibility for both the destruction of so many precious traditions, attitudes, documents and artworks of Hellas (since they rejected Hellenic and Roman alike as pagan and equally evil) and the subsequent centuries of misery.

Symonds well summarized it (despite an admittedly Christian bias):

"Greece merged in Rome; but, though the Romans aped the arts and manners of the Greeks, they never truly caught the Hellenic spirit. Even Virgil only trod the court of the Gentiles of Greek culture. It was not, therefore, possible that any social custom so peculiar as paiderastia should flourish on Latin soil. Instead of Cleomenes and Epameinondas, we find at Rome Nero the bride of Sporus, and Commodus the public prostitute. Alkibiades is replaced by the Mark Antony of Cicero's *Philippic*. Corydon, with artificial notes, takes up the song of Ageanax. The melodies of Meleager are drowned in the harsh discords of Martial. Instead of love, lust was the deity of the boy-lover on the shores of the Tiber. In the first century of the Roman Empire, Christianity began its work of reformation. When we estimate the effect of Christianity, we must bear in mind that the early Christians found Paganism disorganized and humanity rushing to a precipice of ruin. [Symonds should have added, though, that the Christians did not give a clay farthing for either the grandeur or the ruin: many were convinced that the end of the world was just around the corner.] Their first efforts were directed toward checking the sensuality of Corinth, Athens, Rome, the capitals of Syria and Egypt. Christian asceticism, in the corruption of the Pagan systems, led logically to the cloister and the hermitage. The component elements of society had been disintegrated by the Greeks in their decadence, and by the Romans in their insolence of material prosperity. To the impassioned followers of Christ nothing was left but separation from nature, which had become incurable in its monstrosity of vices. But the convent was a virtual abandonment of social problems." ²²¹

WE MAY TAKE AS OUR LINE OF DEMARCATION THE REIGN OF THE SUPERSTITIOUS and terrified Emperor Justinian, who put a period to classical learning by closing the Platonic Academy in 529, together with all similar schools which might have rivaled his own Imperial University at Constantinople. This same emperor, not content with having ordered a wholesale revision and codification of Imperial law, issued a number of edicts promulgating new laws ("Novellae"). Among these were two (Novellae 77 and 141) ordering death by torture for all who practice homosexuality whether slave or free, whether through love or for money. D. S. Bailey²²² has provided translations of these, annotated and checked by Dr. Warren Johansson and this writer.

Nov. 77: ". . . since certain men, seized by diabolical incitement, practice among themselves the most disgraceful lusts, and act contrary to nature: we enjoin them to take to heart the fear of God and the judgment to come, and to abstain from such-like diabolical and unlawful lusts, so that they may not be visited by the just wrath of God on account of these impious acts, with the result that cities perish with all their inhabitants. For we are taught by the Holy Scriptures that because of like impious conduct cities have indeed perished, together with the men in them. §1. . . . For because of such crimes there are famines, earthquakes, and pestilences; wherefore we admonish men to abstain from the aforesaid unlawful acts, that they may not lose their souls. But if, after this our admonition, any are found persisting in such offenses, first, they render themselves unworthy of the mercy of God, and then they are subjected to the punishment enjoined by the law. §2. For we order the most illustrious prefect of the Capital to arrest those who persist in the aforesaid

lawless and impious acts after they have been warned by us, and to inflict on them the extreme punishments, so that the city and the state may not come to harm by reason of such wicked deeds. And if, after this our warning, any be found who have concealed their crime, they shall likewise be condemned by the Lord God. And if the most illustrious prefect find any who have committed any such offense, and shall omit to punish them according to our laws, first, he will be liable to the judgment of God, and he will also incur our indignation."

This edict, issued A.D. 538, is noteworthy for its insistence on the superstitious angle: Justinian evidently believed literally that "famines, earthquakes and pestilences" arise from people practicing buggery. This may relate, in some distant manner, to the common medieval notion that sorcerers and devil-worshippers practiced buggery; and this in turn finds a parallel both in shamanism (in which the priests, commonly credited with psychic powers and therefore for practical purposes with magic powers, often were homosexual) and in the sex acts ritually done with hierodules or *qēdēshim* of various Asiatic Goddess cults. I have the tentative hypothesis that some of the barbarian tribes bordering the Empire may have had shamanistic religions, to which they reverted in time of need even despite a nominal Christianity, even as do some Central Asiatic and Central and South American tribes to the present day. In which case, Justinian's edict was quite likely another fulmination against an alien religious practice, even more than against domestic sensualities. Note that here for the first time we find the ferocity of language characterizing English and American laws to the present day; "abominable and detestable crime against nature" is the commonest phrase in sodomy laws in the U.S.A.

Nov. 141: "Preamble: Though we stand always in need of the kindness and goodness of God, yet is this specially the case at this time [15 March, A.D. 544], when in various ways we have provoked Him to anger on account of the multitude of our sins. And although He has warned us, and has shown us clearly what we deserve because of our offenses, yet He has acted mercifully towards us, and, awaiting our penitence, has reserved His wrath for other times—for He has 'no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live' [Ezek. 33:1]. Wherefore it is not right that we all, despite God's abundant goodness, forbearance, and longsuffering kindness, hardening our hearts and turning away from penitence, should heap upon ourselves wrath in the day of wrath. Rather, we ought to abstain

from all base concerns and acts—and especially does this apply to such as have gone to decay through that abominable and impious conduct deservedly hated by God. We speak of the defilement [sexual use—WJ] of males, which some men sacrilegiously and impiously dare to attempt, perpetrating vile acts with other men.

§1. For, instructed by the Holy Scriptures, we know that God brought a just judgment upon those who lived in Sodom, on account of this very madness of intercourse, so that to this day the land burns with inextinguishable fire. [There were no volcanoes active in Palestine then.] By this God teaches us, in order that by means of legislation we may avert such an untoward fate. Again, we know what the blessed Apostle [sc. Paul] says about such things, and what laws our state enacts. [Novella 77] Wherefore it behooves all who desire to fear God to abstain from conduct so base and criminal that we do not find it committed even by brute beasts. [Untrue.¹⁹] Let those who have not taken part in such doings continue to refrain in the future. But as for those who have been consumed by this kind of disease [nósos: cf. the “rank disease” of *Don Leon*. WJ], let them not only cease to sin in the future, but let them also duly do penance, and fall down before God and renounce their plague [in confession—DSB] to the blessed Patriarch; let them understand the reason for this charge and, as it is written, bring forth the fruits of repentance. So may God the merciful, in the abundance of His pity, deem us worthy of His blessing, that we may all give thanks to Him for the salvation of the penitents, whom we have now bidden [to submit themselves—DSB] in order that the magistrates too may follow up on our action, [thus—DSB] reconciling to themselves God who is justly angry with us. And we also, wisely and prudently having in reverence the sacred season [Lent], entreat God the merciful that those who have been contaminated by the filth of this impious conduct may strive for penitence, that we may not have to prosecute this crime on another occasion. Next, we proclaim to all who are conscious that they have committed any such sin, that unless they desist and, renouncing it [in confession—DSB] before the blessed Patriarch, take care for their salvation, placating God during the holy season [Lent] for such impious acts, they will bring upon themselves severer penalties, even though on other counts they are held guilty of no fault. For there will be no relaxation of enquiry and correction so far as this matter is concerned, nor will they be dealt with carelessly who do not submit themselves during the time of the holy season, or who persist in such impious conduct, lest if we are negligent, we arouse God’s anger against us. If, with eyes as it were blinded,

we overlook such impious and forbidden conduct, we may provoke the good God to anger and bring ruin upon all—a fate which would be but deserved.”

Bracketed items signed DSB are by Canon Bailey, and are found in the translation provided in his book.²²² Bracketed items signed WJ are by Dr. Warren Johansson; those unsigned are by me. The language of Novs. 77 and 141 is ambiguous on the point of whether Justinian was insisting on private confession or public self-abasement, and is consistent with either hypothesis, but his reference to “in order that the magistrates too may follow up our action” suggests that he actually wished the guilty parties to expiate their offenses in the civil realm—by torture and death—as well as the churchly. Bailey tries unaccountably hard to exonerate Justinian, pointing out that in A.D. 525 fire and flood had destroyed Antioch, earthquakes and floods devastated Corinth and Dyrrhachium in Europe, Edessa, Anazarba and Pompeiopolis in the Byzantine East, and that only a year before Nov. 141 a plague had slain many in Constantinople. To superstitious minds of his time—as for centuries before and after—any epidemic or other natural disaster automatically was a warning from God: repent and mend your ways or perish!

The next few hundred years saw folkways which were in many respects the exact antithesis of those of Greece and Rome. The Roman baths had been a symbol of dangerous sensuality, so the “odor of sanctity” became characteristic of the monastic and eremitic saints who had refrained from that kind of sensuality for decades. Dr. Haggard has given plenty of distasteful details of the kind.²²³ Good Christians were supposed to live as though Judgment Day were due to arrive tomorrow; but nothing happened to indicate imminent fulfillment of the apocalyptic prophecies over several centuries, and the tension relaxed. Peasants lived, as one would expect forcibly converted pagans and their descendants to live, a double life, adhering—more or less—to the letter of the Christian law, but leaving the spirit to the monks. (Forced conversion was common: Justinian forced some 70,000 to be baptized in a single campaign,²²⁴ and many bishops and missionaries showed equal enthusiasm and at least equal lack of judgment.) The stories which placed pagan deities and poets into the roster of saints, and which told of the ithyphallic saints invoked against sterility or impotence, apparently have considerable foundation.

By the 12th century a number of very significant social developments had taken place. (1) The so-called Goliards had begun tra-

versing Europe. (2) The Catharist heresy had made many converts in southern France and Italy. (3) Provençal troubadours, under the influence of Catharism, had begun singing and circulating their poems of courtly love, permanently affecting both the whole history of literature from then on, and the history of love from then to Wagner's day and indirectly even to the present. (4) Arab and Persian mystics, particularly of the Sufi school of thought, had written voluminously, and their writings reached Europe. (5) Arabic translations of Greek writers had also begun to reach Europe. All these developments were interrelated, and I can do no more than sketch a few of the relevant trends and interactions, with emphasis on the changing concepts of love and how they made possible the eventual rediscovery of Greek love. For this account I draw heavily on Denis de Rougemont's *Love in the Western World*,²²⁵ Breen's thesis *Changing Social Roles of the Musician*,^{225a} Waddell,¹⁹⁸ G. Rattray Taylor,^{70,98} Huizinga's *The Waning of the Middle Ages* is of interest in this connection as well.

(1) The Goliard movement. For most of the Middle Ages education was, as is well known, in the hands of the clergy, and practically everyone of any degree of literacy was connected with some monastery or else with the nonmonastic priestly hierarchy. Often enough a boy would be snatched away as soon as he showed any signs of brilliance and given special training in a monastery, often being pressured into taking the usual monastic vows, or at least encouraged to go into holy orders. By the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries a great deal of rebellion had begun to develop toward the churchly idea that the world is evil and our life by right is and must remain a vale of tears. Many young people, educated in monasteries, began somehow—perhaps through contact with visiting monks who had been on pilgrimages, or else with crusaders back from the Holy Land—to realize that life confined to the same cell in the same monastery was dull and that they had been cheated of their chance of anything different, cheated of even the simple peasant pleasures of varied diet, drink, gambling and girls. Many were educated enough to read some of the ancient Roman manuscripts preserved in monastery libraries, and to realize that the world has not always been the dreary place it became under the church. One by one, two by two and finally by the hundreds, they left their rectories and monasteries, ostensibly to go on legitimate pilgrimages, but often enough never to return (though frequently to visit other monasteries and bring in word from the outside). Disaffected, skeptical and often combining an almost childlike simplicity with sophisticated cynicism, they wandered from monastery to monastery, from farm to farm,

from university to university. And if in the meantime they learned to sing anything but plain chant, to make verses, play musical instruments, juggle or entertain in other ways, they wandered also from feudal manor to feudal manor and from court to court, bearing news, gossip, rumors, and diversions of all kinds, in exchange for meals, wine and occasional chances at the local girls, or reputedly also at the boys. As their numbers grew, they went so far as to start a burlesque monastic order, the *Ordo Vagorum* (Order of Wanderers); they were also known as the Sect of Decius, Goliards, or Wandering Scholars. The last two names are most often used of them.

As one would expect, the church violently disapproved of this way of life. Popes and bishops thundered out denunciations. Rules of the monastic orders insisted that monks were supposed to be attached to their parent monasteries for life, travel being minimal and only on the orders of abbots or other spiritual superiors. "Secular" clergy (nonmonastic priests) were not supposed to leave their dioceses without written permission from their bishops, nor to be received in any other diocese without showing such written permission. The parasitism and lechery of wandering monks became proverbial, and members of the *Ordo Vagorum* became known by various abusive epithets, one of the mildest being "gyrovagi" (roughly, nomads—akin to "Beatniks!" but even more pejorative in that land-bound society). The church repeatedly threatened to withdraw clerical privilege from wandering priests—a penalty second only to excommunication, and in some ways worse, inasmuch as clerical privilege included immunity from civil prosecution, taxation, etc. But neither this threat, nor its eventual execution, nor adverse public opinion, ended the Wandering Scholars; the membership of the Sect of Decius continued to grow. The goliards preferred the wandering life full of experience (albeit the experience of hunger, thirst, cold and nakedness as well as that of spring and wine and love) to the secure but often empty life of monotony, enforced celibacy and obedience, the life where individuality had no place. Their search for the more intense life in certain important ways anticipates later bohemians (particularly of the Poe-Baudelaire persuasion) and present-day hipsters, and fits in with the similar search for transcendent experience characterizing courtly love, as I shall show below. (Note that *Tannhäuser* is the drama of one of these Wandering Scholars.)

For a stronger taste of the Wandering Scholars' way of life, let me quote from the opening of a bitter burlesque "Indulgence" of 1209 by one Surianus, purporting to release the church from further attacks by anticlerical members of the *Ordo Vagorum*, but in fact

attacking, in detail, the common churchly notion that the Wandering Scholars were living off the fat of the land:

"In the name of the supreme and undivided Vanity, Surianus, by grace of the continuing insanity of fools prelate and archbishop of the Wandering Scholars throughout Austria, Styria, Bavaria, and Moravia,—to all members, fellows, and followers of that Order, hunger, thirst, cold, nakedness, in perpetual exercise. Since, moved by crude simplicity and the inertia of folly, it does not yet repent us of our vow,—yea moreover since the same mind is in us to account it the supreme good to live upon other men, swift and unstable as the swallows seeking their food through the air, hither, thither, wheresoever the levity of our inconstant, fickle and singular mind may drive us, like a leaf caught up by the wind or a spark of fire in the brushwood we wander, unweariedly weary, and withal experiencing, in accordance with the rigor of our inordinate Order, mocks and blows such as neither Sarmentus at the iniquitous banquets of Caesar nor the wretch Gabba bore . . . needy, povertystricken, suffering, broken in reputation, consumed with hunger and thirst, shivering with cold, stiff with frost, swollen with wind, beggarly in habit, a linen clout upon our bare backs, one foot forever unshod, driven out from the houses of the laity, turned away from the doors of the clergy, bats that can find no place with either bird or beast, forever driven (like those that are born in the days of Rogation) to beg a stranger's bread: fitting is it, therefore, that we should graciously receive the just desires of our petitioners . . ." 198

Their life, as the goliards saw it, was startlingly similar to that of emancipated Negroes in the decades following the Civil War. Unsurprisingly, then, the *Carmina Burana* (a collection of goliard songs first published by Andreas Schmeller in 1847 from a ms. in the Benediktbeuren Monastery, first rediscovered in 1803 by Christoph von Aretin) include songs of tenderness and passion, of levity and bitterness, of wonder and satire, of gentleness and rage—of just about everything except resignation to the status quo, but primarily of alienation; a recurrent theme is that of the bitch goddess *Fortuna*, implacable and impersonal, responsible for the unpredictable brevity of human joy and life, and the sheer lack of connection between merit and fate. Side by side with this theme is that of Catullus, *Carm. V* (above, Ch. XI); life is a dangerous game, and to win is only not to lose too soon, therefore let us live and love to the fullest, here and now, and forget the unknown and dark future.

During their wanderings over Christendom and its frontiers, before and during the Crusades, some goliards doubtless encountered

the Saracen way of life with its theme of boy-love, though to be sure most goliard songs with sexual themes or love themes are thoroughly heterosexual. And for many goliards, as later on for disaffected medieval people generally, the Saracens represented an ambivalent—fascinating but feared—outgroup. (“White Negroism” was the result of emulating such outgroups¹⁹⁷ then and in later times to the present day). And fooling around with boys may have represented another “kick” in much the same sense that wandering, and wine, and girls did.

And at least one of the goliards, Hilary, usually styled “Hilarius of England,” who is known to have attended some of Peter Abélard’s lectures ca. 1125, was a boy-lover as well as a nun-lover; and some of his verses praising his boyfriends still survive. He was not, as sometimes claimed, the first Latin poet to use two-syllable rhyme, but he was apparently the first known to use exclusively this form; his verses are generally based on syllable number (8, 10 or 15 syllables to the line, with 4, 5 or 7 stress accents) and are divided into quatrains. His poems to girls are not impassioned; those to boys—cited and translated below—occasionally show some signs of passion. He is best known for his *Play of Daniel*, which seems to have been the basis of the later Beauvais Cathedral “*Danielis Ludus*” which has received some exciting performances by Noah Greenberg’s Pro Musica Antiqua group in New York in recent years. One may speculate that Hilary’s boyfriends were among his pupils, perhaps acting roles in his *Play of Daniel* or other plays put on at whatever school Hilary was then temporarily attached to, much as in Shakespeare’s time.

Hilary’s extant verses and plays have been edited, from the Paris MS., by John Bernard Fuller, Ph.D.^{225b} I have seen a microfilm of this manuscript, checking a couple of disputable points in it against Fuller’s edition. The relevant verses, for our present purposes, are Nos. IX and XIII, both addressed “ad puerum anglicum,” together with No. X, “Ad Guillelmu de Anfonia.” Edouard Roditi, author of a recent French text on homosexuality, has written me to the effect that he believes other poets of Hilarius’s “circle”—presumably other goliards wandering with him—wrote similar effusions; and he also refers to a passage in the autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis in which the author refers to his own personal beauty (presumably his “bloom”) as constituting a means of social advancement.

Hilary evidently became acquainted in some way with Roman or Greek mythology, as in several of his surviving verses he refers to it, specifically to Jove and Ganymede: Virgil and Ovid may be the most likely sources, but possibly Hilary had read other manuscripts preserved in this or that monastery. Fuller says that the boy-loving

verses of Hilary betray "calf-love"; but then, so do goliard love verses whether addressed to males or females—sophistication and passion are not to be expected in this period prior to the ripest expressions of the troubadours, who were after all a much different breed of cat, without monastic backgrounds which would have hampered their knowledge of the world and of women. Hilary's verses are certainly doggerel of a kind which I balk at trying to render into verse; far less mature than the *Play of Daniel*, and possibly adolescent productions, but of interest as documenting the survival of boy-love in a period thought to have been entirely devoid of it. Complete texts can be found in Fuller, with his own paraphrases; translations are mine, and differ in interpretation from Fuller's.

IX. Ad puerum anglicum (Excerpts)

- (2) Crinis flavus, os decorum cervisque candidula
Sermo blandus et suavis; sed quid laudem singula?
Totus pulcher et decorus, nec est in te macula,
Sed vaccare castitatis talis nequid formula.

Blond hair, finely shaped mouth, little white neck, sweet smooth voice: but why bother with praise of individual features? You are beautiful and fine all over, and in you is no blemish. But there is no way at all to describe such purity.

- (3) Cum natura te creavit, dubitavit paululum
Si preferret te puellam an preferret masculum.
Sed dum in hoc eligendo mentis figit oculum,
Ecce prodixit, in commune natus ad spectaculum.

When nature created you, she hesitated a moment whether she preferred you as girl or boy. But while she fixed her mind's eye on the choice, behold! you came forth, born a miracle sharing features in common with both. [Cf. Shakespeare, Sonnet XX.]

- (6) Crede mihi, si redirent prisca Iovis secula,
Ganimedes jam non foret ipsius vernacula,
Sed tu, raptus in supernis, grata luce pocula,
Gratiora quidem nocte Iovi dares oscula.

Believe me, if the Golden Age of Jove were to come again, not now would Ganymede be His household servant; but you, ravished up into the heights, would give Jove by day sweet drinks, and by night sweeter kisses.

- (7) Puellarum juvenumque votum extas publicum,
Te suspirant et exoptant quem noverunt unicum,
Errant quidem, inmo peccant qui te vocant 'anglicum':
Et vocalem interponant, et dicant 'angelicum.'

You show yourself as the public promise [? offering to Jove? or indication of the heights to which human beauty can rise?] of girls and boys. Those who know the one and only you, sigh for you and crave you greatly. But indeed they wrong you, yea they even sin who call you "Anglic" [English]; and they should insert a vowel and call you "angelic."

It is difficult now not to laugh at these naïve sentiments; but in that age, when poetry was crude (for the troubadours had hardly begun, and they were not yet well known in England or northern Europe), even the modest skill shown in these verses was doubtless prized, and whatever boy received them was probably flattered out of his mind. The "Anglic-angelic" wordplay of course recalls Pope Gregory's famous exclamation "Non angli, sed angeli!"—"Not Angles, but angels!" on seeing some handsome English boys on the slave auction block. Note that in the Middle Ages and indeed until recent times angels were always said to be masculine (presumably because of the Pauline objection to women), rather than sexless, and surpassingly beautiful. That their representations all too often—save occasionally in the Renaissance—seem epicene is possibly due to an unspoken taboo against representing a boy as in the slightest degree sexual or sexually desirable. But of this I shall say more in Volume II as part of a content analysis of artworks relevant to the Greek love theme.

Those who explain these verses by Hilary away as a mere literary exercise will have to explain why such a high proportion—say one fifth—of his extant verses have boy-love as a subject matter; the burden of proof is on them. No. XIII, which follows, is much more explicit.

XIII. Ad puerum Anglicum
Puer decus, decor floris,
Gemma micans, velim noris
Quia tui decus oris
Fuit mihi fax amoris.

Ut te vidi, mox amoris
Me percussit, sed diffido;
Nam me tenet mea Dido
Cuius iram reformido.

O quam felix ego forem,
Si per novum successorem,
Asuetum iuxta morem,
Declinare hunc amorem.

Impetrabo, sicut credo,
Nam in predam tibi cedo;
Ego preda tuque predo,
Me predoni tali dedo.

Nam et rector superiorum,
Raptor olim puerorum,
Si nunc esset, tam decorum
Ad celeste ferret torum.

Aula tandem in superna,
Satis prontus ad alterna,
Nunc in toro, nunc pincerna,
Iovi fores gratus verna.

Lovely boy, beauty of a flower, sparkling jewel, I want you to know that your beautiful lips have made me into a torch of love. The moment I saw you, love smote me, but yet I despair: for my Dido possesses me, and I dread her wrath.

Oh how happy I would be, if through a new successor [someone to take your place], conforming to the customs, I could refuse this love.

But, as I believe, I shall succeed. For I go to you as a robber. I steal you, and you may steal too: I surrender myself to you as to an equal robber.

For even the ruler of the heavens, once upon a time a ravisher of boys, if he were here, would snatch to himself such a handsome consort.

Finally in the heavenly palace, enough for your mutual purposes, you would be a pleasing servant to Jove, now as cupbearer, now in the marriage-bed.

The poet's "Dido"—a mistress?—is otherwise unknown. The relaxed and frank bisexuality of these effusions is especially unusual for the period. The other two poems are in much the same vein as the two quoted, though longer. There are a few earlier examples by clerics, quoted in E. R. Curtius's *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. One of these (O admirable Veneris ydolum) is supposed to be ninth century, though it is in much the same sort of crude Latin as Hilarius, with the same two-syllable rhymes.

(2) Catharism and (3) The troubadours. The history here is extremely difficult to disentangle, and I draw my account largely though not entirely from Denis de Rougemont's earlier cited *Love*

in the *Western World*. Rougemont has shown convincingly enough that the troubadours' cult of passionate or courtly love (*cortezia*) derived from Catharism and embodied certain of its themes and tenets in poetic myth (the term is from Graves's *The White Goddess*),¹²⁰ a systematic symbolic language known to the initiates but misinterpreted by outsiders, and connected intimately with the power that poetry using it had on hearers both contemporaneously and later. Catharism was a matrist religion, annihilated by the Roman church but leaving its traces thereon, e.g. in the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary²²⁵ and on the culture of all subsequent epochs. Its origins go back well beyond those of Christianity; they are in fact Zoroastrian, Orphic, Platonic (particularly in the Myth of the Charioteer in the *Phaedrus*), later Manichaeism and Neoplatonic.²²⁶ Parallels may be drawn between Plato's light and dark horses, Ahura-Mazda and Ahriman, spirit and body, spiritual and fleshly (or courtly and mundane) love, etc., and generally Catharist symbolism fits into the whole ancient scheme of myths of polarity. Alan Watts's book *The Two Hands of God*, which I have not yet read, is said to deal with this theme using principally non-European myths as source materials. If so, the work is likely to be illuminating but only a tantalizing fragment, as only in Western Europe (so far as I know) are the myths of polarity explored in such extreme detail, not to say exaggeration, both in official Catholicism and the various heresies. The Roman Church never did entirely get over its brush with Manichaeism, thanks largely to Augustine of Hippo and his followers; and its basic idea was to push dualism to an extreme, suppressing the darker half altogether rather than seeking to reconcile the female with the male principle, dark with light, evil with good, in alternation or synthesis. In Manichaeism, the Christian single god was replaced by two, a god of light and a god of darkness (the latter being identified with the Demiourgos or Cosmocrator, who created the physical universe). And some such ideas apparently survived, albeit in less rigid form, in Provence.²²⁷

Rougemont gives abundant historical, linguistic and thematic evidence²²⁸ connecting the troubadours with Catharism; I need not even summarize the evidence at this point. Suffice it that the historical development is closely related to the later increase (and esoteric meaning) of boy-love, and almost certainly also to the Renaissance sonnet-cycles addressed to boys. I shall also show that similar historical processes were at work here and in ancient Greece; in particular, that Dorian boy-love, which (to anticipate a moment) was supposed to be as supra-sensual as institutionalized courtly love, had very remark-

able parallels to courtly love, first pointed out by J. A. Symonds.²²⁹ Further, both Dorian boy-love and courtly love became afterwards subjected to the Ortega y Gasset process: being taken over, albeit in totally misunderstood form, by the general public.^{174a} In addition, many troubadours were boy-lovers, though significantly enough they did not go so far as to make boys the objects of *cortezia*: that was not to be save in Renaissance revivals of the courtly love tradition. Dante listed the troubadours Arnaut Daniel and Guido Guinicelli among the sodomites in hell²³⁰—and these are two of the most ardent praisers of the beauty of their Ladies.²³¹ Rougemont points out the curious fact that some troubadours actually addressed their Ladies in poems as “mi dons” (mi dominus, my Lord) or “Senhor” (Sir): a clear indication, to me, of the suprasensual or mystical nature of the relationship with a Lady who may have been an androgynous deity rather than a fleshly noblewife.

Let us first consider the parallel role of myth in Greek love (as institutionalized by the Dorians) and in courtly love. Rougemont defines a myth as a symbolic tale, archetypal and of course anonymous, summing up many more or less analogous situations, issuing from whatever sacred principle was accepted at the beginning by the group transmitting the myth, and expressing at least symbolically the rules of conduct of a given group (p. 5). For the Dorians, the relevant myths were those of Achilles and Patroklos, Herakles and Hylas, Zeus and Ganymede. For the troubadours, the relevant myth was that of Tristan and Iseult, discussed *passim* by Rougemont. In both types of love, the lover is conventionally said to be possessed by a god, the literal meaning of “enthusiastic,”²³² therefore ennobled:²³³ “Amors par force vos demeine”—“Love by force dominates you”²³⁴ well describes both kinds of attachments. Both are in a very important way associated with death, even as with physical nonconsummation. The Dorian’s boyfriend is, like the troubadour’s Lady, “the beloved who forever says No”; the Dorian boy-lover is said to achieve superhuman heroism in battle, or in tyrannicide or other derring-do, for the sake of his idealized boyfriend, paragon of beauty, and often the stories or (more significantly) the poems have it that one or both die before any physical fulfillment becomes possible. Similarly, the troubadour or courtly lover, routinely a knight whose motto is “Dieu et ma Dame!”²³⁵, wanders over the Continent doing heroic deeds for his Lady, likewise a perpetual No-sayer and a paragon of beauty; and he risks his life for her in tournaments²³⁵ or battles, ideally never consummating the relationship even if he does finally spend a night with her (Rougemont, *passim*), but seeking death as a release.²³⁶

Physical consummation, in both, is considered inconsistent with the highest ideal.²³⁷ These loves are extramarital (the boy-lover or the troubadour may have a wife at home; the Lady is typically some nobleman's wife, or even a Queen regnant), "beyond good and evil,"²³⁸ outside normal human experience, self-transcending, irreconcilable with the world, often self-defeating in the normal mundane sense (here, I think, is partly what Bergler was groping for); an apocalyptic wrenching of oneself out of the normal moral code, as in more modern hipsterism¹⁹⁷; love perhaps less of the individual human idealized in the relationship than of the symbol represented by him or her, and still more of the state of being-in-love, of being possessed by the god, of the transcendent experience, of even the very obstacles which keep one's interest and excitement at fever pitch. Unsurprisingly, stories of Dorian love (many based on poems now lost) often have a hortatory, even mystical, sound; and many have noticed the mystical flavor of troubadour poetry.²³⁹ And in both Dorian and troubadour poetry the language is standardized, similar images, comparisons and symbols being found.

There are still other parallels, which can be studied by comparing the Dorian literature and the accounts in Chapter X above with Rougemont's book, but these will suffice for now, both to illustrate parallel social processes and to provide reciprocal illumination of the Dorian ideal and that of the troubadours—each seems more understandable, the better one knows the other. Symonds²⁴⁰ correctly points out that the troubadours were not directly influenced by Greek myths, but rather that parallel historical origins were responsible; these may be conveniently summarized—in a partly speculative reconstruction—in the situation of recently migratory military groups of small size, confronted at once with the psychological necessity of a stimulus to heroism, the need of more reliable foci of loyalty than distant and vulnerable liege-lords, the need of expression of a kind of love going beyond the mundane marital kind (particularly considering a scarcity of women and the need of keeping them at home for their own protection and for raising children), and the need of a self-transcending experience of union with the deity not found in the available orthodoxy. But to this I would have to add at once that the parallel between the Dorian and troubadour ideals points to their common (though distant) origin in Persian-Arabic mystical worldviews.

The psychological bases are somewhat harder to reconstruct, largely because we know only through the poetry any details of the self-transcending experience, and its vocabulary is conventionalized or standardized—which means that a given poem relies for effect on

the skillful manipulation of symbols already well known to initiates; this does not necessarily detract from the authenticity of the experience, of course. A clue to the lure of the passion that seeks not fulfillment in this life but heroic struggle ending only in release of death may perhaps be found in the Sartre theme of selfawareness being at its maximum when one confronts imminent death. Rougemont, somewhat less convincingly to me, connects it with the *Credo quia absurdum*, glorifying passion "precisely because it is preposterous, inflicts suffering upon its victims, and wreaks havoc alike in the world and in the self,"²⁴¹ elaborating it by making it analogous to Starling's principle or Newton's third law: "Between joy and its external cause there is invariably some gap and some obstruction—society, sin, virtue, the body, the separate self. Hence arises the ardour of passion. And hence it is that the wish for complete union is indissolubly linked with a wish for the death that brings release. It is because passion cannot exist without pain that passion makes our ruin seem desirable to us."²⁴² He is speaking, of course, in the context of "passion" as equated with courtly love, inspiring the troubadour poems and indirectly all subsequent romanticist movements; and of courtly love as always adulterous, therefore illicit. A further clue is found later on: to the uninitiate, Tristan and other adulterers or coveters of noblewives are guilty individuals. But their *felix culpa* becomes a splendid experience, self-transcending and more magnificent than morality rather than merely representing a falling short of it.²⁴² This makes the courtly lovers automatically tragic heroes; and we remember immediately that Walter Kaufmann somewhere summarized the theme of tragedy as the celebration of guilt over divided loyalties, and that no less a tragedian than Aeschylus wrote a tragedy "The Myrmidons" whose tragic hero was Achilles. Tragic heroes find fulfillment and expiation in death. The tragic hero falls just short of being the Nietzschean *Übermensch*—the passionate man who is in command of his passions: he is, instead, the man whose passionate love leads him perforce to heroism and death.²⁴³ And is it not significant that Iseult symbolizes the strange, even the farouche, eternally fugitive, vanishing, even as the Dorians made of the boy's evanescent beauty a similar symbol?²⁴⁴ And the tragic irony here is that the audience knows, as the protagonists will not let themselves admit, that the fleshly Iseult is already someone's wife and becomes in the end a frowzy slave to domesticity; while the beautiful boy becomes a man and possibly quite commonplace. Wherefore Rougemont makes the epigram²⁴⁵ that the attempt to prolong passion (in anything like the soaring sense of courtly love) by joining it to conventional mar-

riage ruins both parties and enriches the State of Nevada. The quotations from Harry Stack Sullivan in Chapter V amply illustrate this. The social process documented by Ortega y Gasset²⁴⁶ set in later on in both cultures: boy-love, from being a Dorian mystique, became a commonplace matter of prostitution and source of tax revenues under the Roman Empire; passionate love, from being a preoccupation of literate and often aristocratic individuals in the Middle Ages, has become a trashy debased theme of "romantic" novels, movies and TV programs. Both myths lost their meanings after their outer forms became part of the common property of the masses. And the decriers of the debased forms all too often are unaware of the original mystique: thus Rougemont—"The philistine who is ready to condemn all passion a priori confesses thereby never to have experienced passion of any kind."²⁴⁷

4. Sufi'ism. Various scholars²⁴⁸ have detected influences of Arab lyric on Provençal lyric, and of Sufi mysticism on *cortezia* or Catharism. Sufi'ism began as an ascetic sect in Islam, spreading during the 9th and 10th centuries into Iraq, Persia and Egypt and thereafter throughout the Islamic lands. It quickly developed a gnostic and pantheistic side, evidently under influences already seen for Catharism—Persian Manichaeism and neoplatonism—and its articulate proponents began to emphasize, as orthodox Islam could not, ecstatic union with the deity as a higher way. There were strong parallels to Catharism: otherworldliness, God as absolute beauty, the soul's longing for union with God becoming symbolized by a very Platonic-sounding attachment to beauty. Rougemont (ch. 9) describes in some detail how this unorthodox religion developed a kind of esoteric language, another system of poetic myth like that of the troubadours, where erotic metaphors symbolized heretical religious conceptions. He even mentions the love-and-death obsession. (This shows up especially in Hafiz.) The Sufi poets became another kind of troubadours, and their lyric poetry skillfully manipulated conventionalized terms celebrating the beauty and the joys of union with one's Lady or—very often—with a beautiful boy, usually the nobleman's *sáki* or cup-bearer.^{248a} Rougemont²⁴⁹ shows that this mystical poetry very likely got to Toulouse and Languedoc and Provence via Andalusia and the Arab-speaking Spanish Moors. The masses of Persian and Arabic poems of boy-love had, in time, roughly the same effect as the Dorian and the Provençal love: they resulted, if the *Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* and the later Turkish mores be any criterion, in common man adopting an ethic permissive of boy-love. R. A. Nicholson's various works on Sufi'ism are a classic source, and Islamic

materials relating to boy-love are now available in what seem to be convincing translations: Reuben Levy's translation²⁵⁰ of the *Qabus Nama* ("Mirror for Princes") of Kai Ka'us ibn Iskandar includes the famous advice to let one's desires incline in summer towards youths, in winter towards women; Ibn Sa'id al-Andelusi's anthology *The Pennants* (ca. 1243) has been translated by A. J. Arberry²⁵¹; Avery and Heath-Stubbs have translated thirty outspoken poems by Hafiz of Shiraz (Shams ud-Din Mahammad, 14th century).²⁵² A few earlier translations of Abu-Nowas (756-816, notorious from his mention in the *Thousand Nights and a Night*), Sa'di, Rumi and Djami exist, but, in most of these, female pronouns have had a way of getting substituted for male, even as in some of the old editions of Anakreon¹⁶⁵ and some 19th century French translations of Walt Whitman's poems of comradesly love. But further attention to Sufi'ism or the *Thousand Nights and a Night* will have to be deferred for another study as it is too far afield from the present topic. Suffice it that this material influenced later poets, particularly in and after the 18th century.

5. Before the Byzantine copies of ancient Greek manuscripts became known to Renaissance humanists, the only extensive knowledge of Greek thought and attitudes in medieval Europe was from the Arabic translations. Of particular importance: Arabic commentaries and translations of Plato and Aristotle long preceded European familiarity with the originals. It is fairly obvious that the Arabic commentaries—like later European ones—interpreted the Greek writers in terms of the current preoccupations and prejudices. Ancient writers were cited in support of the latter, and medieval attitudes were doubtless influenced by these commentaries. The history is even more complex and tangled than for the Manichaean-neoplatonic-Sufi'ist-Cathar-troubadour interaction, and once again would take us too far afield; suffice it that this influence was of importance. There is material enough here for a score of doctoral dissertations.

IN THE RENAISSANCE

1. *On the Continent.* Though the troubadours had been silenced a couple of centuries earlier, their influence continued to be felt, largely via Petrarch, and their poems to be read, and their themes and preoccupations to inspire other poets. Passion and fashion began in Italy to join together in sonnet cycles and madrigals and other poems addressed to beloved but in practice unattainable Ladies, unaware of the heretical esoteric meaning of courtly love. Society became frankly matrist, partly from this influence, partly from that of Petrarch, partly from the enthusiastic rediscovery first of Roman, then of Greek authors. Sensuality, seemingly justified by the burgeoning fashion of aping the ancients, resulted in a considerable relaxation of the churchly codes, in practice if not in official pronouncements. Papal, episcopal and secular palaces blossomed out with unheard-of splendor. Hetairai—now called *cortigiane*—became an important part of life. (One of the most famous of these was La Mancina, d. 1543, to whom both Michelangelo and many lesser poets addressed poems.)²⁵³ Marriages began to take on a Greek-like character: engagements and actual wedlock without any particular fuss, marriages being contracted for dynastic or socio-economic reasons (it being assumed then, as in Greece, that affection would grow rather than that one initially had to be swept off one's feet). And apparently under Greek or Persian-Arabic influence, some poets began to address passionate poems to boys. Sometimes these had the nature of conventionalized courtly love (much as did the poems to their Ladies), sometimes they were more passionate and more specific. In the same way (as I shall detail in Volume II) figures of Christ, saints and angels became less and less epicene and often enough showed clearly that the splendid lines, contours and flesh tones were based on males regarded as sensuous

delights or even erotic objects. (Michelangelo, Leonardo—who seems to have used delicate boy models for faces of both sexes—and Caravaggio are among the most blatant.)

An instance so classic as to be a virtual archetype is Michelangelo or Michelagnuolo di Lodovico Buonarroti-Simoni, to give him his own spelling (1475-1564). I shall go into detail about this colossus partly because his own behavior shows in enormous scale the kind of attitudes, temperament and practice common and accepted in his day. As much as I hate to disagree with Symonds, I cannot accept this Victorian scholar's conclusion ²⁵⁴ that Michelangelo was a frigid invert: "no partiality for women, and a notable enthusiasm for the beauty of young men," "a man of physically frigid temperament . . . who habitually philosophized his emotions . . ." We have not only many letters of Michelangelo which show the contrary—a particularly famous one has him describe himself as of all men ever born, the most inclined to fall in love, compelled to love anyone who shows any talent, mental dexterity or unusual grace. To be sure, the female figures in his drawings, paintings and sculptures are not especially imbued with female sexuality: but in *no* art of this period are they; celebration of the female in this manner is hardly found at all anterior to Goya, and it is the rare exception in any epoch. And the poems of Michelangelo addressed to various women, including Vittoria Colonna, show an admittedly closer affinity to Dante's praise of Beatrice, and indirectly to the poems of courtly love, than they do to later poetry animated by specific erotic interest. And in truth it is sometimes difficult to tell whether a Michelangelo poem is addressed to God, or to Vittoria Colonna, or to some other woman, or to Tommaso Cavalieri or one of his other boyfriends: the same intensity—even the same *furia* and *terribilità* ²⁵⁵—are found in almost all of them, and in his paintings and sculptures. The poems confirm over and over the material from the letters already referred to. The similarity of language in those addressed to the Colonna and to his boyfriend confirms, as well, what he said in his letters: passionate attachment to anyone of excellence, apparently regardless of age or gender.

But physical frigidity? Let the Freudians talk of "sublimation" all they will, it seems out of character. Nothing is known of Michelangelo's relationships with women—that with the Colonna ²⁵⁶ was not too likely to be sexual considering their advanced ages (and his overt emulation of Dante in this affair)—and indeed one may conjecture that he may have felt himself to be unattractive to women because of his mutilated nose. We know that he admired La Mancina, one of the famous hetairai of the day, but the epitaphs he wrote on

her (nos. 67-8 of the originally published collection of 105 poems, nos. 109.67 and 109.68 of the Tusiani translations) do not prove anything one way or another. But it is abundantly clear that Michelangelo's feelings for certain boys and young men were at least tinged with eroticism: it shows in very many of the paintings and sculptures, from the very early Centauromachy (1492?) and Angel with the Candlestick (1494-5) through the superhuman David (1501-04) and Sistine Chapel decorative youths (1508-10) to the Victory (1532-33?)—sometimes identified as Cavalieri.²⁵⁷ This last is especially remarkable: Victory is personified as an adolescent, of markedly Greek idealization in some respects and of an individuality bordering on the baroque in others, bestriding an older man in whose facial features can be recognized a self-portrait by Michelangelo. (Cf. Sonnet 66 in the Tusiani translation!) Michelangelo's letters to young Tommaso address the boy (whom he met in 1532) in terms we would today consider exaggeratedly deferential as well as passionate. The passionate friendship, whatever its degree of sexualization, lasted until Michelangelo's death, over 32 years later, as Tommaso Cavalieri was one of the individuals attending the artist on his deathbed.²⁵⁸ The poems to Cavalieri are nos. 41-46, 50, 55, 63-66, 75-6, 109.18-19, 109.21(?), 109.40, and possibly others; some are ambiguous and it is impossible to do more than guess which beloved in which gender was addressed: nor did it matter to Michelangelo. Beauty was one, says Tusiani, whether in the Colonna's eyes or in some adolescent boy's body.

But without allowing this account to descend from a *Sittengeschichte* to a *chronique scandaleuse*, one may still mention Michelangelo's fifty epitaphs on the 15-year-old Cecchino Bracci (d. 8 Jan. 1544), nephew and favourite of Luigi del Riccio. No. 19 of these epitaphs (No. 73.19 in the Tusiani translations) makes the dead boy say:

The flesh, now earth, and my few bones, now ridden
Of my sweet eyes and of my pleasing sight,
Remind the one to whom I gave delight
Of the dark jail in which my soul was hidden.

(or:)

Remind the one who held me very tight
Of love in bed to which my soul was bidden.

These last two lines (intended as a variant of the two preceding ones) may refer to Michelangelo or to Luigi del Riccio or both; Riccio had introduced him everywhere in Rome, and apparently every-

one loved the boy. On his death, Tusiani mentions that epitaphs poured in from all parts of Italy. Tusiani interprets the two lines (Michelangelo's "moral lesson" to Riccio) as giving away the sexual character of the relationship between uncle and nephew; but he also adds that Michelangelo had once "asked Luigi to inform him whether *our idol* (Cecchino), of whom he had dreamed, would encourage, or threaten, him."²⁵⁹ It is about as one would expect: loves so intense could hardly have been without a physical component. That Michelangelo had a reputation of this kind even in his own day is well known; his grand-nephew's expurgation of Michelangelo's poems (expunging male references, etc.) is notorious. And in November 1545 Pietro Aretino—of all imaginable people!²⁶⁰—attacked Michelangelo in an open letter, citing his alleged godlessness (despite the poems and religious art), and the unseemly male nudes in the "Last Judgment": wherefore Michelangelo caricatured Aretino as holding the artist's flayed skin in that painting, and some other artist later painted draperies on the nudities. This change of moral climate can be in large measure ascribed to the Council of Trent (1545-63) and the Counter-Reformation, which dealt Renaissance ideals and mores a fatal blow.

It is nevertheless possible to make the following generalities about Renaissance attitudes to Greek love, particularly in Italy (less information is available about France or other Continental locales): Renaissance men—scholars, writers, artists—consciously emulated first Petrarch and then the Romans and finally the Greeks, as manuscripts became available; their attitudes towards women were in some ways like those of the Greeks (Chs. V and X); they continued in certain aspects the practice of writing courtly love poetry, as Petrarch had derived it from the troubadours, though Michelangelo was bold enough to write equally intense love poems to individuals regardless of gender, even as he reacted strongly to beauty or excellence regardless of gender or age; various Renaissance artists, including Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)²⁶¹ took an essentially androgynous adolescent male as the basis for the human ideal form (deriving it evidently from Roman sculptures); others—Cellini and Michelangelo in particular—took a sexualized adolescent male form, feminized only in facial features, as the ideal, and this had more Greek than Roman antecedents. In addition, some Renaissance artists were apparently fairly open about their boyfriends: Michelangelo's attachments to Cavalieri, Cecchino Bracci, Febo da Poggia and others, were well known; Leonardo in 1490 took the ten-year-old Giacomo Caprotti, called "Salai," into his Milan workshop, and the boy lived with him for the next twenty-five years.²⁶² Giovanni Antonio Bazzi (1477-1549) though married

and a father, even had the effrontery to call himself "Sodoma." Nor could even the Council of Trent completely end such appreciation of boyish beauty: Caravaggio's paintings frequently celebrate it to the point of extreme blatancy (as in the famous *Amore Vincitore*, ca. 1598, painted for the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, who had earlier bought a rejected altarpiece by the same master, "St. Matthew and the Angel"—with the inspiring angel a most seductive little *ragazzo*, much like the one of the *Amore Vincitore* but less cynical.). Some of these obviously sexualized youngsters are individualized enough to be portraits. Caravaggio was frequently in trouble with the police about brawls over girls, but not enough is known of his life to verify the conjecture that he was involved in any Greek love affairs. (A similar doubt prevails concerning Cellini.)²⁶³ But it is a matter of historical record that Caravaggio's "Madonna dei Palafrenieri" (1605-06) was removed from St. Peter's by order of the cardinals of the Fabbrica, partly on account of the "naked boy Jesus."²⁶⁴ As post-Tridentine church art grew more puritanical, more restricted in theme, even such nudity as that of a boy of two or three (as in this Caravaggio painting) became intolerably offensive to the authorities. Worse, nobody seems to have laughed at this.

Attacks on the church by Protestants, citing among other things a nonexistent work "*De laudibus sodomiae seu pederastiae*" by Archbishop Giovanni della Casa,²⁶⁵ resulted in increasingly restrictive regulations on clerical behavior as well as on the latitude formerly tacitly tolerated to the public. In G. Rattray Taylor's terminology, patrist elements were gradually destroying a matrist society; and art suffered as much as the human feelings that inspired it. Boy-love seems to have gone into obscurity on the Continent, though the movement known as "Marinism" (following publication of Giambattista Marino's *L'Adone*, Paris 1623) insured some continuing literary attention to boyish beauty, and in France under Henri III (reigned 1574-89) and Louis XIII (1610-43) apparently much was winked at that would have at other times or locales been prosecuted. More northerly regions remained more puritanical; a 17th century Flemish sculptor was burned at the stake for sodomy with a boy in Ghent.²⁶⁶

2. *England*. The conditions for a revival of boy-love came sometime in the 1500's. It is hardly possible to say just how they started or what began them. But clearly the availability of ancient Roman, and later of ancient Greek, writings had something to do with it. These writings became the source of much poetry and secular drama (previous plays having been mostly religious and church-controlled: mysteries, moralities and miracles). It is on record that the boys of

various public schools acted plays of Plautus and Terence in the 1520's. Nicholas Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister*, an up-to-date (1553) adaptation of stock characters and situations from Plautus's *Miles Gloriosus*, became popular; it is apparently the first English play to have been divided into acts. Perhaps significantly, Udall (1505-56) was headmaster of Eton, 1534-41, and a flagellomaniac; in 1541 he went to prison for—among other things—alleged sexual offenses with his pupils. But a few years later he was tutor to the young earl of Devon and spent his remaining years as headmaster of Westminster school!²⁶⁷ Evidently Britons—despite the ferociously worded anti-buggery act of Parliament under Henry VIII⁵⁶—were then in some cases less concerned about a possible repetition of sexual contact between master and pupils than in earlier years or after the Puritan epoch. Somewhere along the line, the classical custom of having boys act women's parts became standardized,²⁶⁸ despite a rise in the social role of women (characteristic of this increasingly matrist society). The Act of 1572, declaring all common players to be "rogues and vagabonds" unless in service of some lord, made drama dependent on the nobility, and Tudor monarchs became liberal patrons of this art.

Queen Elizabeth even went so far as to grant a warrant to one Nathaniel Giles, Master of the Children of the Queen's Chapel, authorizing him to kidnap as many suitable boys as he saw fit, for dramatic training in this company of players.²⁶⁹ Ben Jonson's familiar epitaph on Salathiel Pavy, a boy brought in by Giles at age ten and dying at 13, does not regret the boy's kidnapping—only his untimely death. Remember that this was in the days of press gangs in which recruitment to the British navy was often similarly willy-nilly, so that applying the same principle more mercifully to youngsters who would gain from it a permanent and honored role was hardly frowned on at the time. (The Star Chamber investigation and attempts to interdict the practice in 1601 came solely because one boy chosen by Giles turned out to be a nobleman's son, whose father was unwilling to have his youngster become an actor.) After the Star Chamber proceedings, Giles seems to have continued his practice more discreetly for a couple of decades more. Nat Field (1587-1619?), presumably another of Giles's recruits, and the most famous of the boy actors of the period, became Jonson's special protégé in 1600, being trained to take leading roles thereafter in plays Jonson wrote for him, and eventually becoming a playwright himself.

What with boys picked for beauty and brightness by Giles (and probably other recruiters), dressed in female garments and sometimes taking—as in several Shakespeare plays—"travesti-double" roles (boys

playing girls pretending to be boys), and in continuous close contact with men who often had to embrace them or address endearing words to them in the plays, it would be surprising indeed not to find Greek love reappearing.^{269a} Though many dramas of the period had characters or themes drawn from Greece and Rome, I do not offhand recall more than four in which Greek love—or any nearly related theme—played a significant role. These four are:

1. Marlowe's *Edward II* (1590-91).
2. Drayton's *Piers Gaveston* (1593, also on the Edward II theme).
3. Marlowe and Nashe's *Dido* (1593). This begins with a scene between Zeus and Ganymede!
4. Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* (1593). This deals with Henri III and his minions.

The time element in these plays bears further attention. Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* dates from 1593, and celebrates the beauty of a boy who is indifferent to feminine charms. Drayton's *Endymion*, on a parallel theme, appeared in 1594. The sonnet craze in England was at its height in the early and middle 1590's (Munro²⁷⁰ says 1592-96, suggesting 1593-99 as the period for Shakespeare's "sugred Sonnets for his priuate friends."). Richard Barnefield's *Affectionate Shepherd*, by far the most outspoken surviving poetry of boy-love of the Tudor epoch, also appeared in 1594, followed in 1595 by his paidophilic sonnets. Francis Meres's book of literary criticism, *Palladis Tamia* (1598), compared Barnefield to Theokritos, Virgil, Spenser and Sir Philip Sidney—high praise indeed—and made no stricture whatever on the subject matter of the *Affectionate Shepherd* or the sonnets. The conclusion is clear enough: in the 1590's there was evidently not only a tolerance in some literary circles for themes of Greek love, but apparently a fad for them. I find no record that any of these poets—or any others—were censured for their writings on this subject (prior to the rise of the Puritans), nor that any of these writings ran afoul of the censors or of public opinion. It is, I think, a safe guess that there was some connection between this fad and the popularity of the boy actors in the various companies of players.

Some of these boy actors must have been quite remarkable. Shakespeare was a practical dramatist, writing plays to be staged to groundlings and nobles alike; and he almost certainly had some particular boy or boys in mind when he developed the characterizations of Juliet, Lady Macbeth, Cleopatra, Desdemona, Cordelia, Miranda, Ophelia, Rosalind, Portia, and so forth. Possibly a contributing reason to the epoch's tolerance of sexual ambiguity was the evident masculinity of Elizabeth I. (And James I was not only notoriously womanly

in some ways, but he openly paraded his favourites before his court, leading to circulation of the epigram "Rex fuit Elizabeth: nunc est regina Jacobus"—"Elizabeth was king, now James is queen."

Another contributory reason was very likely some tacit toleration of passionate friendship between older and younger pupils, or between master and pupil, in some boarding schools. Documentation on it for this period is lacking, but certainly something of the kind was at least a subterranean tradition of later centuries, e.g. Lord Byron's school friendships—not to mention John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, at Wadham College, Oxford, which college in the slang of the public school set as early as the 19th century came to be called—Sodom!

Whether or not we believe the report that Marlowe said "All they that love not tobacco and boyes are fooles!", there is ample evidence that his preoccupation with Greek love amounted to more than merely going along with a fad. Even if we assume that his *Hero and Leander*, with its conventionalized encomium of the beauty of "amorous Leander," was part of the fad, nevertheless his choice of the dull reign of Edward II for dramatization, from among all the possible reigns in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, can have no other logical reason than the pivotal relationship between the king and his favourite Piers Gaveston. As I read it, there is even propaganda for tolerance of Greek love in act I, scene iv:

Elder Mortimer:

Thou seest by nature he is so mild and calm,
And seeing his mind so doats on Gaveston,
Let him without controulment have his will.
The mightiest kings have had their minions;
Great Alexander loved Hephestion,
The conquering Hercules for Hylas wept,
And for Patroclus stern Achilles drooped;
And not kings only, but the wisest men:
The Roman Tully loved Octavius,
Grave Socrates, wild Alcibiades.
Then let his grace, whose youth is flexible,
And promiseth as much as we can wish,
Freely enjoy that vain, light-headed earl,
For riper years will wean him from such toys.

[controulment: hindrance. kings: possible reference to Henri III. Cf. *Massacre at Paris*—"You see he doateth only on his minions." Tully: Cicero.]

The list of great men who have 'felt the strange impulse' oddly anticipates, or is emulated by, George Colman in *Don Leon* (earlier

attributed to Byron). Is it perhaps significant that Marlowe was the beloved of Thos. Walsingham? Is it surprising that the boy-lover accusation was added to the other charges against him? The play *Edward II*, incidentally, was revived during the 1920's, and reportedly was the big success of the year during the Phoenix Players' 1923 London season; it had a special performance by ANTA in February 1958, and was later broadcast by Pacifica Foundation station WBAI in New York (notoriously unafraid of controversy).

The influence of Marlowe on Shakespeare was so great in style, even if not in theme (unless one speculates concerning the sonnets), as to cause some researchers to believe that Marlowe wrote or collaborated on some of the earlier plays which have come down to us under the name of Shakespeare. I shall not enter the futile controversy over whether the colossus that wrote the plays was the same who had written the sonnets, whether either of these was the same as Will Shaxpur the grain-dealer from Stratford, or over the order or dating of the sonnets. Nevertheless I cannot avoid bringing in the name of Shakespeare in connection with Greek love: not indeed to strengthen professional homosexual apologists' claims that "Shakespeare Was One Of Us," but rather to provide some much needed clarification.

In any consideration of Shakespeare's personal emotions, the sonnets have to play a large role, being intended not for the groundlings but for their dedicatee and the dramatist's close friends. Meres referred to them as Shakespeare's "sugred Sonnets among his priuate friends, etc." I find in many of them plain evidence of concern with the brevity of boyish beauty, and in this light the repeated admonition by Shakespeare to the boy he was addressing, to marry and beget children so that such beauty should not die forever, represents an unusual and original treatment of this theme. (Cf. Sonnets I through XVII.) But in XVIII (and LXIII, which goes with it) Shakespeare echoes Theognis's verses to Kynos predicting that his lines would make the boy immortal:

XVIII

Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?
 Thou art more lovely and more temperate.
 Rough winds do shake the darling buds of May,
 And summer's lease hath all too short a date.
 Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines,
 And often is his gold complexion dimmed;
 And every fair from fair sometime declines,
 By chance or nature's changing course untrimm'd;

But thy eternal summer shall not fade,
Nor lose possession of that fair thou owest;
Nor shall Death brag thou wander'st in his shade,
When in eternal lines to time thou growest.

So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see,
So long lives this, and this gives life to thee.

[date: sc. of termination of leasehold. fair: beauty. untrimmed: uncultivated. owest: ownest.]

LXIII

Against my love shall be as I am now,
With Time's injurious hand crushed and o'erworn;
When hours have drained his blood and filled his brow
With lines and wrinkles; when his youthful morn
Hath travelled on to age's steepy night,
And all those beauties whereof now he's king
Are vanishing or vanished out of sight,
Stealing away the treasure of his spring;
For such a time do I now fortify
Against confounding age's cruel knife,
That he shall never cut from memory
My sweet love's beauty, though my lover's life.

His beauty shall in these black lines be seen,
And they shall live, and he in them still green.

[Against: sc. the time when. steepy: precipitous. fortify: grow strong, make defense.]

Sonnets XIX and LV continue the same theme. But Sonnet XX is the stumbling-block for most Shakespeare commentators. Wilde used it in the *Portrait of Mr. W. H.* (1889) as purported evidence of the direction of Shakespeare's sexual interest. He could not prove it, nor could Samuel Butler²⁷² nor Frank Harris;²⁷³ on the other hand, neither could the refuters explain away the sonnets with their evident and intense concern with the evanescent beauty of an adolescent boy acknowledged as a love-object: no mere literary exercise, these, any more than the equally intense sonnets of Michelangelo, or the even more outspoken sonnets of Barnefield.

XX

A woman's face with Nature's own hand painted
Hast thou, the master-mistress of my passion;
A woman's gentle heart, but not acquainted
With shifting change, as is false women's fashion;
An eye more bright than theirs, less false in rolling,

Gilding the object whereupon it gazeth;
 A man in hew, all *Hews* in his controlling,
 Which steals men's eyes and women's souls amazeth.
 And for a woman wert thou first created,
 Till Nature, as she wrought thee, fell a-doting,
 And by addition me of thee defeated
 By adding one thing, to my purpose nothing.
 But since she prick'd thee out for women's pleasure,
 Mine be thy love, and thy love's use their treasure.

[hew: variant of hue = form, figure or complexion. Hews: possibly a pun on the proper name, by the Wilde theory, but also possibly simply plural of hew = hue, in which case the couplet refers perhaps to the delicate colors of the boy's complexion during his prime. a-doting: here, both fond and foolish. one thing: evidently the boy's penis—see lines 13-14, and cf. Eric Partridge, *Shakespeare's Bawdy*, 172.]

Hesketh Pearson²⁷⁴ says that this sonnet proved conclusively Shakespeare's sexual normality. This is oversimplified. In context of the other sonnets, as I read it, Shakespeare here is admitting once again that he is strongly affected by boyish beauty—even to loving its possessor; but he is also denying overt sexual intentions anent this boy.^{274a} The Wilde theory, accepted by Gide and Joyce among others, saw in the punning (?) reference in line 7 a clue to the identification of the "Mr. W. H." to whom these sonnets were dedicated (by their pirate publisher Thomas Thorpe). Though there is no Willie Hughes or Hews recorded in the lists of boy actors of the period, these lists are known to be incomplete. The anonymous anthologist of *Men and Boys* (1927) identified "Willie Hughes" as the William Hughes (d. 1600?) who was the only son of Bishop William Hughes of St. Asaph. I find no other evidence for this conjecture, though young William did exist—he is mentioned in the DNB biography of Bishop Hughes. However, C. J. Bulliet²⁷⁵ provides the followers of Wilde with a ready-made Mr. W. H. in the lists of boy actors, in the person of one William Hostler. The name is so spelt in the April 1604 list of "The King's Company" (of actors), though it is spelt Ostler on the roster of actors in Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*, where he is recorded as playing with Nat. Field, Salathiel Pavy and John Underwood. (The variation in spelling most likely reflects only a silent 'h' not caught by the scrivener who took the name down from oral dictation.) This establishes the chronology: in 1601 he was a boy actor playing female roles, as were the other three just named; by 1611 the position of Hostler's name on programs indicates that he had given up playing

female roles and switched to male; by 1612 he was married. The First Folio (1623) lists him—again along with Nat. Field and Dicky Robinson, though above them in rank—in the roster of 26 “Principal Actors in all these Plays,” which roster is headed by the name of Shakespeare himself. (Though this time again the name is spelt Ostler.)

If William Hostler is then the “Mr. W. H.” of the dedication, this solves a number of problems. (1) It accounts for the placatory tone of Thorpe’s dedication. Munro points out²⁷⁶ that the private and easily misinterpretable material in the sonnets could have caused trouble for the dedicatee; Thorpe, being an unauthorized publisher (not to say a pirate), would have had to use propitiatory language, especially were the dedicatee then (1609) in public life. (May one guess that Hostler’s later reversion to the “Ostler” spelling might have been a coverup?) (2) It accounts for the name puns on “Will” in sonnets CXXXV and CXXXVI, without necessity of postulating an otherwise unknown person, as Wilde was forced to do. That it does not account for the putative name pun on “Hews” in sonnet XX is not crucial; I have given an alternative explanation for that reference above. (3) It fits in with the chronology. If, as will be shown below, the sonnets are to be dated to the middle 1590’s, their recipient—supposing him to have been Hostler as a teen-age boy actor taking female roles—certainly could have remained suitable for such roles in the decade 1600-1610. Boy actors, through suitable vocal training and makeup, as I establish later, continued to take female roles until they became too tall, too fleshed out in the wrong places, or too heavily beardstubbled for makeup to disguise the fact. In addition, Hostler in the middle 1590’s doubtless was of proper age for Shakespeare to find it appropriate to urge him, in the first 17 sonnets, to marry and beget children so that such beauty as he possessed then should not die forever with the passing of his bloom. (4) It accounts for Shakespeare’s close and long-continued connection with Mr. W. H. (5) It accounts for several obscure phrases in the sonnets which cumulatively suggest that the boy Shakespeare was addressing was an actor: “contracted” and “only herald” in sonnet I, “proud livery, so gazed on now” in II (and parallel phrases in V and elsewhere), most of XV, XXIII and others, which at least assume great familiarity with the world of actors on the part of the boy if not in fact professional experience; LIII, where the image is unequivocally that of a boy taking a female role on stage; LIX, where the poet raises the question not only of reincarnation but of the boy’s perhaps having acted—or been portrayed—in Greek or Roman drama; in LXXVIII,

"In others' works thou dost but mend [amend] the style" etc. plainly suggests that the boy is in some profession characterized by re-creative interpretation of texts—therefore music and/or drama; and the repeated references to mirrors suggest that his boyfriend had a more than customary interest in them, as would be expected from an actor for whom makeup was a professional tool. Some of these interpretations may be disputed, but even if the cumulative effect be altogether disregarded, that does not preclude identifying the boyfriend as presumably Hostler alias Ostler alias Mr. W. H.

Munro ²⁷⁶ admits that the more conventional identifications of W. H. as Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton (with initials reversed), or William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, have been generally abandoned by Shakespeare scholars; and he points out ^{276a} that in the very next year Thorpe wrote a dedication to Pembroke in such obsequious detail as to preclude the latter's having been miscalled "Mr. W. H." Shakespeare, whatever the circumstances, had no part whatever in the publication; Thorpe most likely bought a ms. copy from someone who had transcribed it in turn from one of the various handwritten copies circulating for years among Shakespeare's friends. Its textual errors preclude Shakespeare's having had anything to do with this particular text, and suggest a second- or third-hand copy.

Of the other sonnets, no. XXV makes it quite plain that the poet's love was requited, at least with verbal expression of feeling, probably also by mutual confidences, perhaps even cuddling; more explicit sexual contact is ruled out by XX. No. XXVI is an envoy to the first 25 (and LIII-LV, LXIII, CVI, which belong with XVIII and XX, earlier discussed) and should have been placed at the beginning, before the first flight of 17. And whether or not sonnet XX puns on the boy's last name, as Wilde believed, certainly the endless puns on "Will" in CXXXV and CXXXVI refer now to the poet, now to the boy. Since these are courting poems, presumably they precede nos. I-XXVI and the others that belong with those. Sonnet CIV mentions the three-year duration of their continuing love, and alludes unequivocally to the passing of the boy's bloom as a fact rather than a threat, as do CVIII and the difficult truncated CXXXVI (thought by some to be an envoy to another set of sonnets). Sometime during the affair there was a break (XXXIII-XXXIV, LXXXVI-XC) and a reconciliation (XXXV), possibly more than one break, possibly once connected with courtship by a rival poet, most likely Chapman (LXXXVI), possibly connected also with rivalry for the same woman (XL-XLII and CXLIV), presumably the famous Dark Lady of CXXVII-CLII. (Munro even goes so far as to warn against conjecturing a human Dark Lady, identifying her explicitly with the White

Goddess, universally found in European myth, legend, folklore and literature!²⁷⁰) Poet and boyfriend for some time lived apart without loss of love (XXXVI, XXXIX, XLIII-XLV), and evidently had either been living together before or at least had been in daily or even hourly personal contact. A footnote to this both amusing and disgusting: Benson's edition of the sonnets (1640) expurgated them by substituting female expressions for male, much as did the early editor of Anacreon¹⁶⁵ and some French translators of Walt Whitman.

We may assume that a minimum of three years had elapsed between the courting sonnets CXXXV-CXXXVI (probably followed shortly by the first 26, etc.) and CIV, which alludes to their having been together three years. Munro regards as justifiable the assumption that Shakespeare began to write sonnets during the sonnet craze of 1592-96. Their mention in Francis Meres's *Palladis Tamia* (1598) indicates that at least some of them were already in circulation in manuscript form—it does not require that one believe all 152 had been completed by that date. That a version of CXLIV appears in *The Passionate Pilgrime* (1599) shows that by this time the Dark Lady had already made her appearance; Shakespeare here refers to his boyfriend already as “a man right fair”—though this, of course, does not preclude young W.H.'s continuing to take female roles in plays, if indeed he is the youth addressed. Thorpe's edition of 1609, of course, provides a terminus; but the sonnet craze had pretty much died out by 1600, and Munro's assignment of 1593-99 as the most probable period is unlikely to be bettered.

But were Shakespeare markedly, let alone predominantly, interested in homosexuality in any form, whether androphilia or Greek love, almost inevitably some evidence of this interest would have appeared in the plays—as it does in Marlowe's. Unfortunately for Wilde and the professional homosexual apologists, it does not. The references to homosexuality in the plays are few and far between. Partridge²⁷⁷ cites Queen Margaret's sneer at Edward, Prince of Wales, 3 *Henry VI*, II ii 34, “Go rate thy minions, proud insulting boy!”, together with Thersites's accusation to Patroclus of the latter's being considered as Achilles's “masculine whore” in *Troilus and Cressida*, V i 14-16, and the Hostess on Falstaff in 2 *Henry IV*, II i 14-17 as being sexually indiscriminate, sparing “neither man, woman nor child.” To these I would add “A came ever in the rearward of the fashion” (2 *Henry IV*, III ii 326) as definitely saying that Falstaff practiced buggery, possibly even that the latter was fashionable in certain circles; and “Better would it fit Achilles much/ To throw down Hector than Polyxena” (*Troilus and Cressida*, III iii 209-210). The violent image in this last is possibly derivable from a rooster's treading a hen; many

similar expressions exist in Shakespeare (tumble, be made to fall or fall backward; compare also strike, wrestle, strive, conflict, contend, assail, besiege, force, constrain, broach, charge, put down, throw, plough, thrust to the wall, etc., etc.) This patrist language implying a view of sex as forcible imposition of the man's will on the passive or reluctant woman was doubtless pre-Shakespearean in some part, and intended for the groundlings. Partridge ²⁷⁸ cites several Shakespearean terms indicating some mutuality in sex (a matrist notion). One may conjecture that these, being fewer in number, were more recent, befitting a relatively late change of social attitudes towards woman in a society only lately turned matrist. But, significantly, none of these terms is found in the five unequivocal homosexual references in the plays. Nor, as Partridge points out, does Shakespeare say much about buttocks as sexually exciting.²⁷⁹ (That the few references are to female buttocks is irrelevant: recall that the female role was always played in Shakespeare's time by what the famous King of Siam limerick calls "a round-bottomed boy.")

On the other hand, one might argue that Brutus's tenderness towards his little page-boy (*Julius Caesar*, IV iii) suggests Greek love—it is certainly more Greek than Roman—even as that the overstrained emotional closeness between Cassius and Brutus (*ibid*, IV *passim*) and the passionate friendship between Antonio and Bassanio (*Mer. of Venice*, *passim*) suggests homosexuality only half acknowledged. But even these references would prove no more than that a heterosexual Shakespeare was capable of understanding Greek love and androphile homosexuality and representing them in his plays when appropriate.

Nevertheless, like most of the creative figures of his time, Shakespeare was presumably tolerant of homosexuality; though the evidence for Partridge's remark that he was "as every thinking person must be, extremely tolerant"²⁸⁰ is scant, this attitude is intrinsically likely, perhaps the more so from the poet's own brush with Greek love detailed in the Sonnets.

Here a further note on Shakespeare's boy actors and their world—and on their relationship to his plays—is in order. We must first rid ourselves of the notion that female impersonation is automatically, in all contexts, sick. "Sick" is, often enough, a pejorative albeit a euphemism for something worse. Before this sort of thing was considered sick, it was considered unnatural, a violation of the laws of God and man. But female impersonation, in a matrist epoch where the Queen herself was sexually ambiguous, was tolerable as a dramatic convention having as much classical precedent as any other feature of the art.²⁶⁸

We must also rid ourselves of the notion that for males to wear jewels and finery, to dress elaborately, to write poetry, or to express emotions (even those of passionate friendship for another male) freely, eloquently and without restraint, is automatically unnatural or sick. Not until the Puritan Commonwealth, with its unreasoning hatred of earthly beauty in all forms, were these things equated with effeminacy, and effeminacy in turn with violation of the Divine law. In the epochs of King David, or of Achilles and Patroklos, or of Perikles, or of Shakespeare, any such notion would have been laughed to death.^{280a}

We have seen that boy actors were recruited into the companies of actors by Giles and probably others. But this was not the only source of them. In most schools, boys routinely learned rhetoric as one of the seven major subjects (the Trivium and Quadrivium), and rhetoric included learning to present drama in Latin and English. Moreover, boys with beautiful voices often entered the choirs at one or another of the great cathedrals, where they were expected to present dramatic entertainments on festival days, perhaps with the Queen in attendance. The children's companies of actors (performing largely for noble audiences rather than for the general public) evolved from these groups of choristers. It is theorized that on some occasions (e.g. early presentations of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with its chorus of fairies) Shakespeare's Globe Theatre company may have had the assistance of one of the children's companies; and most likely after the breakup of the Children's Theatre at Blackfriars, the Globe and other companies took in the unemployed youngsters. But by far the vast majority of boy actors were apprentices, whether press-ganged into a company by Giles or taken in on personal contract by some regular actor.

Usually these boy actors entered the companies at about age ten, making themselves useful in many small ways, and taking walk-on parts such as pages until they learned to act female roles. Thereafter they played these until they became too tall, fleshed-out in the wrong places, or too unequivocally bearded to look right in such parts. Their usefulness in female roles continued for longer than a modern reader might suspect. Vocal training (such as produces countertenors to the present day) might keep these boys effectively singing and speaking in a contralto for many years after the chest voice began to appear. This head voice contralto, under such training, did not have the quavering or squeaky quality usually associated with falsetto. The three witches in *Macbeth*, and comic old women such as the Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*, may have been taken by still older actors, in whom the quavery quality was exactly the thing desired. After the

boy actors became too old to take female roles, some began to take male roles, while others presumably sought other occupations.

Careful analysis of the roles of the heroines of Shakespeare's plays shows that, despite their excellent presentation of feminine psychology, they are always subordinate to the male roles, and (however demanding) not inconsistent with the emotions commonly regarded in Shakespeare's day as boyish. Shakespeare was well aware, like his fellow Elizabethans, of the boyish quality of many women, and of certain transient feminine (not effeminate) qualities of adolescent boys. He has Rosalind alias Ganymede (!) (*As You Like It*, III ii 377-382) give a valuable clue to these, in speaking of how she would behave in boy's clothing:

"At which time would I—being but a moonish youth—grieve, be effeminate (!), changeable, longing and liking; proud, fantastical, apish, shallow, inconstant, full of tears, full of smiles; for every passion something and for no passion truly anything, as boys and women are for the most part cattle of this colour . . ."

Unpredictable as these boy actors were, Shakespeare and fellow dramatists seem to have been well pleased with them. Ben Jonson has a complimentary reference to the popular favorite among boy actors of his time, Dicky Robinson, in *The Devil Is an Ass*; Shakespeare has another in *The Taming of the Shrew*. And he certainly did not "write down" for these youngsters.

A key to the Greek love content—so exaggerated in the Puritan attacks on the drama—may be found in the love scenes in Shakespeare's plays. In most of these, to be sure, restraint is present, and some have claimed that Shakespeare could not permit a boy actor to do anything "embarrassing," or to permit love scenes to become passionate between actors known to be male. But W. Robertson Davies^{280b} deals at length with this very question, and specifically refutes the idea, citing love scenes which cannot be played effectively without a considerable amount of romantic love-making—boy or no boy. In Chapter I of the cited work, Davies makes the excellent point that the cultural patterns common to that age set a high value upon, and variously stimulated, boldness, passion, emotional depth, and individuality in boys, allowing these qualities to develop early and unstifled. Davies also says that the boys' capacity for hero-worship and affection ("and consequently coquetry") does less harm when allowed expression than when—as more recently—kept bottled up. He dismisses as trivial the Puritan charges of homosexual behavior between the boy actors and their older mentors as *presumably having some basis but not worth bothering about*. I could not agree more. A

bibliography on the Puritan attacks, from Stubbes's *Anatomy of Abuses* (1583) through Prynne's *Histrio-Mastix* (1633), would be hundreds of items long and unutterably tedious.

Among Shakespeare's contemporaries three may be mentioned in particular as giving particular prominence to themes of Greek love: Michael Drayton (1563-1631), Thomas Campion (1567-1620) and, most of all, Richard Barnefield (1574-1627). I have already mentioned the coincidence in time and theme between Marlowe's *Edward II* and Drayton's *Legend of Piers Gaveston*, between Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* and Drayton's *Endymion*. Drayton's early version of Gaveston makes him extremely arrogant—apparently with historical justification—and goes so far as to have the minion compare himself to Ganymede and ascribe his hold on King Edward to his personal beauty:

"All men in shape I did so far excel
(The parts in me such harmony did bear)
As in my model Nature seemed to tell
That in her perfection she had placed there
As from each age reserving the rarest feature
To make me up her excellentest creature."

Drayton twice returned to the subject of Edward II and Gaveston: once in *Mortimeriados* (1596) and again in *Englands Heroicall Epistles* (1597). All of Drayton's work, of course, is at most of historical importance. It may or may not be significant that Drayton died a bachelor.

Campion is a more surprising entry in this field, and I would not have thought of investigating his writings for the Greek love angle save for a hint provided by the ubiquitous John Addington Symonds.²⁸¹ Nevertheless, there is one absolutely unequivocal reference, in his Fourth Book of Ayres (1617-18?), No. 3 (p. 114 in A. H. Bullen's 1889 edition of Campion's lyrics²⁸²):

Thou joyest, fond boy, to be by many loved
To have thy beauty of most dames approved;
For this dost thou thy native worth disguise,
And playest the sycophant t'observe their eyes:
Thy glass thou counsell'st, more to adorn thy skin,
That first should school thee to be fair within.

'Tis childish to be caught with pearl or amber,
And womanlike too much to cloy the chamber;
Youths should fields affect, heat their rough steeds,

Their hardened nerves to fit for better deeds:
Is't not more joy strongholds to force with swords
Than women's weakness take with looks or words?

Men that do noble things all purchase glory,
One man for one brave act, hath proved a story;
But if that one ten thousand dames o'ercame,
Who would record it, if not to his shame?
'Tis far more conquest with one to live true
Than every hour to triumph lord of new.

In this very Theognis-like gnomic admonition to some pretty boy there is even an echo of Strato's "I am not charmed by needless curls" poem, earlier cited, from Anth. Pal. XII, 192. In the last two lines I detect an echo, as well, of the Aeolic love poem (No. XXIX) found in all editions of Theokritos—lines 15-19 to be exact. (Edmonds in fact says of this Aeolic poem that it is reminiscent of Elizabethan love lyrics.) This poem was known long before Elizabethan times; Aldus Manutius's edition of Theokritos of 1495 included it. Nor is it impossible that Campion might have seen a text of Planudes's edition of the Anthology while at Peterhouse college, Cambridge. The reference to pearl and amber recalls Barnefield's *Affectionate Shepherd*, xviii—were those jewels commonly worn by boy-favourites whether or not they were actors?

Other references are more equivocal; they are Nos. 1 ("Oft have I sighed for him that hears me not"), 16 ("If thou longest so much to learn, sweet boy, what 'tis to love") and 26 ("Silly boy, 'tis full moon yet"), pp. 89, 100 and 107 in Bullen, from the *Third Book of Ayres* (1617?). There may be others. A male poet writing in the character of a female sighing for some sweet adolescent boy or young man may be quite heterosexual, but clearly either he has to have some source for his empathy with the female view, or else he substitutes male pronouns for female in an essentially male heterosexual fantasy, and in the latter case the poems become unconvincing, like many routine descriptions of the charms of some handsome Greek youth in one of the endless humanistic imitations of Roman or Greek myths. But the Campion poem quoted above is more than a mere imitation of the classics; furthermore, it bears every internal evidence of being a personal address to a particular individual. Since Campion—as a writer of music and text for masques—was very close to the Elizabethan drama companies, the identification of this youngster as a boy actor is probable.

We come now to the most outspoken of all Elizabethan poets of

Greek love. This is Richard Barnefield, whose first book, *The Tears of an affectionate Shepheard sicke for Love: or, the Complaint of Daphnis for the Love of Ganymede*, appeared in 1594 when he was but 20. They owe little but the basic theme (and some of the classical references) to Virgil, though Barnefield in his next book (*Cynthia, with Certaine Sonnets*, published a few months later) protested that his *Affectionate Shepheard* was "nothing else, but an imitation of Virgill, in the Second Eclogue of Alexis." In 1598 he issued *The Encomion of Lady Pecunia*, a second and revised version appearing in 1605. I have already mentioned Meres's eulogy (1598) of Barnefield. In 1599 one W. Iaggard or Jaggard printed a small anthology called *The Passionate Pilgrime* over Shakespeare's name. Of the twenty poems in this collection, four are certainly known to be Shakespeare's, three others are dubiously attributed to him, and three others long believed Shakespeare's are now ascribed to Barnefield, including one very Shakespearean-sounding sonnet. (The paidophilic sonnets of 1594-5, quoted below, do not sound at all Shakespearean: possibly Barnefield had not yet seen the Shakespeare sonnet cycle.) Havelock Ellis says that Barnefield's poems to his boyfriend "are of so impassioned a character that they aroused the protests of a very tolerant age."²⁸³ I find no documentation for the protests, other than Barnefield's abovequoted disclaimer, but Ellis is correct about the passion—which demolishes the claims of some 19th century editors that these were simply a contribution to a common fad. We do not know Barnefield's Ganymede, however. (One dubious conjecture: Richard Linch, author of *Diella*, as Grosart identified him as the R.L. to whom Barnefield addressed poetry in *The Encomion* . . . : but this is not paidophilic poetry.) However, as Rev. Montague Summers says in his introduction to the Fortune Press edition (1936) of Barnefield, "Suffice he was a real person, no figment of poetic fancy." Barnefield retired to his Staffordshire estates in 1606 and died in 1627, leaving a son and a granddaughter. I reprint here some archetypal excerpts from the *Affectionate Shepheard*, followed by a few of the paidophil sonnets as this material is seldom included in anthologies, and editions of Barnefield are not often available. The text follows the versions of 1594 and 1595.

i

Scarce had the morning Starre hid from the light
 Heaven's crimson Canopie with stars bespangled,
 But I began to rue th' unhappy sight
 Of that faire Boy that had my heart intangled:
 Cursing the Time, the Place, the sense, the sin,
 I came, I saw, I view'd, I slipped in.

ii

If it be sin to love a sweet-fac'd Boy,
 (Whose amber locks trussed up in golden tramels
 Dangle adowne his lovely cheekes with joy,
 When pearls and flowers his faire haire enamels)—

If it be sin to love a lovely lad,
 Oh then sinne I, for whom my soul is sad.

[tramels: here, probably fillets. enamels: adorns with many colors.]

xvi

Oh would to God he would but pittie me,
 That love him more than any mortall wight!
 Then he and I with love would soone agree,
 That now cannot abide his Suitor's sight.

O would to God (so I might have my fee)
 My lips were honey, and thy mouth a Bee.

[fee: here probably due recompense or perquisite.]

xvii

Then shouldst thou sucke my sweete and my faire flower,
 That now is ripe, and full of honey-berries:
 Then would I leade thee to my pleasant Bower
 Fill'd full of Grapes, of Mulberries and Cherries;
 Then shouldst thou be my Waspe or else my Bee,
 I would thy hive, and thou my honey, be.

xviii

I would put amber Bracelets on thy wrists,
 Crownets of Pearle about thy naked Armes:
 And when thou sitst at swilling Bacchus' feasts
 My lips with charmes should save thee from all harmes:
 And when in sleepe thou tookst thy chiefest Pleasure,
 Mine eyes should gaze upon thine eye-lids Treasure.

xx

And when it pleaseth thee to walke abroad,
 Abroad into the fields to take fresh ayre,
 The meades with Floras treasure should be strowde,
 The mantled meadowes, and the fields so fayre.
 And by a silver well with golden sands
 Ile sit me downe, and wash thine ivory hands.

[meades: meadows. strowde: strewn.]

xxi

And in the sweltring heate of summer time,
 I would make cabinets for thee, my love;
 Sweet-smelling arbours made of eglantine

Should be thy shrine, and I would be thy dove.
 Cool cabinets of fresh-greene laurell boughs
 Should shadow us, oreset with thicke-set eughes.

[cabinets: bowers, summerhouses, little huts or lean-tos. oreset: overset.
 eughes: yews.]

xxii

Or if thou list to bathe thy naked limbs
 Within the cristall of a pearle-bright Brooke,
 Paved with dainty pibbles to the brims,
 Or cleare, wherein thyselfe mayst looke;
 Weele go to *Ladon*, whose still trickling noyse
 Will lull thee fast asleepe amidst thy joyes.

[list: choose, wish. Ladon: river in Arcadia.]

xxvi

Not proud *Alcynous* himselfe can vaunt
 Of goodlier orchards or of braver trees
 Than I have planted; yet will thou not graunt
 My simple suit, but like the honey bees
 Thou sukst the flowre till all the sweet be gone,
 And loost mee for my coyne till I have none.

[coyne: money.]

xxxiv

But if thou wilt not pittie my complaint,
 My teares, nor voves, nor oathes, made to thy beautie:
 What shall I do but languish, die or faint,
 Since thou dost scorne my teares, and my soules duetie:
 And teares contemned, voves and oaths must faile,
 And where teares cannot, nothing can prevaile.

xxxv

Compare the love of faire *Queene Guendoline*
 With mine, and thou shalt see how she doth love thee:
 I love thee for thy qualities divine,
 But shee doth love another swaine above thee:
 I love thee for thy gifts, she for hir pleasure;
 I for thy vertue, she for beauties treasure.

[*Queene Guendoline*: a nymph.]

xxxvi

And alwaies, I am sure, it cannot last.
 But some time Nature will denie those dimples:
 Instead of beautie, when thy blossom's past,

Thy face will be deformed full of wrinckles:
 Then shee that loved thee for thy Beauties sake,
 When age drawes on, thy love will soone forsake.

xxxvii

But I that lov'd thee for thy gifts divine,
 In the December of thy beauties waning,
 Will still admire with joy those lovely eine,
 That now behold me with their beauties baning.
 Though Januarie will never come againe,
 Yet Aprill yeeres will come in showers of raine.

[eine: eyes. baning: killing, destroying.]

xxxviii

When will my May come, that I may embrace thee?
 When will the hour be of my soules joying?
 Why dost thou seeke in mirth still to disgrace me?
 Whose mirth's my health, whose griefe's my heart's annoying:
 Thy bane my bale, thy blisse my blessedness,
 Thy ill my hell, thy weale my welfare is.

[bale: pain, sorrow. weale: happiness.]

xxxix

Thus doo I honour thee, that I love thee so,
 And love thee so, that so do honour thee
 Much more than any mortall man doth know
 Or can discern by Love or Jealousie:
 But if that thou disdainst my loving ever,
 Oh happie I, if I had loved never!

II. THE SECOND DAYES LAMENTATION OF THE AFFECTIONATE SHEPHEARD

xliv

If thou wilt love me, thou shalt be my Boy,
 My sweet Delight, the Comfort of my minde,
 My Love, my Dove, my Solace and my Joy:
 But if I can no grace nor mercie finde,
 Ile goe to *Caucasus* to ease my smart,
 And let a Vulture gnaw upon my heart.

lii

I have a pleasant-noted Nightingale
 (That sings as sweetly as the silver Swan)
 Kept in a cage of bone; as white as Whale,
 Which I with singing of *Philemon* won:
 Her shalt thou have, and all I have beside;
 If thou wilt be my Boy, or else my Bride.

lvii

Why do thy Corall lips disdaine to kisse,
 And sucke that Sweete, which manie have desired?
 That Baulme my Bane, that mcanes would mend my misse:
 Oh let me then with thy sweete Lips b' inspired;
 When thy Lips touch my Lips, my Lips will turne
 To Corall too, and being cold ice will burne.

lxiii

Fond Love is blinde, and so art thou (my Deare)
 For thou seest not my Love, and great desert;
 Blind Love is fond, and so thou dost appeare;
 For fond, and blinde thou griev'st my grieving heart:
 Be thou fond-blinde, blinde-fond, or one, or all;
 Thou art my Love, and I must be thy thrall.

lxxii

And thou love-hating boy, (whom once I loved)
 Farewell, a thousand-thousand times farewell;
 My teares the marble-stones to ruth have moved;
 My sad complaints the babling Ecchoes tell:
 And yet thou wouldst take no compassion on mee,
 Scorning that Crosse which love hath laid upon mee.

lxxiii

The hardest steele with fire doth mend his misse
 Marble is mollifyde with drops of raine;
 But thou (more hard than steele or marble is),
 Doost scorne my teares, and my true love disdaine,
 Which for thy sake shall everlasting bee,
 Wrote in the annalls of eternitie.

[misse: here, probably fault or blemish.]

I have quoted at such length from the *Affectionate Shepherd* because these stanzas clearly show where the pastoral convention leaves off and personal entreaty begins. Nos. xvii, xviii, xx, etc., of the first day's lament embody many of the standard Theokritean/Virgilian images. The references to the delight of watching the boy in sleep, in xviii and xxii, are characteristic even in later centuries. In xxvi the reference to coin is interesting (and definitely outside the pastoral tradition)—a parallel can be easily found in the present day (U.S.) National Game, by which the boy aims to go "as far as possible" while the girl all too often, taking the role of opponent rather than partner, has as goals (a) to induce the boy to spend as much money on her as possible, and (b) to give him as little sexual satisfaction as possible, until a definite promise of marriage is forthcoming. The comparison between his own love for the youth, and that of the nymph Queen

Guendoline, is of some interest. Usually it is the other way around: the male suitor ordinarily emphasizes the brevity of his own possible love with the boy. The accusation that Guendoline loves the boy for physical reasons whereas he loves him for his "divine qualities"—there having been no previous reference to any attraction except a physical one—is also interesting, and nontraditional. There is no way of ascertaining whether the *Affectionate Shepherd* was written before or after the sonnets, or whether the Ganymede referred to in the latter is the same boy sought in the former. The sonnets which follow are from the 1595 collection.

SONNET IV. ON GANYMEDE'S EYES

Two stars there are in one fair firmament,
 (Of some intitled *Ganymedes* sweet face),
 Which other stars in brightness doe disgrace,
 As much as *Po* in elearness passeth *Trent*.
 Nor are they common natur'd stars: for why,
 These stars when other shine veil their pure light,
 And when all other vanish out of sight,
 They adde a glory to the worlds great Eye.
 By these two stars my life is onely led;
 In them I place my joy, in them my pleasure,
 Love's piercing Darts, and Nature's precious treasure
 With their sweet foode my fainting soule is fed:
 Then when my sunne is absent from my sight
 How can it chuse (with me) but be dark night?

SONNET VI

Sweet Corall lips, where Nature's treasure lies,
 The balm of blisse, the sovereigne salve of sorrow,
 The secret touch of love's heart-burning arrow,
 Come quench my thirst or else poor *Daphnis* dies.
 One night I dream'd (alas! 'twas but a Dreame!)
 That I did feele the sweetness of the same,
 Wherewith inspir'd, I young againe became,
 And from my heart a spring of blood did streame,
 But when I wak'd, I found it nothing so,
 Save that my limbs (methought) did waxe more strong
 And I more lusty far, and far more young.
 This gift on him rich Nature did bestow.
 Then if in dreaming so, I so did speede,
 What should I do, if I did so indeede?

SONNET XI

Sighing, and sadly sitting by my Love,
 He ask'd the cause of my heart's sorrowing,
 Conjuring my by heaven's eternall King
 To tell the cause which me so much did move.
 "Compell'd" (quoth I) "to thee will I confesse,
 "Love is the cause; and only love it is
 "That doth deprive me of my heavenly blisse.
 "Love is the paine that doth my heart oppresse."
 "And what is she" (quoth he) "whom thou dost love?"
 "Looke in this glasse" (quoth I) "there shalt thou see
 "The perfect forme of my felicitie."
 When, thinking that it would strange Magick prove,
 He open'd it: and taking off the cover,
 He straight perceiv'd himselfe to be my Lover.

SONNET XVIII

Not *Megaboetes*, nor *Cleonymus*
 (Of whom great *Plutarch* makes such mention,
 Praising their faire with rare invention),
 As *Ganymede* were half so beauteous.
 They onely pleased the eies of two great Kings,
 But all the world at my love stands amazed,
 Nor one that on his Angel's face hath gazed,
 But (ravisht with delight) him Presents bring:
 Some weaning Lambs, and some a suckling Kyd,
 Some Nuts, and fil-beards, others Peares and Plums;
 Another with a milk-white Heyfar comes,
 As lately *Aegon's* man (*Damoetas*) did;
 But neither he, nor all the Nymphs beside,
 Can win my *Ganymede*, with them t'abide.

[faire: beauty. onely: only. eies: eyes. fil-beards: filberts. heyfar: heifer.]

SONNET XIX

Ah no; nor I my selfe: tho' my pure love
 (Sweete *Ganymede*!) to thee hath still been pure,
 And ev'n till my last gaspe shall aie endure,
 Could ever thy obdurate beautie move:
 Then cease, oh Goddess sonne (for sure thou art
 A Goddess sonne that can resist desire),
 Cease thy hard heart, and entertain love's fire
 Within thy sacred breast: by Nature's art.
 And as I love thee more than any Creature

(Love thee, because thy beautie is divine,
 Love thee, because my selfe, my soule, is thine:
 Wholie devoted to thy lovely feature),
 Even so of all the vowels, I and U
 Are dearest unto me, as doth ensue.

[aie: forever.]

Sonnet VI clearly echoes Strato, Anth. Pal. XII, 177. Sonnet XVIII comes nearest to being one of the "literary exercise" type, but it is redeemed by XIX, which completes the sense. Barnefield later speaks of finding a lass whose beauty surpassed that of "the swain/Whom I never could obtain."²⁸³ It is possibly significant, to a degree beyond that of the emulation of Virgil, that both the *Affectionate Shepherd* and the sonnet cycle to Ganymede end unhappily with the boy's obdurate refusal—apparently something like Elissos in the Skythinos poem quoted above, Ch. X—rather than leaving the issue in doubt, or even acknowledging success. The latter would have been unsurprising, in the light of Shakespeare's Sonnet XXV. The Beloved Who Always Says No is, remember, a perennial theme in Greek symbolic boy-love and medieval courtly love. Barnefield, whatever his personal experience, may have been to a certain extent emulating these traditions, whether or not he had any inkling of their esoteric meaning.

While on the subject of Shakespeare's contemporaries we may mention that *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*,^{283a} attributed to the 18-year-old Francis Beaumont, provided ample opportunity for lyrical praise of a boy's beauty as well as for celebrating the essentially androgynous Greek ideal of adolescent beauty adhered to by the Greeks and Elizabethans alike. Beaumont, however, is *not* to be regarded as an instance of Greek love. He met his older lover Fletcher about 1604 (probably at the Mermaid Tavern) when they were respectively about 20 and 25, and it was about four years later that they set up housekeeping together on a permanent basis. A clue to their love relationship may perhaps be found in Melantius's speech on Amintor in *The Maid's Tragedy*, I, i:

"All joys upon him! for he is my friend.
 Wonder not that I call a man so young my friend:
 His worth is great; radiant he is, and temperate,
 And one that never thinks his life his own,
 If his friend need it."

This seems to draw partly from the Dorian ideal via Damon and Pythias (a legend already well known) and partly from the line

quoted in Bacon's essay *Of Friendship*, attributed to "the ancients": *A friend is another himself*. Though Bacon wrote in 1625, he obviously was drawing on a long-accepted tradition, which had already generated its own platitudes. Bacon was apparently involved in homosexual activity, and possibly in Greek love, though he nowhere celebrates the latter.²⁸⁴

But even as the Council of Trent cramped Greek love on the Continent, and apparently made it a furtive and guilt-ridden thing, so too the Greek love ideal suffered a premature death when the Puritans closed theatres and interdicted all other entertainments, imposing what may be fairly called a reign of terror. The effects of these eighteen years were felt for centuries afterward and are not yet completely banished. Havelock Ellis says that prosecutions for sodomy in the 18th century resulted in many executions, and that police activity apparently exceeded in vigor even its then (late 1890's) current counterpart. Patrimism had won out, for the moment.

XIV

BOY-LOVE IN THE
RESTORATION,
ENLIGHTENMENT,
ROMANTIC PERIOD

THE RETURN OF CHARLES II TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND AND THE collapse of the Puritan regime began a rather brief epoch of matrism. The usual story is that people were so fed up with Puritan restrictions that they kicked over the proverbial traces; that "anything went." This is not quite true. Sodomy was still a capital offense, even though police activity was for the time being not as vigorous as it had been under the Puritans or was to be later on. There were no lyrical poems to boys. Women began to take part in stage performances, even as in a very small way they had done in the 1630's.²⁸⁵ Though there were few boys recruited thereafter to take female roles, still some of these achieved great fame such as Edward Kynaston and James Nokes. (Curiously, some actresses began to take male roles as well—a tradition perpetuated today mostly in operatic performances intended originally for castrati, of which more below.) Ironically, the actresses were involved in repeated scandals, while none of the boy actors had been!

Nevertheless, Greek love was not quite dead. Classical education still continued, and noblemen continued to love their favourites and their pages. John Wilmot, Earl Rochester (1647-1680), admitted at age eleven to Wadham college, Oxford, became the favourite of Dr. Robert Whitehall, Fellow of Merton college. In 1660, being but 13½, he was given the M.A. degree; four years later he found his way to the court of Charles II, becoming gentleman of the bedchamber to the king. His verses, plays and satires began to attract attention, and many of them display a thoroughly Roman (not Greek) attitude. His

verse play *Sodom*²⁸⁶ (first printed in 1684, and recently available in an Olympia Press paperback, still banned in the U.S.A.), said to have been presented before the king, is a lampoon on the effeminacy common in the court of James I, which monarch (burlesqued as "Bolloxinion, King of Sodom," and delighting in a gift of forty boys from Tarse-hole, King of Gomorrah, etc.) in 1617 openly defended his love of his favourites, the Earl of Buckingham in particular, citing the love between Jesus Christ and John the Beloved Disciple as precedent.²⁸⁷ Restoration comedy in general is bawdy, and *Sodom* is not an outstanding instance save for its insistence on the theme of buggery. But Rochester, though notorious for his affairs with fashionable ladies of the day, betrayed a preoccupation with boys reminiscent of Horace and Martial. We see it in No. XVII of his *Poems upon several Occasions* (unexpurgated editions include that of 1731-2, which is my source, the Hayward or Nonesuch Press edition of 1926, and the Thorpe or Princeton edition of 1950):

. . . Then give me Health, Wealth, Mirth and Wine;
And if busy Love intrenches,
There's a sweet soft Page of mine
Does the trick worth forty wenches!

and, though supposedly spoken by a woman, in No. LXXIV:

I love a youth should give me leave
His Body in my arms to wreath:
To press him gently and to kisse,
To sigh and looke with Eyes that wish . . .
I'd give him Libertye to toye
And play with mee and count it Joye.
Our freedom should be full compleate,
And nothing wanting but the feate.
Let's practice then, and we shall prove
These are the only sweets of Love.

And in No. XX ("Vulcan, contrive me such a cup") the poet asks the god to "carve thereon a spreading Vine,/Then add two lovely Boyes;/ Their Limbs in amorous Folds intwine,/ The Type of future Joyes." Exactly what joys he had in mind are left to the imagination, but one may safely guess from No. XVII already cited. And in the tragedy which Rochester adapted from Beaumont and Fletcher, *Valentinian*, II i *ad fin.*, he makes a character say:

'Tis a soft Rogue, this *Lycias*
And rightly understood
He's worth a thousand Womens Nicenesses!

The Love of Women moves even with their Lust,
 Who therefore still are fond, but seldom just:
 Their Love is Usury, while they pretend,
 To gain the Pleasure double which they lend.
 But a dear Boy's disinterested Flame
 Gives Pleasure, and for meer Love gathers Pain;
 In him alone Fondness sincere does prove,
 And the kind tender naked Boy is Love.

These lines are ambiguous, but seemingly they say that Rochester regards his boyfriends as fonder of their older lover(s) than vice versa, and are willing to permit buggery for the sake of this disinterested love for the men in their lives, buggery being (in the common misconception) considered painful as well as degrading. Did Rochester himself subscribe to this idea? Was his own early experience as the boy in Greek love painful? Or was the "disinterested Flame" for him only an unattainable ideal? One can only guess.

I earlier mentioned the castrati as having a considerable popularity, in an age where sexual ambiguity was still tolerated in some quarters. I shall not devote much space to them, they being of minor relevance to Greek love, but I can mention that a monograph devoted entirely to them exists and is worth consulting.²⁸⁸ Láng says that the first castrati to be found in papal choirs entered them in 1562,²⁸⁹ which means that the practice of emasculating boys shortly before puberty to preserve their voices unbroken must have begun earlier. Earlier the soprano and alto parts were taken by prepuberal boys. In the 1600's, with the rise of opera, castrati took female roles, and their extreme vocal virtuosity led composers to write bravura parts for them. By the 1720's opera was *the* pastime in Italy for all classes from royalty down to the poor: every fair-sized town had its opera house, and other entertainment (save for the *commedia dell' arte* and some wretched legitimate theatricals) was almost nonexistent; the opera houses included gambling and all kinds of refreshments in the anterooms. Opera houses, presenting operas predominantly in Italian, were found from Ireland to the borders of the Ottoman Empire, from Portugal to Russia—in fact everywhere but France (where through anti-Italian prejudice in and following the "Buffoons' War" the native operatic productions excluded Italian scores, Italian musicians and the castrati, these being almost exclusively Italian). And these opera houses featured, in every opera, castrati—at the time Italy's most popular export, despite the churchly ban on those who performed the operations. The castrati constituted a sort of international matinee-idol system, "the first remote foreshadowing of modern Hollywood's

ubiquitous deities,"²⁹⁰ discussed, compared and criticized in fashionable drawing-rooms everywhere. (Operas continued to be created for castrati until 1824 or later, Meyerbeer's "*Il Crociato in Egitto*" being the last one of any importance; castrati, however, continued to be created for a few more decades, finding their way to the Vatican chapel and a few others. The last of them, Prof. Alessandro Moreschi, of the Vatican choir, died in 1922.)

After debut, a young castrato would—if successful—find himself attracting a following; this clique of fans would gather around him, go en masse to every performance, exchange sonnets, pasquinades, and satires with rival cliques, etc.; more important for his purposes, they would provide not only a ready-made clique, but financial support, social gatherings at which important connections could be made, e.g. meetings with composers who might write starring roles for him, or the like. Aristocratic ladies and gentlemen would imagine themselves in love with him and engineer piquant interviews.²⁹¹ Some castrati were sexually potent though naturally sterile, and many were homosexual. There is a parallel between the cult of the castrati in the 18th century over most of Europe, and the cult of the boy actors in Tudor and early Stuart England; this parallel seems to have been intensified by the childish capriciousness of many castrati. The essentially androgynous ideal of the boy love-object was found here, albeit in a somewhat unnatural form. Rome was apparently a favorite place of rendezvous of castrati and their male lovers, even as of female impersonators and boy hustlers.²⁹²

Despite official hostility to "enthusiasms" of any kind in England under Anne and the Georges (and therefore under the royal mistresses), as in most of the European houses which coincidentally were also ruled de jure by queens or de facto by royal mistresses, Greek love was not particularly rare, but age-mate love and androphile homosexuality were apparently becoming more frequent under the disguise of prim and frigid bachelorhood. Houses of prostitution included, often enough, boys and young men for the use of jaded customers and those who had little interest in women to start with; houses specializing in this sort of practice acquired the sobriquet "Molly houses."²⁹³ Male prostitutes not connected with the houses, known as "poufs" or "patapoufs," became a frequent sight around Piccadilly, and their counterparts—known to this day in France as "jésus" and (when teen-aged) as "petits-jésus"—could be found in many cities.²⁹⁴ Sexual interest in boys was regarded as a vile Italian vice reaching England via France.

This epoch also saw the beginning in Britain of a flagellomania

which lasted until the beginning of the present century, but which fortunately seems not to have spread to other countries, and which is absolutely unrelated to Greek love, though sometimes confused with it. One may speculate that it began with schoolmasters (real or pretended) writing up their erotic memoirs, or with jaded whorehouse customers during the Restoration and afterwards reminiscing about their earliest sexual excitement and finding that it had begun under the schoolmaster's lash at Eton or Harrow or other boarding school. Whatever the actual beginning, as early as 1704 flagellant services were available in London brothels^{294a} and in later years many bagnios specialized in this sort of thing. Some of these houses lasted into the 19th century, one actually having been patronized by King George IV.^{294b} Some customers got their erotic stimulation by flagellating women (or young boys or girls), but increasingly often the demand was to be chastised by women, often with words of reproach; often only a particular posture would produce the desired effect, this presumably being the posture in which the customer had derived sexual pleasure from being whipped when he was a young boy. A survey of flagellant erotic literature (big business from the 1770's until the 1870's, and flagellant scenes are found in *all* British erotic works of that period^{294c}—a singularly monotonous literature!) proves conclusively that flagellation was a cold-blooded business, for sex pure and simple, and generally a fetish or a crutch—individuals demanded this stimulation when they found themselves incapable of sexual excitement under ordinary conditions.²⁹⁵ Even the schoolmasters whose main joy was “to scourge the diabolic flesh,/ For ever tortured and for ever fresh”^{295a} were content to send their young charges howling to bed alone; neither overt sex play nor Greek love is recorded at any time as occurring between schoolmaster and whipping-boy. On psychoanalytic grounds I may speculate that in some cases flagellation of beautiful young boys' naked bottoms may have been a permissible—though far more damaging—substitute for sex play with them, and that it is significant that this substitute occurred almost exclusively in the very country in which anal intercourse had been the most stringently tabooed of all sexual techniques.

More serious still was the contemporaneous British defloration mania, but because of the W. T. Stead “Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” articles (1885), official pressure cut it short.^{295b} For a while girls of 9 or 10 brought very high prices—higher than the usual 12-to-14 year olds ordinarily recruited into the houses—and the underground traffic in both classes was quite large. Madams were willing to pay prices for young girls high enough to insure in many cases both

silence and economic security on the part of the parents. I bring up this matter because of the frequent confusion in some minds between Greek love and a preoccupation with prepuberal children. From the erotica of this period, I can safely conclude that preoccupation with such young girls was unrelated to love: they were deflowered because their customers found other sex unsatisfying and were willing to pay astronomical prices for such exotic fare; and they were often if not usually unwanted by their customers after defloration, becoming afterwards either regular prostitutes or—if pregnant—homeless, unwanted girls, with no visible future. But I have no evidence whatever that men involved in this cruel game were also involved in Greek love. For one thing, entirely different sorts of people seemed to be involved; the tenderness and actual concern for one's partner in Greek love (as in heterosexual love) was hardly compatible with the cold desperateness of these other expedients. I mention such unsavory matters only to clear up confusions and to chronicle the distortions resulting from the Puritan, Calvinistic and Tridentine enactments.

An equally important point is that flagellomania and defloration were relatively short-lived fads, primarily heterosexual (save in the schoolmaster/whipping-boy scenes), whereas Greek love, devoid of sadomasochism, has been a theme of almost every period, as a glance at chapter headings of Part Two will testify. The subjoined table, anticipating certain conclusions of Volume II, will show in capsule form the relationship between erotic thematic emphasis and time, and the effect of general sexual attitudes on both official and underground sexual preoccupations. (The underground ones mostly parallel the official ones, in more explicit exaggeration of the dominant themes.) Justification for the conclusions reached in this table will be found in Volume II.

Particularly noteworthy among the trends shown for the Enlightenment period is outspoken description in print of androphile homosexual situations or attractions. Prior to the mid-18th century instances (very rare) consist almost entirely of lampoons against effeminate men. This kind of baiting is found as early as Aristophanes; and there is something Aristophanic (even though not quite so ferocious) in Sir John Vanbrugh's *The Relapse* (1696) where what would today be called an "auntie" or old swishy queen is depicted on stage as trying to seduce a young man. I cannot be certain whether androphile homosexual practice or its juvenile counterpart (in James I's court, where both were common) is being lampooned in Rochester's *Sodom*; the language is consistent with either theory. But Tobias Smollett provides more unequivocal instances in his first novel, *Roderick Random* (1742).

In Chapter 34 he describes—probably from recollections of his three years as a ship's surgeon in the British navy—sexual intimacies between a commander of a man-of-war and one of his officers; and in Chapter 51 he has the effeminate Earl Strutwell utter a long panegyric of “Greek love” as most healthful and fashionable (!). Smollett's attitude to Strutwell is uncompromisingly hostile, for two obvious reasons. One is Strutwell's effeminacy (possibly caricature of individuals Smollett knew), and in England effeminacy had always been despised, being barely tolerable even in female impersonators and castrati. The other is that the “Greek love” urged by Strutwell is not boy-love at all but anal intercourse with young men, and in England anal intercourse has always been the most stringently taboo of all sexual techniques (cf. Chapter VI, above).^{56, 296}

We may take this in context as indicating that even then an oral tradition had sprung up of rationalizing a taste for adult buggery by appeal to the ancient Greeks, in defiance of the facts marshaled in Chapter X; this oral tradition persists to the present day, but so far as I know has not before been traceable as far back as 1742.

Taboos on the “péché philosophique” or “philosophical sin” (as boy-love was then called) evidently existed in France as well, despite the amused toleration of the Champs-Élysées “meat rack” and similar rendezvous, or in later years of the hotel in the rue du Doyenné, Paris (closed 1826 after police planted exposés in local scandal-sheets),^{296a} or of such publicly effeminate figures as the Duc d'Orléans (1640-1701), the court composer J. B. Lully (1632-1687), the Abbé de Choisy (1644-1728), and the Chevalier d'Eon (1723-1810). The 6th Dialogue of “Luisa Sigee,” commonly read in 18th century France through reprintings of the original 1660 edition, makes considerable fuss about male desires for the “posterior Venus,” i.e. anal intercourse with women. Tullia and Ottavia argue at length respectively pro and con, despite the admission that anal intercourse can produce pleasure in the woman akin to that of deep vaginal penetration, and despite joking references to Florentine and Spanish predilections for young lads with whom natives indulged this taste. Tullia even goes so far as to argue for boy-love, citing the usual classical precedents. But a moment later she abruptly changes her mind and damns the “posterior Venus” insofar as it relates to females.²⁹⁷

Some of the abovementioned adult homosexual affairs seem to have been outgrowths of passionate friendships begun at Eton or similar schools; they may have been originally age-mate affairs or Greek love, but the tendency was increasingly towards age-mate affairs. As will be shown below, this continuance of school friendships/love affairs into adult life is characteristic of Byron, and it appears

SHIFTS IN CERTAIN THEMES OF EUROPEAN LITERATURE AND ART

Period (Europe & America):	Hetero- sexual passion ^a	Andro- philia ^b	Greek love	Defloration (nymphets)	Flagellation (British)	Sado- masochism
Heroic Age	—	—?	—?	—	—	—
Pre-Socratic Hellas	—	traces	++++ ^e	—	—	—
Post-Socratic Hellas	hetairai: ++	slight	++++	—	—	—
Greco-Roman	++	+	++++	—	—	—
Roman Emp.	+	+	+ ^d	+	++ (nonsexual)	++++ (nonsexual)
Dark Ages	—	traces	traces	—	++++ (nonsexual)	++++ (religious)
High Middle Ages (12th c. on)	Cortezia: ++++	—(?)	+	—	++++ (nonsexual)	++++ (religious)
Renaissance	slight	traces	++++	—	—	—
Puritanism, Counter-Reform.	traces	traces ^e	+ ^e	?	?	++++ (religious)
Restoration	++++	+	++	+	+	—
Enlightenment	++	+++	++	++	+++	—
Romantic	++++	++	+++	++	++++	+++ (Sade, etc.)
Mid & late 19th century	+++	++++	++++ (Calamites)	+++	++++	+++ ^f
Wilde trials to Hitler accession	++	+++	+++ (Later Calam.)	traces	+	+++ ^f
Post WW 2	+++	++++	+	traces	traces	+++ ^f

NOTES:

- Passionate love as distinct from the calmer man-&-wife sort: see Chs. V & XII.
- Androphilia: homosexual love between adults.
- In both forms: Dorian and oriental. See Chapter X.
- Replaced by loveless sensual use of boys. See Chapter XI.
- Mainly in Italy, other Latin countries.
- Including the bondage fetishistic cults following on L. von Sacher-Masoch.

to have played some part in the Walpole-Gray "Quadruple Alliance" clique and its ramifications (whose full story has yet to be told anywhere). Austin Dobson's biography²⁹⁸ of Walpole (1717-1797) speaks of his "mixture of effeminacy and real genius"; and even the staid and stuffy *Encyclopaedia Britannica* refers to Thomas Gray's (1716-1771) marked characteristic of "friendship with the young." Ketton-Cramer's biography of Gray²⁹⁹ is more explicit about it, particularly about Gray's infatuation with Charles-Victor de Bonstetten (1745-1832), Dec. 1769-May 1771. Bonstetten was then 24, so here we have obviously not Greek love but the kind of androphile homosexuality—whether or not it got as far as the bedroom—which seems to have characterized Bacon, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Frederick the Great, among others, but which from all available records had been considerably rarer than boy-love until the 18th century, only afterwards becoming commoner as it is now.

Walpole and Gray were, as it happens, only two among the processions of thousands of love-hungry bachelors who found their way to Italy, in part perhaps because of the reputation of the region in common gossip and in "Luisa Sigèa" (as mentioned above). J. J. Winckelmann (1717-68), author of the first comprehensive study of Antinoüs portraiture,³⁰⁰ was another, and his murder for his medals under compromising circumstances by one Arcangeli in Trieste set many tongues wagging. But perhaps the most important for the present study are Goethe and Byron, to whom I shall return below, and William Beckford (1760-1844). I cannot now trace the source of the remark, but I have heard it repeated as common gossip of "the period that "nobody could return uncorrupted from a trip to Italy . . ."

Beckford's importance lies in his memoirs and letters (some of which are quoted in the Boyd Alexander biography³⁰¹), which provide much anthropological, sociological and psychological data on both boy-lovers of the period (among whom was Beckford himself) and androphile homosexuals, together with public and legal attitudes to both. His romance *Vathek* (unauthorized English translation by William Henly, 1786 with several later reprints; French original, Lausanne, 1787) is of less consequence, being a most decadently 'Gothick' fantasy laid in Islam, hardly relevant in incident or attitude to the practices of Beckford's day, though some have theorized that its boy hero and perpetual child Gulchenrouz was a thin disguise for William "Kitty" Courtenay. In 1779, being but 19, he had met the Courtenay boy—then only 10—and this meeting began an attachment which Boyd Alexander's biography describes as the dominating passion of his life, ending in Beckford's ruin. Beckford married at 23, and revisited

the Courtenay boy—then in his mid-teens—the next year, 1784. His enemies at Powderham Castle made much capital over finding Beckford and “Kitty” Courtenay in bed together, started newspaper scandals and threats of prosecution.³⁰² Beckford completed *Vathek* three years later around the time of his wife’s death, and thereafter lived first as a traveler and then as a recluse, outspokenly boy-loving (and occasionally androphile) in his letters, and at least equally outspoken in his surprisingly modern attitudes on penal practice of the day. I may, however, question how often his affairs—aside from that with “Kitty” Courtenay—manifested Greek love rather than casual sex, and now raise the question of how genuinely loving a person can be after he has been severely hurt through a love affair. (Cf. cases 1 and 2, Chapter VIII.) A pattern very often found in recent times among people much involved with a succession of homosexual partners is in fact a fear of becoming too deeply involved. I must leave open the question of the extent to which this is a phenomenon of the subculture, and to which it is a result of withdrawing into one’s shell after learning that genuine love—Greek or heterosexual or androphile—can bring one agony, thus contributing to the dissociation between love and sex in such individuals. I bring up the matter here because it becomes an increasingly frequent theme of homosexual literature and documentation from the 18th century on, and particularly from Verlaine’s time to the present.

We now come to one of the all-time colossi: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832). For lack of space I shall not even attempt to give a biographic sketch of this titan. Goethe—dramatist, essayist, critic, poet, mystic, lawyer, statesman, economist, architect, medical expert, botanist, comparative anatomist, precursor of Darwin, inspirer of Schubert, defender of Winckelmann, classical scholar, maker and breaker of fashions, creator of a whole world of characters,—finds his place in the present study because of passing references in which he revealed his own predilections, and which affected the subsequent history of boy-loving literary cliques—the Calamites and the George-Kreis in particular. Goethe has been studied enough to make at least the following conclusions certain: He was completely tolerant of Greek love, as of androphile homosexuality (he knew these respectively from classical literature and modern examples like Friedrich II, Kleist, Gleim, Jacobi, Platen, etc.); he himself experienced and acted out the Greek love urges, even to sexual fulfillment, though he was predominantly heterosexual; he was in high enough social position to be unafraid to speak his mind on all these manifestations of love, even the most tabooed.

Knaben liebt' ich wohl auch, doch lieber sind mir die Mädchen:
Hab' ich als Mädchen sie satt, dient sie als Knabe mir.—

I liked boys a lot, but girls are even nicer.
If I tire of her as a girl, she'll play the boy for me as well.³⁰⁴

I cannot offhand recall another so flippant reference to anal intercourse in this period outside of outright pornography.

Havelock Ellis³⁰⁵ mentions the oft-repeated story that there are paidophilic elegies by Goethe, dating from his Italian travel years, that were not published in his day. They are not part of the regular set of 24 Roman Elegies,³⁰⁶ and I have not been able to find them.³⁰⁷ Nevertheless, their absence does not lessen the certainty of these conclusions. In his regularly published works are the following extremely significant passages:

Er entwickelte, wie die griechische Knabenliebe eigentlich daher komme, dass nach rein, ästhetischen Massstab, der Mann immerhin weit schöner, vorzüglicher, vollendeter, wie die Frau sei . . . Die Knabenliebe sei so alt wie die Menschheit, und man kann daher sagen, sie liehe in der Natur, ob sie gleich gegen der Natur sei.

He explained how Greek boy-love actually happened to come about; that from a purely aesthetic standard, the male is, other things being equal, always far handsomer, more excellent, more perfectly proportioned than the female . . . Boy-love is as old as mankind, and one can say of it that it is natural even though it is "against" nature.³⁰⁸

Conceivably the above could be merely a defense of the Greeks; but certainly not the following panegyric:

Ich veranlasste Ferdinanden zu baden im See. Wie herrlich ist mein junger Freund gebildet! Welch ein Ebenmass aller Teile! Welch eine Fülle der Form, welch ein Glanz der Jugend, welch ein Gewinn für mich, meine Einbildungskraft mit diesem vollkommenen Muster der menschlichen Natur bereichert zu haben! Nun bevölkere ich Wälder, Wiesen und Höhen mit so schönen Gestalten; ihn seh' ich als Adonis dem Eber folgen, ihn als Narziss sich in der Quelle bespiegeln!

I got Ferdinand to bathe in the sea. How magnificently shaped is my young friend! What symmetry of every part! What a fulfillment of form, what splendor of youth,—what a prize for me, to have enriched my imagination with this perfect paragon of human nature! Now I people forests, meadows and mountains with such beautiful figures; I see him as Adonis hunting the wild boar, as Narcissus mirroring himself in the pool!³⁰⁹

Other references here and there: *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*,

II, ch. 11; Tischbein an Goethe, Naples 10 July 1787; *Achilleis*; correspondence with Humboldt. And most important, Book IX (*Sáki Nameh*, i.e. *The Book of the Cup-Bearer*) of the *West-östlicher Diwan* or *West-Eastern Divan*,³¹⁰ a collection of epigrammatic lyrics inspired by Goethe's contact with a German translation (1811) of the Sufi'st poems of Hafiz. The frankly paidophilic verses in Book IX are supposed to derive in part from Goethe's friendship with several boys, one of them the son of a Professor Paulus of Heidelberg.³¹¹ I despair of adequate translation; since I am no Goethe, the versions provided here are only a shadow of the magnificent originals.

Poet:

Come in, come in! why stand there by the door?
Welcome, dearest, to my arms once more!
Sweet boy, with you as cup-bearer tonight
All wines will savor well and sparkle bright.

(VIII B)

Poet:

You little rogue, come here!
Drunk as I am, I'll keep
my scattered senses clear:
I'll focus them on you,
my lovely boy, my dear.

(XII)

Cup-bearer:

O master, what a state you're in!
How late you've stumbled from your room!
Call it whatever name you choose,
Hangover causes all this gloom.

Poet (weakly):

Dear lad, leave me alone awhile.
There's no relief—in this disease—
In roses' fragrant blush, or notes
Of nightingales in the trees.

Cup-bearer:

No, let me try to cure you now;
I think I know the remedy.
Take these fresh almonds from my hand,
They'll sharpen all things' taste—you'll see.
Then out to the terrace here with me,
And let the quickening air dispel
The fumes—while I look into your eyes
Till your kisses say you're well.

(XIV)

Cup-bearer (sleepily):

Now I have your gift—and I'm content . . .
 You shared your thought with me in simple words
 I understood; but best of all, you said
 You loved me . . .

Poet:

I'll let him sleep. He's fairly earned his rest.
 —Dear boy, you've poured me wine the evening long;
 And though you're young, I can tell you've learned
 Unforced—of your own wish—from all I've said.
 Now health's delicious tide flushes each limb—
 New vigor grows in you. I'll drink once more,
 but silent, not to waken you again
 and end the joy of watching you at peace.

(XXI)

These are original enough variants on the perennial Sufi'st themes. I find no evidence that Goethe attempted to probe into the symbolic language of Hafiz or the Sufis generally; rather, these poems inspired in him still another exotic treatment of love. We see here on a high level the common process by which religious esoterica become misinterpreted and eventually only the public misinterpretation survives. We saw it in Renaissance versions of so-called courtly love-poetry; we saw it in later Greek adaptations of the original Dorian mystique of boy-love. Interestingly enough, in No. XXI the Barnefield theme (*Affectionate Shepherd*, xviii, xxii) of delight in watching the boy asleep reappears. These Cup-bearer poems and others not included in the present volume have much more of the classical Greek ideal of boy-love as educational and aesthetic than of the more oriental view of the boy as the purely sexual object.

Among many other Germans of Goethe's day interested in boy-love, two especially deserve mention: August von Platen-Hallermünde (1796-1835) and Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843). Platen, the arch-enemy of romanticism, likewise published poems imitating the Hafiz material (*Mirror of Hafiz*, 1822, and several volumes of *Ghaselen*), but he is perhaps best known for his series of 26 sonnets addressed to Karl Theodor German. Raffalovich³⁰⁷ ranks them even above Goethe's sonnets. One of the more familiar ones tells the story of Pindar's death in the arms of his boyfriend Theoxenos. But Platen seems rather to have been one of the increasingly common androphile homosexuals, and in these sonnets with their constant reference to ancient Greek themes may be one of the very earliest justifications for androphile homosexuality appealing (illegitimately) to Greece as authority.

Entirely different was the note struck by the mystic Friedrich Hölderlin. In his teens he turned away from philosophy and towards Greek literature; from Christianity he finally reached pantheism; and despite the continual admonitions of his Philip Wylie mom to marry and get a job, he continued to write poetry of difficult and mystical vein until his madness made him incapable of continuing. It is hardly a surprise that he regarded Christ (but a *most* unorthodox Christ) as the successor to Dionysos;^{311a} that he called his beloved Susette Gontard “Diotima,” and that he fervently hoped for a return of the Hellenic pantheon. In his poems we find an evocation of the Gany-mede myth (1804), an important symbolic anticipation of the androphilic Urning or Whitmanesque ideal in “Der Einzige” (1802), and somewhat earlier a difficult and equally symbolic poem on Sokrates and Alkibiades. As near as I can tell from this poem—which is at least as difficult in the German as in my English translation—, Hölderlin for a moment saw clearly at least one of the religious aspects of Greek love. And his view unquestionably affected Stefan George and the George-Kreis. (It is just as one would expect, then, that the first complete edition of Hölderlin’s works was begun in 1911 by Norbert Hellingrath of the George-Kreis.)

SOCRATES UND ALCIBIADES

Warum huldigst du, heiliger Sokrates,
Diesem Jüngling stets? kennest du Grössers nicht?
Warum siehet mit Liebe,
Wie auf Götter, dein Aug’ auf ihn?
Wer das tiefste gedacht, liebt das Lebendigste
Hohe Tugend versteht, wer in die Welt geblickt,
Und es neigen die Weisen
Oft am Ende zu Schönen sich.

Why are you so devoted, godly Sokrates,
Always to this stripling? You know nothing greater?
Why are your loving eyes fixed
on him as on the gods?
Who has explored the depth, loves the liveliest;
he knows excellence who to the world has gleamed,
and often beauty is a magnet
after all even to the wise.

The original is even more ambiguous. “Huldigen” basically means to pay homage, but can also mean to embrace; the connotation is often that of worship. “Tugend,” usually translated by “virtue,” is roughly equivalent in context to *tò kalón*, global excellence, that most Greek of all concepts. The last four lines are a capsule summary

of the *Phaedrus*. There is the implication of knowing something through its opposite, loving the white horse (cf. the Myth of the Charioteer) in contrast to the black, experiencing the irresistible attraction to the ideal in any form, embodying this attraction in the ideal kind of ethical and educational love for a beautiful youth ripe to accept and profit by the relationship. And much more.

Nor were these the only individuals mentioning Greek love in this period in the German language. The Swiss Heinrich Zschokke's *Der Eros, oder über die Liebe* (1821) is of some importance, and I hope to include a translation of this work in Volume II. Zschokke was at one time extremely popular, but like many bestselling authors, he was forgotten after a few decades. But not, I think, too soon to be read and remembered by continental writers and thinkers preoccupied with homosexuality in its various forms. He was read by the Swiss Heinrich Hössli, whose *Eros* (1836) includes much of relevance; this pioneering work was banned by local authorities and afterwards burned, but a few copies survive.³¹²

Earlier, in England another giant, though hardly of the stature of Goethe, had grown up to love boys, and his predilection colored much of his work as well as contributing to the breakup of his marriage, the burning of his memoirs, and the circulation from then till now of scandalous stories. This was, of course, George Gordon Byron, Lord Byron (1788-1824). Of the greatest formative importance on him were several schoolboy friendships, begun at Dulwich (1799-1801) and Harrow (1801-05).³¹³ In general, these friends of his were a few years younger, and Byron's attitude toward them was tender and protective, with definitely passionate elements. In his *Detached Thoughts* he openly admitted, "My school friendships were with me passions (for I was always violent)." The evidence is conclusive that Byron tried lifelong to retain and relive these friendships; some of the boys he later gathered to himself seem like faint echoes of Lord Clare, the Earl of Dorset, John Cam Hobhouse, John Cecil Tattersall, Edward Noel Long, George John earl De La Warr, and John Edleston. It is easy for freudian readers to parrot some such judgment as that Byron was neurotically repeating an obsessive-compulsive pattern. Perhaps he was; but this by itself does not explain the man's intensity or creative gifts. And it is historically significant that he was so outspoken about these affairs.

In any event, the early collection of verses, *Hours of Idleness*, memorializes several of these passionate friendships. Some were with boys of considerably lower rank than himself, but though he could not render himself blind to the difference, he nevertheless tried to

overwhelm it in a love so strong as to tolerate no interference by such externals as gender, rank or age. The first record of this is dated Nov. 1802, when Byron was fourteen; though of no particular merit as verse, it is of interest as a document. The E— is not Edleston; that affair began in 1805.

To E—

Let Folly smile, to view the names
Of thee and me, in Friendship twin'd;
Yet Virtue will have greater claims
To love, than rank with vice combin'd.

And though unequal is *thy* fate,
Since title deck'd my higher birth,
Yet envy not this gaudy state,
Thine is the pride of modest worth.

Our souls at least congenial meet,
Nor can thy lot my rank disgrace;
Our intercourse is not less sweet,
Since worth of rank supplies the place.

The same boy E— died a few months later; Byron wrote his epitaph. I quote the version in the original *Poems on Various Occasions* (1807),³¹⁴ rather than Byron's later revision; the latter is more polished but without the burning sincerity that marks this earlier draft. Again, it is a piece of juvenilia of no great literary merit, but we see again Byron's striving to make the sheer intensity of his love affairs obliterate the social distance from these boys which his rank would normally have imposed. The same theme appears in Oscar Wilde, and it was held against him at his trials. The epitaph has as Greek superscription the first line of Plato's epitaph on Aster (*Anth. Pal.* VII, 670, quoted in Ch. X in Mary Renault's translation).

Epitaph on a Beloved Friend

Oh, Boy, for ever lov'd, for ever dear!
What fruitless tears have bathed thy honour'd bier!
What sighs re-echo'd to thy parting breath,
Whilst thou wast struggling in the pangs of death!
Could tears retard the tyrant in his course,
Could sighs avert his dart's relentless force;
Could youth and virtue claim a short delay,
Or beauty charm the spectre from his prey;
Thou hadst still liv'd to bless my aching sight,
Thy comrade's honour and thy friend's delight.

Though low thy lot since in a cottage born,
 No titles did thy humble name adorn,
 To me, far dearer, was thy artless love,
 Than all the joys wealth, fame, and friends could prove.
 For thee alone I liv'd, or wish'd to live,
 (Oh God! if impious, this rash word forgive,)
 Heart-broken now, I wait an equal doom,
 Content to join thee in thy turf-clad tomb;
 Where this frail form compos'd in endless rest,
 I'll make my last cold pillow on thy breast;
 That breast where oft in life, I've laid my head,
 Will yet receive me mouldering with the dead;
 This life resigned, without one parting sigh,
 Together in one bed of earth we'll lie!
 Together share the fate to mortals given,
 Together mix the dust, and hope for Heaven.

In the meantime, he had fallen in love with Mary Anne Chaworth, and simultaneously begun to form those other attachments which so greatly preoccupied him later on. In 1805 he saved young John Edleston from drowning; he was 17, Edleston a 15-year-old Cambridge choirboy of humble birth. They became passionately attached; Edleston gave Byron a heart-shaped carnelian brooch which he treasured lifelong. In several poems Byron refers to this carnelian: *Pignus Amoris* (1806), *The Carnelian* (1806), §7 of *The Adieu* (1807), the last-named quoted below. Each time he mentions how a tear from him, at the presentation, made the carnelian sparkle.

From THE ADIEU

'Written under the impression that the author would soon die.'

§7

And thou, my friend, whose gentle love
 Yet thrills my bosom's chords,
 How much thy friendship was above
 Description's power of words!

Still near my breast thy gift I wear,
 Which sparkled once with Feeling's tear,
 Of Love, the pure, the sacred gem;
 Our souls were equal, and our lot
 In that dear moment quite forgot;
 Let pride alone condemn.

Of Edleston he wrote: ³¹⁵ ". . . He has been my almost constant associate since October 1805, when I entered Trinity College. His voice first attracted my attention, his *countenance* fixed it, and his

manners attached me to him forever . . . I certainly love him more than any human being, and neither time nor distance have had the least effect on my (in general) changeable disposition. In short we shall put . . . Pylades and Orestes out of countenance, and want nothing but a catastrophe like Nisus and Euryalus to give Jonathan and David the 'go by.' He certainly is more attached to me than even I am in return. During the whole of my residence in Cambridge we met every day, summer and winter, without passing one tiresome moment, and separated each time with increasing reluctance." Significantly, Byron (also in 1807?) paraphrased the Nisus and Euryalus passage from Virgil's *Aeneid*, book IX. Edleston died of consumption on May 11, 1811.³¹⁶ There is some reason to think that his death inspired Byron's *Thyrza* poems.

As early as 1806 Byron had become notorious for his passionate attachment to boys. "The Carnelian" of that year contains the significant lines "Some, who can sneer at friendship's ties/ Have, for my weakness, oft reprov'd me." In November of the same year his "Imitated from Catullus" added fuel to the critical flamethrowers: it was an obvious paraphrase of *Carm. XLVIII, Mellitos oculos tuos, Juventi* (see Ch. XI, above), and nobody familiar with Catullus could have missed the reference to its boyish recipient. That in one edition Byron dedicated it to "Anna" and in another to "Ellen" was no help and doubtless those who spotted this change chuckled. And the very next month his "Soliloquy of a Bard in the Country" contained the following furious lines:

What worth is some few partial readers' praise,
If ancient Virgins croaking *censures* raise?
Where few attend, 'tis useless to indite;
Where few can read, 'tis folly sure to write;
Where none but girls and striplings dare admire,
And Critics rise in every Country Squire—

. . .

When schoolboys vent their amorous flames in verse,
Matrons may sure their characters asperse;

. . .

In wars like these, I neither fight nor fly,
When *dames* accuse 'tis bootless to deny;

. . .

When S— condemns a book he never read,
Declaring with a coxcomb's native air,
The moral's shocking though the rhymes are fair.
Ah! must he rise unpunish'd from the feast,

Nor lash'd by vengeance into truth at least?
 Such lenity were more than Man's indeed!
 Those who condemn, should surely deign to read.

...
 Still urge your task, and if you can, defame.
 The humble offerings of my Muse destroy,
 And crush, oh! noble conquest! crush a Boy.

Bitterer even than the satire in "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," and as bitter as anything Byron ever wrote, this evidently was his reply to attacks on his early verses, which some critical old beldames claimed to be even fouler than those of John Wilmot, Earl Rochester. (Proving only that they had never read Rochester . . .)

Nor did Byron stop writing poems to his boyfriends: "To the Earl of Clare" (1807) is typical, beginning:

Friend of my youth! when young we rov'd,
 Like striplings, mutually belov'd,
 With Friendship's purest glow;
 The bliss, which wing'd these rosy hours
 Was such as Pleasure seldom showers
 On mortals here below.

There is much more in the same vein. The Newstead MS. of "To Edward Noel Long Esq." is much more revealing than the published version; among other things, the end of the second stanza—to these eyes at least—describes the Byron of current and later years in a moment of unusually clear insight:

Still may my breast to boyhood cleave,
 With every early passion heave;
 Still may I rove untutored, wild,
 But never cease to seem a child.

The last line is the clue, of course: Byron clung to his boyhood experiences. Several times in this period he used the motto "*L'Amitié est l'Amour sans ailes*." (Friendship is Love without wings.) Once it was the title of a poem; again it was a line in "To a Youthful Friend," August 1808. The 1807 revision of "Childish Recollections" (November 1806) contains, interspersed with the evocations of most of his boyfriends under classical pseudonyms, these lines which exemplify and celebrate the very quality Friedenbergl calls "authenticity":

My wonted haunts, my scenes of joy or woe,
 Each early boyish friend, or youthful foe,
 Our feuds dissolv'd, but not my friendship past,—

I bless the former, and forgive the last.
Hours of my youth! when, nurtur'd in my breast,
To love a stranger, Friendship made me blest,—
Friendship, the dear peculiar bond of youth,
When every artless bosom throbs with truth;
Untaught by worldly wisdom how to feign,
And check each impulse by prudential reign.
When, all we feel, our honest souls disclose
In love to friends, in open hate to foes;
No varnish'd tales the lips of youth repeat,
No dear-bought knowledge purchas'd by deceit;
Hypocrisy, the gift of lengthen'd years,
Matured by age, the garb of Prudence wears:
When, now, the Boy is ripen'd into Man,
His careful Sire chalks forth some wary plan;
Instructs his Son from Candour's path to shrink,
Smoothly to speak, and cautiously to think;
Still to assent, and never to deny—
A patron's praise can well reward the lie;
And who, when Fortune's warning voice is heard,
Would lose his opening prospects for a word?
Although, against that word, his heart rebel,
And Truth, indignant, all his bosom swell.
(lines 51-76)

The life of Byron after his departure from Cambridge is too complex to attempt to summarize here; readers are referred to the standard biographies and to G. Wilson Knight's excellent *Lord Byron's Marriage*.³¹⁷ Of some interest as a follow-up to the patterns earlier exhibited is Byron's attachment, during his first stay in Greece (1809-10) to Nicolò Giraud, a young French-Greek lad who had been a model for the painter Lusieri; Byron made a will leaving to this boy £7,000! Following a number of anonymous youths at Venice—to Shelley's dismay—Byron finally formed an attachment to a difficult and less responsive boy, Loukas Chalandritsanos, age 15, who was with him at that final fatal scene at Missolonghi. Some of the late poems, dominated by this infatuation, are quoted in the Knight work. Knight has shown that the old story that Lady Byron left the poet because of alleged incest with his half-sister is a canard; its earliest appearance was in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Lady Byron Vindicated*, &c., 1869 (reprint, London, 1870). The real reason was partly Byron's outrageous behavior toward her, but still more of her learning of Byron's attachment to boys and his predilection for anal intercourse, an indignity she found completely intolerable. A more intensive study of Byron

is now in preparation. Goethe's opinion, in the meantime, is of historical interest—particularly in contrast with that of lesser minds: "The English may think of Byron as they please [they refused him burial in Westminster Abbey]; but this is certain—that they can show no poet who is to be compared with him."³¹⁸ Goethe meant *contemporary* poet, of course.

Any study of Byron cannot be complete without considering the *Don Leon* poems, ca. 1823-36, long attributed to Byron, but almost certainly by George Colman the younger (d. 1836), playwright and satirist mentioned in line 578 of Byron's "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." Colman had apparently seen the ms. Memoir (burnt with the consent of Byron's publisher John Murray and Lady B.), and his heroic couplets are certainly equal to many of Byron's; nothing else by Colman, so far as I know, approaches these in quality. They saw several 19th century editions,³¹⁹ but are practically unobtainable now, though parts were quoted in the Knight book. The text to be quoted below is from one of the two 1866 editions, and represents the most vigorous apologia for boy-love between Strato of Sardis and the present book—not even E. E. Bradford goes this far. Its historical importance can only be guessed at, but doubtless the Calamites learned much from it. An annotated *Don Leon* is now in preparation.

. . . Then say, was I or nature in the wrong

If, yet a boy, one inclination strong.

In wayward fancies, domineered my soul,

And bade complete defiance to control?

. . .

Love, love it was, that made my eyes delight

To have his person ever in my sight.

. . .

Why did I give the gauds to deck thy form?

Why for a menial did my entrails warm?

Why? but from secret longings to pursue

Those inspirations, which (if book speak true)

Have led e'en priests and sages to embrace

Those charms, which female blandishments efface.

. . .

As manhood came, my feelings, more intense,

Sighed for some kindred mind, where confidence,

Tuned in just unison, might meet return,

And whilst it warmed my breast, in his might burn.

. . .

Among the choir a youth my notice won,

Of pleasing lineaments, named Edleston.

With gifts well suited to a stripling's mood
His friendship and his tenderness I wooed.
Oh! how I loved to press his cheek to mine;
How fondly would my arms his waist entwine!
Another feeling borrowed friendship's name,
And took its mantle to conceal my shame.
Another feeling! Oh! 'tis hard to trace
The line where love usurps tame friendship's place.
Friendship's the chrysalis, which seems to die,
But throws its coil to give love wing to fly.
Both are the same, but in another state;
This formed to soar, and that to vegetate.
Of humble birth was he—patrician I,
And yet this youth was my idolatry.
Strong was my passion, past all inward cure,
And could it be so violent, yet pure?
'Twas like a philtre poured into my veins—
And as the chemist, when some vase contains
An unknown mixture, each component tries
With proper tests, the draught to analyze,
So questioned I myself: What lights this fire?
Maids and not boys are wont to move desire;
Else 'twere illicit love. Oh! sad mishap!
But what prompts nature then to set the trap?
Why, night and day, does his sweet image float
Before my eyes? or wherefore do I dote
On that dear face with ardour so intense?
Why truckles reason to concupiscence?
Though law cries 'hold!' yet passion onward draws;
But nature gave us passions, man gave laws.
Whence spring these inclinations, rank and strong?
And harming no one, wherefore call them wrong?
. . . But still, where'er I turned, in verse or prose,
Whate'er I read, some fresh dilemma rose:
I love a youth; but Horace did the same—
If he's absolved, say, why am I to blame?
When young Alexis claimed a Virgil's sigh,
He told the world his choice; and may not I?
Shall every schoolman's pen his verse extol,
And, sin in me, in him a weakness call?
Then why was Socrates surnamed "the Sage"
Not only in his own, but every age,
If lips, whose accents strewed the path of truth,
Could print their kisses on some favoured youth?
Or why should Plato, in his Commonwealth,
Score tenets up which I must note by stealth?

Say, why, when great Epaminondas died,
 Was Cephidorus buried by his side?
 Or why should Plutarch with eulogiums cite
 That chieftain's love for his young catamite,
 And we be forced his doctrine to decry,
 Or drink the bitter cup of infamy?
 But these (thought I) are samples musty grown;
 Turn we from early ages to our own.
 No heathen's lust is matter of surprise;
 He only aped his pagan deities;
 But when a Savior had redeemed the world,
 And all false idols from Olympus hurled,
 A purer code the Christian law revealed,
 And what was venial once, as guilt was sealed.
 'Tis true, mankind had cast the pagan skin,
 But all the carnal part remained within
 Unchang'd, and nature, breaking through the fence,
 Still vindicated her omnipotence.
 Look how infected with this rank disease
 Were those who held St. Peter's holy keys,
 And pious men to whom the people bowed.
 And kings who churches to the saints endowed;
 All these are Christians of the highest stamp—
 How many scholars, wasting o'er their lamp,
 How many jurists, versed in legal rules,
 How many poets, honoured in the schools,
 How many captains, famed for deeds of arms,
 Have found their solace in a minion's arms!
 Nay, e'en our Bard, Dame Nature's darling child,
 Felt the strange impulse, and his hours beguiled
 In penning sonnets to a stripling's praise,
 Such as would damn a poet now-a-days.
 . . . In vice unhackneyed, in *Justine* unread,
 See schoolboys by some inclination fed,
 Some void, that's hardly to themselves confess'd,
 Flying for solace to a comrade's breast.
 In lonely walks, their vows of friendship pass,
 Warm as the shepherd's to his rustic lass.
 Their friendship ripens into closer ties:
They love . . .
 Shut, shut your eyes, ye pedagogues, nor keep
 Too close a watch upon your pupils' sleep.
 For though in boyish ignorance, they may
 Stumble perchance on some illicit play,
 Which looks like lechery the most refined,
 In them 'tis not depravity of mind.

Ingenuous souls, oft innocent of wrong,
For some enjoyment yet untasted long:
*'Twas ye who roused the latent sense of shame,
And called their gambols by an odious name.*

...
But thou, Giraud, whose beauty would unlock
The gates of prejudice, and bid me mock
The sober fears that timid minds endure,
Whose ardent passions women only cure,
Receive this faithful tribute to thy charms,
Not vowed alone, but paid too in thy arms.
For here the wish, long cherished, long denied,
Within that monkish cell was gratified.
And as the sage, who dwelt on Lemman's lake,
Nobly his inmost meditations spake,
Then dared the man, who would like him confess
His secret thoughts, to say his own were less;
So boldly I set calumny at nought,
And fearless utter what I fearless wrought.
For who that's shrived can say he never slipped?
Had conscience tongues what back would go unwhipt?

Don Leon is presented as Byron's apologia for his own life and loves. Colman must have preceded the writing (and revisions) with thorough inquiry into Byron's history, private and public. The reference to "These charms, which female blandishments efface" suggests Strato, Anth. Pal. XII, 192; the image of the chrysalis in the passage on Edleston deliberately recalls "L'amitié est l'amour sans ailes," earlier mentioned; the classical precedents would have been familiar to any graduate of a British public school. Dr. Warren Johansson suggests that the "rank disease" was a reference to Justinian's novellae 77 and 141 in which homosexuality is in fact called a disease.

BOY-LOVE
IN THE NINETEENTH
CENTURY

1. AMERICA: FORERUNNERS AND WHITMAN.

Despite the heavy hand of Victorian prudery in the U.S.A., there were during the mid 19th century three literary figures who unequivocally treated of boy-love; one virtually forgotten today save for a tour-de-force of translation, one famous for almost everything he did except this brief excursion into a taboo subject, and the third far more famous for his androphile sentiments. The three were Bayard Taylor (1825-78), Henry David Thoreau (1817-62), and Walt Whitman (1819-92).

Bayard Taylor was in his own day an international celebrity, a sort of Burton Holmes-cum-Horace Sutton figure. He first came to public attention at age 19 with a book of poems, *Ximena* (1844). Horace Greeley, with the editors of the Saturday Evening Post and the U.S. Gazette, shortly afterwards made it financially possible for Taylor to travel abroad (1844-46) as a sort of roving journalist. After the discovery of gold in California he went there as correspondent for the N.Y. Tribune. During the 1850's and 60's he traveled to almost every part of the globe, later entering the diplomatic service as part of the U.S. legation at St. Petersburg, Russia. Disappointment at not being promoted to the rank of minister caused him to leave the service. From then until the beginning of 1878 he occupied himself with pouring out novels and books of verse, lecturing and entertaining. He was appointed minister to the newly formed German Empire, but died in Berlin only a few months after his arrival. Though his original poetry has been long forgotten, his translation of Goethe's *Faust* in the original metres is still read.

I go into this much detail to give some idea of the influences on Taylor. It is clear enough that at least his travels to Italy and

Arabic-speaking lands affected him a great deal. Some of his poems are surprisingly outspoken for the period, in a time when nonfiction and even fiction could not be; all were popular and doubtless read by the Calamites (see §3 below).³²⁰ In "On the Headland," part of *The Poet's Journal* (1862), though not mentioning boy-love per se, he speaks of loneliness of a kind that could be relieved by "man, woman, young or old," "the fisherman's baby" or "the sunburnt sailor" whom he "could take . . . like a brother, to my breast." From the date, one might conjecture that he had already become acquainted with the *Calamus* poems of Whitman, but Taylor's verses have a pre-Whitman feeling, and the *Poems of the Orient* cycle antedates *Leaves of Grass* (see below). The *Poet's Journal* includes another poem called "Love Returned," which begins startlingly:

He was a boy when first we met;
 His eyes were mixed of dew and fire,
 And on his candid brow was set
 The sweetness of a chaste desire:
 But in his veins the pulses beat
 Of passion waiting for its wing,
 As ardent veins of summer heat
 Throb through the innocence of spring.

In "Under the Moon," also in the same cycle, the gender of the beloved is carefully left ambiguous. References to Moorish arches, the nightingale, etc., suggest not only the Sufi'ist setting but the genre of Persian and Arabic boy-love poems, evidently familiar to Taylor. (The ambiguous sex of the love-object is an extremely frequent feature of Taylor's poems.) And so it is no surprise to find, in *Poems of the Orient* (1854), the following explicit evocation:

TO A PERSIAN BOY

In the Bazaar at Smyrna
 The gorgeous blossoms of that magic tree
 Beneath whose shade I sat a thousand nights
 Breathed from their opening petals all delights
 Embalmed in spice of Orient poesy.
 When first, young Persian, I beheld thine eyes
 And felt the wonder of thy beauty grow
 Within my brain, as some fair planet's glow
 Deepens, and fills the summer's evening skies:
 From under thy dark lashes shone on me
 The rich voluptuous soul of Eastern land,
 Impassioned, tender, calm, serenely sad,—

Such as immortal Hafiz felt when he
 Sang by the fountain-streams of Rocnabad
 Or in the bowers of blissful Samarcand!

In the same cycle, the "Nilotic Drinking Song" brings in gratuitous references to Ganymede, Hylas and Anakreon. Taylor returns to the subject of Hylas in a poem of that name in "Romance and Lyrics," reveling in sensuous description of the boy's beauty. And in the same book there is another called "The Bath," which is nothing more nor less than a plea to walk naked and unashamed—rather surprisingly frank for the period when bathing suits stretched from ankle to neck to wrist. In "Earlier Poems" a passage from "Serapion" is also revealing: "Come hither, Boy! For while I press/ Thy lips' confiding tenderness,/ Less broad and dark the spaces be/ Which life has set 'twixt thee and me." Some of the later poems return to a preoccupation with the beauty of boys; a particularly Caravaggiesque note is struck by the painter's lyrical descriptions of his models in "The Picture of St. John" (1866), especially in book I, §§29-30, and book III, §9. The former refers ambiguously to the boy-love element, I believe:

XXIX.

I took a fisher from the Lido's strand,
 A youthful shape, by toil and vice unworn,
 Upon his limbs a golden flush like morn,
 And on his mellow cheek the roses tanned
 Of health and joy. Perchance the soul I missed,
 From mine exalted fancy might be born:
 With eye upraised and locks by sunshine kissed,
 I painted him as the Evangelist.

XXX.

In vain! the severance of his lips expressed
 Kisses of love whereon his fancy fed,
 And the warm tints each other sweetly wed
 In slender limb and balanced arch of breast,
 So keen with life, so marked in every line
 With unideal nature, none has guessed
 The dream that cheered me and the faith that led;
 But human all I would have made divine!

About the next figure, Thoreau, there will be considerable doubt and controversy; though he remained unmarried all his life, biographers have pointed to his concealed love affair with Emerson's wife as proof that he was free of homosexual impulses (actually no such proof could be possible). There are only two items in his writings which indicate any interest in the subject, but those two suffice. Both

occur in his *Letters to Various Persons*.³²¹ One of them is an ambivalent but covertly favorable reference to the scandalous new poems by Whitman, "Leaves of Grass," in the latter to Mr. B., Dec. 7, 1856. The other is a poem, unequivocal in both its description of desires and its confession of Thoreau's inability to make them known.

SYMPATHY

Lately, alas! I knew a gentle boy,
Whose features all were cast in Virtue's mould,
As one she had designed for Beauty's toy,
But after manned him for her own stronghold.

On every side he open was as day,
That you might see no lack of strength within;
For walls and forts do only serve alway
For a pretence to feebleness and sin.

Say not that Caesar was victorious,
With toil and strife who stormed the House of Fame;
In other sense this youth was glorious,
Himself a kingdom, wheresoe'er he came.

No strength went out to get him victory,
When all was income of its own accord;
For where he went none other was to see,
But all were parcel of their noble lord.

He forayed like the subtle haze of summer,
That stilly shows fresh landscapes to our eyes,
And revolutions works without a murmur,
Or rustling of a leaf beneath the skies.

So was I taken unawares by this,
I quite forgot my homage to confess;
Yet now am forced to know, though hard it is,
I might have loved him, had I loved him less.

Each moment as we nearer drew to each,
A stern respect withheld us farther yet,
So that we seemed beyond each other's reach,
And less acquainted than when first we met.

We two were one while we did sympathize,
So could we not the simplest bargain drive;
And what avails it, now that we are wise,
If absence doth this doubleness contrive?

Eternity may not the chance repeat;
 But I must tread my single way alone,
 In sad remembrance that we once did meet,
 And know that bliss irrevocably gone.

The spheres henceforth my elegy shall sing,
 For elegy has other subjects none;
 Each strain of music in my ears shall ring,
 Knell of departure from that other one.

Make haste and celebrate my tragedy;
 With fitting strain resound, ye woods and fields;
 Sorrow is dearer in such case to me
 Than all the joys other occasion yields.

The omission of Herman Melville from the roster of American writers touching on boy-love is deliberate. Though Melville's works frequently touch on homosexual themes, they are always closest to the androphile "comradely love" celebrated by Walt Whitman; I find no instance whatever of boy-love. In *Typee*, *Omoo* and *Moby Dick*, the handsome savages are evidently adult. Jack Chase, idealized in *White Jacket*, is already a naval officer, "first captain of the top." Billy Budd is explicitly said to be 21 years of age, though in the recent film version the actor portraying him (Terence Stamp) gives the appearance of being a teen-ager!

We now come to the most important single figure (other than Melville) in American homosexual writing, and one of the half dozen most important figures in all American literature: Walt Whitman. Though he too celebrates androphile love rather than Greek love, he finds a place in this study because of his extremely great influence on the later history of homosexual love, especially on the Ulrichs-Symonds-Carpenter-Havelock Ellis school of thought.

Whitman, "a kosmos, of Manhattan the son," was a classic matrist³²² in a patrist age; poet, essayist, mystic and prophet, he mingled—how paradoxically—hyperdemocratic egalitarianism with connoisseurship of male beauty, Victorian hypocrisy and frank acceptance of male love (which he called "adhesive love"), journalism and poetry, turgid bombast and rapier-sharp insight, coarseness and delicacy. And this very welter of contradictions—which he knew and accepted³²³—formed part of his immense influence continuing to the present.

Everyone knows of his newspaper days, his publication in 1855 of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* in response to Emerson's challenge³²⁴ calling for some poet to "chaunt our own times and

social circumstances" and "write his autobiography in colossal cipher, or into universality," the scandal ensuing over *Leaves of Grass* and Emerson's extravagant praise of the book.³²⁵ Readers whose knowledge of Whitman goes beyond what they learned in grade school will presumably also be familiar with the poet's years as a male nurse during the Civil War (and the poems and prose accounts that grew out of this experience), Whitman's later attachment to the young streetcar conductor Pete Doyle and the correspondence between them (posthumously printed under the title *Calamus*, named after the section on male love in *Leaves of Grass*—1860 and all later editions),³²⁶ his government work and subsequent discharge owing to a snooping superior's having seen the "indecent" poems of the "Children of Adam" section, and his world-wide recognition as a major figure in American literature, now more than ever before: all these are too well known to require extensive comment.³²⁷

Whether or not Whitman was well enough versed in the classical literature to have arrived at a correct understanding of the religious significance of Greek love, this much is certain anyway: he regarded it, even as did many Greeks, as an obvious and desirable path to social cohesion. But, being Walt Whitman, he assimilated Greek love between man and boy to his own predilection—"the manly love of comrades," the androphile homosexuality which has so largely supplanted Greek love from his time to the present day.

It is to Whitman, then, even more than to Ulrichs and his popularizers, that we must attribute the beginnings of the propaganda for androphile love and its mistaken justification through the classics. The famous passage in *Democratic Vistas* is extremely significant, confirming and clarifying much of the poetry:

Intense and loving comradeship, the personal and passionate attachment of man to man—which, hard to define, underlies the lessons and ideals of the profound saviors of every land and age, and which seems to promise, when thoroughly develop'd, cultivated and recognized in manners and literature, the most substantial hope and safety of the future of these States, will then be fully express'd.*

* It is to the development, identification, and general prevalence of that fervid comradeship, (the adhesive love, at least rivaling the amative love hitherto possessing imaginative literature, if not going beyond it,) that I look for the counterbalance and offset of our materialistic and vulgar American democracy, and for the spiritualization thereof. Many will say it is a dream, and will not follow my inferences: but I confidently expect a time

when there will be seen, running like a half-hid warp through all the myriad audible and visible worldly interests of America, threads of manly friendship, fond and loving, pure and sweet, strong and life-long, carried to degrees hitherto unknown—not only giving tone to individual character, and making it unprecedentedly emotional, muscular, heroic, and refined, but having the deepest relations to general politics. I say democracy infers such loving comradeship, as its most inevitable twin or counterpart, without which it will be incomplete, in vain, and incapable of perpetuating itself.³²⁸

The notion that comradely love (lacking any hint of effeminacy) is a means to social cohesion (during and after the Civil War, a marked preoccupation with Whitman) comes straight out of the story of the Theban band and the stories, familiar to schoolboys in watered-down versions, of heroic pairs of friends. Whitman softpedaled the purely man-boy aspect of Greek love in favor of the comradely or age-mate version partly, perhaps, because of his own proclivities, but far more because in his mystique of manly love he made no separation between sensual and idealized love, between male and female, between younger and older. One could logically deduce this from his views, but he has spelled it out in detail, and the greater one's familiarity with the poems, the more often one finds this theme—to Whitman in a way *the* single poetic theme—infinately varied. The most explicit statements are in the "Children of Adam" and "Calamus" sections of course, and their influence here and in England and Europe was incalculably vast. I shall not go so far as have some commentators, to claim a purely symbolic meaning for the sexual and particularly the homophile material in these poems; rather, I must insist that the symbolic meanings cannot be meaningfully detached from the sensual meanings. For to Whitman *all these things were sacred*. The "act divine" celebrated in "From Pent-Up Aching Rivers" and "I Sing the Body Electric" was divine to him, was a recapitulation of the creative processes in the universe—no mere meaningless adjective, this. I am inclined to accept the judgment of R. M. Bucke, in his biography of Whitman and in *Cosmic Consciousness*,³²⁹ that Whitman had some kind of mystical experience in June 1853, before which he was a mediocrity, but after which his writings again and again show, in language original and brilliant, the mystical insight common to Illuminati the world over: the oneness of every atom of himself with every atom of the rest of the universe. (Cf. §5, *Song of Myself*.) In this context, the manly affection which he preached is an elementary consequence; *such a person could no more help loving*

those around him than he could help breathing and radiating warmth. His homosexuality seems, in this context, to be one way of expressing it, rather than the converse; accepting everything as part of a reality, he could not disavow sensuality, and his poetry shows that he accepted this too. We may look on his denial of homosexuality to Symonds—after eighteen years of questioning by the latter—as the dismissal of an old and tired man who did not wish to acknowledge membership in the “third sex,” to take on himself still another crusade.⁷⁵ But he automatically and inevitably became to the Urning cliques, even as he had been to the Pfaff’s Tavern set, a sort of hero and elder statesman; and nothing he did could change it.^{329a}

Specific boy-love, then, instead of being a major theme with Whitman, was only a part of a larger whole. Some of the soldiers whom Whitman tended and loved during his days as a war nurse were in the 15 to 18 age bracket.³³⁰ In “To a Western Boy” he draws a deliberate connection between a youngster’s wishing to become his “élève”—pupil, etymologically someone brought up, lifted up—and the boy’s acceptance of some phase of comradesly love, making one a condition of the other. This is about as near as he comes (how guardedly and yet how nakedly!) to the specific classical form of Greek love.

I shall make no extensive quotations from Whitman here; complete and nearly complete editions of his poems are easily available. The most relevant ones in “Children of Adam” are the following: “I Sing the Body Electric,” “Native Moments,” “Spontaneous Me” (the “lustly lurking masculine poems,” “drooping shy and unseen,” are among other things genitals, almost literally exhibited and thrust at the prudes of his day). In “Calamus” almost all are relevant. And there are relevant passages in most of the later poems, however disguised the language.

2. *On the Continent: Ulrichs, Rimbaud, Verlaine.*

Meanwhile, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825-1895), a civil servant in Hanover, inspired by his own insights into the Greeks and Goethe, as well as by Hössli’s and Zschokke’s efforts, began issuing pamphlets¹¹ between 1864 and 1870. I have already described, in Chapter III, some part of the content of these pamphlets. Ulrichs, finding homosexual desires a feature of very early development, even in individuals not otherwise noticeably diseased, deduced and sought to prove that such desires in general betrayed a deviant (but not automatically diseased or depraved) heredity, and that their possessors were female souls in male bodies. He developed a systematic classification scheme for sexual preferences, in terms of which the Greek lover and the feminoid

androphile Urning and all others could be understood. He considered these variations legitimate, even as racial or other physical variations are legitimate. His popularizers Symonds⁵ and Edward Carpenter⁴ went so far as to regard, and describe, Urnings (inverts)¹⁴³ as a third sex. Insofar as this helped to make the general public aware that such individuals' patterns are to them inevitable rather than a matter of monstrous debauchery, the net effect was good, even though scientifically unacceptable. One does not *choose* to find this person rather than that one sexually exciting. But in many ways Ulrichs was decades ahead of his time; for human biology specialists have discovered certain chromosomal features (other than the well-known X and Y chromosomes) which enable features of the opposite sex to be identified in individuals of either sex, and Sheldon's recent investigations³³¹ show that an individual of either sex can be low or high in andric or gynec components, or both, and that certain patterns and ranges of the andric/gynec ratio are associated with sexual behavioral ambiguity. And thinkers even today have not yet fully assimilated the implications of Ulrichs's researches and contentions, otherwise we would not find them continuing to insist⁴⁰ that homosexuals are basically unrestrained people who could confine their sexual desires to lawful channels but prefer not to. I shall say no more specifically of Ulrichs here, to avoid repeating the Chapter III material, but his influence was vast. In the wake of his pamphlets, over the next fifty years, came a flood of sexological writings, confirming or attempting to modify or to disprove his claims. Ulrichs is one of the great fountainheads.

In France, Paul Verlaine³³² (1844-1896) had begun his career by joining the so-called Parnassian circle of poets (Catulle Mendès, François Coppée, Sully Prudhomme, etc.), publishing in 1866 his first volume, *Poèmes saturniens*. Even before this he had begun to show both a rebellious originality and an interest in homosexuality; as early as 1864, the poem "L'Apollon de Pont-Audemer" hinted at this interest, and in December 1867 there was a sheaf of lesbian poems, *Les Amies: scènes d'amour sapphique*.³³³ His later volumes showed more and more of a breaking away from the conventional Parnassians. In June 1869 he had a momentary glimpse of a 16-year-old schoolgirl, Mathilde Mautet (or Mauté—both spellings recur), proposed marriage to her, and was accepted. The wedding took place in August 1870. Their life was quickly disturbed by Verlaine's growing alcoholism. And then, 14 September 1871, preceded by a letter containing possibly the most extraordinary poem written in French up to then, *Le Bateau*

Ivri, Arthur Rimbaud arrived, and made life almost impossible. As is well known, Rimbaud—then almost 17—made himself the cynosure of the literary world by combining the face of an angel, the poetry of a madman (though, to be sure, a madman of genius), and the behavior of the most intolerable sort of boor—intolerable even by the very liberal standards of the bohemian circles of his day. Verlaine was nevertheless enchanted, overwhelmed, seduced away from his pregnant wife. Not even such barbs as that of Edmond Le Pelletier (reviewing the premiere of a play by Glatigny in a Paris newspaper, *Peuple Souverain*)—“(Among those present) . . . was the Saturnian poet Paul Verlaine, giving his arm to a charming person, Mademoiselle Rimbaud”—could deter him. The affair became notorious all over the literary world. Verlaine and Rimbaud moved to London together, afterwards wandering over England and the Continent until their quarrels became intolerable; jealousy was part of the cause, Verlaine was still longing to rejoin his estranged wife, but she refused to tolerate Rimbaud; Rimbaud threatened to leave Verlaine. At the end, drunk with absinthe, Verlaine aimed a pistol at Rimbaud; one of the two shots lodged in the boy's wrist, and Verlaine went to prison at Mons. The judge was aware of the common reputation of the pair; he accused Rimbaud of immorality, and on hearing from the boy “I don't want to give myself the bother of contradicting such calumnies,” ordered physical examination. The result, on what was in those days considered ample evidence but on what would today be considered trivial (probably minor anal relaxation), was “overwhelming” and doubtless this influenced the judge in giving Verlaine the maximum sentence. Further interrogation of Rimbaud resulting in his attempting to clear Verlaine (and himself), there was no further prosecution; Rimbaud left with the judge a written promise to be a good boy, and departed. Today this sparse record of events leaves no alternative to the conclusion that Verlaine and Rimbaud were in a Greek love situation, but one handled most indiscreetly; and that given the personality of Rimbaud, discreet handling would have been practically impossible. But it is outside the scope of this book to go into a detailed analysis of either of the parties to this affair; what is more important is how they exemplified, on a colossal scale, the developing mores of the bohemian subculture of the day, in direct rebellion against the mores of the majority. The antics of Wilde and Douglas, “feasting with panthers,” show some indication of the influence of this affair, and beyond doubt these pairs were indirectly responsible for the later conspiracy of silence anent Greek love, and for the vigorous propa-

ganda which has sought to give the public the half-truth that homosexuals, as against "perverts," are in general law-abiding ordinary people save for being sexually left-handed.

In prison Verlaine joined the Roman church. In the years that followed, he wandered over England and the Continent, teaching French in England, and English in various French colleges, finally becoming professor of English at the College of Notre Dame at Reims in the Ardennes. Here in 1877 he met a slim, graceful lad of 17, Lucien Letinois, to whom he became greatly attached. This time he forestalled scandal by adopting the boy as his son. When Lucien graduated, Verlaine retired from his professorship, bought a farm at Suniville (January 1880) and there settled down with his boyfriend. The affair was short-lived: Lucien was drafted into the French army, serving at Châlons, and in January 1883 dying of typhoid fever at the Hôpital de la Pitié. Verlaine, in great grief, published his *Amour* (1888) in the boy's memory; the final 'chapter' is entitled LUCIEN and Le Dantec has described it as an "admirable and bizarre elegy in 25 cantos." The love shown here was more than the merely paternal sort one might have expected; for sheer intensity it is rarely matched (and never afterwards exceeded) in Verlaine's work, and its very transparency of language is the despair of the translator. It is almost impossible to read the *Amour* through without tears. I translate three brief excerpts, and these by no means the most poignant or sublime:

V. (J'ai le fureur d'aimer)

I have the frenzy of love: my feeble heart's gone mad.
No matter when, or who, or where, let but one flash
Of beauty or brave grace blaze out, my heart leaps forth
To clasp and kiss a hundred times its chosen object . . .

(Note the reminiscence of Michelangelo here: "passionate attachment to anyone of excellence, apparently regardless of age or gender," as I mentioned above, Ch. XIII.)

X. (Il patinait merveilleusement)

He skated marvelously,
Soaring so impetuously,
Returning, ah! so dexterously!

Like a tall-grown girl he's delicate,
A shimmering compass needle, but passionate,
An eel's supple zest, acuminate.

Enchanter's sleight of hand, dazzling
delicious anguish to my eyes, bewitching
amiable flash of supple lightning.

Now and then he'd seem almost invisible,
Swiftness on his way to a goal, acquisible
But so far off as to be invisible . . .

The same way now to me he's grown dim.
What can possibly have become of him?
What can possibly have become of him?

XV. (Puisque encore déjà la sottise tempête . . .)
Now that you've given us all the sound and fury,
Unlucky poet, tell how the affair began:

While teaching here, I learned to yearn in tears
for bitter-lissome sweetness of this boy's
slender seventeen and roguish years.
His sparkling eyes and hands and silver voice
(untarnished, like his mind's glow)—each endears
and chains me more to him, my lifelove's choice . . .

(Here = the College of Notre Dame at Rethel, of course. The "explanation"—how can one explain a love affair?—continues with Verlaine's decision to adopt the boy as his son, etc.)

From 1889 (after his mother's death) to his death in 1896 Verlaine lived in bohemian poverty, alternating between Latin Quarter cafés and hospitals, though there was a triumphant trip to England in 1894 as an internationally celebrated poet. During the period 1889-91 he wrote and published some frankly erotic homosexual poems, magnificent but for the most part unprintable; they were collected in *Hombres*³³³ (1891), and inspired many similar literary productions in various languages. In particular, I am certain that the related works of Jean Cocteau and Jean Genet would hardly have taken the turn they did without the Verlaine models. These are mostly androphile poems, though Verlaine seems to have made little or no distinction (in the Roman manner?) between sex objects of 15 and of 20 years of age:

My lovers don't belong to the Idle Rich Classes,
They're city slum workers, or farmers—they're the masses.
Whether 15 or 20 unstudied years of age,
In bed they're all brutality and grossness on rampage.
(From "Mille e tre"—in *Hombres*.)

In short, "rough trade." The poems also show—significantly—that not only the usual anal intercourse, but every sexual technique imaginable, was in use. Nor was sadomasochism absent, though this had shown itself to a certain extent in his relationship with the tormenting Rimbaud; and a Brocken image of this relationship, from Rimbaud's angle, appeared in the *Saison en Enfer*. (Verlaine had published the remaining works of Rimbaud in 1886, believing the boy dead.)

To avoid a one-sided picture of Verlaine, I should add that the homosexual poetry—*Amies* and *Hombres* and a few isolated items here and there—forms less than one per cent of Verlaine's output; and his influence on later literature has been enormous in all directions, not merely the one here alluded to.

The gradually increasing emphasis on androphilia at the expense of Greek love is clear enough: Melville, then Whitman, then Verlaine, and through Verlaine, Proust, Gide, Cocteau and Genet and their readers and imitators. And we have already seen that Ulrichs's theory that the "third sex," female soul in male body seeking its Masculine Ideal, resulted in the glorification of the invert, even of the effeminate (as biologically cheated of his heterosexual birthright, but possessing compensating virtues), and of rough trade as a preferential love object: strange inversion, indeed, of Greek ideals. But boy-love was not dead; the public schools in Britain continued to teach the classics, and (though data are skimpy) to permit, more or less, the development of passionate friendships. And among the graduates of these schools, and especially in the Anglican clergy, there developed during the same period a clique of poets celebrating Greek love.

3. *The Calamites: a Victorian Paidophilic Poetaster Clique.* A history of this little-known but immensely important group has yet to be written, though one is in preparation. Most earlier students of homosexuality³³⁴ have thought the Victorian period barren indeed of literary output in this specialty, naming perhaps Tennyson (for *In Memoriam A.H.H.*, and such phrases therein as "The man I held as half-divine" . . . expressions which brought to Tennyson much abuse) and Edward FitzGerald (for his long attachment to the fisherman Joseph Fletcher or "Posh"), and more recently perhaps they would also include A. E. Housman. But the clique was well known in its own day, and its publications and influence extended well into the present century, despite the conspiracy of silence, despite the Wilde debacle, despite limited printings of the verses, despite Hitler's destruction of the sexual reform movement, despite an increasing taboo on tenderness, which ruined Housman's youth (and many

others') and prepared the way for the epidemic neuroses and atrocities of recent decades.

A. E. Housman (1859-1936) was not himself a member of the clique, though his *A Shropshire Lad* doubtless became an inspiration to it. His poetry has been, ironically, most admired where it has been most misunderstood. To those who know of Housman's personal tragedy—his love for his schoolmate A. J. Jackson (d. Nov. 1892), which he never dared acknowledge, and his lifelong selfpunishment for it^{334a}—his poems, collected in *A Shropshire Lad* (1896), *Last Poems* (1922), the posthumous *More Poems* (1936) and *Additional Poems* (1940, in *Collected Poems*), acquire enormous additional meanings unsuspected by the mass of readers. Since these collections are too widely known and too readily available to require reprinting or quotation here, I shall content myself with enumerating some of the poems of greatest relevance to our theme. Partly androphile, partly frankly of boy-love, all are subtle and understated, but very intense; and many indeed mourn as departed or even dead the lad that Housman loved and could not join again in life—a theme often taken up by the Calamites.

In *A Shropshire Lad*: XI (On your midnight pallet), XV (Look not in my eyes), XVII (Twice a week), XVIII (Oh, when I was in love), XIX (To an athlete dying young), XXII (The street sounds to the soldier's tread), XXIV (Say, lad, have you things to do?), XXXII (From far, from even and morning), XXXIII (If truth in hearts that perish), XXXVIII (The winds out of the west land blow), XLII (Once in the wind of morning),^{334b} LVII (You smile upon your friend today), LIX (The star-filled seas are smooth to-night), and LXI (The vane on Hughley steeple).

In *Last Poems*: XII (The laws of God, the laws of man), XXXII (When I would muse in boyhood), XXXIII (When the eye of day is shut).

In *More Poems*: XXX (Shake hands), XXXI (Because I liked you better), XLII (A. J. J.).

In *Additional Poems*: II (Oh were he and I together), VI (Ask me no more, for fear I should reply), VII (He would not stay for me), VIII (Now to her lap) and XVIII (Oh who is that young sinner).

Common guesses that "The laws of God, the laws of man" attacks the anti-sexual laws, and that "Oh who is that young sinner" is a devastating comment on the Oscar Wilde trial, are probably correct. One can only wish that the Calamites had combined their outspokenness with a greater fraction of Housman's literary quality,

or that Housman had dared be more outspoken: possibly then the poems would have brought in their wake enough agitation on the part of intellectuals to force repeal of the more flagrantly unjust anti-sexual laws.

After Housman, the most prominent literary figure of the period to treat boy-love, and the best known member of the Calamites, was John Addington Symonds (1840-1893).

Symonds's autobiography, not to be published until 1972, may change a few of the conclusions drawn here, and it will certainly add much to the facts here presented, but in the meantime at least the following facts are beyond rebuttal. Symonds, after Harrow, Balliol College and Magdalen College (Oxford), pursued diverse literary and historical studies subtly unified by the theme of homosexuality and specifically of boy-love. These included, among other things, *Studies of the Greek Poets* (1873-76), *The Renaissance in Italy* (1875-86, 7 vols.), biographical studies of Sir Philip Sidney, Ben Jonson, Shelley, Michelangelo, Walt Whitman; translations of Michelangelo's sonnets, Cellini's autobiography, Carlo Gozzi's memoirs. He met Ulrichs and popularized him in the privately printed and often reprinted *A Problem in Modern Ethics*;³³⁵ Edward Carpenter continued the popularization in many of his own volumes.^{335a} Symonds traveled frequently to Italy, and tongues wagged even as they had done about earlier bachelors sojourning there. Swinburne maliciously said of him and his literary coterie that "they were more interested in the blue velvet of the Venetian gondoliers' trousers than in the blue of the Venetian skies." Nor was it surprising that they soon acquired the sobriquet of "Calamites" (deliberately chosen to resemble "catamites," but derived from Whitman's "Calamus" poems). Though it originally applied only to Symonds's immediate circle of friends, I have in the present study extended the name of the entire clique for lack of a better one: "Victorian paidophilic poetasters" is impossibly cumbersome, and not entirely accurate since some members lived until recent years (Father Bradford did not die until 1944). The members included, among others, the following: J. A. Symonds; indirectly Edward Carpenter (1844-1929); Rev. Edward Cracroft Lefroy (1855-91); Rev. Edwin Emmanuel Bradford (1860-1944); indirectly Oscar Wilde and Lord Alfred Douglas; John Francis Bloxam (or Bloxham), sometime editor of *The Chameleon*; John Gambriel Francis Nicholson (1866?-19??), who was also a contributor to the same periodical; John Moray Stuart-Young (1881-1919?); Charles Kains-Jackson; Dr. John Leslie Barford, who wrote under the name "Philebus"; Richard Barham Middleton (1882-1911);

Edmund John (1883-1917); indirectly Frederick Rolfe, alias "Baron Corvo," alias "Hadrian VII" (1860-1913); F. E. Murray, alias "A. Newman"; A. T. Bartholomew; Samuel Elsworth Cottam; the Lintons (one of them editor of *The X*, undergraduate review full of Calamite verses); Count Stanislaus Eric Stenbock, etc.; and some would even include Ralph Nicholas Chubb (1892-1960), many of whose themes parallel those of the Calamites, but who harks back in his techniques to William Blake via William Morris. Most of these men published verses of boy-love in small privately printed volumes; many of the effusions began to acquire a definite ingroup flavor, referring to each other's productions in answer or emulation, in common variations on the same themes. Biographical sketches for most of these figures are as yet impossible, obscurity protecting them in their lifetimes even as now. I shall not deal here with "Baron Corvo"; the reader is referred to A. J. A. Symonds's *The Quest for Corvo*, in addition to Rolfe's own *Hadrian VII* and *The Desire and Pursuit of the Whole* (a punning title?). I devote considerable space to this clique because its output was quite large over the decades, some of it playing a pivotal role in the Oscar Wilde trials, and in its own small way contributing to the language and to British intellectual awareness of boy-love as a preoccupation alike of poets and other "temperamental" beings; and, conceivably, some of the better Calamite work (e.g. that of Symonds and E. E. Bradford) might yet be rediscovered and play its part in pushing social attitudes in a more tolerant direction.

Symonds began writing verse on the boy-love theme even before Ulrichs's pamphlets had begun to appear. His "Lad's Love" poem, stanzas alternating with prose in the curious experiment "Clifton and a Lad's Love" (c. 1862),³³⁶ but not printed for public consumption until 1892 in *In the Key of Blue*, sets the 'theme of vague imaginings,' and is echoed in many of the later fin-de-siècle Calamite verses; it is, for practical purposes, archetypal.

A LAD'S LOVE

I

He was all beautiful: as fair
 As summer in the silent trees,
 As bright as sunshine on the leas,
 As gentle as the evening air.

His voice was swifter than the lark;
 Softer than thistledown his cheek;
 His eyes were stars that shyly break
 At sundown ere the skies are dark.

I found him in a lowly place;
 He sang clear songs that made me weep;
 Long nights he ruled my soul in sleep;
 Long days I thought upon his face.

II

"Alone? and must it then be so?
 "Why do you walk alone?" she cried.
 I answered with a smile, to hide
 The undercurrent of my woe.

But had she known, dear friend, that thou
 Art living still, she would have said:
 "Oblivion should but shroud the dead:
 "Go throw thy arms around him now!"

Then on my lips the smile had died:
 "From deep to deeper depths I sink;
 "They bade me leave him on the brink,
 "And now hell's gulfs our paths divide."

III

This time it is no dream that stirs
 The ancient fever of my brain;
 The burning pulses throb again,
 The thirst I may not quench recurs.

In vain I tell my beating heart
 How poor and worthless were the prize:
 The stifled wish within me dies,
 But leaves an unextinguished smart.

It is not for the love of God
 That I have done my soul this wrong;
 'Tis not to make my reason strong
 Or curb the currents of my blood.

*But sloth and fear of men and shame
 Impose their limits on my bliss—
 Else I had laid my lips to his
 And called him by love's dearest name!*

VII

I saw a vision of deep eyes
 In morning sleep when dreams are true,
 Wide humid eyes of hazy blue
 Like seas that kiss the horizon skies.

Then as I gazed, I felt the rain
 Of soft warm curls around my cheek
 And heard a whisper low and meek:
 "I love, and canst thou love again?"

A gentle youth beside me bent;
 His cool, moist lips to mine were pressed
 That throbbed and burned with love's unrest—
 When lo, the powers of sleep were spent.

And noiseless on the airy wings
 That follow after night's dim way,
 The beauteous boy was gone for aye,
 A theme of vague imaginings.

Yet I can never rest again;
 The flocks of morning dreams are true;
 And till I find those eyes of blue
 And golden curls, I walk in pain.

(This is an imitation of Meleagros, Anth. Pal. XII, 125, translated by me as *Phantasm*. And Section X, after a lyrical description of Clifton woods in May, brings the inevitable contrast:)

X

But I am lone, and sad, and dull,
 My brain is sick, my heart is dry;
 A weary longing dims the sky,
 With bitter want my soul is full.

Oh wherefore, wherefore, is he gone?
 He made my life one living spring;
 My heart was then a joyous thing,
 And brightened when the sunbeams shone.

I see the light, I see the flowers;
 The trees are tremulous with praise;
 One craving darkens all my days—
 Dead love hath dulled the jocund hours.

The poem *Pantarkes*, excerpted below, brings back all the specific Greek themes: the boy as beauty's "fleshed embodiment," and beauty itself as echoing the divine but being in any given human body transient. It is based on the often-repeated story that the sculptor Pheidias carved PANTARKES KALOS ("Pantarkes is beautiful") on the finger of his colossal cult statue of Zeus in the Temple at Olympia, and that one of the small figures of victorious athletes be-

tween the knees of Zeus actually portrayed Pantarkes. Accusations of blasphemy were hurled at Pheidias for this bold act.

Scene: The Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Pheidias and Pantarkes contemplate the sculptor's almost completed statue. Pheidias points to his small carving of Pantarkes among the figures of athletes between Zeus's knees, and speaks:

. . . Will they dream, I wonder,
Those men in days unborn, who come to burn
Beneath thy beauty, when they melt thereunder,
That I who carved thee, loved thee; filled thy splendour
As full with living love as Zeus with thunder;
That in thy sculptured form I do but render
The mute insensible melodies of thee,
The love of loveliness divinely tender?

. . .
Behold, Pantarkes! I have sculptured thee
Even as I saw thee first that summertime,
When thou wert chosen from the boys to be

Monarch of beauty in thine April prime.
Here in my statue are those lifted arms,
Those bending brows, that slender form sublime!

My art hath added nought. These vulgar charms
Of gold and ivory obscure and shroud
The sun that shining from thy forehead warms

The soul of poets!—I am old and bowed
With years, with labours; thou, too, shalt fail
And fade and pass within death's icy cloud;

Therefore my skill some trifle must avail
To save a fragment from death's tyrannous jaw:
Alas for youth, so fair, so phantom-frail!

The verses "In Venice," to follow, might possibly have inspired Swinburne's acid comment, earlier mentioned.

From IN VENICE
This is the bridge of Paradise.
'Twas here he lay,
Gazing with large and earnest eyes
That summer day.

Twelve years since then have flown, and yet
I seem to see
From yon smooth marble parapet
Him smile at me.

Once more, a living god, he stands,
Flings back his hair,
Lifts his strong arms, and spreads his hands
To the warm air.

I know not what electric thrill
'Twixt me and him
Shot with a sudden ache that still
Makes daylight dim!

Only those dark and steadfast eyes,
Where the soul shone,
When I awake in Paradise
Will greet my own.

The reference to the boy's flinging back his hair recurs in the Denton Welch *Journals* ³³⁷ for 14 December 1942—a gesture, Welch says, considered girlish in the delicate or effeminate, but quite otherwise in a gamin or a piece of “rough trade.” One may perhaps not admire Symonds' verses—consider, after all, the state of English poetry during the 1860's and 1870's—but one must admire his courage and integrity in being as outspoken as he was, here and in his prose. Without his popularization of Ulrichs's *A Problem in Modern Ethics*, it is unlikely that sexology would have gotten as far as it did, with or without Freud's actually more restricted, more culture-bound speculations. Freud, in fact, seems to have been seeking (from his clinical experience) an alternative to the biological hypotheses presented by Ulrichs and his followers. The line of influence from Whitman and Ulrichs, through Symonds, Carpenter, Havelock Ellis, Magnus Hirschfeld and his Institute heading the sexual reform movement in the Second Reich and Weimar Republic, to the libertarian ideas expressed alike by Kinsey, Cory and Albert Ellis, is plain to those who know the work. But adequate history would have to be book-length.

The second member of the Calamites to be discussed here is the Rev. Edward Cracroft Lefroy. A grandnephew of Jane Austen, he early entered Blackheath Proprietary School, and it is recorded that his friendships were few but extremely intimate, his greatest delight not athletics but wandering through woods and fields with a chum, as likely as not collecting butterflies. This may have had some effect on his later preoccupation with boy athletes. While in Keble

college, Oxford (1874-77), he was a voluminous contributor to, and later editor of, the *Oxford and Cambridge Undergraduates' Journal*; in 1878 he entered the Anglican priesthood, doing pastoral work in Truro and Lambeth, and writing sonnets. A weak heart compelled him to retire in 1882; thereafter he continued to write sonnets and to teach the young people whom he loved. Three slim volumes of verse in 1883-4, privately printed, were collected as *Echoes from Theocritus* (1885), and this got excellent reviews; later sonnets were appended to Wilfred Austin Gill's memoir of him (1897) together with J. A. Symonds's appreciative study, reprinted from *In the Key of Blue*. Lefroy's contribution to the clique is an additional emphasis on athletics; his particular predilection for boy athletes must have stimulated some adverse comment, as he felt it necessary to issue a denial of any physical component, stressing the aesthetic and "consciously Hellenic" (!) aspect of his love of boys. We may regard this in the same light as Whitman's similar disclaimer. He is responsible for the famous phrase "muscular Christianity," this being the title of an address by him printed at Oxford in 1877.

Sonnet XXXI, "A Palaestral Study," was replied to in J. M. Stuart-Young's "Alec," below, and this and other Lefroy pieces were referred to in other Calamite poems.

XXXI. A PALAESTRAL STUDY

The curves of beauty are not softly wrought:
 These quivering limbs by strong hid muscles held
 In attitudes of wonder, and compelled
 Through shapes more sinuous than a sculptor's thought,
 Tell of dull matter splendidly distraught,
 Whisper of mutinies divinely quelled,—
 Weak indolence of flesh, that long rebelled,
 The spirit's domination bravely taught.
 And all man's loveliest works are cut with pain.
 Beneath the perfect art we know the strain,
 Intense, defined, how deep soever it lies.
 From each high masterpiece our souls refrain,
 Not tired of gazing, but with stretched eyes
 Made hot by radiant flames of sacrifice.

Many of the other pieces are far less muscular-Christian than was this one; some are basically aesthetic, like Nos. XXXVI (Bill: A Portrait) and XLIV (Now may God bless thee for thy face, at least), and one actually can be called light verse, No. LXXIV (The Idler Listening to Socrates)!

XXXVI. BILL: A PORTRAIT

I know a lad with sun-illumined eye,
 Whose constant heaven is fleckless of a cloud;
 He treads the earth with heavy steps and proud,
 As if the gods had given him for a prize
 Its beauty and its strength. What money buys
 Is his; and his the reverence unavowed
 Of toiling men for me who never bowed
 Their backs to any burden anyway.

And if you talk of pain, of doubt, of ill,
 He smiles and shakes his head, as who should say,
 "The thing is black or white, or what you will;
 "Let folly rule, or wisdom: anyway
 "I am the dog for whom this merry day
 "Was made, and I enjoy it." That is Bill.

XLIV. TO A LOVELY FRIEND

Now may God bless thee for thy face, at least,
 Seeing there is such comfort in the mere
 Mute watching of it,—yea, a constant feast
 Of golden glamour when the days are drear,
 And summer harmonies have sunk and ceased.
 This is the very death-day of the year;
 Yet beauty is not dead; thou art her priest,
 Thy face her temple amid the shed leaves here.

And if for me no Spring shall ever prank
 My fields again with daisies anywhere,
 And though all other faces, dull and blank,
 Look through the darkness till they seem to bear
 The guise of death, I cannot choose but thank
 My God for having fashioned *one* so fair!

LXXIV. AN IDLER LISTENING TO SOCRATES DISCUSSING
 PHILOSOPHY WITH HIS BOY-FRIENDS

The old man babbles on! Ye gods, I swear
 My soul is sick of these philosophers!
 In truth I marvel that young blood should care
 To hear such vapid stuff; yet no one stirs.

Who's for a breath of unpolluted air?
 See yonder brown-eyed nursling of the Muse,—
 I'll pluck his robe and ask him; if he choose,
 We two can steal away and none be ware.

What joy to find a woodland rill and wade
 Knee-deep through pebbly shallows; then to lie
 With glistening limbs along the open glade
 And let the soft-lipped sunbeams kiss them dry;
 Or, wandering in the grove's remoter shade,
 To sport and jest and talk—Philosophy?

On such a dangerous, tabooed topic as boy-love, light verse has always been rare; one may conjecture that its author felt secure against threats of prosecution or the like.

Many other members of the clique were known only briefly. John Francis Bloxam (or Bloxham) was editor of the Oxford undergraduate magazine *The Chameleon* (only issue Dec. 1894), while he was at Exeter college, Oxford (the same college that produced Cottam and E. E. Bradford); he wrote, and included in that magazine, the famous and often-reprinted and translated, albeit rather poorly done, story "The Priest and the Acolyte" which figured disastrously in the Oscar Wilde trials. Bloxam was long erroneously believed to be a pseudonym, and the story has been variously attributed to Oscar Wilde (in Cory's *21 Variations*) and to Lord Alfred Douglas (in the "Noel I. Garde" bibliography of homosexual literature). I am reliably informed that Bloxam was no pseudonym, and that he was responsible for some of the anonymous or pseudonymous material in *The Chameleon*, including "At Dawn" (a poem sounding much like several of Lord Alfred Douglas's lyrics) and probably "Love in Oxford."^{337a} Later information on him is lacking.

Another contributor to the *Chameleon* was John Gambriel Francis Nicholson; his piece *The Shadow of the End* is a dream-essay on a boyfriend's death. In later life Nicholson became the English Master (i.e. teacher of English) of the Stationers' Company's School in North London, where he stayed lifelong, content with school work and boy-friends. He published two novels of boy life (*Carrington's Duty Week* and *The Romance of a Choir Boy*) and three books of typical Calamite paidophilic verse; one of these is entitled *Love in Earnest* (Elliott Stock, 1892), which may or may not be a pun on the name of one of his boyfriends. Like most Calamite productions, these were in small editions, now available almost nowhere in the U.S.A., though conceivably to be found in sixpenny remainder stalls in Britain. The two poems I quote show a somewhat different side; his parody of Leigh Hunt's "Jenny" betrays a light touch seldom found among the Calamites. Nicholson, incidentally, is mentioned in Cecil Woolf's bibliography of "Baron Corvo"; and he signed introductions to at

least two of the pseudonymous "A. Newman" books, of which more below.

VICTOR

Just for once my Victor kissed me—
 Ah, his cheek was soft as satin!
 Cynics say that Fortune's missed me?
 Just for once my Victor kissed me;
 And when with the lost they list me,
 Let them anyway put *that* in!
 Just for once my Victor kissed me,—
 Ah, his cheek was soft as satin!

PROFIT OR LOSS

What if I've made a mistake?
 I have told him the naked truth!
 Silent so long for his sake,
 Should I have spared his youth?

I put it all into speech;
 That's where I may have been wrong!
 So hard is Love to teach
 Though I've called him mine for so long.

I was dying for something more;
 Have I lost what once I had?
 He was never afraid before,
 My bonny little lad!

Have I lost what once I had?
 He sleeps, but I lie awake;
 My bonny little lad!
What if I've made a mistake?

The Chameleon, suppressed after the Wilde trials, was frankly 'decadent' in its approach, and the 'love that dare not speak its name' was a unifying undercurrent throughout its brief life. Even the ballade *Les Décadents*, ostensibly on wine and song, refers prominently to Antinoüs and the boy flutists. In a very real sense the publication of anything so brazen was 'feasting with panthers.' Older and already financially independent members of the Calamites, perhaps living overseas, could publish privately things considerably more blatant, if they wished; but it was playing with high explosive and matches together to have the British equivalent of the Government Printing Office (T. & A. Constable, Printers to Her Majesty) publish, as an

official university organ, anything going so directly counter to the stuffy official morality of the day.

True, Oscar Wilde seemed to getting away with—well, perhaps not murder, but an immorality even more heinous in many eyes. But (as perhaps some of the *Chameleon* crew did not realize) he was in an extremely vulnerable position, having for his playmate Lord Alfred Douglas, son of the irascible and hateful Marquess of Queensberry, even though young Douglas was already over 21. Nor did they realize that Wilde found himself unable to continue his creative writing while Douglas was anywhere around;³³⁸ Douglas was, perhaps in pale imitation of Rimbaud, extremely demanding of time, money and attention, and difficult to live with. It is beyond the scope of the present study to analyze the Wilde-Douglas affair; the best source-books on it at present are the *Letters*^{57a} and that by H. Montgomery Hyde.³³⁹

Wilde's contribution to the Calamites³⁴⁰ included *The Portrait of Mr. W. H.*, in which he developed the speculation that Shakespeare's boyfriend to whom the Sonnets were addressed was a boy actor of female roles, Willie Hews or Hughes by name, and a series of thirty-five epigrams in *The Chameleon*, "Phrases and Philosophies for the Use of the Young,"^{340a} which figured in his trials. I quote a few of the more scandalous epigrams in this collection:

Wickedness is a myth invented by good people to account for the curious attractiveness of others.

If the poor only had profiles there would be no difficulty in solving the problem of poverty.

It is only the gods who taste death. Apollo has passed away, but Hyacinth, whom men say he slew, lives on. Nero and Narcissus are always with us.

There is something tragic about the enormous number of young men there are in England at the present moment who start life with perfect profiles, and end by adopting some useful profession.

In a very real sense the Wilde trials proved a turning point for the Calamites. Some went underground, others published no more for awhile; their magazines (*The Chameleon*, *The Spirit Lamp*, *The X*, and several others) folded, investigations were feared . . . but the movement nevertheless acquired the additional strength provided by a genuine martyr. Possibly due in part to the Wilde trials, possibly due still more to the sex reform movement of the first three decades of the present century, the Calamites relaxed and began to achieve

a lighter touch in their writings and a greater confidence in the proposition that eventually man and boy can walk side by side, linked in love, without officious interference by Mrs. Grundy or her blue-uniformed defenders. (See below, under "A. Newman.")

To return to Wilde: Valuable details on his and Lord Alfred Douglas's experiments with Roman sensuality are in André Gide's autobiography, *Si le Grain ne meurt* (Eng. tr., *If It Die*). Wilde seems to have come to boy-love, as to androphilia, late in his career, and some have therefore claimed that his affair with Douglas—as well as his nights spent with young Arab boys—manifested no love whatever, but a mere pose, a deliberate exoticism, a rebellion even in the knowledge of eventual defeat self-sought. I make no judgment here, referring the reader to Hyde's book. In any event Wilde is not typical of Calamites, nor of Greek lovers generally, nor even of androphile homosexuals generally. Nor is Douglas in any way typical of their love-objects, nor of invert^s generally.

For that matter, Lord Alfred Douglas (1870-1945), however difficult he made life for his beloved "Bosie" up to the time of the trials, was apparently sincere enough in his paidophilic poems of the 1892-95 period. Appearing variously in *The Chameleon*, then in *Poems* 1896 (published by the Mercure de France), *Perkin Warbeck* (1897) and *City of the Soul* (1899), they were mostly reprinted or revised in his *Collected Lyrics* (Rich & Cowan, 1935). All these volumes are now hard to find, the last-named perhaps least so. Among the relevant poems are Hymn to Physical Beauty, Prince Charming, the significantly titled De Profundis, the one-act tragedy "When the King comes, he is welcome" (a front marriage by one of a pair of lovers, who had sworn eternal love at 12, followed by double suicide), Sicilian Love Song, In Summer, Plainte Eternelle (these two together with the later Poet and the Moon are carefully ambiguous as to the sex of the love object), the ballads of Perkin Warbeck and St. Vitus, and the famous Two Loves, which was a prosecution exhibit in the Wilde trials. This piece (quoted below from *The Chameleon*, I, 1, 26-28) has a pendant in the sonnet In Praise of Shame, which appeared side by side with it in the *Chameleon*. "Shame," a term from then on applied to boy-love, was the subject of part of the prosecutors' interrogation of Wilde; he evasively identified it with Platonic friendship, but predictably enough this answer was disbelieved.

TWO LOVES

I dreamed I stood upon a little hill,
And at my feet there lay a ground that seemed
Like a waste garden, flowering at its will

With buds and blossoms. There were pools that dreamed
Black and unruffled; there were white lilies
A few, and crocuses, and violets,
Purple or pale, snake-like fritillaries
Scarce seen for the rank grass, and through green nets
Blue eyes of shy pervenche winked in the sun.
And there were curious flowers, before unknown,
Flowers that were stained with moonlight, or with shades
Of nature's wilful moods; and here a one
That had drunk in the transitory tone
Of one brief moment in a sunset; blades
Of grass that in a hundred springs had been
Slowly but exquisitely nurtured by the stars,
And watered with the scented dew long cupped
In lilies, that for rays of sun had seen
Only God's glory, for never a sunrise mars
The luminous air of Heaven. Beyond, abrupt,
A gray stone wall, overgrown with velvet moss,
Uprose; and gazing I stood long, all mazed
To see a place so strange, so sweet, so fair.
And as I stood and marvelled, lo! across
The garden came a youth; one hand he raised
To shield him from the sun, his wind-tossed hair
Was twined with flowers, and in his hand he bore
A purple bunch of bursting grapes, his eyes
Were clear as crystal; naked all was he,
White as the snow on pathless mountains froze,
Red were his lips as red wine-spilth that dyes
A marble floor, his brow chalcedony.
And he came near me, with his lips uncured
And kind, and caught my hand and kissed my mouth,
And gave me grapes to eat, and said, 'Sweet friend,
Come, I will show thee shadows of the world
And images of life. See from the South
Comes the pale pageant that hath never an end.'
And lo! within the garden of my dream
I saw two walking on a shining plain
Of golden light. The one did joyous seem
And fair and blooming, and a sweet refrain
Came from his lips; he sang of pretty maids
And joyous love of comely girl and boy.
His eyes were bright, and 'mid the dancing blades
Of golden grass his feet did trip for joy;
And in his hands he held an ivory lute
With strings of gold that were as maiden's hair,
And sang with voice as tuneful as a flute,

And round his neck three chains of roses were.
 But he that was his comrade walked aside;
 He was full sad and sweet, and his large eyes
 Were strange with wondrous brightness, staring wide
 With gazing; and he sighed with many sighs
 That moved me, and his cheeks were wan and white
 Like pallid lilies, and his lips were red
 Like poppies, and his hands he clenched tight
 And yet again unclenched, and his head
 Was wreathed with moon-flowers pale as lips of death.
 A purple robe he wore, o'erwrought in gold
 With the device of a great snake, whose breath
 Was like curved flame: which when I did behold
 I fell a-weeping, and I cried, 'Sweet youth,
 Tell me why, sad and sighing, thou dost rove
 These pleasant realms? I pray thee, speak me sooth
 What is thy name?' He said, 'My name is Love.'
 Then straight the first did turn himself to me
 And cried: 'He lieth, for his name is Shame.
 But I am Love, and I was wont to be
 Alone in this fair garden, till he came
 Unasked by night; I am true Love, I fill
 The hearts of boy and girl with mutual flame.'
 Then sighing, said the other: 'Have thy will.
I am the Love that dare not speak its name.'

From IN PRAISE OF SHAME

Anon the flame

Took many shapes, and one cried 'I am Shame
 That walks with Love, I am most wise to turn
 Cold lips and limbs to fire; therefore discern
 And see my loveliness, and praise my name.'

. . . Whereat I said this song,
 'Of all sweet passions Shame is loveliest.'

After the Wilde trials, Douglas was known and accepted in France as "the child whom Oscar Wilde loved." He wrote a letter to W. T. Stead, Radical editor of the *Review of Reviews*, 28 June 1895, defending Wilde and male love in startlingly impassioned language. Stead dared not publish the letter, and it remained unseen until the appearance of Hyde's book ³³⁹ where it is printed in full as Appendix D. Douglas's even more inflammatory article in the *Revue Blanche* for 1 June 1896 is quoted in the same appendix.

Regrettably, Douglas's views became more cowardly following his conversion to the Roman church in 1911; and in the 1935 collection of his lyrics, he printed a preface expressing complete repudiation of

Wilde and Greek or otherwise male love, in very hostile language. It is nevertheless of interest that he rationalized his inclusion of these early and impassioned lyrics in this collection with the remark that the harshness of much modern poetry is because poets today cannot write smooth well-constructed lyrics (such as those of Douglas). His later hostility to Greek love may be understood more or less sympathetically but regretfully in the light of the persecution Douglas experienced because of his connection with Wilde, and partly as well because of his religious conversion. One may nevertheless lament that Douglas did not continue to have the courage of his convictions in the 1930's as he had in the 1890's.

Perhaps less closely connected with the Wilde circle was John Moray Stuart-Young (1881-1919?). The story goes that he began life in a British slum, through personal beauty attracting Oscar Wilde's attention in his early teens. He later published a love letter that he said Wilde had written him; this letter is branded an obvious forgery in Hart-Davis.^{339a} In 1909 he published a collection of his earlier Calamite verses, *Out of Hours*, including the elegy on Wilde, "Oscar the Self-Sufficient."³⁴¹ In its dedication he mentioned John Gambriel Nicholson together with the young poet John Davidson, who had just committed suicide; and spoke of "the abnormality of my delight in Youth and Beauty." His sonnet "Alec," below, is obviously in answer to E. C. Lefroy's "Palaestral Study" (sonnet XXXI, earlier quoted):

ALEC (To Alec Fischer)

Your face is not divine; but softly wrought
 Are your white shoulders which strong muscles hide.
 I like you thus and am most satisfied
 That you have posed as in a sculptor's thought.
 Watching your sinuous breasts makes me distraught
 In memory of the time we defied
 The indolence of flesh; and magic taught
 Each to the other, and no thrill denied!
 Man's loveliest labours are conceived in pain—
 The charms of woman-nature meet in you,
 Intense, defined, exquisite; and I knew
 Both poles of feeling in your love's refrain.
 Years hurry each to marriage—but the strain
 Of the sweet past shall haunt us, old yet new!

Stuart-Young imitated or referred to Lefroy in several others, e.g. "Jim—A Picture" (after Lefroy's Sonnet XXXVI, Bill: A Portrait); and both "Gratitude" and "After the Greek of Theocritus"

would have been less intelligible without familiarity with Lefroy's Sonnets XLIV and LXXIV, all earlier quoted. (I now raise the question of how often this sort of ingroup cross-reference takes place: obvious possibilities include the Greek bucolic poets, Italian Renaissance and Elizabethan circles of poets, and perhaps others. I do know that such interchanges are frequent among the so-called beat poets in the U.S.A.) Stuart-Young later drifted to what is described as "colonial work" in West Africa.

Charles Kains-Jackson, editor of *The Artist* (1891-93), to which he got Symonds to contribute, edited a collection of Stuart-Young's poems in 1919.³⁴² Other than these and a small pamphlet poem, *Finibus Cantat Amor*, little is known of his connection with the Calamites.

Under the name "Philebus," i.e. "Lover of Youth," a Merchant Navy doctor by the name of John Leslie Barford published in the 1920's four books of paidophilic verses: *Ladslove Lyrics*, *Young Things*, *Fantasies* (only 250 copies) and *Whimsies*. All are rare: I quote the text of one poem, "Players":

I send thee cigarettes for thy delight.
 Smoke, my belov'd, and think awhile of one
 Who thinks and dreams of thee from sun to sun
 Longing to have thee, loved one, in his sight;
 To hold to his thy lissome body tight;
 To press thy lips and, pressing, to surprise
 Thy soul and his together in thine eyes . . .
If this be wrong, no love on earth is right!

This sounds a slightly more modern note than most Calamite poems; the idea that one's teen-age boyfriend might smoke (though Rimbaud smoked a pipe) would hardly have been committed to print by most of them. Most of the "Philebus" poems reflect fairly casual relationships, some obviously with native boys in Africa and elsewhere; others are as publicly Christian as Lefroy's.

Samuel Elsworth Cottam published *Cameos of Boyhood* in 1922, and his executors have recently issued another collection of his verses, paidophilic and otherwise, *Friends of My Fancy and Other Poems*. The title "Cameos . . ." is a reference to Stuart-Young's sonnet-cycle *Cameos of an English Boyhood*. I have not had the opportunity to examine Cottam's work, but am reliably informed^{337a} of its Calamite nature.

F. E. Murray, under the pseudonym "A. Newman," published *Rondeaux of Boyhood* (250 copies only) in 1923, and a sequel, *From*

a *Lover's Garden* (200 copies only), the following year; both have prefaces by J. G. Nicholson—seemingly a ubiquitous figure among the later Calamites—and frontisplices of a nude boy of about 13 or 14, presumably representing "Norman," whom Murray celebrated in many poems in both books. It may or may not be significant that in both books the colophon is *Middlesex Press*, London. His verses are deftly turned and often with a light touch, now and then reminiscent of Austin Dobson. Those I quote are typical of his more successful efforts:

AT REST (?)

While my Prince sleeps I lie awake,
 I dare not move for his dear sake;
 His soft limbs 'gainst my own he presses,
 And thus gives me unsought caresses.—
 So Love and Sleep both my part take.

 Anon his kicks and tossings shake
 Sleep from my pillow, like toothache.
 My wakefulness he little guesses
 While my Prince *sleeps!*

How can Love compensation make
 For peace departed, life at stake?
 A devil, surely, him possesses
 Who language bad to me addresses
 And does his best my head to break
 While *my Prince* sleeps!

A MODERN GANYMEDE

"Fair Ganymede" I called the lad
 Whose beauty daily made me glad.
 "What, gammy-kneed?" the boy replied,
 "You bought my flannel bags too wide,
 On purpose, then?" (His slang is sad.)

 To serve his wine Zeus never had
 A fairer boy. With limbs unelad
 He proudly stood, but was *his* pride
 Fair, Ganymede?

 Though clothes are but a modern fad,
 You may not without clothing gad
 About, so much *your* beauty hide;
 But even if beauty be denied,
 Love's bread and wine I don't think bad
 Fare, Ganymede!

[gammy: deformed. bags: trousers.]

WHAT A SMACK!

My Prince's kiss—unlike the Thracian boys'—
 Against my lips with loud reverberant noise
 Strikes like the slap of waves in silent combe:
 Learnt in the rings round Diocles' famous tomb
 Was crowned the kiss of perfect equipoise!

Despite the lack of grace, my soul enjoys
 The rough sweet beauty of these earthly toys.
 I would not, if I could, to silence doom
 My Prince's kiss.

What care I if his homely love annoys
 The critic crowd? His greetings and envoies
 Fulfil my heart's desire; there is no room
 For more. Just think! If not for me for whom
 That happiness which never cloy—
 My Prince's kiss?

The reference to Diocles's tomb is to E. C. Lefroy's *Echoes from Theocritus*, XIX, "The Tomb of Diocles," and ultimately to a pretty Greek legend of dubious factual content about kissing contests held among youngsters yearly at this tomb, recorded in Theokritos, Idyll XII.

In "Newman's" second volume, J. G. Nicholson's introduction sounds a surprisingly optimistic note:

"... With all due deference to Norman, I am not going to admit that the schoolboy of today is happier, healthier, more charming, or more lovable than his predecessors. But he is a great deal better understood by his elders, and has become so much more companionable that the general public (not to mention Mrs. Grundy) no longer gorgonises the close attachment of boy to man with a stony British stare . . . As to the present, past and eternal charm of Boyhood, I suppose every pedagogue is more or less of a paidophil. I would fain rank among the 'mores.'"

Other Calamites, save for Father Bradford (of whom much more below), are still more obscure; texts by them are almost as difficult to find as information about them. Richard Barham Middleton (1882-1911) is best known through the recommendation of Frank Harris, who extravagantly praised Middleton's "Bathing Boy" as "finer than Herrick, nearly as beautiful as Keats's *Grecian Urn*"! It is typical Calamite verse; I quote it from the *Men and Boys* anthology:

THE BATHING BOY

I saw him standing on the brim
 Of the quick river in his beauty clad.
 So fair he was that Nature looked at him
 And touched him with her sunbeams here and there
 So that his cool flesh sparkled, and his hair
 Blazed like a crown above the naked lad.

And so I wept; I have seen lovely things,
 Maidens and stars and roses all a-nod
 In moonlit seas; but Love without his wings
 Set in the azure of an August sky
 Was all too fair for my mortality
 And so I wept to see the little god.

Till with a sudden grace of silver skin
 And golden lock he dived, his song of joy
 Broke with the bubbles as he bore them in;
 And lo, the fear of death was on that place
 Till, decked with new-found gems and flushed of face
 He rose again, a laughing, choking boy.

The compiler of that anthology says of Middleton that he divided his time between reading, writing poetry and entertaining young people, and quotes from his diary: "I must be content to choose my friends among youngsters; they always see me at my best—and what better friends do I want?" His association with Frank Harris apparently dates from his joining the New Bohemians Club in 1905. Biographical details are few: between 1900 and 1907 he worked in a London insurance office, but afterwards tried to live from his writings; in 1908 he moved to Brussels for its lower cost of living, but became "entangled in a sordid amour" and in 1911 fled to his father's home; dissatisfied with conditions there, he returned to Brussels, only to commit suicide six weeks later. What personal tragedy is concealed behind these unrevealing notations one can only guess.

Edmund John (1883-1917), a schoolteacher who enlisted in the "Artists' Rifles" in 1915, only to be discharged shortly afterwards for heart trouble, going to Italy in hope of recovering and dying there only a few months later, I know only from his poem, "The Seven Gifts," reprinted in the *Men and Boys* anthology from the *English Review*; it is a set of variations. The anthologist quotes some of John's notes to his young friends, in which childlike naïveté and romantic sentiment are kept from bathos only by a sense of humor,

and adds that he "never forgot a promise to a child." He seems to be quoting a biography, but no copy is known in any library in the U.S.A.

From the above-mentioned anthology—itself evidently an American Calamite production, albeit anonymous—I have learned the names, and seen a few of the verses, of various American counterparts of the Calamites; whether they were known to the original British clique is undeterminable. The (anthologist?) E. E. who signed many translations in that volume may be "Edmund Edwinson," who has six rather poor poems in it. Of "Clement Andrews," Clifford Whitford, David O'Neil, H. Townes, Mark Beecher, Terriss Owens, Vincent Scarford, "Fidian," F. S. Woodley, M. Snow (referred to in one of the "Philebus" books as "Snowball"), Wayne Gordon, C. Mansfeld, E. Van Cleve, Sydney Wilmer, Cecil Roberts, Giles de Gillies, E. Tietiens, nothing is known to me outside the names and the verses therein represented, and these add little to the range of Calamite themes and nothing to our knowledge of the historical trends represented and furthered by the Calamites.

We come now to the most outspoken and by far the most prolific of them all. This is the Rev. Edwin Emmanuel Bradford, D.D. After leaving Exeter college, Oxford, he became an Anglican priest, and was for some years chaplain to English congregations in various countries on the Continent, thereafter assistant priest at St. George's (the Anglo-Catholic church in Paris), finally vicar of Nordelph. His paidophilic poems began to appear in the early part of this century, there being more than a dozen books of them in all. The very first, *Sonnets, songs and ballads* (1908), touches on the subject only once, in the Spenserian stanzas "Lines on Seeing a Child Bathing," where he toys with the idea that the boy's beauty is from sexual desirability, but decides it is from innocence after all. But he quickly got his courage up, and in many of his later verses he recalls Strato of Sardis. His *Passing the Love of Women* and *The New Chivalry* (1918) contain blistering attacks on puritanism; the exordium of the latter celebrates boy-love under the patronage of Erōs and Aphroditē Ourania, but he does not elsewhere dare acknowledge openly the influence of the Calamites. Nevertheless, they knew his work, and the content of his poetry indicates that he was aware of theirs, whether or not he knew them personally.

The later books, 1920-30, are often in a form apparently original with him: novels in verse (one of them entirely in Spenserian stanzas!), divided into titled chapters or cantos with verse epigraphs,

and sometimes interspersed with songs. Their principal subject is boy-love, and often enough they describe a projected community of boys residing as pairs of passionate friends (generally older and younger in the Greek manner), unmarried, under the general guidance of a clergyman, who is of course himself in thin disguise. There is even mention of a quasi marriage in chapel between such a pair! Many of these books received flattering reviews in such periodicals as *Academy*, *Westminster Review*, *Times Literary Supplement*, *Literary World*, *Athenaeum*, *Contemporary Review*, *New Age*, *Journal of Education*, *Oxford Magazine*, *Tablet* and *Commonwealth*. He delighted in metrically difficult forms such as rhymed sapphics, being justly compared with Austin Dobson and W. S. Gilbert, but the reviews praised not merely the technical mastery (which was often high indeed) but the subject matter! His religious verses, on the other hand, lack the intensity of his poems on boy-love, and in general he seemed uncomfortable in dealing with women, drink (he seems to have been a teetotaler) or churchly affairs. On the other hand, he understood boys very well indeed, and both his heroes and his villains are often convincing enough; some have speculated that they may have represented actual friends of his. Some of his poems celebrate "Belton," an idealized seaside town which for him is a utopia. (Especially "A Holiday Land," IV in *The Kingdom Within You* [1927].)³⁴³

Now and then he felt concerned to rationalize his unmarried state, or to issue denials of a sexual element in his preoccupation with boys; this again may be taken in the light of the similar denials by Whitman and Lefroy, particularly in view of the sensuous qualities of his evocations of Greek love. Often he is as much an apologist for tenderness as for Greek love, e.g. in *The Tree of Knowledge*.

He has been in recent years almost forgotten; never well known in the U.S.A., he is still remembered in some quarters in Britain. John Betjeman referred to him and particularly to his novel-in-verse *Boyhood* (1930) in "A Shropshire Lad," included in *Old Lights for New Charcoals* (1940). I shall quote a fair number of Bradford's verses, as his books are all out of print, rare and often unobtainable. One of his poems, "When I Went A-Walking," was the all-time favorite of paidophile verses of various centuries read at one of the Mattachine Society meetings a few years back; it was encored, and at subsequent poetry readings repeatedly called for.

The Tree of Knowledge (1925) includes as epigraph to Canto XVI some lines that loudly echo the Goethe remark to Chancellor von Müller and the *Don Leon* poems:

ROMANTIC FRIENDSHIP

Boys' ardent friendship some esteem
 Mere whimsicality;
 At times to pedagogues they seem
 An abnormality;
 Yet if unchecked, we have to own
 They soon will spread to all:
 'Tis strange if Nature left alone
 Becomes 'unnatural'!

I do not know if he was referring to his own public school experience or to Byron's, or to others' verbal accounts of such school friendships. Documentation of the latter is still scanty,³⁴⁴ leaving one of the most serious lacunae in the present study. In the same book, Canto XVII's epigraph is as Greek as they come:

GLEAMS OF SUNSHINE

Boys' beauty is as brief, alas!
 As that of frostwork on the glass
 That's hardly seen before the ray
 That shows it makes it melt away,
 But though 'tis brief, what beauty can compare
 With this—so strangely, delicately fair!

The comparison to frostwork has an additional interest: any classical scholar would immediately recognize the echo of the Sophokles fragment 153 from *The Loves of Achilleus*, earlier referred to. Still later in the same book, Bradford expresses skepticism for the biblical myths—implicitly including in his skepticism those passages which have been used against boy-lovers (see Chapter III above). This is also the book in which he over and over again rationalizes his own bachelorhood and writes apologies (occasionally reminiscent of D. H. Lawrence) for tenderness.

The stanzas "A Child" in *The Romance of Youth* (1920?) echo some of the lyrics of Lord Alfred Douglas; "The Parting," in the same book, is an answer, more outspoken, to the "Koré" of Digby Mackworth Dolben (1848-67)—of this I shall say more in Volume II. The title poem celebrates the Boy God³⁴⁵ as incarnate in various historical periods—a theme preoccupying Ralph Chubb's entire oeuvre:

He reigned in Greece: it was a wayward Boy,
 But lovable and pure, and twice as fair
 As man can ever be, who sulked at Troy,
 Nursing a petty feud—too young to bear

His weight of glory and his people's care.
 But by good hap a faithful friend and strong,
 Yet tender as a mother mild, was there,
 Who dying in his stead drew him along
 With silken cords of love to join the immortal throng.

Reigned he in Rome? One melancholy youth
 Reigned in the heart of him who reigned o'er all:
 But was the fair Bithynian Boy in truth
 The idol of the Romans? I recall
 No love like David's for the son of Saul;
 But low intrigues with slaves and pampered pages,
 And frolicking with freedmen—what a fall
 From that pure passion sanctioned by her sages
 And handed down by Greece to all succeeding ages!

(After these references to Achilles and Antinoös come other stanzas on the Black Prince's son, later Richard II, on Arthur of Brittany, Edward VI, Chatterton and Shelley. Then he comes to his own day:)

In Britain boys are friendless: happy they
 Whose youth is spent in shadow; for the few
 Whom Birth or Genius lightens with a ray
 Of early fame, grow dazzled, and pursue
 Their aftercourse with hazard, as steeds do
 Alarmed and riderless: and many a one
 For lack of a protector kind and true
 Has died in youth; as David might have done
 Had not his heartless king a kinder-hearted son.

It is not good the Boy should be alone:
 He needs an helpmate even more than man,
 Yet if the brethren of his flesh and bone
 Are framed and fashioned on a diverse plan,
 A Joseph, or a lion's whelp like Dan
 Destined to leap from Bashan, lives apart
 Most homeless when at home. None will or can
 Light up the dark recesses of his heart,
 Bind up his spirit's wounds, or mollify their smart.

...

Could he but steal away and be at rest
 With mother Nature and one favourite friend,
 Pillow his head on some responsive breast,
 Lay bare his heart, and let his Mentor blend
 Sweet comfort with wise counsel at the end,

How often would the boyish Ishmaelite,
The stubborn rebel, the child Cain unbend:
For he who braves the boisterous world's rude might
Will cast away his cloak when once the sun shines bright.

This, of course, comes close to the recommendations of Chapter IV, above. The other poems included below hardly need comment; they are offered not as literature but as revelation of some of Bradford's views when he was even more outspoken than usual. In "At Last!" there is the indication that petting, if not outright sex, was involved; and many of Bradford's other poems speak openly of frank embracing in a way that would be considered scandalous in the prudish U.S.A., though far less so perhaps in France or Italy. Noteworthy in all Bradford's work is the complete absence of anything remotely approaching sadomasochism or the difficult paradoxical kind of relationship marked by jealousy or tantalizing or an unhealthy possessiveness; it is always open and honestly admitted love, nothing else. Is he being unrealistically rosy-viewed? Possibly; but Chapter VII seems to indicate that in many cases Bradford's views are not too far from what actually happens in Greek love.

THE KISS

He never had done it to Geoff or to Guy,
Nor to Arthur—not one of the three;
And I thought that he never would, he was so shy—
But he did it, he did it to me!

We were out on the beach, and the tide was high,
And the sun had set over the sea,
And the light was beginning to fade in the sky,
When I said 'You have never kissed me!'

I said it abruptly, I hardly know why,
But I said it impetuously;
For it seemed very hard to be bidding goodbye
When my laddie had never kissed me.

For a moment he flushed, and fell back with a sigh;
For a moment he paused doubtfully;
For a moment I feared he was going to cry—
For a moment I thought he would flee.

He never had done it to Geoff or to Guy,
Nor to Arthur—not one of the three;
And I thought that he never would, he was so shy—
But he did it—he did it to me!

AT LAST!

Returning from church on a fine June night,
With a shy little fellow called Merivale White,
I was never so startled in all my life—
The boy seemed altered quite!

Was it the magic of the woodland way,
The moon, or the scent of the new-mown hay?
I have no idea: but the fact remains
He seemed quite changed that day.

‘Look here,’ he began, ‘you are going again,
‘And all this visit I’ve waited in vain.
‘Are we going to be chums? You know what I mean.
Real mates? Put me out of my pain.’

‘But White,’ I demurred, ‘you seemed such a kid:
‘I like you, of course, and I always did.
‘But all I can say is—if you liked me
‘You kept it jolly well hid!’

‘Did I?’ said he. ‘Do you mean that you doubted
‘My feeling for you?’ Then he frowned and pouted.
‘Do you think that a boy can offer a man
‘His love—and perhaps be scouted?

‘Do you think that a boy—and a shy boy too—
‘Finds it easy to come to a man like you,
“And propose to be friends—*real* mates for life?
‘You make a mistake if you do!

‘But I’ve done it at last.’ And there his voice broke;
And he lashed at the weeds with his stick as he spoke.
Then he went on fiercely, ‘Whatever you do,
‘Don’t treat what I say as a joke.’

What *I* said or did doesn’t matter a straw:
I could see there was no great need to jaw.
I suppose we behaved like a couple of fools—
But nobody heard or saw.

I only know we were awfully late.
White’s mother and father were quite in a state
Till the boy came out with a cock-and-bull tale
That we couldn’t unfasten a gate.

I shall never forget that night in June,
When the scent of the sky, or the gleam of the moon,
Made a shy boy bold to break the ice—
After all, ’twas none too soon!

CORPUS SANUM

'Tis sweet to toil when youth makes labour light,
'Tis sweet to eat with healthy appetite,
'Tis sweet to sleep in dreamless ease at night,
Tired through and through.

'Tis sweet to learn, with secret shy delight,
That day by day with manhood's growing might
Comes greater power to love, new visions bright,
And daydreams new.

Youth's tender body, clean and rosy white,
Is not that 'flesh corrupt we have to fight':
Its natural appetites are sane and right,
Its instincts true.

The mere word 'carnal' shall not me affright;
Nor will I cease, in puritans' despite,
To love the boyish body with the sprite
And hymn it too.

WHEN I WENT A-WALKING

When I went a-walking
In the morning fair,
I met three boys a-running,
And one had golden hair;
Curly locks were they,
Like little rings of light.
I thought of him all day
And dreamed of him all night.

When I went a-walking
In the noonday glare,
I met three boys a-bathing,
And the form of one was fair;
Snowy white, like May,
Yet rosy 'neath the white.
I thought of him all day
And dreamed of him all night.

When I went a-walking
In the evening air,
I saw three boys a-coming,
Two went I know not where;
But one went not away,
For that I held him tight.
I'll work for him all day,
And dream of him all night!

Listed here as in the Calamite tradition, though so far as I know not actively associated with any of the members of the clique,³⁴⁶ is Ralph N. Chubb. He published many books of prophetic and often highly erotic paidophilic poetry of his own composition, the text being integrated with designs and full page illustrations also by him; many of them were done on his own hand press in extremely small editions, in some cases as few as 18 copies, some being hand water-colored. The techniques, especially the combination of hand letterpressing and illustration, are in the exact tradition of William Blake, and what Timothy d'Arch Smith (in the introduction to his recent checklist of Chubb's works)³⁴⁷ calls "their visionary fervour mingled with uninhibited eroticism, [and] the sincere and perfervid pleas for a return to the ancient rural simplicity of England" puts them still more in the Blake manner. But Chubb was no mere imitator; one of his major themes was never touched by Blake. This was the Calamite theme of boy-love, but here with a markedly mystical interpretation: nothing less than the return and absolute reign on earth of the Boy God.³⁴⁵ In his *The Heavenly Cupid*, p. [78], he says "I prophesy the melting-away of the male and female shades, and the visible emergence of the spiritual boyhood, ambisexual unisexual."³⁴⁸ In *An Appendix*, p. [24], "The ideal human shape, embodying both the male and the female principles, is the youthful masculine or boyish form." To him the transient androgynous beauty of the adolescent was definitely symbolic of a Jungian archetype whose millennia-old trajectory forms the subject of the present study; Chubb frankly loved the archetype in its 'fleshed embodiment.' (And at this point I wonder if some of Chubb's philosophy did not somehow indirectly reach Theodore Sturgeon: that extraordinary writer envisions a religion of transience with the Androgynous Child as symbolic embodiment of the divine archetype, worshiped by the Ledom people, in his science-fiction book *Venus Plus X*.)³⁴⁹ In *The Heavenly Cupid*, p. [12], Chubb says, "The true pederasty has nothing to do with Sodom at all. The sin of that city was carnality, commercialism, materialistic grossness. (They invented flying-machines, hooting road-cars, and senseless competitions of speed.) The swinish inhabitants profaned the holy thing, the precious pearl, the love of angels; and wished to drag it down, corrupting popular opinion by a self-interested newspaper conspiracy to the level of mere spurious lust, in order to exploit it in the stock-market of Mammon for empire's sake, to increase the bank-balances of millionaires; endeavouring meanwhile to suppress intellect and beauty and truth and imagination and love with the arguments of the sly policeman's truncheon and the suborn'd soldier's bayonet and Bomb."

It is in error to call ideas such as the above mere rationalizations or sublimations. Though I have seen only a few of Chubb's works, the philosophy expounded in them is consistent with what I have heard about the rest. The "melting away of the male and female shades" is a matrist theme found in mystical writings of both Europe and India; without attempting to trace its origins in detail, I can nevertheless point out its relationship to the common mystical idea that creation consisted in God's dismembering himself into infinitely many parts, each with some spark (however minute) of the divine fire. In these terms sexual union and love of all kinds become manifestations of the urge toward reunion of the particles with the remainder of God. God, in this view, cannot be male or female, but of necessity androgynous, since the male and female aspects both derive from God. And here is where Chubb's ideas fit in, androgyny, eroticism, boy-love and all.

XVI

THE TWENTIETH
CENTURY:
DIVERGENT TRADITIONS

DESPITE THE REMNANTS OF THE CALAMITIES, THE LAST SIXTY YEARS—particularly since Hitler—have been a lean period for the literature of boy-love, and the practice itself has come into a degree of disfavor such as has hardly been the case since the religious wars of the 17th century. The Continental tradition of the 19th century plainly indicated that to avert charges of corrupting the youth of the nation, interested parties had better join the sexual reform movement and its propaganda that homosexuals (or inverts or Urnings or whatever their chosen name) are just like everyone else only sexually left-handed, female souls in male bodies seeking a fully mature Masculine Ideal—or else remain silent. The French tradition growing out of Verlaine through Proust, Gide, Cocteau and Genet has strengthened this idea; these giants have dealt almost exclusively with androphilia, even as have most of their lesser contemporaries, save principally for Roger Peyrefitte, who described a Byronesque attachment between an older and a young boy in a French Catholic school in heartrendingly poignant terms (*Special Friendships*)³⁵⁰ and “Essebac” (Bécasse) in *Dédé*, *Luc* and *L’Elu*. The German tradition might have improved matters, as both Mann’s *Death in Venice*³⁵¹ and the poetry of Stefan George and the researches of the George-Kreis were relevant, and the latter actually built up a mystique of boy-love in which the new Antinoüs was Stefan George’s early-dying Maximin. Moreover, the Wandervogel (German Boy Scout) movement provided a natural framework in which Greek love could develop. But the coming to power of Hitler crushed both this and the growing sexual reform movement in which Magnus Hirschfeld had been so dynamic. And outside these traditions, there have been only scattered thinkers here and there, and their works for the most part have celebrated andro-

philia almost exclusively. Classical education has fallen into desuetude; boys do not routinely learn Greek and Latin, and they have less and less incentive to read the ancients even in translation, therefore less exposure to the fountainheads of Greek love. Child labor laws have prolonged the immaturity of the adolescent while making it more and more difficult for him to find a meaningful role in life; increasingly rigid age stratification in and out of school has lessened his opportunities for contact with older or younger individuals. Greek love nevertheless continues, but it is rare. And for this very reason, works like Tesch's *Never the Same Again*, Rogert Gellert's play *Quaint Honour*, and Paul Goodman's *Parents Day*, are exceptional.

I shall not attempt to survey the vast field of contemporary homosexual literature. Others are having enough difficulty even preparing bibliographies. At the present time all I can do is indicate trends and relate them to their historical origins, in a somewhat sketchy manner. I shall have to leave content analyses for Volume II, and the detailed study of the Wandervogel movement for another time.

I. The French Decadents and After.

1. These, for our purposes, begin with *Marcel Proust*, though his theme was never Greek love but rather androphile homosexuality of a peculiarly self-abasing, masochistic sort. Baron de Charlus, in *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu* (English translation, *Remembrance of Things Past*), is the archetype. A preliminary sketch of "M. de Quercy"—a prototype for Charlus—is in Proust's earlier *By Way of Ste.-Beuve*; and there is a contemporaneous portrait of Proust himself in somewhat similar connection in André Gide's *Journal* for 1921.

What Proust presents us with is a microscopic analysis of the androphile Urning with marked sadomasochistic traits; an exaggerated version of one of the common images of contemporary homosexuality. His portrait, in such remarkably brilliant colors and such remorseless detail, has influenced all the later French writers on homosexuality to such an extent that one who writes on Greek love automatically has to withdraw from the mainstream in so doing. Though I have neither time nor inclination to go into the enormous literature on Proust and his sources, I shall suggest here that one of the more important lines of influence on Proust (and his image of Charlus) was the later work of Verlaine, especially in *Oeuvres libres*. And so a distorted image has been built up—influencing literary people and psychiatrists alike, even down to Bergler—of the "typical" homosexual as more or less resembling Baron de Charlus. To what extent

it has afforded a norm of behavior for neophytes to homosexuality themselves, one can only guess. It certainly has little to do with the behavior of Greek lovers.

Greek love has yet to have its Proust. When he does arrive, we may expect some literary fireworks.

2. Next in the mainstream is *André Gide*. In his work boy-love is a very minor, almost trivial element; one gets the impression that he was principally another androphile homosexual, and that when he found a boy sexually exciting, the ensuing relationship was devoid of the specifically Greek characteristics. This is Roman sensuality rather than Greek love, and I detect more than a small hint that Gide was rarely capable of a long-term relationship of any sort. His more important works on homosexual themes include his autobiographical *Journals*, *passim*; *Si le Grain ne Meurt* ("If It Die . . .," 1921); the drama *Saül*; the dialogue *Corydon* (1924), a superficial rationalization of homosexuality on grounds far flimsier than others he could have chosen had he known of them; and his Proust-influenced *The Immoralist*. In his *Poésies à "André Walter"* (1930), the gender of the beloved is carefully left ambiguous. Though he later repudiated this as juvenilia, the poems are still read with pleasure, and they have had their influence.

Gide's *If It Die* (another autobiographical book) is of especial value for the light it throws on Wilde and Douglas, whom Gide encountered during their experimenting with Arab boys as sexual objects in the early 1890's.

3. *Jean Cocteau's* influence is in some ways at least equal to those of Gide and Proust, and again it is mainly in the same direction (androphile homosexuality with a particular attraction to "rough trade" and more than a hint of sadomasochism). The most important document here is the famous autobiographical plea, *Le Livre Blanc*, existing in English translation as *The White Paper*. Though Cocteau never admitted publicly, to my knowledge, that he was the author, his authorship is satisfactorily established both by style and by the first-person-singular account of the Dargelos episode, which appears (viewed from many different angles) repeatedly in Cocteau's films.

Cocteau's drawings—many of them as explicitly erotic as the famous "Motorcycle Series" of a few years back—have given rise to a whole school of imitators in France alone. Some of the originals are in *Le Livre Blanc*; others—more erotic—are found in certain editions of the books of Jean Genet, of which more later; still others adorn private collections in France and the U.S.A. In these drawings,

the sexual objects are always seemingly in their early 20's, and extremely masculine; these young men follow pretty closely Verlaine's description earlier alluded to—"Whether 15 or 20 unstudied years of age/In bed they're all brutality and grossness on rampage." Perhaps the most familiar among Cocteau's imitators, to readers of the homosexual journals is Jean Boulet, who has done thousands of monotonously similar drawings and paintings, some illustrating stories, others simply depicting favorite types. Sadomasochism is occasionally visible in these, even as in Cocteau's own.

There are, likewise, Gidean characteristics (but in a greater range) in Cocteau's poetry—too large in volume to quote at length here. Some of the collections of relevance to this theme are brought together in his *Anthologie poétique* (1951). A very few brief excerpts from this will illustrate:

From TOMBEAUX: DE SOCRATE
 Ce qui distingue cette tombe
 Des autres, soit dit en passant,
 C'est que n'y viennent les colombes,
 Mais, parfois, deux agneaux paissant.
 Visiteuse, que ne vous vexe
 Ce sage victime des sots:
 C'est la grâce de votre sexe
 Qu'il aimait chez les jouvenceaux.

This may be roughly englished as follows:

THE TOMB OF SOCRATES

What distinguishes this tomb from the rest, let it be said in passing, is that doves do not come there: but occasionally two grazing sheep. Visiting lady, this wise victim of fools should not be annoying to you: it's the gracefulness of your gender which he loved in boys.

L'ANGE HEURTEBISE (Excerpts) (1925)

II.

L'ange Heurtebise, d'une brutalité
 Incroyable, saute sur moi. De grâce
 Ne saute pas si fort
 Garçon bestial, fleur de haute
 Stature.
 Je m'en suis alité. En voilà
 Des façons. J'ai l'as; constate:
 L'as-tu?

II. Angel Heurtebise, with incredible brutality, leaps on me. For

mercy's sake, not so rough, bestial boy, flower of such great height! I'm confined to bed because of you . . . *there* are the ways. I have the ace: declare—do you have it? [“Ange” also means “beloved”; “Heurtebise” has been translated as “Grinder Trusty” or “Pound-the-Brown” and seems to be the name of a folkloric French peasant counterpart of Paul Bunyan from Picardy. The “flower” probably means phallus, and both this stanza and those to follow are full of untranslatable double meanings and puns.]

V.

Ange Heurtebise, mon ange gardien
 Je te garde, je te heurte
 Je te brise, je te change
 De gare, d'heure.
 En garde, été! Je te defie
 Si tu es un homme. Avoue
 Mon ange de céruse, ta beauté
 Prise en photographie par un
 Explosion de magnesium.

V. Angel Heurtebise, my guardian angel, I cherish you, I shock you: I smash you, I change your place, your time [or: your keeper]. Parry, summer! I challenge you if you are a man. Acknowledge, my white lead Angel, your beauty captured on film by a blast of flash powder. [The epithet “summer” recurs in Cocteau as a synonym for full-grown young man: the analogy is to “autumn” as middle-aged or older man, and “spring” to young boy. The reference to flash powder is presumably to the photograph of the “Angel” by Man Ray, adorning one edition of these poems.]

VI.

Ange Heurtebise, en robe d'eau
 Mon ange aimé, la grâce
 Me fait mal. J'ai mal
 À Dieu, il me torture.
 En moi le démon est tortue, animal
 Jadis mélodieux. Arrive
 Sors de l'agate
 Dure fumée, ô vitesse qui tue.
 Sur tes patins de diamant rayé
 Le miroir des malades.
 Les murs
 Les murs
 Ont des oreilles
 Et les miroirs
 Des yeux d'amant . . .

VI. Angel Heurtebise, dressed in water, my beloved Angel, your gracefulness agonizes me. God makes me ill, He tortures me. Beast of old sweet-voiced, my spirit is twisted. Come leave the hard smoky agate, O killing liveliness. On your diamond skates the mirror of the sick effaces. The walls, the walls have ears, and the mirrors eyes of lovers . . .

[One may speculate if this rough-trade "Angel" might not be an ancestor of Jack Kerouac's "Old Angel Midnight."]

UN AMI DORT (Excerpts)

Tes mains jonchant les draps étaient mes feuilles morts.

Mon automne aimait ton été.

Le vent du souvenir faisait claquer les portes

Des lieux où nous avons été.

. . .

Tu vivais enfoncé dans un autre toi-même

Et de ton corps si bien abstrait,

Que tu semblais de pierre. Il est dur, quand on aime,

De ne posséder qu'un portrait.

. . .

Que ne ressemblons-nous à cet aigle à deux têtes,

À Janus au double profil,

Aux frères Siamois qu'on montre dans les fêtes,

Aux livres cousus par un fil?

. . .

L'amour fait des amants un seul monstre de joie,

Hérissé de cris et de crins,

Et ce monstre, enivré d'être sa propre proie,

Se dévore avec quatre mains.

. . .

La divine amitié n'est pas le fait d'un monde

Qui s'en étonnera toujours.

Et toujours il faudra que ce monde confonde

Nos amitiés et nos amours . . .

A FRIEND SLEEPS:

Your hands scattering the sheets were my fallen leaves. My autumn loved your summer. The wind of remembrance slams shut the gates of places where we have been . . .

You lived, thrust into another Yourself, and so far abstracted from your own body, that you seemed made of stone. It is hard, when one loves, to have only a portrait! . . .

Don't we look like that two-headed eagle, like two-faced Janus, like

the Siamese twins exhibited at fairs, like books stitched together by one thread?

Love makes of lovers a single monster of joy, bristly with cries and body hairs; and this monster, drunken with being its own prey, devours itself with its four hands . . .

Divine friendship isn't the exploit of a world which is always astonished about it. And it must always be that this world confuses our friendships and our loves . . .

I have quoted these French androphile pieces largely to exhibit, rather than merely to talk about, the contrast between the kind of sexual friendship they apotheosize—full of violence and sadomasochism—and the kind of sexual friendship found in Greek love.

4. Very much in the Proust-Gide-Cocteau tradition is *Jean Genet*, who has been called a kind of latter-day prose François Villon. His most important writings—novels composed in prison and full of masturbatory fantasies of the same kind of rough trade earlier mentioned—are rarely available in the U.S.A. because either untranslated or else obtainable only in black-market Olympia Press editions. They include *Notre-Dame des Fleurs*, *Journal du Voleur*, *Querelle de Brest*, and several others. Translation is necessary because the French originals are crammed with argot expressions not likely to be found in dictionaries.

Genet's characters are very often young prostitutes of the kind known as *jésus*, in their early twenties—rarely younger—and other members of his own predatory underworld. Greek love seems not to appear at all.

Many minor novels also exist on similar androphile themes.³⁵²

Since four of the most important contemporary figures of French literature deal with androphile homosexuality (never Greek love) and all very similarly, small wonder then that themes of Greek love are rarely found at all in French prose or poetry of the past fifty or so years. And when found, the instances prove to be definitely deviant from the mainstream. I have been able to locate only the following, though a few others probably exist:

1. "Essebac" (i.e. Achille Bécasse). This man wrote three novels more or less relevant to Greek love in a school setting—*Dédé*, *Luc* and *L'Élu*. I have not seen English translations of these, and the third of them is known to me only by reputation. They seem to be more or less ancestral in theme to that next to follow.

2. Roger Peyrefitte. His *Les Amitiés Particulières* (actually the first of a series of volumes sharing the same central character, Georges de Sarre) is doubtless familiar to many readers and deserves to be known by all, if only in its English translation by Edward Hyams: *Special Friendships*.³⁵⁰ This is an unbearably poignant picture of a love affair developing between older and younger pupil at a French Catholic school; it has the ring of authenticity in every detail, even down to the pathetic ending. With Tesch's *Never the Same Again*, it is one of the two finest novels of Greek love in modern setting I have yet read. And if in part it seems more romantic than some modern adult readers would like, all the reply needed is that this is the way boys often think, feel and act when they are gripped by a love both unprecedented in their experience, overwhelming in its intensity, and of necessity acted out only in secret. Reread Rosalind's speech from *As You Like It*, III ii 377-382 earlier quoted, and consider the characterization of little Alexander in this light.

"Shut, shut your eyes, ye pedagogues, nor keep/ 'Too close a watch upon your pupils' sleep./ . . . 'Twas ye who roused the latent sense of shame,/And called their gambols by an odious name." (*Don Leon*)

3. Albert Giraud, modern Belgian poet. Several of his poems on Greek love themes—mostly celebrating the beauty of a boy—appeared in one of the French-language homosexual journals in 1958 (*Arcadie* 53, I believe—the reference is not immediately available). I particularly recall *Endymion*, *Invocation à Eros*, *Rouges lèvres d'enfant*, and *Enfant désordonné*.

II. Stefan George and After.

The history of Greek love in Germany has yet to be written, but when it does get into print, the single pivotal figure in its history after Goethe will be beyond doubt Stefan George (1868-1933). Born at Büdesheim, near Bingen, in Hesse, he studied philosophy and the history of art in Paris, Munich and Berlin, afterwards associating himself with the English Pre-Raphaelites, Mallarmé, and the French disciples of Baudelaire. He translated Baudelaire, Dante, and Shakespeare's sonnets, and edited (1892-1919) the extremely influential journal *Blätter für die Kunst*. Ernst Morwitz's remarks in his appreciation of Stefan George are probably no exaggeration: "Today every writer, journalist and reporter writing in German, whether or not he wants to, whether or not he knows it, uses expressions coined by George, uses words quickened by him." Until 1928 George wrote poetry of singularly intense though austere beauty, rejecting all other

post-Goethean German poetry. Himself another Wandering Scholar, he shunned publicity but in a most paradoxically Whitmanesque manner he welcomed contact with people of all levels and many lands, and the contact made itself felt in his poems. But in 1933, on Hitler's coming to power, George—refusing any number of flattering offers from the Nazi regime—sought voluntary exile in Switzerland, and died in the same year.

George's poems, from the very outset, frequently touched on themes of Greek love. This preoccupation became far more intense after his brief contact with a legendary boy known only as "Maximin," of whom more below. But it is probably no accident that (according to Morwitz³⁵³) German soldiers in World War I carried books of George's poems in their packs along with their *Fausts*; that his poems were declaimed at meetings of the Wandervogel (German Boy Scout) groups,³⁵⁴ and that George's disciples (the "George-Kreis") included many individuals concerned with sexual reform or with homosexuality in one form or another. This group of disciples was far from a mere crowd of fawning acolytes, incidentally. Among them were Norbert Hellgrath, already referred to as editor of Hölderlin's works; Ludwig Klages, the mystic philosopher and graphologist, who wrote a biography of George; Ernst Morwitz and Carol North Vaihope ("Olga Marx"), who translated George's poems into English—a labor of love indeed, as these are exceedingly difficult to translate successfully; and Arnold Schönberg, one of the half dozen most important figures in twentieth century music, inventor of the dodecaphonic or serial system of composition, who set to music various poems from George's *Book of the Hanging Gardens*, as well as including in his Second String Quartet a vocal finale consisting of a setting of (among all imaginable poems!) George's *Entrückung*, "Transport," "Ich fühle luft vom anderen planeten"—"I feel a breath from other planets flowing."

It is only to be regretted that the rise of Hitler made it impossible for the George-Kreis to give adequate publicity to the new religion founded by George. This was nothing less than a new religion of the archetypal Boy God,³⁴⁵ with very much the same themes of transience as we have already seen in Hellas from the time of Anacreon, in the prophetic writings of Ralph Chubb, and (albeit in more specifically androgynous³⁴⁸ form) in Sturgeon's *Venus Plus X*.³⁴⁹ It also seems to have been explicitly assimilated to the Antinoüs religion founded by Emperor Hadrian.²¹⁸ This last identification was probably inevitable after George's encounter with the mysterious Maximin, who died very young under enigmatic circumstances. Maxi-

min, said Stefan George, was a poet of sensitivity and prophetic splendor surpassing "every valid standard known to us," but of his work only fragments were left after his death.³⁵³ The various poems of George most relevant to the Maximin cult have affinities not only to the ancient worship of Dionysos, but also to some Indian religions, and there is even a Zen-like emphasis on paradox: "Ich bin der Eine und bin Beide/Ich bin der zeuger bin der schooss" etc.—"I am the One and am the Both/I am the womb I am the sire." Most of these are found in *Der siebente Ring* and *Der Stern des Bundes* (*The Seventh Ring* and *The Star of the Covenant*). I am not prepared to commit myself to the dogmatic affirmation that the Maximin cult would have survived indefinitely as an alternative to puritanism in the absence of Hitler, but I do think it might have been an experiment worth watching, much as have been various other nonchristian religions of recent origin, e.g. Baha'i, Subud. An experiment of this kind must be judged by its results rather than by the specific articles of faith, if any, held in agreement among believers. That the Maximin cult was so well grounded in archetypal forms, I think, spoke in its favor. The Antinoüs cult of Hadrian was new only in its attention to Antinoüs; the dying figure of transcendent quality, who sacrificed all to save what he loved most from destruction, goes back many centuries, and it is not blasphemy to place under this rubric not only Antinoüs and Maximin, but also Patroklos, Jesus Christ ("Greater love hath no man . . .") and many others.

There is space only to list a few of the more relevant items from Stefan George's large output of poems. References will be to the Valhope and Morwitz translations,³⁵³ as the German of Stefan George is occasionally very difficult.

From *The Books of Eclogues and Elegies, Legends and Lays, and of the Hanging Gardens* (1894): "The Lyre Player"; "See, my child, I leave."

From *The Tapestry of Life*: "For treasure, pale with passion once I peered"; "Day-Song"; Prelude (XVI).

From *The Seventh Ring*: all of the Maximin poems; "My child came home"; "Guardianship"; "Southern Shore, Dancers."

From *The Star of the Covenant*: all of the Maximin poems; "Spread in the stillness, your mind"; "New mobility you wanted."

From *Pageant*: "The Lydian."

From *Tides*: "Encomium."

From *The Kingdom Come*: "Paideia"; "To E."; "When I recall"; "To a young leader in World War I"; "The Dancer."

I strongly advise readers to buy or borrow the Stefan George

translation, 1949 edition, as here Greek love is summarized (albeit in modern setting) in a form as near to its original as can now be imagined, complete with the educational, religious, mystical and esoteric overtones it possessed for the Greeks: or at any rate something as near to those as can now be reconstructed, in a way which could conceivably be meaningful to people for whom the Greek gods are only names.

Possibly not closely aligned with the George-Kreis, but definitely influenced by it, must be mentioned two other colossi of German contemporary or nearly contemporary literature. One of them is Thomas Mann, whose *Death in Venice* delicately touches on the subject of Greek love, though the symbolic use he makes of it is neither Greek nor especially loving.

The other is Hermann Hesse. Claims have been made that homosexual and even Greek love themes appear in several of his novels, especially *Narziss und Goldmund* and *Demian*. Hesse's language is so ambiguous at times that this is difficult to decide. Less equivocal, perhaps, are some of the Magic Theatre scenes towards the end of his *Steppenwolf*. Still less equivocal is the very ending of *Magister Ludi*, when the retired Master of the Game dies just before he was to enter into a loving tutorial (i.e. in some sense Greek love) relationship with a young boy. The poem "Ohne Dich" (Without You) has also been claimed as homosexual, but the gender of the absent beloved is carefully left ambiguous.

On a far lower level may be mentioned the well-known FKK or nudist movement in Germany. Despite protestations that Strength through Joy is no longer a feature of the movement, some publications connected with it give every evidence of being aimed at adults who find youngsters in their prime sexually attractive. Whether or not Hajo Ortil alias "Big Old Joe" would admit to this aim himself, his name appears on several of these publications, some of them showing unequivocal photographic evidence of the very bloom which Greeks found so appealing, in the persons of obviously sexualized boys.³⁵⁵ It is ironical that these booklets continue to appear in Germany whose anti-sexual laws are as punitive as those of the U.S.A., while nothing comparable seems to be coming from more sexually permissive countries. . . .

III. Miscellaneous

Constantine P. Cavafy has achieved international renown for his poems, in modern Greek, many of them touching on themes of

boy-love. Horatian in his noncommitment, Cavafy is more a spectator than a lover; and his poems are often Horatian in their exquisiteness. They perpetually evoke Greco-Roman times, Cavafy having rejected his own age. Several translations exist of this master, the one I am most familiar with being that by John Mavrogordato, which attempts to preserve metre as far as possible. So far as I know Cavafy has not had any followers and does not really represent a trend.

Aleister Crowley finds a place in this chapter because of the religious (specifically magical) significance he attached to sexual acts with boys. For him they were not mere defiances of convention or law, nor yet merely acts of love (though they could be those as well); they were acts of sexual magic, done often for specific ritual purposes. I am not prepared to say to what extent he was deceiving himself, if at all, on this question.

But even without this peculiar approach, Crowley would find a place here because one of his books of erotic verse, *White Stains*,³⁵⁷ includes material on sexual acts with boys as part of a humorous rebuttal to Krafft-Ebing. Humor in erotica is rare enough; when it is combined with very fine verse (however Swinburnian its sound), the result is almost unique. I quote below only the verses most relevant to the theme of boy-love; they have, to my knowledge, never been reprinted elsewhere. Many of the others in the collection deal with themes not relevant to Greek love: the apotheosis of buggery in "A Ballade of Passive Paederasty"; coprophilia in "Go Into the Highways and Hedges and Compel Them to Come In"; drinking of menstrual blood in "Sleeping in Carthage"; zoöerasty in "With Dog and Dame"; even necrophilia in one so titled. This does not mean that Crowley experimented with all these practices (though the possibility is not excluded either); it does mean that Crowley was not above poking fun at the solemn cataloguers of morbidity such as Krafft-Ebing.

RONDELS

I

Maid of dark eyes, that glow with shy sweet fire,
Song lingers on thy beauty till it dies
In awe and longing on the smitten lyre:
Maid of dark eyes.

Grant me thy love, earth's last surpassing prize,
Me, cast upon the faggots of love's pyre
For love of the white bosom that underlies

The subtle passion of thy snowy attire,
 The shadowy secret of thine amorous thighs,
 The inmost shrine of my supreme desire,
 Maid of dark eyes.

II

Boy of red lips, pale face, and golden hair,
 Of dreamy eyes of love, and finger-tips
 Rosy with youth too fervid and too fair,
 Boy of red lips.

How the fond ruby rapier glides and slips
 'Twixt the white hills thou spreadest for me there;
 How my red mouth immortal honey sips

From thy ripe kisses, and sucks nectar rare
 When each of the shrine of God Priapus clips
 In hot mouth passionate more than man may bear,
 Boy of red lips!

DÉDICACE

You crown me king and queen. There is a name
 For whose soft sound I would abandon all
 This pomp. I liefer would have had you call
 Some soft sweet title of beloved shame.
 Gold coronets be seemly, but bright flame
 I choose for diadem; I would let fall
 All crowns, all kingdoms, for one rhythmical
 Caress of thine, one kiss my soul to tame.

You crown me king and queen; I crown thee lover!
 I bid thee hasten, nay, I plead with thee,
 Come in the thick dear darkness to my bed.
 Heed not my sighs, but eagerly uncover,
 As our mouths mingle, my sweet infamy,
 And rob thy lover of his maidenhead.

Lie close; no pity, but a little love.
 Kiss me but once and all my pain is paid.
 Hurt me or soothe, stretch out one limb above
 Like a strong man who would constrain a maid.
 Touch me; I shudder and my lips turn back
 Over my shoulder if so be that thus
 My mouth may find thy mouth, if aught there lack
 To thy desire, till love is one with us.

God! I shall faint with pain, I hide my face
For shame. I am disturbed, I cannot rise,
I breathe hard with thy breath; thy quick embrace
Crushes; thy teeth are agony—pain dies
In deadly passion. Ah! you come—you kill me!
Christ! God! Bite! Bite! Ah Bite! Love's fountains fill me.

AD LUCIUM

The Lampsacene is girt with golden dreams;
His courts gleam ever with forbidden light;
I only bring no gift to him tonight,
Being the mockery of his rod's distress.
While satyrs woo, and fauns, and nymphs give ear,
I burn unslaked, my Lucius is unkind,
He dare not guess. I dare not speak my mind,
Nor feed upon his lips, nor call him dear,
Nor may I clasp him, lissome and divine,
Nor suck out passion from his eager verge,
Nor pleasures in his quick embraces prove;
I faint for love, come aid me sparkling wine,
That my unquenchable desire may urge
In Lucius' fiery heart responsive love.

O fervent and sweet to my bosom
Past woman, I'll clasp thee and cling
Till the buds of desire break to blossom
And my kisses surprise thee and sting;
Till my hand and my mouth are united
In caresses that shake thee and smite,
While the stars hide their lustre affrighted
In measureless night.

I will neither delay nor dissemble
But utter my love in thine ear
Though my voice and my countenance tremble
With a passion past pity and fear;
I will speak from my heart till thou listen
With the soft sound of wings of a dove,
Till thine eyes answer back till they glisten
O Lucius, love!

I will touch thee but once with a finger,
But thy vitals shall shudder and smart,
And the smile through thy sorrow shall linger,
And the touch shall pierce through to thine heart;

Thy lips a denial shall fashion,
 Thou shalt tremble and fear to confess,
 Till thou suddenly break into passion
 With yes, love, and yes.

I will kiss thee and fondle and woo thee
 And mingle my lips into thine
 That shall tingle and thrill through and through thee
 As the draught of the flame of a wine;
 I will drink of the fount of our pleasure
 Licking round and about and above
 Till its streams pour me out their full measure,
 O Lucius, love!

Thou shalt clasp me and clamber above me
 And press me with eager desire,
 Thou shalt kiss me and clip me and love me
 With a love beyond infinite fire,
 Thou shalt pierce to the portals of passion
 And satiate thy longing and lust
 In the fearless Athenian fashion,
 A rose amid dust.

We will taste all delights and caresses
 And know all the secrets of joy,
 From the love-look that chastity blesses
 To the lusts that deceive and destroy;
 We will live in the light of sweet glances,
 By day and by night we will move
 To the music of manifold dances,
 O Lucius, love!

AT KIEL

Oh, the white flame of limbs in dusky air,
 The furnace of thy great gray eyes on me
 Turned till I shudder. Darkness on the sea,
 And wan ghost-lights are flickering everywhere
 So that the world is ghastly. But within
 Where we two cling together, and hot kisses
 Stray to and fro amid the wildernesses
 Of swart curled locks! I deem it a sweet sin,
 So sweet that fires of hell have no more power
 On body and soul to quench the lustrous flame
 Of that desire that burns between us twain.
 What is Eternity, seeing we hold this hour
 For all the lusts and luxuries of shame?
 Heaven is well lost for this surpassing gain.

Wherever the term *shame* occurs, it is evidently a reference to male love, specifically boy-love, even as with the writers of the *Chameleon group* (above, Ch. XV). The atmosphere of these and the other verses in *White Stains* can only be called light, direct, guilt-free, impassioned; they do not sound like the productions of an individual limited to one desperate practice and unable to obtain his ration of pleasure from anything else. If this freedom was in fact Crowley's intention, he was successful.

To the claim that these verses, and others like them (e.g. Strato of Sardis), have much to say of sexual desire and nothing of love, I can reply only that the two are in modern times confused in many individuals' minds, and that either can engender the other, the combination of both being perhaps a better insurance of a lasting relationship (heterosexual or homosexual) than could be either one alone. I am documenting trends and practices, not moralizing.

James Joyce (1882-1941) is perhaps the most surprising figure of all. That he ever wrote anything remotely related to boy-love will be a surprise to many readers of his *Portrait*, *Dubliners*, *Ulysses* and *Finnegan's Wake*. There is only one poem, but it is absolutely unequivocal. It is *On the Beach at Fontana*, written at Trieste in 1914, and included in *Pomes Penyeach* (1927); it is one of the finest poems he ever wrote. To the claim that it refers to strictly paternal love I answer that the juxtaposition of fear and ache of love scarcely suggests the socially recognized father-son relationship. There is no need to quote the poem here, as it is available in many anthologies.

Prof. Irwin Edman (better known for *Philosopher's Holiday*) left, in his *Poems 1925*, one called "Portrait of an Undergraduate," an extremely restrained character sketch of a boy called Warren, which shows a very Greek-like admiration of mental and physical qualities. Again, this seems to be the sole example of relevance to Greek love in all Edman's writings.

Comparatively few among the American novelists of homosexuality have had anything to say of Greek love. Forrest Reid seems to have been preoccupied with boys and their crushes—e.g. in *The Garden God*, 1906, and the *Tom Barber* trilogy (Pantheon, N. Y., 1955). William Maxwell's *The Folded Leaf* (recently reprinted in paperback) is already a minor classic, though one in which very little overt expression of love is possible to either older or younger boy; the story details, among other things, one of the sadder results of "pooling ignorance." When boys do not understand their own feelings, and when they finally realize what they actually want and are crushed by the realization, the need of guidance has already reached a stage past the critical.

On the other hand, Gerald Tesch's *Never the Same Again* might just as well have been based on a case history from Chapter VIII above, dealing as it does with a lonely man (unsure of his own heterosexual competence) and a confused youngster whom he rescues from a borderline delinquent pattern—only to find that a jealous third party does not stop at sacrificing them both for the ostensible sake of puritanism.

In Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio*, the section "Hands: concerning Wing Biddlebaum" is an unforgettable character study of a teacher who loved his pupils and who was ruined in a very similar manner. And several stories in D. W. Cory's *21 Variations* allude to Greek love themes.

However, perusal of all this literature leads to the conclusion that Greek love is a recessive element in homophile writing, partly because of the taboos (editorial and homosexual-organization-spawned alike), partly because the authors give little or no evidence of actual familiarity with the phenomenon.

Another reason is undoubtedly that Greek and Roman literature are no longer a part of every American schoolboy's education. In previous periods it has been tacitly obvious that the fate of Greek love has varied with that of classical literature: in the Middle Ages, where pagan writings were not usually available for study, there was comparatively little literary attention to Greek love; in the Puritan regime, where such writings were abominated as antichristian, the same result obtained; and on the other hand during the Renaissance, Restoration and 18th and 19th centuries—until about the beginning of World War II, in fact—classical literature was more emphasized, and Greek love seems to have been commoner in practice as well as in literary remains. But since World War II, Greek and Latin are found in few curricula, and encouraged in still fewer; and insofar as they seem to have less and less relevance to the purely commercial or technical purposes of most modern education below the graduate-school level, one may expect to see dwindling familiarity with even the best-known Greek myths among high-school or college people in decades to come, despite the quantities of good paperback translations recently available.

This may not, however, spell the end of Greek love. One indication is the increasing frequency of appearance of handsome young teen-agers, some of them evidently in bloom, in advertisements created by Madison Avenue agencies.^{357a} In Chapter II I suggested that this was no accident, being in fact an instance of "giving the public what they want." Another is how much more often nowadays one sees the same sort of boys in physique magazines, whether or not the latter

are specifically aimed at a homosexual audience.^{357b} A third is the presence of Greek love themes in some motion pictures. Although desexualized, an archetypal instance is in Jerry Lewis's film "The Delicate Delinquent," which might just as well have been a case from Chapter VII above—the kindhearted policeman lovingly rescues a youngster from borderline delinquency, and when the boy grows up, he in turn becomes a policeman and does the same thing for other neighborhood boys. His film "Cinderfella" explores other aspects of Greek love; both are worth viewing. (These films are aimed at the general public, not at customers of art-film houses, which makes their theme all the more remarkable.) With relaxation of the MPAA standards, and film makers' realization that its seal of approval is unnecessary for a movie to succeed financially, homosexual themes—including those of Greek love—are also beginning to show up occasionally in more sophisticated films.^{357c}

As in previous epochs, poetry seems to be a more sensitive indicator than prose of actual attitudes current in a given cultural period, and themes of Greek love are occasionally beginning to reappear here too. Among its exponents two are especially noteworthy: Paul Goodman and Melvin Walker LaFollette. (I am surprised that the beat poets have not produced anything yet on this theme, but to date their homosexual poetry is almost entirely androphile. And in it I detect at times the influence of William S. Burroughs, a displaced ancient Roman if ever I heard of one.)

Goodman's poetry, in general, is of less outstanding quality than his best prose. Of the latter, two fictional pieces will long be remembered—*Parents Day*, a poignant novel in which Greek love is a constant undercurrent (between the teacher-narrator and several of his pupils), and the earlier sections of *Empire City*. But in Goodman's poems androphile homosexuality recurs, as does heterosexuality, and in one or two ambiguous instances the emotions are very suggestive of those characteristic of Greek love. In "My lover simply loves me" is an echo of the lines in *Parents Day* quoted as the epigraph to Chapter VIII:

My lover simply loves me, he
 laughs, I think, because of me
 and he has softened his angry mood.
 I know myself, I'll do him good,
 God grant it a long space;
 he is happy to lie in my embrace,
 his face of a mischievous and trusting boy
 is reappearing to my joy.
 I tempt him to lusts that are his right

and make him confident and bright
 and we each other's breath breathe in
 till we have become weak and drunken.
 He is beautiful to see and touch and taste
 and placable and grateful and modest.

All this is so, yet no hope
 revives in me, I cannot cope
 with a likelihood of happiness,
 I have no future in success
 but only dumbly to say "More!
 more!" and not grow rich, being poor.
 I cannot bask in favor like the seals
 who sun themselves with raucous squeals,
 Except I hold it in my hands
 I have nothing; and I make amends
 for holding him by going away.
 Yet when I come the following day,
 my fears are groundless, my lover is glad.

Oh, and it was Gene first had
 me close, this side
 the doubts and dangers that divide,
 than which in other arms than his
 I go famously at ease!
 Being with him has given me
 (tho not the reality) the idea
 of the immense Buddha flustered
 blushing, confused, and sweetly pestered
 by the great Universe he also fostered.
 Suddenly I,
 one instant, feel the humility
 of not thru thick and thin
 controlling everything;
 both of us are at sea,
 would to God we could be happy.

In "Lloyd," the theme of rescue, so common in Greek love, is prominent, even though the age of the "youngster" or "little Welshman" is unmentioned:

LLOYD. SEPTEMBER 9, 1941

I never (today) went to the courts except
 to angle sharply tremendous bounces
 and catch those youngsters flat! I'm thirty.
 But look, before each play the little Welshman
 is stroking in unconscious meditation

his swelling prick. This throws me off my game.
 "Hinder!" I cry, when my first serve falls short.
 My second hits him square on the spot!
 "Ouch!" he shouts and lays the offender bare.
 "Looks O.K.," say I with expert eyes.
 "Yes, ain't it a beauty?" whispers Lloydie.
 Solicitous, "I'd better take him home,"
 and I toss in the ball—to their relief!
 because today I should have scoured the courts
 like Hektor when he set the ships afire.
 "THIS is a birthday present," says the youth.
 "And THIS is solace for the injury!"
 —in compliments like these we pass the time.
 May such an unanimity of joy
 often reward those who against their will
 leave courts of glory on an errand
 of mercy, not unmindful of Eros.

This last is understandably a favorite of many readers of Goodman's poetry.

The other poet mentioned, Melvin Walker LaFollette,³⁵⁸ likewise allows the undercurrent of Greek love to show in most of his published work. It is obvious in "I Knew a Boy" and "The Boy on the Beach," blatant in the seduction scene in "Honi Soit Qui Mal Y Pence" (the title is an outrageous pun, not a misspelling), and more subtle in "On the Death of Birds" and the "Songs of Arion" cycle.

I conclude this brief survey of the literature of the present day relevant to Greek love with a reference to Roger Gellert's play, *Quaint Honour* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1958), which has been performed "to gasps and giggles" at the *Arts* in London, a subscribers' theatricals group at which more unconventional dramas can be presented than would be permissible on the regular stage.

This play is strongly recommended to all individuals even remotely interested in Greek love. I shall not go into detail about its plot, as the book is still in print and inexpensive (about \$2), but briefly it concerns Greek love going on in a British boarding school. By agreement between one puckish gamin and his older lover (a teacher), they both conspire to get a very innocent, dewy-eared and hitherto unsophisticated, even moralistic, boy into a female role in a Shakespeare play, in which the teacher—at an audition—uses the occasion to invite him up to this room for lovemaking. As a result, the boy matures quickly in a very favorable manner, under the teacher's influence. The boy is observed to leave the teacher's room at 6 A.M., and the muscular-Christian headmaster extorts the truth from him and

the teacher. In the dénouement, the teacher is fired, but the boy also decides to leave even though he is not required to do so. What the headmaster considers depravity he and the teacher consider love; and the boy, on his own, has reorganized his thinking (convincingly enough) to the conclusion (among many others) that his Greek love experience has taught him more about the way the world is really run than the Social Lie he learned in the school. As for the gamin who originally cooked up the plot to initiate his innocent friend, he is not even implicated. Among the more remarkable features of this play: (1) Greek love is taken for granted among the cognoscenti, even though officially denied and denounced by the headmaster. (2) It is taken as normal, harmless, and even beneficial, as an expected part of maturing. (3) It is shown as contributing to a boy's ethical code. I may make bold to hope that this British effort may be not a straw but a plank in the rising wind, and that this wind may soon blow down all the centuries-old tottering structures of ignorance and fear.

* * *

Summary. Perceptive readers will have noticed that the poetry and other material of all periods quoted in Chapters X to XVI have tended pretty closely to follow cultural attitudes towards heterosexuality. In patrist periods in which heterosexual love was deprecated, denigrated or denounced, Greek love was either absent or at best a very recessive and deviant expression, and sexual writings became full of sadomasochistic distortions (e.g. ancient Rome, the Middle Ages, Puritan epochs even to the present). In matrist periods placing a high value on heterosexual love, Greek love flourished, and the attitudes expressed by writers on this theme closely parallel heterosexual attitudes.

Save for the remaining Calamites and the George-Kreis, whose influence waned after the rise of Hitler, writers on Greek love have been few and mostly noninfluential following the Wilde trials. Greek love, rather than androphile homosexuality, has become "the love that dare not speak its name," not because of any change in human nature, but because of political changes related partly to the sex reform movement, and partly to alterations in the social roles of the adolescent. But with post-freudian awareness of sex as a terrifically distorted area of human values and attitudes, homosexuality has become a much discussed phenomenon, and Greek love—which after all was for millennia the principal expression of men's homosexual side—cannot forever be disregarded, assimilated to androphile homosexuality, or

mistaken for the aberration of the man seeking casual sex with the prepuberal child incapable of a love response.

If its poetry is any criterion, our culture is now in a war between entrenched patrist and insurgent matrist elements. The former have long made the laws to suit their own moralistic ideas; the latter in at least some circles are beginning to exert pressure for relief from those laws. Which faction will win out is as yet moot. The present book has been written to tell the truth about one issue submerged by a conspiracy of silence on both sides.

Of this war and of the patrist side could be made much the same remark as did Edgar Lee Masters of the Civil War and the North:

"What therefore could Lincoln say of the North comparable to what Pericles said of Athens? 'The freedom which we enjoy in our government extends also to our ordinary life. There, far from exercising a jealous surveillance over each other, we do not feel called upon to be angry with our neighbor for doing what he likes, or even to indulge those injurious looks which cannot fail to be offensive, although they inflict no positive penalty.'³⁵⁹ Lincoln was debarred from giving utterance to anything like this; for the war had come from intermeddling and jealous surveillance, and from anger, and from the Hebraic-Puritan principle of assuming to act as one's brother's keeper, when the real motive was to become one's brother's jailer."³⁶⁰

My own recommendations for the war are simple enough. (1) Let the confusion cease between Greek love and child-molesting. They are altogether unrelated, in motives and practices. (2) Modify the legal codes as suggested at the end of Chapter III. (3) Cease to assume automatically that friendship between older and younger must needs have a sexual content, or that if it does, coercion is part of it. (4) Cease to assume automatically that early sexual experience automatically determines the direction of one's later sexual impulses or interests. (5) Make available to youngsters of junior high school age full, complete and unbiased information on the heterosexual and homosexual experiences and techniques now in use. At least if they know what to expect, they will have a better basis for deciding whether or not to go along with any particular proposal. (6) As adequate professional help is likely to be prohibitively expensive, even if not moralistic, allow or even encourage youngsters—particularly those who show signs of becoming assimilated into delinquent activities—to spend time with adults with whom they have any interests in common, as an alternative to "pooling ignorance." (7) Make available adequate contraceptive information and devices so that teen-agers of both sexes

will not be exposed to the dangers of unwanted pregnancy. (8) As parents, try to become less reluctant to express affection overtly and lavishly to your children of whatever age.

The difficulty with most utopian proposals is that "there is no way to get there from here." The eight recommendations above bypass that difficulty. If followed, particularly on the social and legal fronts, we may find ourselves with a society in which puritanism is confined to members of extreme Protestant groups, and in which anti-sexual laws are becoming as obsolete and unenforceable as the anti-witchcraft laws of New England, for the generation so raised will be thoroughly matrist, and can win by sheer numbers in this majority-ruled society. May that day come soon.

POSTSCRIPT

by Dr. Albert Ellis

Greek Love is a truly remarkable work; and although, as I shall note in a moment, I strongly disagree with its major theses, I think that there is no doubt that it deserves to be published. Indeed, to censor the publication and distribution of a work such as this would be to do distinct harm to the causes of free speech and of genuine sexual scholarship.

Why is J. Z. Eglinton's book remarkable? Because, first of all, it is the only comprehensive work in any language, to my knowledge, that unequivocally espouses the right of an older male to have social-sexual relations with a young boy. Many publications now exist—such as the American journals *One*, the *Mattachine Review*, and the *Ladder*—which uphold the right of adult homosexuals of either sex to have intimate knowledge of each other's bodies and minds. But just about all this pro-homosexual literature not only refuses to sanction an adult male's having sexual contact with a teenage (or even younger) boy, but also takes an exceptionally dim, and frequently moralistic, view about boy love and contends that pedophilia is and should remain a criminal offense. The present book is most exceptional, in that it solidly maintains the thesis that Greek love is desirable as well as permissible and that it leads to much more good than harm.

Eglinton's tract, moreover, is hardly a capricious, gossamery pamphlet whose patently crackpot notions can be easily ignored. It is a sober, scholarly, and both figuratively and literally weighty tract that ranges far and wide through the byways of history, sociology, psychology, and literature to unearth and present a massive amount of material on Greek love. Quite aside from its polemic nature, it manages to amass between its covers more primary and secondary

data on this interesting subject than any other work on this or related subjects. Consequently, it is a valuable sourcebook on a usually quite neglected topic.

Books like this, it should be remembered, are immensely useful to opponents as well as proponents of the view they expound. Anyone who wants to fight vigorously against a certain set of principles, such as those propounded by Communists or by Catholics, should make himself, as much as is feasible, thoroughly conversant with the main beliefs and practices of the sect he is opposing, and to this end should be able to quote its own sacred scriptures almost as well as can its fervid devotees. Similarly, anyone who believes that boy love is pernicious and that it should be socially and legally condemned should be well versed in the kind of material that J. Z. Eglinton presents in this book. For nowhere else is he likely to find this material so succinctly and comprehensively expounded.

I repeat, then: this is a remarkable book, and one that almost any sexologist, psychologist, sociologist, clergyman, lawyer, or educated layman would find well worth reading. But to me its main thesis, that Greek Love is usually beneficial to both the adult male and the younger boy who is involved in this kind of a social-sexual relationship, is quite unconvincing. Why? For several reasons:

1. Eglinton claims that it is a good thing for a young boy to have a "guide-philosopher-friend and counselor" in a lover who is an older male, "someone prepared to watch the boy start to grow away from initial dependence and towards girls." I would agree that such a relationship *could* occur, and sometimes did in Ancient Greece. But the fact remains that the human sex drives are (as I show in my book, *The Art and Science of Love*) fetichistically oriented. Once a young boy becomes sexually aroused and satisfied with almost *any* kind of activity, he is very likely to remain fairly fixated on that particular mode of behavior and not to bother openmindedly to train himself to go beyond this. My many contacts with homosexual patients and friends have shown me that many (though not all) of them are vulnerable to teenage seduction, and that once they have made "satisfactory" sex contacts with members of their own sex, they often stop right there and refuse to work their way on to the sometimes difficult problems of heterosexual adjustment. It is folly, therefore, for us to encourage Greek love in our society, when it is practically certain that a moderately high (and perhaps a very high) percentage of those who satisfactorily engage in it will not thereafter ever attain heterosexual maturity.

2. Eglinton insists that the non-sexual life of the boy who has

had a sex-love-relationship with a suitable adult male would be enhanced, since this boy would be helped over many rough spots in childhood and adolescence and would have a valuable older friend always on his side. This may of course be true in some cases—and particularly in those where the boy is intrinsically mentally or emotionally limited (is of dull normal intelligence, for example, or is schizophrenic), and therefore truly *needs* a helper who is vitally interested in him while he is growing up. There is much reason to believe, however, that a relatively normal boy could well use as much independence as possible at an early age, and that he will be dubiously aided in his development, and will tend to become ultimately *less* independent, if he receives too much favoring from an older male. Even if this older male is himself relatively normal, the boy may well become a spoiled brat, and may demand equivalent favoring by others when he is older. And the chances are that any older male who dotes upon and spends a good deal of his time with a young boy is *not* in the least going to be emotionally stable or sane himself, but that he will be a weakling who thinks that he cannot make it very well with males (and females!) of his own age, and who therefore picks on young boys to coddle. The influence of *this* kind of an older male on a growing boy is, if anything, likely to be rather pernicious, and has about as much chance of helping him grow to social-sexual maturity as the influence of an older man who is childishly devoted to baseball will have on helping a boy get through college or eventually train to be a scientist or a business man. If boys *should* be strongly helped and influenced by older males (which is a doubtful proposition, to say the least), it would seem far safer to have this help and influence limited to mature men who are themselves not *too* interested in young boys and are, instead, cultivating their own *adult* gardens reasonably well.

3. Assuming that it would be a great thing for a young boy to have as his mentor-lover an older male, there is no evidence that such a relationship would be salutary for the adult member of this pair. Youngsters—let us face it!—*are* callow, silly, flighty, overly-emotional, and more than slightly idiotic. Why the devil should any reasonable sane and intelligent adult spend much time with such a youngster when, with even a little effort, he can almost certainly become friendly with other adults who will be far better companions from whom *he* may often derive instruction, interest, cooperation, etc.? Boys, moreover, are almost invariably lousy lovers, and would almost never be in the same class, in this respect, as would be another adult—and especially, an adult female, who really *liked* sex and doted

upon the adult male with whom she was having sexual relations. Playing at sex-love affairs with young boys is quite akin to taking candy from a baby; and is perhaps even more akin to playing bridge or chess or tennis, or attending the theater or the opera, mainly with twelve and thirteen year olds. What adult in his right mind would consistently do this? Obviously, the protagonist of the famous novel, *Lolita*, was off his rocker to be so obsessed with such a repulsive, and essentially unchallenging and uninteresting, inamorata; and it is difficult to see how any well-educated man who chose for his constant companion a male counterpart of Lolita—which, of course, practically every even intelligent fourteen-year-old boy would have to be—would not be equally kooky. In point of fact, every college-level man that I have ever talked to who was emotionally involved with a young boy has turned out to be exceptionally emotionally immature. Although I am not contending that this necessarily *has* to be so, I cannot conceive of very many cases in which it would not be.

4. Eglinton holds that Greek love relationships, “judiciously handled, with or without overt sexual aspects according to considerations of prudence [are] a feasible solution to the increasingly common social problem of the alienation of the adolescent from the adult world, one aspect of such alienation being juvenile delinquency.” First of all, it is most doubtful that our contemporary adolescents *are* particularly alienated from the adult world. In fact, to the degree that they are arrant conformists—which most of them, alas, very much are—they seem to be exceptionally in tune with their ultra-conforming elders; and it is quite likely that much of their juvenile delinquency is merely an aspect of this conformity. The member of the teenage gang steals and kills not because he feels that adults are against him and that he must revenge himself on them, but mainly because he wants to impress his peers: to show them that he can stick to gang standards just as much as, and perhaps a little bit more than, they can. He needs group approval, and will even seriously defeat his own ends, and get himself into trouble with the law, to gain this approval.

If this same young thug had an adult lover, there is every reason to believe that he would nauseatingly grovel for *this* person’s approval—that in some ways he would be more rather than less conforming. With members of his peer group, he at least has *some* chance of standing on his own two feet and developing his *own* resources. If closely tied to one or more adults, he would probably have less of a chance of truly becoming *himself*. As I indicate in my recent writings on rational-emotive psychotherapy (and particularly in my book, *Reason and Emotion in Psychotherapy*), the basic core of anxiety,

depression, guilt, and self-defeatism is the individual's belief that he *must* be loved or approved by others, and that he *has* to achieve notable successes in order to consider himself a worthwhile person. This short-selling of himself and his own intrinsic worth, and this failure to see that he is a most valuable being even if others *don't* like him and even if he *doesn't* achieve mighty material successes, is only likely to be enhanced, as far as I can see, if he has a doting adult around to teach him that *if* he is a good boy, and *if* he learns to satisfy this adult sexually, *then* he will be a lovable, worthwhile human. It seems to me that our contemporary youths are already far too much *non*-alienated from the silly love-seeking values of their elders. To envision them becoming more in tune with this adult nonsense, through being seduced into it via sex-love relations with adult males, is enough to make me shudder.

Mr. Eglinton's thesis is that, in order to minimize adolescent rebellion and delinquency, "A boy needs to feel able to go to someone he feels to be *on his side*, someone who will not inform parents or other authorities on him, someone who will not take their part nor moralize at him (for that too in these circumstances constitutes a betrayal); he needs to know that he can speak freely without danger that his confusions, his inadequacy feelings, his admissions of disapproved behavior or dangerous ideas, will ever be used against him." Assuming that Eglinton is right in this connection, there is no evidence that a boy could best get this kind of unconditional positive regard from an adult lover. On the contrary, if any such lover listened to his troubles and showed the boy that he was consistently on his side, the boy would tend to view this lover as *one of the gang*, and would still feel that *the rest* of adult society was against him and should be opposed.

Actually, what Eglinton seems to be asking for is that misunderstood and emotionally disturbed boys have *objective* help from a wise, mature, and *disinterested* therapist. Thus, many years ago, when I was Chief Psychologist of the New Jersey State Diagnostic Center and then of the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, I interviewed many delinquent boys (and, for that matter, girls); and found no difficulty in gaining their confidence, seeing things from their frame of reference, and even at times siding with them against their parents and other authorities who were, in their eyes, persecuting them. And, by so doing, I helped many of these boys to cope with the difficulties of the adult rules under which they had to live, and to like themselves (and even these authorities) better. But I was largely able to do this because I was *not* intimately, and cer-

tainly not sexually, related to these boys, and because they could easily see that I *had* no personal or sexual interest in them. I was merely a potentially “bad” adult who actually was accepting and objective enough to see and to take their side; and *because* I behaved rationally and sanely with them, they tended, in their turn, to behave more rationally and sanely toward an adult like me—and, eventually, to behave better with other not-so-objective adults. But I insist again: the more I had been emotionally-sexually involved with these boys, the *less* I probably would have helped them accept the grim realities of the adult world in which they had to live. Similarly, I say, Greek lovers of boys, no matter how much they personally tend to accept these boys, will find their effectiveness as teachers limited just *because* they are over-involved themselves with their young partners.

5. In direct contradiction to my own view, Eglinton contends that if boys are to be properly socialized and to grow up to be presumably sane and non-criminal adults, abstract notions like citizenship and social responsibility are hardly enough. “Only one sufficiently strong motive is left, therefore: love. Love intense enough to stand the risk of being misunderstood by others. Love which is reciprocated, without necessarily being possessive, exclusive, or demanding.” This is a fairly common psychoanalytically-inspired view. Emotionally disturbed and delinquent children, the analytic theory goes, have never had enough love; and before they can be properly socialized, some individual, preferably a therapist, must make up this lost love for them.

Evidence for this theory? None that I know of. On the contrary, several experimental and clinical studies have shown that the more one loves seriously disturbed children (and adults), the more they frequently tend to remain dependent, to demand still *greater* manifestations of love, and to repeat their dysfunctional behavior. Most hard-working contemporary psychotherapists, after first being led astray by the give-them-love-above-all theories of Sandor Ferenczi, Ian Suttie, Jacob List, and others, have finally found, sometimes to their own horror, that love is by no means enough, and that seriously disturbed patients have to be actively challenged, disciplined, trained, and taught how to manage their own lives, rather than being endlessly reassured that the therapist loves them. Even Carl Rogers, who once touted “unconditional positive regard” as if it were the main necessary and sufficient requisite for effective personality change, has recently redefined his original concept so that he conceives such regard mainly in terms of the therapist’s deeply *understanding* and *refraining from blaming* the patient, rather than his actually *loving* him. And if *this* kind of regard is what individuals need in order to be helped over-

come their emotional problems, then it is most dubious that an impassionedly loving adult can often give this to his boy lover.

6. Eglinton stresses the immature boy's need for an ego-ideal, and claims that he can best acquire such an ideal, and thereby ward off normlessness or anomie, by achieving a liaison with an adult male. Why he should think that a man who would himself be so weak and immature as to gain much fun in a deep attachment to a young boy *would* be a satisfactory ego-ideal for this boy to imitate is a mystery to me. On the contrary, it would be much more logical to conclude that what is ordinarily called "a man's man"—that is, an adult male who delights in talking with and becoming quite friendly with other typical heterosexual males—would be a far better ego-ideal for a young boy (assuming that such a boy really needs this kind of ego-ideal) than would any man who is pronouncedly a boy-lover.

7. Eglinton feels that a young boy needs "a safe and dependable love object:" that he naturally hero-worships and gets a crush on older and more successful men; and that if one of these men reciprocates his crush, he acquires a stable love relationship that helps him mature. He may be quite right, empirically, in that millions of young boys in our society *do* look for older heroes and get serious crushes on such males. But to my way of thinking, based on long clinical experience with many adolescents and many older males who were once adolescents, it is this very proneness to having crushes, and often very unrealistic crushes at that, on older men which *proves* how immature so many millions of contemporary boys are. It is just about as healthy to *indulge* a boy in his yearning for this kind of ego-ideal—especially by having his ideal go to bed with him!—as it would be to indulge him to keep believing that he must be a champion fullback or movie star or astronaut if he is to have any self-esteem. I am saying, in other words, that the average youngster needs the kind of an ego-ideal that Eglinton espouses just as much as he needs a hole in his head; and, in fact, such an ideal and such a hole are not unrelated entities.

8. Eglinton makes quite a case for the cuddling instinct in many young animals and insists that unless young boys are sufficiently cuddled they will grow up to be cold, emotionally restrained, and even hostile adults. Factual data, in this connection, are so sparse as to be almost non-existent; so the case for cuddling (or coddling?) male children is hardly proved by a few quotations from obviously biased theorists. But even if the phenomenon described by Eglinton does turn out to be true, and it is unequivocally shown some day that the more cuddling a boy receives, the warmer and less delinquent

an individual he later becomes, the case for Greek love would hardly be proved. For, unless the average cuddled boy is to be encouraged to grow up to be an adult homosexual (which Eglinton apparently does *not* espouse), it would seem far wiser and surer to arrange for his being cuddled by his mother, sisters, female cousins, and aunts, not to mention non-related females who are older than he or in his peer group, than to have one particular older male show him the pathways of physical caressiveness. Indeed, since a special male lover would only, at best, have the time and energy to give him a distinctly *limited* degree of cuddling, it would seem folly to encourage such a monogamous relationship between him and an adult lover, and more prudent to induce him to be as promiscuous as possible in his cuddling partners.

My own clinical observation tends to show that, in actual practice, there is no high correlation between the amount of cuddling that a boy receives during his childhood and how sexually or amatively warm he becomes in later life. If anything, there may be a slight negative correlation here: since I have seen so many adult males who become conditioned, all right, to cuddling during their youth but who thereafter mainly wanted to *be* caressed and approved rather than to *give* others their own caresses and approval. This was hardly a desirable outcome in their life histories.

9. Eglinton clearly distinguishes between exclusive and non-exclusive love, holds that the former leads to possessiveness and jealousy and is therefore undesirable, and contends that the latter is encouraged by having a boy become the sex-love protégé of an older male who himself, presumably, would have other kinds of heterosexual or homosexual attachments and would not therefore be monogamously fixated on the boy. Let us assume, again, that Eglinton's goal in this regard is desirable: that non-exclusive and non-possessive love is an admirable, beneficial feeling to which every boy and man should aspire. If so, there is certainly no evidence that Greek love, when it exists, *normally* leads to the establishment of such a goal.

Even in Ancient Greece, where boy love was indeed common, there is no evidence that the adult males who participated in this kind of relationship *usually* were non-exclusive and non-possessive in their amorous feelings, though it is quite probable that they *often* were. True, most of the Greeks who had boy lovers also seem, at least at one time or other, to have wives and families. But there is no indication that they truly *loved* their wives, nor even that, aside from the purpose of procreating heirs, they regularly copulated with them. There is a great deal of evidence, on the other hand, that many of

the Greek poets—who apotheosized their boy lovers in their writings (as shown in several of the poems which Eglinton himself quotes from the Greek Anthology and other sources) were obviously quite exclusively obsessed, at least for awhile, with these boys, and that they could hardly think of sex-love relations with anyone else while they were at the height of their passion for the boys. Moreover, many of the same poets confessed enormous jealousy of their boy lovers, and could have easily killed them or the rivals for their favors when they thought their affairs were being jeopardized.

Although, therefore, it is quite *possible* for adult males to be non-exclusive in their attachments to young boys, and thereby encourage these boys themselves to love in a non-possessive, non-neurotic manner, it doesn't seem very *likely* that this possibility will in practice too often be attained. Especially in our own society, where we are romantically encouraged to love only one person at a time, and preferably even for a lifetime, it is more likely that if any amount of sex-love affairs between adult males and young boys are to exist, it would encourage rather than discourage monopolistic and intensely jealous relationships.

10. Eglinton feels that although the ancient Greeks split their love emotions among three classes of women—giving *erōs* (or sexual love) to one female caste, *philia* (common interest) to a second caste, and *storgē* (direct concern with the other party's satisfaction) to a third caste—the encouraging of male-boy love in our society would somehow be “a step in the direction of loving one's neighbor as oneself regardless of gender or age—which in turn may be our only longterm alternative to destruction.” Certainly, the author of *Greek Love* may be right in this respect; but who is to say, without any confirmatory evidence, that he is? The one main culture in which boy love was freely encouraged for a period of time was not, as far as we know, notable for the amount of general loving of one's neighbor as oneself regardless of gender or age; and, indeed, the ancient Greeks ultimately did destroy themselves, largely as a result of internecine strife among the various Greek city-states, which weakened the country to a considerable degree and ultimately allowed foreign invaders to take it over. The Greeks, too, were hardly enthusiastic supporters of the early Christian espousers of the doctrine of brotherly love, nor were the later Romans, who also practiced a considerable amount of male-boy erotism.

Perhaps, then, Greek love, if it were widely practiced in our time, would lead to more generalized brotherly and sisterly love; and perhaps it would not. I can only in this respect again give my own experience: that males to whom I have talked, either as acquaintances

or patients, who have actually participated in boy-man love affairs have almost invariably been exceptionally disturbed, narcissistic individuals, who have little real respect for themselves, and who are sometimes capable of being obsessively-compulsively *in* love with other males, but who have meager ability to truly love and respect another person for the sake of his own growth and development. I am not saying, now, that *no* adult males who love boys, or boys who become firmly attached to older men, ever achieve storgē love, as Eglinton assumes that so many Greek lovers do. *Some* such individuals, I am sure, actually attain Eglinton's ideal. But from my own experience and knowledge of this field, I would say that only a small percentage ever achieve this ideal form of loving.

On many counts, then, I heartily disagree with J. Z. Eglinton's main theses about the desirability of our society's encouraging the spread of boy-man love. Although I do not think that adult males who have sex relations with young lads are villains or blackguards, nor that they should be severely punished for their crimes, I do believe that this form of human sexual activity is decidedly more wrong than right, and I should not like to see it become any more widespread than it already is. This, after having spent more than twenty-five years in sexual research, and over two decades as a psychotherapist, practicing sexologist, and marriage and family counselor, is my considered view.

This does not mean, of course, that Eglinton's view is necessarily mistaken and that mine is absolutely correct. I think that I am as fallible as almost any other human, and that my heterosexual biases may well prejudice me against seeing the truth of a homosexual position such as Eglinton's. No matter. Right or wrong, sane or crazy, J. Z. Eglinton has a most pronounced and unique view of Greek love. And even though I and almost everyone else in the heterosexual and homosexual world may vigorously disagree with his main theses, I believe that he has a perfect right to present them publicly and to be heard by any who want to hear him. His, as I said in the beginning, is a truly remarkable book. Let it seriously be read and criticized.

REBUTTAL

by J.Z.E.

ALBERT ELLIS' POSTSCRIPT, BY ONE OF THE MORE LIBERTARIAN SEXOLOGISTS of our times, manages somehow to espouse a surprisingly conservative view in its disavowal of any connection with my radical ideas. Many of his arguments were already, I believe, independently replied to in sufficient detail in Chapter II; others were not, and these I refute here.

1. Ellis claims that human sex drives are fetichistically oriented and that therefore boys who have been sexually involved with other males will, in at least a "moderately high" percent, become and remain primarily homosexually oriented.

I answer: If his line of argument is correct, how does any boy ever get beyond masturbation? How do boys ever get beyond casual sex play with their contemporaries? Calling human sex drives "fetichistically oriented" is tantamount to denying growth and change in the nature of adolescent interest. I believe Abraham Maslow, Harry Stack Sullivan, and the other theorists I quoted in Chapter V have a better case. Kinsey's statistics, incidentally, do not bear out Ellis's claims at all.³⁵ Ellis's argument, then, is only a variant of the antiquated notion that early seduction is decisive in determining the direction of one's sexual orientation. In Chapter II I compared this line of argument to claims that "occasionally eating bananas can get a boy addicted to them and unwilling to try any other food whatever." And insofar as I go along with modern psychiatric opinion that exclusive homosexuality involves an aversion to the opposite sex, I fail to see any logic in the claim that experience with males creates, or renders automatically more probable, such an aversion to females.

2. Ellis claims that help from an adult, especially love-motivated, tends to make a boy less independent and a spoiled brat, likely to

“demand equivalent favoring by others when he is older.” Also that his lover is likely to be immature to begin with, otherwise he would have little interest in boys; therefore, the relationship is probably going to be harmful to the boy in question.

I answer: Ellis apparently has a vague or distorted idea of the kind of help involved. Of course adolescents want to be independent, competent to do things on their own; I admitted as much in Chapters IV and V. But it is a rare adolescent indeed who never has moments of being lonely, being out of his depth, being puzzled or confused, being simply in need of human warmth and a confidant not standing for authority, not likely to be shocked or moralistic on hearing his odd ideas. And the adolescent without a guide/philosopher/friend, in such situations, has few alternatives: pooling ignorance with his contemporaries (the usual wretched excuse for a solution to this problem), going to parents and too often finding himself misunderstood, going to professional counselors via all the red tape that entails and finding himself treated as a Case History rather than a human being—and even made to feel less competent than before—, or simply living with his frustrations. Often what a Greek lover is called on to do is simply to *be there when he is needed*; the healthier ones do not force their attentions on their boyfriends. The fifty-odd case histories known to me do not indicate any trend towards boys’ growing up into “spoiled brats,” nor that the Greek love relationships were themselves harmful. I am not sure what Ellis means by “mature”; there are almost as many definitions of this term as there are people. If he means heterosexually competent and able to live one’s own life with a modicum of control over one’s environment, getting things done rather than merely drifting, then certainly a good many of the lovers in these case histories qualify.

3. Ellis claims that a Greek love relationship would be sexually and emotionally unsatisfying to a mature adult. “Boys are almost invariably lousy lovers . . .” He compares the man in a Greek love role to Humbert Humbert, and asks what seems to him a rhetorical question: what adult in his right mind would consistently play games, or attend the theatre or the opera, with a youngster rather than with other adults?

I answer: When you cannot get filet mignon, you can still enjoy veal; or in other circumstances, you sometimes choose to eat seafood rather than beef. There are different types of satisfactions in different relationships. Ellis apparently thinks of boy-love as only a fragmentary substitute for love exchanged with another adult; my position is that it is quite different and should not be regarded as a substitute. Without sufficient familiarity with the inner workings and motivations

of such affairs, Ellis is hardly in a position to sit in judgment. Some boys are extremely imaginative in sex play, and I know of more than one wife who has benefitted in bed by techniques her husband learned from his boyfriend. Greek love often has features notably resembling parental love, and a parent is a very logical type of person to spend time, play games, or attend the theatre, with his teen-aged offspring. As for poor twisted Humbert Humbert, his motivations (as described in *Lolita*) do not particularly resemble those of any of the individuals known to me to have been involved in Greek love; nor do most boys so closely correspond to Lolita herself. The affair between her and Humbert Humbert was, moreover, singularly lacking in either mutual affection or guidance, which is in sharp contrast to Greek love; and the very lack of affection on Lolita's part for her sex partners ultimately led to Humbert's downfall. I fail to see the parallel Ellis is suggesting.

4. Ellis denies that adolescents are alienated from the adult world, and adduces their conformity to their agemates' mores as evidence; he claims that continuing with one's peer group gives a boy more chance of independence than groveling for his older lover's approval or conditional love (conditional on satisfying the man sexually). He ties this in with his theory that the core of neurosis is one's *belief* that he *has* to be loved by others and to succeed. He suggests that Greek love would not oppose delinquency, on the grounds that a boy would regard his lover as one of the gang and would continue to feel that the rest of society was hostile. Ellis thinks that "*objective* help from a wise, mature, and *disinterested* therapist" is the only cure, and that the less disinterested the therapist, the less likely he is to be of help.

I answer: Conformity to the gang ethos, or to agemates' mores, is not inconsistent with alienation from the adult world, and in fact tends to reinforce and be reinforced by it—this is a commonplace in sociology and social psychology, and Ellis' grounds for denying it are unconvincing. Continuing with one's peer group means continuing to pool ignorance. I had plenty to say on this in Chapter IV. Groveling for one's lover's approval is a most unusual state of affairs, if it ever occurs; much of the poetry of Greek love, from Hellenistic times to the present day, includes complaints that one's boyfriend is *too* independent, *too* insistent on going off on his own tangents despite advice even when that advice had been asked for! I never advocated conditional love; in fact, I attacked common American attitudes on that very point in Chapters IV and V, and advocated that a Greek lover should give his boyfriend unconditional love, unconditional acceptance, no matter what he might do, so long as the relationship lasts. "The

belief that one *has* to be loved by others" is a different way of formulating the Maslow concept that the need for love is very much like the need for vitamin C and is established in much the same way; but *that* theoretical issue is one which divides Ellis from all other schools of thought in psychotherapy, and a full discussion is outside the scope of this book. If one in fact *is* sufficiently loved in early life, when the need is greatest and when one is least articulate about expressing it, deprivation symptoms are less likely to appear (so Maslow and most Third Force theorists and clinicians). Trying to convince a person that a felt need never existed is unsafe in or out of psychotherapeutic contexts. As for delinquent or borderline delinquent boys' regarding their older lovers as part of the gang, my experience does not bear this out at all, and such boys' later forsaking gang activities under the influence of ongoing Greek love affairs may be adduced as contrary evidence (Chapters IV, VII and VIII). In some conditions, doubtless help from a disinterested therapist is of more immediate value than Greek love; but I never claimed that Greek love was either a panacea or a substitute for treatment of acute overwhelming anxiety, psychosis, or any other emergency. I claim, rather, that Greek love helps boys who suffer from some very common chronic problems for which no conventional aids are entirely adequate.

5. Ellis gives me the flat lie on the theoretical point that love can help emotionally disturbed youngsters, claiming that "several experimental and clinical studies" together with the experience of "most hard-working contemporary psychotherapists" refutes it, and denying any evidence in favor of my view. His position is that such individuals develop a tolerance for love and demand it in increasingly great manifestations, and that the only correct procedure is a much more hardboiled kind, one hardly feasible between a Greek lover and his boyfriend.

I answer: Ellis has not cited the studies he refers to, and A. S. Neill's experience does not confirm his view—over 40 years of it! There may well exist some disturbed people who are so distrustful of manifestations of love that they demand increasing proofs, but I have not found these among the boys involved in Greek love, even the difficult disturbed cases in Chapter VIII. As for the effect of love on such boys, reread Case 1, Chapter VIII, and cases 3, 5, 6, 7 in Chapter VII. Ellis's ideas here are strangely close to those of the more mechanistic stimulus-response psychologists, and much of the adverse criticism of Neill—as of Maslow—has come from the latter quarter, but the criticism does not annihilate the clinical evidence. I mentioned this in Chapter V, §1.

6. Ellis believes that if a boy ever needs an ego-ideal, such a man should be a "man's man" rather than merely a boy-lover.

I answer: Aside from Ellis's having begged the question of a man's automatically having to be immature to be a boy's lover, and aside from the extremely prejudiced sound of his language here and elsewhere, there is the matter of defining a "man's man." If to Ellis it simply means a heterosexual man who can and does interact successfully with his heterosexual contemporaries, we are in *complete* agreement. But usually the term means a man who delights in beer parties, poker, racetracks, wrestling matches, stag movies, smoke-filled rooms, and the general rejection of aesthetic and intellectual values as effeminate; and I submit that Ellis's use of a term with these connotations is prejudicial, unless in fact (as I find difficult to accept) those are the values Ellis wishes perpetuated; in which case we differ so thoroughly that further communication on the point is futile. (Incidentally, Gavin Arthur^{335a} uses the term "man's man" to mean the ambisexual "Caesar" type common among Greek lovers!)

7. Ellis claims that the adolescent stage of hero-worship is only proof of immaturity and that it is nonfunctional, therefore unhealthy to allow it to reach fulfillment.

I answer: Third Force theorists doubt that any developmental characteristic so nearly universal is nonfunctional, but at the present stage of research it is their opinion against Ellis's. Saying that hero-worship is only a proof of immaturity is simply a derogatory way of saying that it is characteristic of a certain phase of adolescence. Moreover, it is a plain *non sequitur* to go from that remark to the conclusion that fulfillment of such cravings is therefore unhealthy. Why not, instead, let boys try it out if they wish? Not all will find equal benefit; some will discard such relationships early as unsatisfying to themselves, others will regard them as the big turning point in their lives, and all intermediate stages are likely to occur. I am not advocating forcing such relationships on anyone, but instead tolerating them or even encouraging them as a potential force for good when they do occur.

8. Ellis claims that the case for the "cuddling instinct" is unproved, and that even were it proved, it would not establish either that affection-deprived youngsters grow up to be emotionally disturbed adults, or the other way around (which he denies), nor would it make a case for Greek love. He recommends that cuddling be done by various older females, *if by anyone*, and reiterates that a "monogamous" scene with an adult lover would push a boy towards exclusive homosexuality.

I answer: Every therapist cites his clinical experience to bolster his own prior biases. Ellis and I are no exceptions to that rule, and his reference to "a few quotations from obviously biased theorists" proves nothing except that he does not regard affection as a need. Speaking purely as a theorist, I believe that the case presented in section 1 of Chapter V draws on so many lines of evidence, and accounts for so much, that deniers (such as Ellis) have the burden of constructing alternative theories which will be equally consistent, equally far-reaching and equally fertile of conclusions; mere scoffing is not enough. If Ellis believes that I ever advocated a "monogamous" scene in Greek love, he misread me; and I advocated repeatedly that cuddling be done freely by those who have occasion to deal with youngsters, rather than solely by parents or potential marital partners.

9. Ellis denies any evidence that Greek love would "normally" lead to nonpossessive love on the part of its boy recipient. He also claims that even in Greece boy-lovers are not indicated to have loved their wives, nor to have copulated with them save for producing heirs; and that the poems translated by me show exclusive obsession and "enormous jealousy." He concludes that Greek love, if permitted in this culture, would encourage "monopolistic and intensely jealous relationships."

I answer: The weight of evidence and opinion of classical scholars is against Ellis's view. Even if choice of a wife was dictated not by love but by political considerations or choice of the respective families (as in most of the world before the 19th century), one's heterosexual love found its object in hetairai; and everyone expected that love would eventually grow between husband and wife, rather than (as at present) be sole motivation for marriages. Meleagros and Catullus, to name only two of the greater classical poets who wrote of boy-love, showed neither aversion to women nor exclusive obsession, nor jealousy; and indeed poems of jealousy—such as Sappho's famous ode imitated by Catullus—are a minority in Greek lyric. But my purpose in Chapter X was not a statistical survey of Greek lyric, but rather an investigation of certain common patterns. The kind of relationships Ellis fears from Greek love in this culture would result presumably only from badly mishandled affairs in which the older parties were themselves intensely possessive and presumably exclusively homosexual, and far enough out of contact with reality to blind themselves to their boyfriends' growing up, away from them and towards girls. Ellis has no evidence that even a minority of Greek love affairs are initiated by such people; I have what amounts to clinical evidence that any such idea is the reverse of the truth. Here as elsewhere, Ellis

seems to be objecting on a priori grounds not connected with experience.

10. Ellis claims that the self-destruction of Greek culture refutes my suggestion that encouragement of Greek love might be a step in the direction of neighborly love, the latter being perhaps our only longterm alternative to destruction. He adds that in his clinical experience boy-lovers are almost invariably disturbed narcissists without either self-respect or capacity for real love—hardly an example for society or a class of people capable of making neighborly love meaningful.

I answer: Ellis is guilty of *non sequitur*. Hellenic history does not bear out such claims. The power struggles that weakened Hellas (see Chapter II) were struggles among basically patrist elements, and one may find significance in the fact that Spartan boy-love was singularly devoid of matrist tenderness, as was Roman sensuality. “Neighborly love”—or more accurately, matrist live-and-let-live, love-and-let-love—is something quite different, and whatever encourages the spread of this attitude may well reduce the probability of raising future generations of hysterical warmongers. I have already answered the remainder of his argument, but would ask him: where does he get the idea that Greeks were averse to early Christian ideals? Early Church history seems to indicate that they found more favor in the Greek world than in Rome or among the Jews, and since the 4th century A.D. they have not been tried on a large scale at all; what we have today passing as Christianity is as far from Jesus’ own teachings as from kalokagathía.

Finally, it is not “heterosexual bias” which prejudices one from seeing my arguments objectively; it is either anti-sexual bias or some other taboo; nor, I think, does Ellis characterize my position accurately in labeling it flatly “homosexual,” when throughout I have insisted on the necessity for Greek lovers to have achieved a satisfactory heterosexual life, if they are to do any good for their boyfriends.

NOTES

CHAPTER I.

1. The term "homosexual(ity)"—a bastard mixture of Greek and Latin roots, referring to sexual concern for the same sex, *not* sexual preference for men—was coined by Karoly Maria Kertbeny (Havelock Ellis says his real name was Benkert) in 1869, appearing for the first time in this Hungarian physician's anonymous book, §143 *des Preussischen Strafgesetzbuches vom 14 April 1851 und seine Aufrechterhaltung als §152 im Entwürfe eines Strafgesetzbuches für den Norddeutschen Bund*. Kertbeny used the term as an alternative to K. H. Ulrichs's "Uring(tum)" (usually englished as "uranian," "uranism," but sometimes found in the German form). Before Ulrichs, i.e. before the middle eighteen sixties, the terms in use were mostly derogatory: bugger, sod(omite), pouf or patapouf, unnatural vice (practitioner of), etc.; or in a few cases deliberately euphemistic or laudatory, e.g. Greek, Platonizer, boy-lover, etc. The term "Uring" or "Uranian" derives from Aphroditē Ourania, called by Ulrichs patroness of boy-lovers, and specifically from the speech of Pausanias in Plato's *Symposium*.
2. The most recent literary instance of this is Gerald Tesch's novel *Never the Same Again*, which is exceptionally frank.
3. It did not disappear entirely even in the anti-sexual Middle Ages. The verses of Hilarius ("of England"), pupil of Abélard, quoted in Chapter XII, are quite frank on the subject, despite occasional attempts of later commentators to pooh them away as literary exercises in the manner of the troubadour poems to unattainable noblewomen, or imitations of Virgil's 2nd Eclogue, Theokritos XII or XXIX, etc.
4. Especially in his *Love's Coming-of-Age*, *Sexual Intermediate Types*, and other books on this general theme. Carpenter was for the most part popularizing Ulrichs's theories (see Ch. III). Note also his *The Intermediate Sex*, reprinted in D. W. Cory: *Homosexuality—a Cross-Cultural Approach*.
5. Especially in his popularization of Ulrichs, *A Problem in Modern Ethics*, hereinafter APIME. This is also reprinted in the Cory compilation just cited.

CHAPTER II.

6. APIME, 15.
7. Wilhelm Stekel's books wholly or partly on this subject include *The Homosexual Neurosis*, *Sexual Aberrations*, etc.
8. Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, many eds. Cf. also APIME, 45.
9. Edmund Bergler seems to have regarded homosexuality as a King Charles's head. Almost every one of his books contains the same kind of preoccupied attack on it. The most extended diatribes are in his *Homosexuality: Disease or Way of Life?* and *One Thousand Homosexuals*.
10. George W. Henry: *Sex Variants*, 1941 and later eds. The first edition, but no later one, includes an unexpurgated glossary of homosexual argot by Gershon Legman. Many of the passages other than mere case histories and moralizing were actually written by Alfred A. Gross, Ph.D., Henry's longtime associate and secretary of the G. W. Henry Foundation.
11. The most important single work of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825-1895) is *Memnon* (1868), but many other ramifications of his thought—which was far-ranging and extremely profound, in some ways decades or even centuries ahead of his time—are to be found in his other pamphlets: *Inclusa*, *Formatrix*, *Vindex*, *Ara Spei*, *Gladius Furens*, *Incubus*, *Argonauticus*, *Prometheus*, *Araxes*, and *Kritische Pfeile*. All of these are now very rare and few libraries have them. They were published between 1864 and 1870, the first ones under the pseudonym "Numa Numantius," the later ones under his own name. It is impossible to overestimate Ulrichs's importance to this field of study.
12. Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the psychology of sex*, II. Several eds. Especially the volume on *Sexual Inversion in Men*, hereinafter SIM.
13. Otto Fenichel, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis*, esp. 332-337.
14. Magnus Hirschfeld later admitted in his *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* that he had said little about Greek love because of fear of opposition from Reichstag opponents of the sexual reform movement, fear that they would accuse Hirschfeld and his associates of corrupting the youth of the nation. The various volumes of the *Jahrbuch* (1899-1923) and its successor the *Vierteljahresberichte* are very rare and despite their essentially prefreudian psychology they remain of considerable anthropological, sociological, psychological, medical, legal and sexological interest even today. Hirschfeld did touch on Greek love in one extremely important passage of his *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes*, Berlin, 1914, 673-674:
 "Die Zahl der heterosexuellen Jünglinge, die auf Kosten Homosexueller höhere Schulen besuchten, Fachunterricht genossen, studierten oder eine künstlerische Ausbildung erhielten, ist Legion. Es gibt viele, die entbehrten und darben, um ihren Freunden von ihrem Verdienst ein ihren Fähigkeiten entsprechendes Studium zu ermöglichen . . . Anne von den Eken (*Mannweiber-Weibmänner und der §175*. Eine Schrift für denkende Frauen. Leipzig: Max Spohr, 1906, p.

40) hebt hervor, "dass fast alle älteren Urninge eifrig bestrebt sind, den jüngeren Freund ethisch auf eine höhere Stufe zu heben" . . . Ich habe diesen Zug, *der ja nicht der homosexuellen Liebe, sondern der Liebe an und für sich eigen ist*, oft beobachten können. Das ist keine Schönfarberei, sondern eine einfache Wiedergabe von Erfahrungstatsachen. Erweist sich die homosexuelle Liebe schon in Zeiten ihrer Verfolgung *sozial so fordersam*, um wie viel mehr muss das der Fall gewesen sein, als sie sich frei entfalten konnte. Wir verstehen, wenn wir uns dies vor Augen führen, die Worte, die *Plato* in *Symposium* dem Phädras in den Mund legt: 'Keinen grösseren Segen kenne ich, als für einen in das Leben eintretenden jungen Mann einen tugendhaften Liebhaber oder für einen Liebhaber einen geliebten Jüngling . . .'

In English paraphrase: "The number of basically heterosexual youths educated at the expense of men sexually interested in them is legion, and the benefit absolutely beyond question; moreover, according to A.v.d. Eken, in such relationships (i.e. of Greek love), the man is almost always concerned about the ethical development of the boy. I have often been able to observe this way of life, which is characteristic not of homosexual love, but of a love singular to itself (i.e. Greek love). This is not seeing things in rosy colors, but simple description of empirical fact. It is understandable, when we recall the words Plato ascribed to Phaedrus in the *Symposium*, to the effect that he knew nothing greater for a boy than a worthwhile lover, nor for a man than a boy to love."

15. M. H. E. Meier and L. R. de Pogey-Castries, *Histoire de l'amour grec dans l'antiquité*, Paris, Stendhal et Cie., 1930. Now rare, but reprints exist. This is actually a much amplified translation of an article by Meier in the Ersch and Gruber *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künsten*, Leipzig 1837.
16. Wilhelm Kroll, *Freundschaft und Knabenliebe*. Pamphlet No. 4 in *Tusculum Schriften*, München, Ernst Heimeran Verlag, 1927. This popularization seems to have been done independently of 'Hans Licht,' and all these works were outgrowths of the sexual reform movement in Germany under the Weimar Republic. This is presumably Prof. Kroll of the University of Breslau, who contributed the brief article on *Päderastia* to the Pauly-Wissowa *Realenzyklopädie*.
17. Sir Richard F. Burton, "Terminal Essay" appended to his translation of the *Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*. Several reprint eds., the one I use here being by the Falstaff Press, n.d. (ca. 1930?), entitled *Anthropological Notes on the Sotadic Zone*, and including illustrations said to come from the Magnus Hirschfeld Institute, together with opinions by Havelock Ellis (actually reprinted from SIM) and John Addington Symonds (from APIME). Cory (note 4 above) also reprinted it. The Burton work to which this is an appendix has also had several photo-offset reprints. Burton's theory of a "Sotadic Zone"—geographical and climatic—in which (a) youngsters mature early and (b) young adolescents regularly (though elsewhere sporadically) pass through a period of somewhat androgynous good looks, though not a sufficient

explanation for the commonness of boy-love in Mediterranean regions and Arabic-speaking lands, deserves more than the neglect it has had. My tentative hypothesis is that ethnic peculiarities ascribable to genetic drift may indeed account for some of the facts he has described, but that others must be attributable to cultural factors and specifically to the relative absence of contact with the Judaeo-Christian mores in their more puritanical forms. Burton's testimony to what he had seen is authentic enough—he lived in Arabic speaking lands for many years, and was fluent in many local vernaculars. The claims of fakery made against him on the grounds that his Arabic was not good enough to enable him to translate the tales of Shahrázád (Schéhérazade) without using Payne's translation as a pony are unjustified and not relevant; a knowledge of colloquial modern Arabic and dialects does not automatically unlock classical literary Arabic, any more than a knowledge of modern Brooklynese automatically unlocks Anglo-Saxon. Nevertheless, it is on record that Burton studied literary Arabic during his years at Oxford, so he did have some knowledge of the language of the *Thousand Nights and a Night*.

18. "Donald Webster Cory," *The Homosexual in America*. New York, Greenberg, 1951.
19. Clellan S. Ford and Frank A. Beach, *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. N.Y., Harper, 1952.
20. Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *The Vanishing Adolescent*. Boston, Beacon, 1959, esp. 115. Hereinafter TVA. Page references are to the hardcover edition, not the paperback reprint.
21. TVA, 119.
22. Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*. Philadelphia, Saunders, 1948, hereinafter Kinsey I, esp. ch. V. Cf. also Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin and Gebhard, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, same publisher, 1953, hereinafter Kinsey II, esp. ch. IV.
23. TVA, 126ff.
24. Cf. Kurt Lewin, "Field Theory and Experiment in Social Psychology . . .", *Amer. Journal of Sociology*, 44:868-896 (1939). This classic paper was rediscovered and re-evaluated by Gordon Hearn in "Kurt Lewin on Adolescence," *The Group*, 17, 2: 9-15 (Dec. 1954).
25. TVA, chapter VI.
26. Cf., for a horrible example among horrible examples, H. C. McDonald, *Playtime with Patty and Wilbur* (1952), a book of bedtime stories attempting to instill into its young hearers fear of *all* adults, familiar and strange, as potential "perverts." Cf. Kinsey II, 117n. For this approach no term of condemnation can be strong enough, and on it can be blamed an unsuspectedly large amount of alienation between youngsters and the very adults whose world they eventually have to enter. One begins to wonder if bookburning may not occasionally have its uses after all, what with this McDonald book (which is demonstrably more damaging than most pornography) and various pieces of medical quackery purporting to instruct the young of the dangerous alleged consequences of masturbation. (Cf. Kinsey II, 166, note 42; R. A. Spitz, "Authority and

- Masturbation," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 21:490-527 (1952); and Kinsey I, 513.) It is perhaps significant in this connection that outright hard-core pornography is openly sold in the Scandinavian countries, but American movies such as "Psycho" in which violence is a substitute for sex are restricted to adults. Cf. G. Legman, *Love and Death*, Breaking Point Press, 1949.
27. TVA, 143.
 28. Earl O. Coon, "Homosexuality in the News," in: *Archives of Criminal Psychodynamics*, 2,4:843-65 (Fall 1957), esp. pp. 851-2. Coon displays a familiarity with his subject far in excess of that which would be obtainable from a mere content analysis of newspaper reports, and his attitude is a thoroughly humane one, particularly on the often beneficial role of Greek love (though he does not use this term) in rehabilitating disturbed or delinquent youngsters. Coon's article is a pioneering effort of very great importance.
 29. APIME, 46-7.
 30. APIME, 103ff.
 31. J. J. Bouchard, *Confessions*. Paris, I. Liseux, 1881. (Particularly the passages anent the Marseilles convict stations in 1630.)
 32. Erving Goffman, *Asylums*, N.Y., Anchor Books, 1961. So far from regarding homosexuality as a permanent result of seduction in prisons, camps, mental hospitals, etc., he regards such behavior sometimes as infraction or "messing up" for any of a number of reasons (54), or as bond formation on the "strength in union" principle, against the authorities (59 and 278-286), or as "kicks" comparable to drinking or nutmeg or ginger "highs" (69, 200ff, 309 note 173), or occasionally as a relationship forced onto younger or unwilling partners (263).
 33. K. H. Ulrichs, *Memnon*, especially section XIX. TVA, 24, even insists that such early-adolescent experience is "notably absent from the case histories of adult homosexuals"! Possibly they have not, in A. S. Neill's phrase, "lived it out," and are, in rejecting the opposite sex, attempting to recapture something of the excitement and companionship that should have been theirs in their high-school days. It has even been averred that enough experience, vicarious as in reading about Batman and Robin, or actual with chums in one's early teens, might be a good insurance against a boy's turning into a woman-fearing homosexual—or a queer-hating obsessive heterosexual—in later life.
 34. Personal contact with headmasters of several such schools, and with graduates of many. There is no significant disagreement among them on this question except as to the amount of homosexual play they knew to be going on among the youngsters, or between older and younger boys. Usually they regard it as kid stuff, as of no long-run importance. The differences in psychology between such sex-play exclusively by and among early adolescents, and Greek love per se, have yet to receive the detailed study they require. I can go into relatively little detail here; see Chapters IV, V and VI, and the case histories in Chapters VII, VIII. A report of the Osborne Association, 1937, quotes a similar attitude even for certain enlightened

- reform schools—sex-play is considered normal and not to be punished save when older boys forcibly abuse unwilling younger ones.
35. Kinsey I, 168-171. According to this study, 29.4% of 12-year-old boys engage in homosexual sex play—but only 13% of adults are predominantly homosexual for even three years of their life after age 16, and only 4% are exclusively homosexual through life! Case histories of homosexuals, e.g. in SIM, do not suggest that early seduction by men was commoner than spontaneous homoerotic fantasies or crushes on other boys. A content analysis of such case histories would be useful even though biased because of lack of standardized techniques for eliciting answers to the same questions from those who gave the case histories. Possibly the Sex Research Institute's forthcoming volume on homosexual/heterosexual balance will provide a more reliable picture here.
 36. Kinsey et al, in Hoch & Zubin, *Psychosexual Development*, Proc. 38th Annual Meeting, Amer. Psychopathol. Assn., N.Y., Grune & Stratton, 1949, 21.
 37. Albert Ellis aired this insight at a lecture at Brooklyn College, April 1962. It is a logical consequence of his view in *Sex Without Guilt*. Cf. also his "Are Homosexuals Necessarily Neurotic?" in *One*, April 1955, reprinted in Cory (note 4 ref.), esp. pp. 410-411.
 38. Kinsey I, 413-14.
 39. Kinsey II, 17-18.
 40. In *They Stand Apart*, a compilation by Rees and Usill, of value solely as a representation of the ultraconservative view.
 41. Laurretta Bender and Abram Blau, "The Reaction of Children to Sexual Relations with Adults," *Amer. Jour. of Orthopsychiatry*, 7:500-518 (1937); L. Bender, "Mental hygiene and the child," same Journal, 9:574-582 (1939); L. Bender and S. Paster, "Homosexual trends in children," same Journal, 11:730-744 (1941). Cf. also Simon Raven, "Boys will be boys," *Encounter* 86, November 1960.
 42. Kinsey II, 21, 121. Kinsey's views here and in the reference to follow are beautifully outspoken.
 43. Cf. Kinsey II, 264-267.
 44. Kinsey II, 12.
 45. Edmund Bergler, *Homosexuality: Disease or Way of Life?* N.Y., Hill & Wang, 1957. See also note 9 above.
 46. Theodor Reik, *Of Love and Lust*. N.Y., Farrar Straus & Cudahy, 1957. A collection of several papers on sex and love.
 47. Abraham Maslow has written numerous papers related to this point; many of the more important ones were revised for collection in his recent paperback, *Toward a Psychology of Being*, N.Y., Van Nostrand, 1962, hereinafter TPB.
 48. Harry Stack Sullivan, *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry*, Wm. Alanson White Fund, 1927. (His terminology—but not his basic idea—differs slightly in the posthumous compilation *The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry*, mainly by assigning the beginning of the capacity to love to the "preadolescent" period, and of heterosexual puppy-love to the "early adolescent" period.) See also Chapter V.
 49. Kinsey II, 120-121, which puts the blame for whatever emotional dis-

turbances do occur squarely onto the parents and teachers who inculcate fear of strangers without explaining the particular kind of forbidden actions they wish avoided. The whole passage ("Significance of Adult Contacts") is of extreme importance in this context and should be read in full.

50. Cf. Kinsey II, 15.
51. Albert Ellis, *Sex Without Guilt*, N.Y., Lyle Stuart, 1958, *passim*.
52. The term is a translation of one used by the Trobrianders and mentioned in Malinowski's well-known study *The Sexual Life of Savages in NW Melanesia* (1929). Cf. Kinsey I, 373.

CHAPTER III.

53. Cf. Kinsey II, 20, 262 and 262 note 33.
54. Joost de Damhoudere, *Praxis rerum criminalium* (Antwerp: apud Petrum Bellerum, 1646), caput XCVIII. This extremely important compendium of criminal law represented legal opinion until the time of Beccaria (as mentioned in the text proper) and of the reforms of the encyclopedists generally. It is regrettable indeed that the Roman church, which prides itself on having abolished the Code Duello, contributed nothing to the reform of this harsh penal code. That there can be no mistaking the intent of the law, I quote the original text verbatim:
 (173) Priusquam tamen hoc caput absolvamus, notanda tibi fuerit, candide Lector, & alia quaedam species cum Sodomiticis quiddam affinitatis habens, & pro Sodomitica condemnata: re tamen à vero Sodomitico multum aliena: quum nec usum Sodomiticum & innaturalem, nec naturam Sodomiticam ullo modo referat: sed tamen consideratione nostrae fidei, pro vera Sodomitica iure habetur, & tanquam Sodomitica in iure damnatur: veluti quis naturali Venere utitur cum Turcis, Saracenis, aut Iudaeis. Nam huiusmodi omnes, Iura & religio Christiana non secus, quàm bestias, non quidem natura, aut rationi usu, & communi vocatione, sed ob procacem malitiam, qua fidem Christianam, sine qua nemi salus promittitur, apertè oppugnant, negligunt, fastidiunt, oderunt, & cum ijs congressum, cohabitationem, & omne commercium prohibent, nedum actum venereum cum eis exercere interdicunt, qui actus intimi amoris symbolum refert, quique pro foedere humanae, atque adeo Christianae charitatis merito debet procedere, non ex beluina, & illicita extra constitutos terminos libidine.

English translation follows:

However, before we may dispose of this chapter, there should be brought to your attention, honest reader, a certain other kind [sc. of sexual act] having something of affinity with the sodomitical, and condemned as sodomitical, although very remote from the true sodomy: though neither sodomitic and unnatural, nor representing in any other manner a sodomitic nature, nevertheless, in consideration of our Faith, it is held in law for true sodomy, and condemned by law just as if sodomy; specifically, when anyone has sexual intercourse with Turkish, Saracen or Jewish women. For in this manner the

law and the Christian religion (being what they are) forbid association, cohabitation, and all manner of business with all [sc. Turks, Saracens and Jews], beastlike not indeed in nature but in use of reason and in common calling and from insolent malice, insofar as they openly attack, condemn, repudiate and hate the Christian Faith, without which salvation is assured to no one; needless to say, still more do they [i.e., law and Christian religion] forbid the exercise of the venereal act with them, which act represents a symbol of intimate love, and which should occur for the human contract (foedere humanae) and indeed for the benefit of Christian charity, and not for the lust bestial and illicit beyond established limits.

Italics are mine; the language could not be more unequivocal—or more prejudiced. The long sentence following the italicized part is as difficult in Latin as in English, but its sense is clear enough. “Foedere humanae” could mean either a marriage contract of human society generally. Cf. also E. A. Westermarck, *Christianity and Morals*, 1939.

55. [Nicolas de Bohier] *Decisions de droict, et de practique*, ivgees par arrests des cours Souueraines de France. Recvillies et conferees a l'usage de nostre temps, des illustres, & dorées Decisions de Messire Nicolas Boerivs, President au Parlement de Bourdeaux, & Conseiller au grand Conseil du Roy. Par M. Iacques Corbin Aduocat en Parlement (Paris: Jean Millot, 1611), Qvestion CCCXVI.

Similarly, I quote the original text:

(535) Le Iuif avec la Chrestienne, ou le Chrestien avec la Iuifue doiuent estre punis de mort, si la Chrestienne n'est putain. Les femmes se corrompans l'vne l'avtre meritent pareillement peine capitale, combien que Juvenal dit en sa seconde satyre,

Taedia non lambit Cluuiam, nec Flora Catullam.

English translation:

The Jew [sc. who has sexual intercourse] with the Christian woman, or the Christian with the Jewess, should be punished with death, if the Christian woman is not a whore. Women perverting each other equally deserve capital punishment; as Juvenal says in his second Satire,

Taedia does not smooch with Cluvia, nor does Flora with Catulla. [2:49]

The verb “lambit” literally means “licks, fondles, plays with,” and it has both sexual and nonsexual meanings. Juvenal probably had in mind not only french kissing but cunnilingus, the latter being especially abominated in Rome of his time. Whether any lesbians were actually executed under this law I do not know, but the mere fact that they could be is highly significant.

56. Cf. Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, II, 556. The original statute of 1533, 25 Hen. VIII c. 6, made it a capital offense punishable by hanging, according to Richard Grey, *A System of English Ecclesiastical Law, Extracted from the Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London*. (London: Printed by E. and R. Nutt, and R. Gosling, for C. King, 1730) The citation on p. 414 is most instructive:

Q. What Penalty is there upon Buggery and Sodomy?

A. By 25 *Hen. VIII* c. 6. 'Tis Felony without Benefit of Clergy; * Sodomites were anciently to be burnt, and some ancient Books make the Punishment of it burning alive, and call it Treason, *i.e.* Treason against the King of Heaven, or a Rebellion against the Order of Nature which he hath established.

* Two remarkable Executions have been made upon this Statute, the first of *Stafford*, 5 Jac. 1. who was found guilty in the King's Bench; the second of the Lord *Audly*, [Earl of Castle-Haven], who was arraign'd and found guilty [1631] by his Peers; and both were hang'd as the Act directs.

'Pisanus Fraxi,' *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, 330n, says Audley was convicted for rape and sodomy *on his own wife*, and was beheaded on Tower Hill.

Sodomy was understood only as anal intercourse by this law and its re-enactment as 5 *Eliz. I* c.17 (1562-63). Fellation and irrumation were not punishable under this statute. For this surprising datum the authority is William Oldnall Russell and Edward Ryan, *Crown Cases Reserved for Consideration: and Decided by the Twelve Judges of England, from the Year 1799 to the Year 1824* (London: Printed by A. Strahan . . . for Joseph Butterworth and Son, 1825), pp. 331-32: *Rex v. Samuel Jacobs* (1817). In this case, the prisoner was established to have forcibly irrumated a child (*i.e.* copulated with the child's mouth), but the judges held that this did not constitute the offense of sodomy.

Until 1828, the age of consent to a sexual proposition was 10 in England. Dr. Warren Johansson, whose service in researching these laws is here gratefully acknowledged, encountered a reference to this age of consent in a speech by Sir Robert Peel in Hansard in that year. (See also note 57a.)

It is sociologically significant that the age of consent has been gradually raised in most countries, most rapidly in those most affected by puritanism, for both males and females. Taboo, more than actual protection, is obviously responsible. Alan Milner, "Indecency with Children Act, 1960," in *British Journal of Criminology*, 2:282-291 (1962), describes how through some 70 unsuccessful prosecutions a gap in existing British law was discovered, to the effect that sexual play with a youngster was unpenalized if the child was a willing consentor. After a moralistic Conservative M.P. made a speech with the usual platitudes about protecting women and children, etc., Parliament rushed through a new law making such sex play punishable regardless of consent up to the 14th birthday of the child. The American parallel, of course, is the notorious statutory rape laws.

- 56a. Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (Berlin: Louis Marcus Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1914), pp. 824, 832. Death by fire was by far the commonest mode of execution for persons convicted of sodomy or buggery. This applies to civil courts in the Middle Ages; ecclesiastical law might condemn a person to death, but he was routinely handed over to civil courts for the actual execution.
57. Cf. Kinsey II, 370 note 19, including a digest of most of the relevant state laws.

- 57a. Henry DuPré Labouchère (1831-1912), Radical M.P. for Northampton, wrote in his journal *Truth* after the Oscar Wilde trials that he was sorry his original proposed maximum penalty had been reduced from seven to two years. (*Letters of Oscar Wilde*, ed. Rupert Hart-Davis, N.Y., Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962, p. 519 note 1.) Labouchère's name is damned daily by people involved in the sex reform movement.
58. Lee R. Steiner, *Understanding Juvenile Delinquency*, Philadelphia, Chilton, 1960, esp. 91-96. Her attitude to Greek love as a force antagonistic to delinquency is especially favorable.
59. Cf. Kinsey II, 287-88 note 9 (on underage girls), 325 and 325 note 36. "Open lewdness" statutes result in convictions of couples petting in automobiles.
60. Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer*, N.Y., Harper, 1951, §18, hereinafter TTB.
61. TTB, §68.
62. TTB, §69.
63. TTB, §71.
64. TTB, §72.
65. TTB, §73.
66. Although self masturbation in private is not explicitly proscribed by any state laws, nevertheless mutual masturbation constitutes lewd behavior for the purposes of statutes proscribing lewdness, and in many prosecutions of adults on charges of contributing to the delinquency of a minor, either simultaneous self masturbation or mutual masturbation has been the only sex act involved. Furthermore, in Indiana and Wyoming anyone who entices or aids anyone under 21 to commit masturbation is guilty of sodomy. (Indiana Statutes, §10-4221; Wyoming Statutes, §9-520.) Theoretically, then, the author of a book telling readers (including those under 21) that masturbation is ordinarily without harmful consequences, and that they might as well go ahead and do it if they feel so inclined, without fear of disease or insanity, could be prosecuted in those states. I know of no such prosecutions; and it seems likely that any attempt to prosecute Dr. Albert Ellis, or Kinsey's surviving co-authors, or the co-authors of *Gestalt Therapy* (ref. 67), on such grounds, would result in editorial laughter from Tokyo to San Francisco to New York to West Berlin—and relegation of these laws to a well-deserved limbo.
67. F. Perls, R. Hefferline, Paul Goodman, *Gestalt Therapy*, N.Y., Julian Press, 1951, 337. Incidentally, p. 299 of the same volume—a most profound study—contains about the best defense of erotica, sexual merriment, the "Fifty million Frenchmen can't be wrong" idea, and erotic explorations among friends, that I have ever seen in print. It is no surprise to find that the author of Part II of that book, including the passages just referred to, is the poet Paul Goodman, the author of *Parents Day* and *Empire City*. The reference to Yeats is to Crazy Jane's famous line to the bishop, "Love has pitched his mansion/ In the place of excrement." Freud might also have been cited in this connection, of course.
68. Hansard. House of Commons, vol. 526, cols. 1749-52, April 28, 1954. Sir Robert Boothby's speech on homosexuality and on the undesirability of sending homosexuals to prison.
69. Cf. J. Preuss, *Biblich-Talmudisch Medizin*, 579-81.

- 69a. Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin, folio 109b.
70. G. Rattray Taylor, *Sex in History*, N.Y., Thames & Hudson, n.d., 57. (Hereinafter SIH.)
- 70a. A. S. Yahuda, *The language of the Pentateuch in its relation to Egyptian*, Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1933, vol. I, 75ff, 95.
71. SIH, 241. Interestingly enough, Kinsey II, 320, says that homosexual contacts are permitted even today to Buddhist priests, while heterosexual contacts are forbidden to them. I wonder if the disclosure of this fact is going to swell the number of Buddhist priests in California?
- 71a. Two independent studies, executed years apart in complete ignorance of each other: William Benjamin Smith, *Ecce Deus, Studies of Primitive Christianity*, Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co., 1913, 117-19, 284; and Otto Michel, " 'Diese Kleinen'—eine Jüngerbezeichnung Jesu," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 108:401-15 (1938).
72. This term, supposedly invented by a Dr. Kaserer of Vienna, was first publicized by Karl H. Ulrichs.
73. APIME, chapter VII, passim.
74. SIM, passim.
75. Especially in the "Calamus" section of *Leaves of Grass*. For the significance of Whitman's disclaimer (following eighteen years of evasion of John Addington Symonds's inquiries about the homosexuality flagrantly celebrated in these poems), see SIM, 51-56, and the section on Whitman in Chapter XV of the present work. See also note 329a.
76. APIME, 10-11, quoted as one of the "Vulgar Errors" his book was intended to rebut.
77. Cf. APIME, 99-102.
78. TVA, 9.
79. A theme taken up by Paul Goodman in *Growing Up Absurd*, and by him used as a paradigm of the whole complex of role alterations and disappearances which have made adolescents feel unwanted and useless, alienated from the society into which they were born.
80. TVA, 71.
81. TVA, 55.
82. TVA, 65-66.
83. Steiner (ref. 58), 92-94. But then, this is fairly typical of assignments made by and with young male prostitutes.
84. A. J. Reiss, Jr., "The Social Integration of Queers and Peers," *Social Problems*, 9, 2:102-120 (1962). The boys studied in this project were lower-class "Times Square kids," a type found in many large cities; they are very nearly like the "petits-jésus" class of teen-age boy prostitutes known today even as in previous centuries (and described in F. Carlier: *Les Deux Prostitutions*, Paris 1889, part being reprinted in *Crapouillot* 30, Paris 1955). From my own acquaintance with both boys of this sort and their customers, I can add that occasionally one of these boys will allow himself to use other sexual techniques if the financial inducement is high enough, and that still more infrequently he will allow himself to take a more than casual personal interest in his partner; Greek love relationships have resulted, and during these the prostitutional aspect has in some instances diminished or disappeared.

85. Kinsey I, 384.
86. Coon, ref. 28, p. 849, describing just such a seduction of an adult by a 14-year-old newspaperboy. In this instance, *which Coon regards as fairly typical*, the boy began displaying considerable interest in the man's personal affairs when he called to collect money for the papers he had delivered. He then began delivering the paper personally, instead of leaving it outside the door as formerly; "the next step was a series of sly allusions to all the 'girl friends' that the man, a bachelor, must have. This was followed by allusions to his own sexual adventures and attempts to 'get a girl.' There were offers to run errands, excuses to enter the apartment, and the like. The homosexual [adult], who had been reluctant to start anything with so young a boy, became more and more intrigued as the boy continued to display a flattering interest in him. Finally the boy one day, when the subject of conversation had turned to sex, displayed through his clothing an erection, calling the attention of the man to it. Sexual relations followed." Similar seductions by youngsters are described in Chs. VII, VIII.
87. The term 'groping,' in a sexual context, means exploring the partner's (clothed) body with one's hands, specifically to ascertain if he has an erection.
88. Circumstantially confirmed by Kinsey II, 118-121.
89. John and Venetia Newall, "Israel: new ideas, new problems, new world." In: *Man and Society* 2,1:23-27 (1962), esp. p. 26.

CHAPTER IV

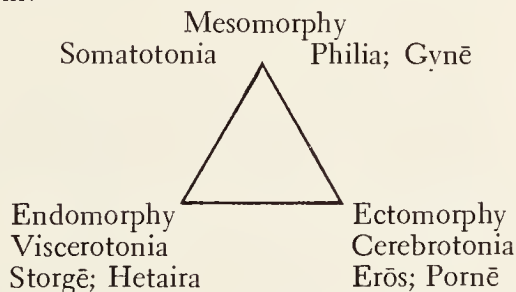
90. Robert Lindner, *Prescription for Rebellion*, N.Y., Rinehart 1952, *passim*.
91. Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys*, Free Press (Glencoe), 1955, ch. III.
92. Summarized in detail in Kinsey I, 363-393.
93. TVA, 24, and cf. refs. 33, 35 and notes thereunder.
94. Kinsey II, 323ff—but a list of references to this could be pages long.
95. TVA, 67.

CHAPTER V.

96. The permanent U.S. Science Building, first constructed for the Seattle Worlds Fair (1962), includes an exhibit of baby monkeys in cages with two kinds of artificial 'mothers,' either soft terry-cloth pads or food-giving but otherwise uninviting wire frames. The terry-cloth pads invariably get more of the babies' time and attention than the food-dispensing frames. This exhibit is based on H. F. Harlow, *Amer. Psychologist*, 13:673 (1958).
- 96a. Jane Goodall, "My Life Among Wild Chimpanzees," *Nat'l Geographic Monthly*, 124,2:272-308 (August 1963).
- 96b. John C. Lilly, *Man and Dolphin*, N.Y., Doubleday, 1961, devotes considerable attention to dolphins (*Tursiops truncatus*) and their expressed desires for what amounts to affectionate physical contact with humans.
- 96c. In A. S. Neill's various writings, especially *Summerhill*, N.Y., Hart, 1962.
- 96d. Maslow, TPB, 19-20, 144. These criteria are general and absolutely fundamental.

- 96e. Cf. Dr. Maurice Linden, speaking at Manhattan Society for Mental Health, N.Y. *Times*, July 16, 1962.
97. John Bowlby, *Maternal Care and Mental Health*, World Health Organization, 1952.
- 97a. Bowlby, in *International Jour. of Psychoanalysis*, 25:19, 107 (1944).
- 97b. TPB, 26.
- 97c. In *Science*, 138:950, 955 (30 Nov. 1962).
- 97d. "Consensual validation" is a key technical term with Sullivan, best understood in context. Consensually validated meanings of language, symbol activity in general, attitudes, etc., are those mutually confirmed among the possible sensory modes in the communication process (i.e. by consensus). What each one sees has certain meanings, some of them confirmed and re-confirmed by hearing, touch, attitudes communicated by others, etc., and the sum total of meanings so reconfirmed yields principles or generalizations accepted as true by the hearer or viewer; they "make sense" socially, they follow logically from each other, they make up a world-picture. "Consensually validated symbol activity" appeals to those accepted generalizations. For Sullivan, this activity is the warp and woof of human existence. But it begins in the full sense when, in the preadolescent and early adolescent stages, a youngster begins to perceive his fellows as unique individuals, and to be able to love one or more of them; the communication thereafter possible exceeds in clarity and depth of meanings for both parties to it anything hitherto possible to them.
- 97e. Harry Stack Sullivan, "Archaic Sexual Culture and Schizophrenia," *Proceedings of the 3rd Congress, Sexual Reform Congress, WLSR, London, 8-14 Sept. 1929*, ed. Norman Haire. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1930, 495-501, esp. 497.
98. Cf. SIH, chapter III, for horrendous details on the medieval Christian attitudes; and chapter V of the same book, on the troubadours' separation of "falling in love" from erotic desire. Cf. also G. Lowes Dickinson, *The Greek View of Life*, Univ. of Michigan Press, 172f (hereinafter GVL), and Denis de Rougemont, *Love in the Western World* (hereinafter LWW), N.Y., Anchor Books, 1957, *passim*; Rougemont's main thesis is closely akin to this. Monogamy seems to have been a Germanic preoccupation rather than a Jewish one. Sephardic Jews were polygamous until recent years. Ashkenazic Jews were polygamous until German intolerance forced them to abandon the practice, comparable to the American Mormons vis-à-vis the federal government.
99. Reik, ref. 46, p. 17.
100. Reik, 19.
101. Reik, 21.
102. Reik, 34.
103. Reik, 40.
104. Reik, 42. Reik's insights are often good but they become increasingly confused as he proceeds.
105. Reik, 110; Fromm, *The Art of Loving*, *passim*. (The latter is a very shallow study aimed in the right direction.) Similar formulations occur in Horney's works.
106. Reik, 44.

107. Reik, 50.
108. W. H. Sheldon, *Psychology and the Promethean Will*, N.Y., Harper, 1936, chapter 1.
109. For a devastating comment on the PTA, almost certainly based on experience, see Goodman, *Empire City*, 527-543.
110. Lindner, ref. 90, pp. 86-89. Would that more psychoanalysts could speak out so bravely!
111. *Gestalt Therapy*, ref. 67, p. 300 footnote. Freud obtained the concept of "sublimation" from his crackpot friend Wilhelm Fliess, who had taken it from alchemy. How many people have suffered as a result of this medieval superstition I forbear to guess.
- 111a. Paul Goodman has objected (personal communication) to my term *storgē*, preferring *agapē*. I reply that the latter is a term unknown to classical (pagan) authors, found only late and mainly in the Church Fathers, and having quite other connotations than those I have in mind, not reflecting ancient Greek practice; "impersonal Christian charity" is nearest to the meaning of *agapē*, in practice, aside from the original technical meaning of religious "love-feast" service.
112. Franz Burger, *Die griechischen Frauen*, 34ff, pamphlet Nr. 2 in *Tusculum Schriften*, Ernst Heiferan Verlag, München 1926. Cf. also Licht, *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece* (hereinafter SLIAG), N.Y., Barnes & Noble, 1952, 339-363, tr. of *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands*, II: "*Das Liebesleben der Griechen*," Dresden u. Zürich, Paul Aretz Verlag, 1926, 53-75. (Hereinafter S.G. II.)
113. Licht, SLIAG, 345ff; S.G. II, 58ff.
114. Licht, SLIAG, 32, 59ff, 399; S.G., I, "*Die Griechische Gesellschaft*," same publisher, 1925, 52, 72ff; S.G. II, 107.
115. Licht, SLIAG, 18-19, 57-58; S.G., I, 41-2, 70-72. Cf. Xenophon, *Oikonomikos*.
- 115a. Quoted in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai*, XIII, 573B.
116. The terms are René Guyon's. However, "uterine" or "maternal" parallels Otto Weininger's "Mutter" or "Mother" type, and "clitorid" parallels his "Dirne" or "Courtesan" type. Cf. S.G. I, 41. One may neatly schematize the three types of woman, the three components of love, etc., by something like the following diagram:



Of course, every woman shows all three components in different degrees, and one might think of the diagram as a map on which any woman might be located—comparatively few of them being at one of the corners (i.e. completely specialized). With viscerotonia, pleasure is basically detensioning; with somatotonia, pleasure is basically exercise of function;

with cerebrotonia, pleasure is basically experiencing rather than doing-to, and specially neural or sexual. The archetypal hetaira is a boon companion, socializing, talking, entertaining; the archetypal gynē is the wife and mother "whose work is never finished"; the archetypal pornē is the playmate with hair-trigger sexuality. As one goes southward on the map, comparative femininity increases; as one goes northward, there is an admixture of masculinity, the northern or mesomorphic pole being the husky peasant wench. A similar diagram can be drawn for males. The relationship to one of Sheldon's diagrams of the components of temperament (*Varieties of Temperament*, N.Y., Harper, 1942; *Varieties of Delinquent Youth*, same publisher, 1949) is no accident, and I suspect that further investigation of the implications for constitutional psychology of a three-component theory of love will produce very interesting results. I will leave it to some future researcher to produce a more systematic theory based in some part on these formulations, not further laboring the question here except to say that I think Weininger (ref. 116a) may have been groping toward this idea: if there are in fact these three components which can vary independently, and if an individual needs a strong measure of all three in a relationship, he may well choose a mate or mates complementary to him by being high in those variables in which he is lower, and vice versa. This seeking of complements accounts for the folklore about opposites attracting, etc.

- 116a. O. Weininger, *Sex and Character*, many eds., the most recent being N.Y. & London, Putnam & Heinemann, n.d. (c. 1950?); introductory section, *passim*.
- 116b. R. Hildebrand, *Gedanken über Gott, die Welt und das Ich, ein Vermächtnis*. Jena, 1910, p. 375.
- 116c. Medard Boss, M.D., *Meaning and Content of the Sexual Perversions*, tr. L. L. Abell, N.Y., Grune & Stratton, 1949, p. 123.
117. SIH, (ref. 70) 194-198, has further illuminating remarks on this state of affairs.
118. Cf. SIH, 198-199.
119. Cf. SIH, 199. William Blake is supposed to have shared this attitude. There are quiet experiments of this sort going on even now, sometimes called "extended families"; and the term "Nest" is also in use, derived from Robert Heinlein's *Stranger in a Strange Land*, for an "extended family" in which the parties become emotionally completely open and honest with one another; a solution very difficult in this culture, but potentially very rewarding. Reik, ref. 46, p. 99, leaves open the possibility of some such pluralistic solutions. It goes without saying that in any such scenes, sex is by mutual consent and may occur, if at all, in any degree, in pairs or what Forberg (*Classical Erotology*, London? 1887 and other editions) calls "tribadic postures"—three or more in bed, without any particular restriction on what is done by whom to whom.
120. Cf. SIH, 83 and 201ff; Taylor derived his table from J. C. Flügel, *Man, Morals and Society*, 1945. For the cultural shift from matrism to patrism during the 7th to 6th centuries B.C. in the Jewish world, and more gradually in the Greek world (albeit the official Olympian pantheon, being presided over

by Zeus, held at least the germs of patrism), see Robert Graves, *The White Goddess*, Creative Age, 1948 and later pb. edition; Wilhelm Reich, *The Sexual Revolution* (several eds.) and *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* (Orgone Institute Press, etc.). It may be appropriate to note here a criticism often but inappropriately made: Some say that Greek emphasis on male love resulted from the "subjection" of woman and the flourishing of the athletic cult. From this one generalizes that an anti-feminist attitude tends to favor homosexuality. I answer (1) in theory: anti-feminism is patrism, not matrist, and patrism (e.g. in St. Paul) is strongly antagonistic to male love, particularly Greek love; (2) in history: in both Hellas and Islamic lands, where male love was frequent and honored, women were held in high esteem, and common attitudes to them were very similar in certain important respects. Cf. Burton, ref. 17, §II. The post-Periklean laws tending to counteract the freedom of women—enacted by the "Thirty Tyrants" and other patrism power-lovers—seem not to have changed matters a great deal, and (despite the anti-sexual tendencies represented by Plato and Aristophanes, if indeed Just Discourse in *The Clouds* stands for his own views rather than lampooning those of a reactionary element farther right than was Aristophanes himself) similarly the laws penalizing boy-love seem to have been seldom enforced.

121. SIH, 85.

122. Cf. SIH, 84, and the end of Chapter XVI of the present work. Clearly, matrist trends today battle an entrenched patrism—the situation since the late 19th century, even as at the beginning of the Restoration and the early Renaissance, but the converse of post-Periklean Athens.

123. T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, et al., *The Authoritarian Personality*, Harpers 1950, ch. VII. The F scale has come in for a great deal of adverse criticism on the part of sociologists, partly from the wording of many items, partly because they do not see the nine trait-clusters adding up to a single clearly defined syndrome, partly for methodological reasons too technical to detail here.

124. Ellis, ref. 51, chapter 14, "Sex Fascism."

CHAPTER VI.

125. Wilhelm Reich, *The Sexual Revolution*, *passim*.

126. Wilhelm Reich, *The Function of the Orgasm*, N.Y. Orgone Institute Press, 2nd ed., 1948, esp. ch. IV.

127. In the theory elaborated in Part II of *Gestalt Therapy* (ref. 67).

128. Frances Bruce Strain, *The Normal Sex Interests of Children*, N.Y., Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948.

129. Lawrence Barth, *Universe Inside Me*, priv. print. This book was very strongly influenced by Reich.

130. Robert Latou Dickinson, *Atlas of Sexual Anatomy*, Baltimore, Williams & Wilkins, 1949.

131. The development of sexual interests—but little or none of the actual sex behavior—is described in Gesell's *Infant and Child in the Culture of Today*, *The First Five Years of Life*, *The Child from Five to Ten*, and *Youth*. N.Y., Harper, n.d. Norms

there established apply principally to middle and upper-middle class urban Old American stock with mean IQ about 115, and has to be modified somewhat for other ethnic groups, classes, and IQ levels, for reasons both genetic and cultural. On this last point, cf. Margaret Mead and Frances Cooke Macgregor, *Growth and Culture*, N.Y., Putnam, 1951, especially chapter 1 and "Conclusions."

132. Kinsey I, 164-5, 191, and Chapter V *passim*.
133. Reich, ref. 126, 68ff.
134. Moshé Feldenkrais, *Body and Mature Behaviour*, N.Y., Int'l Universities Press, 1949, confirms Reich independently in different language.
135. Cf. Kinsey II, 637 note, for a similar event among females. It may be ascribed to the great simultaneous stimulation of both sympathetic and parasympathetic systems at the onset of orgasm.
136. Cf. Kinsey II, 637-8; Kinsey's remark is extremely important. Galen's original generalization was "Triste est omne animal post coitum, praeter mulierem gallumque" (. . . except the woman and the rooster). But even this is false. One might better say: the peace that follows a satisfactory orgasm is the peace that passeth understanding. And it is better than any chemical tranquilizer.
137. TVA, 27.
138. Kinsey I, 171.
139. Kinsey II, 584-5. This applies to both sexes.
140. Cf. Kinsey II, 603, 617, 635 no. 7, 702ff, 104 (table 176).
141. Cf. Kinsey II, 585ff, 581, 698.
142. SIH, 188. See also Chapter XIV.

CHAPTER VII.

- 142a. Franz J. Kallmann, *Heredity in Health and Mental Disease; Twin and Sibship Study of Overt Male Homosexuality*, *passim*.

CHAPTER VIII.

- 142b. Maslow, TPB, 183.
- 142c. Kinsey II, 646.
- 142d. Kinsey II, 648ff.
143. I continue use of this obsolescent term "invert" for convenience in referring to the type of biologically male individuals who (whether or not overly homosexual) identify strongly with females, wish to be females, take pleasure in wearing female garments or in culturally female occupations, and sometimes try to emulate Christine Jorgensen in effecting a surgical shift to the other sex. There are similarly masculine women. Without committing myself to any such theory as that of Ulrichs, I must admit that genetic and constitutional factors certainly have some effect in producing such borderline intersexes; the male inverts I have known often show typically feminine skin and hair texture and distribution, female pubic triangle, lack of linea alba, scanty beard (occasionally it is altogether missing), feminoid breasts, dorsal profile distinctly feminine with

flaring hips, female conformation at elbows, etc. Daniel G. Brown, "Inversion and Homosexuality," *Amer. Jour. of Orthopsychiatry*, 28:424-429 (1958), goes farther than this in rehabilitating many of Ulrichs's own insights (though he cites Freud instead!), ending by hypothesizing that the invert identifies with the parent of opposite sex. Typically, says Brown, the male invert has had a bad, weak, distant or absent father and a dominant or idolized mother. (But I have found this same situation in many homosexuals who showed no sign of "inversion" in Brown's sense, and in some individuals who were not noticeably either inverted or overtly homosexual. It follows that other factors are also necessary to account for the syndrome.) He adds that transvestism and other signs of inversion are found not only in effeminate male homosexuals (and in the "bull-dyke" type of hypermasculine lesbian) but also in heterosexuals with this single compulsion. NB: The term "invert" is sometimes misused as a synonym for "homosexual," e.g. Ellis's introduction to Cory, ref. 18.

- 143a. Mother Seredá appears in Cabell's *Jurgen*. The name is Russian for Wednesday or midweek, and carries the connotation of middle-of-the-road, mediocrity, avoidance of extremes.
- 144. Kinsey II, 21.
- 145. Kinsey II, 37.

PART TWO. CHAPTER X.

- 146. C. O. Müller, *History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, II, 290ff; transl. of his *Die Dorer*, II, 286ff.
- 147. J. A. Symonds, *A Problem in Greek Ethics*, priv. ptd. (1901?), hereinafter APIGE, *passim*.
- 148. Licht, SLIAG, 411-498; S.G. II, 117-239; S.G. III, *Ergänzungsband*, same publisher, 1928, 188-244.
- 149. Rhys Carpenter, *Fiction, Folk-tale and Saga in the Homeric Epics*, Univ. of Calif. Press (Berkeley and Los Angeles), 1956.
- 150. "Homer," *Iliad*, tr. Richmond Lattimore, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1951, introduction.
- 151. E.g., Anth. Pal. VII, 143; Pindar, 10th *Olymp.*, 19; Xenophon, *Sympos.*, 31; Plutarch, *Erōtikos*, 5, etc.
- 152. Licht, SLIAG, 450; S.G. II, 160ff.
- 153. Paul Goodman, ref. 67, p. 301.
- 154. *Ibid.*, 359-60.
- 154a. Rudolf Beyer, *Fabulae graecae quatenus quave aetate puerorum amore commutatae sint*, Weidae Thuringorum, MCMX. (Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Leipzig.) In Latin. This provides a catalogue raisonnée of Greek myths of Greek love affairs between gods and their respective boyfriends, and ascribes the practice of Greek love to the Dorians of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., spreading throughout all Hellas in following centuries.
- 154b. Beyer, chapter III.
- 154c. According to Beyer, Ganymede(s) is a pure Greek name, ex *gánymai*, "to be delighted," or perhaps *gános*, "brightness" and *mēdea*, "genitals."
- 154d. This etymology is even found in Plato, *Kratylos*, 414a.

155. APIGE, 2.
- 155a. Cf. Beyer, 9-10. "Enthusiasm" here means a fad or widespread craze.
- 155b. *De Repub. Laced.*, 2, 13.
156. APIGE, 16-17.
157. Cf. Hesiod, *Shield of Herakles*, 57.
- 157a. Beyer, chapter 2.
158. G. Lowes Dickinson, *The Greek View of Life*, 71ff, hereinafter GVL.
Note the implication: direct personal participation, "conscious identity of interest." Public life was an automatic consequence of the direct and personal social bond, and therefore an essential part of living.
- 158a. Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, III, ii.
- 158b. *Lycurgus*, 18.
159. GVL, 188-9, citing *Erōtikos* 17ff.
160. Sir Charles Maurice Bowra, *The Greek Experience*, Cleveland, World, 1957; N.Y., Mentor, 1959, 41, citing Diog. Laertius, VIII, 64. Licht, S.G. II, 178, illustrates the inscriptions in question.
161. Ephoros of Kyme, cited in Strabo, X, 483ff; Plutarch, *De lib. educ.*, 11F; cf. Licht, 456; Meier and Pögey-Castries, ref. 15 above, 45; Plato, *Laws*, I, 636 and VIII, 836.
162. Aristotle, *De Republica*, II, 10, 1272.
163. Licht, SLIAG, 457; S.G. II, 166.
- 163a. *Cyropaedia*, VII, 1, 30.
164. *Life of Pelopidas*, ch. 18. Dr. Warren Johansson tells me that it is well known that similar sacred bands existed in the Moslem world!
165. Cf. Johann Schweighäuser, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas*, vol. VII (Strasbourg: ex Typographia Societatis Bipontinae, 1805), p. 41; K. H. Ulrichs, *Memnon*, p. xiv. Robert Bossuat, "Vasque de Lucène, traducteur de Quinte-Curce (1468)," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 8:197-245 (1946), on pp. 235-36 mentions that a French translator of the biography of Alexander the Great turned the characters of Nikomachos and Bagoas into girls.
166. e.g. Meier & Pögey-Castries, ref. 15, 290-91.
167. *Ibid.*, 291 ad fin.
168. APIGE, 28-30.
169. Licht, SLIAG, 453; S.G. II, 162.
170. APIGE, 30-33.
171. GVL, 148. The Greeks seem to have anticipated the existentialists here: cf. TPB, 11.
172. E.g., in Phanokles, *Erōtēs ē Kalói*, "Loves or Male Beauties." Cf. Licht, SLIAG, 463-4; S.G. II, 180.
173. Evidently a distorted reference to the ritual of the *ōmophagia* or devouring of live victims; until well into historic times human sacrifice with cannibalistic orgies has been a feature of certain rituals of the Great Goddess. The sacrifices, performed on sacred days near to the summer and winter solstices, were alternately of the sacred king (in whom the Spirit of the Year, once called the Bull-Calf Hereules and by many other names, was embodied) and of his tanist, alternate, or surrogate. In different regions the sacred king's reign was extended to longer periods, related to various types of calendar reform. Graves, ref. 120, goes into abundant detail on these questions.

173a. The various myths of Orpheus spell out an altogether different story in their esoteric meaning, as Graves (ref. 120) has shown. "Orpheus" was apparently a dynastic title for sacred kings in Thrace, later on leaders of the rites of Dionysos, "Lame Zeus of Nysa," who ritually married colleges of priestesses of the Great Goddess. At least one of these was especially illustrious, being worshiped after his ritual death as a Pelasgian Apollo or Sun-hero, his skull or deathmask being used for oracular purposes by whatever priestess was in charge of the Goddess's shrine in Thrace. This particular Orpheus is credited with having planted a sacred grove of oaks (Graves speculated that it was in double ranks, spiraling in on itself and again outwards) at Zonē in Thrace, and with having harrowed Hell like Hercules, Theseus and Jesus. And each Midsummer Day the Orpheus of the year joined the "Immortals" by being made drunk, led into the middle of a circle of 12 stones around an oak lopped into T-shape, bound to the oak with willow thongs so that wrists, neck and ankles were juxtaposed, flayed, blinded, castrated, impaled with a mistletoe stake, then torn to pieces and devoured by the maenads (priestesses intoxicated from chewing ivy leaves); his blood (caught in a basin) was a fertility charm, and may also have been used like bull's blood as a stimulus to prophecy. He was replaced by his tanist (note 173) and supposedly reincarnated or re-embodied as a new Orpheus, taking office and crown at midwinter at the sacrificial death of the tanist. But in the Orphic Mysteries these horrendous rituals were not re-enacted: instead, other rituals of the Goddess and her Dionysos consort were devised with the point of (among other things) enabling devotees to be spared the eternal round of reincarnations, repeated sufferings and deaths. "It was expedient that one man die for the whole people"—and in Orphism was offered a way out, so that only the annual (or, later, 8- or 19-yearly) death of the sacred king would be necessary: common people would not have to come back to earth and further misery. At least some Orphic initiates—Pythagoras and Empedokles among them—went through a ritual mock death or re-enactment on a small scale of the barbarous rites above described, after which they were paid divine honours; possibly this sort of thing was later usual in Orphic initiations, the idea being that the Immortal Lords of the Dead could choose to reincarnate or not to, but others were forced to stay on the Wheel of Life at the Goddess's pleasure. I shall not contradict those who take Orpheus as a "type" of the crucified Christ.

And what has this to do with boy-love? It would seem that Orpheus, as leader of orgiastic rites, probably did engage in sex with his merry-men, including his tanist or surrogate, a young fellow who was said to embody Dionysos. (The alternation of Apollo and Dionysos is no accident.) If, then, Dionysos was (as I postulate in the main text) intimately connected with boy-love, as with uncontrollable falling-in-love which makes its victim mad with a divine madness, this accounts for a great many details of the religious aspects of boy-love, even though many of the original meanings early became restricted to initiates of the Mysteries, or lost, or misunderstood by the

general populace. If the above reads strangely, I can only say that it rests on excellent authority and that full treatment would take many pages; I write for the initiate. Others may be able to reconstruct some of it from Frazer and from Graves's various writings.

174. GVL, 31-2.

174a. An early instance of Ortega's law: masses take over what were originally aristocratic concerns or pastimes, partly or wholly misunderstanding them in the process. This is in José Ortega y Gasset, *La Rebelión de las Masas*, 1930, tr. as *The Revolt of the Masses*, N.Y., Mentor, 1950.

175. I draw much of my material on the athletic cult from E. Norman Gardiner, *Athletics in the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1930, esp. ch. IV.

176. GVL, 143ff.

177. Licht, SLIAG, 429, with examples; S.G. II, 137ff.

178. Cf., among other sources, Sir J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black Figure*, U. of Cal. Press, 1951, p. 81 and plate 41; but Beazley's entire oeuvre provides confirmation.

179. Licht, SLIAG, 430; S.G. II, 138.

180. Cf. K. Wernicke, *Die Griechische Vasen mit Lieblingsnamen*, Berlin, 1890; and Beazley's various volumes.

181. Gardner, ref. 175, ch. VII.

182. Ibid., figs. 163 and 182, and p. 190.

183. Beazley, ref. 178, p. 10 and plate 4; cf. also Jean Marcadé, *Erōs Kalós*, Geneva, Nagel, 1962, *passim*.

184. Cf. GVL, 144. But even today physique magazines often show their athletic models well oiled up. Cf. Strato, Anth. Pal., XII, 192.

185. The three Licht S.G. volumes are crammed full of examples; others are in Marcadé, ref. 183.

186. Licht, SLIAG, 474; S.G. II, 188.

187. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai*, XI, 485b.

188. Licht, SLIAG, 438-440; S.G. II, 148-151.

189. Cf. Anth. Pal. XII, 116, and the Dudley Fitts paraphrase in *Poems from the Greek Anthology*, N.Y., New Directions, 1956, p. 55.

190. Fitts, 60; Anth. Pal. V, 167.

191. Ibid, 136; A.P. XII, 50.

CHAPTER XI.

192. Published by Dutton, N.Y., 1935, tr. Gilbert & Helen Highet, from Kiefer's *Kulturgeschichte Roms unter Besonderer Berücksichtigung der Römischen Sitten*.

193. Kiefer, 68-74.

194. Kiefer, 136, mentions that in B.C. 150 the Roman senate decreed an Act of Banishment against philosophers and rhetors of foreign origin. But this piece of isolationist stupidity did not last.

195. Kiefer, ch. II, esp. 95-106. Romans generally despised gymnastics as effeminate in comparison with arms and armor!

196. For an appreciation of Catullus, see the introduction to Horace Gregory's well-known translation (most often available in Grove Press paperback, N.Y., 1956), and the chapter on Catullus in Gilbert Highet's *Poets in a Landscape*, N.Y., Knopf, 1957.

197. In his much-reprinted pamphlet *The White Negro*, perhaps most readily available in Part 4 of *Advertisements for Myself*, N.Y., Putnam, 1959.
198. Quoted in full in Appendix C of Helen Waddell's *The Wandering Scholars*, many eds.
199. Cf. Gregory's introduction, ref. 196, xvi. But Robert Graves makes of Clodia/Lesbia an embodiment of (or a woman possessed by: a distinction without a difference) the Great Goddess in several of her more sinister aspects.
200. This family name appears repeatedly in C.I.L., vol. V.
201. I must add that Kiefer regards the name Juventius as a pseudonym (op. cit., 191); I see no reason to insist on the point, but find this idea strange in view of the numerous wall inscriptions cited in the preceding reference.
202. Highet, ref. 196, pp. 3, 254.
203. In the *Priapea*, *passim*. Cf. the original edition of these doggerel verses appended to L. Müller's *Catullus* (1885), or the Burton & Smithers translation, 'Athens,' Erotika Biblion Society, 1888 and reprintings, or the corrected edition now in preparation in England.
204. I identify "Mentula" as a nickname for Mamurra from Carm. XXIX, 13; and Mamurra is called only "Mentula" from then on. The name means nothing more nor less than *phallus*. One translator englishes it as "Mantool"!
205. In *Catullus, the Complete Poems*, tr. and ed. F. A. Wright, London, G. Routledge & Stratford, 1917.
206. Kiefer, 192.
207. J. M. Edmonds, ed. and tr., *The Greek Bucolic Poets*, Heinemann (Loeb. Class. Lib.), 1912.
- 207a. I thoroughly agree with Robert Graves's strictures on Virgil in his *Oxford Addresses on Poetry*.
208. Cf. Kiefer, 205ff.
209. Ibid., 198-199.
210. An appreciation is in Highet (ref. 196), an entire chapter being devoted to Horace.
211. J. P. Clancy, tr., *The Odes and Epodes of Horace*, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1960.
212. Kiefer, 284.
213. Ibid., 148-9.
214. E.g., in Suetonius, and in C. J. Bulliet's *Venus Castina*.
215. Cf. Juvenal, Satire VI in particular, and Kiefer, 288.
216. Canon Derrick Sherwin Bailey, *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition*, 67-73. Of value principally for the quotations from Justinian.
217. Kiefer, 336-41.
218. Marguerite Yourcenar, *Hadrian's Memoirs*, Farrar, Straus & Young, 1955, A.D. 124 *ad fin.*, 155-313.
219. Pankrates, in *Pap. Oxyrhynch.*, VIII, 73.
220. Kiefer, 340. He makes the equation Stefan George : Maximin : Hadrian : Antinoüs.
221. APIGE, 72-3.

CHAPTER XII.

222. Bailey, 73ff. (ref. 216).
223. In his book *Devils, Drugs and Doctors*, N.Y. Harper, 1929, and many later eds.
224. This is even mentioned in *Ency. Brit.*, s.v. Justinian.
225. Denis de Rougemont, LWW (ref. 98), 109ff.
- 225a. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Sociology Dept., Univ. of California, Berkeley.
- 225b. John Bernard Fuller, Ph.D., *Hilarii versus et ludi*, N.Y., Holt, 1929.
226. LWW, 52ff.
227. Ibid., 56.
228. Ibid., 78ff and *passim*.
229. J. A. Symonds, "The Dantesque and Platonic Ideals of Love." In: *In the Key of Blue*, London, 1892.
230. *Purgatorio*, canto XXVI.
231. LWW, 95.
232. LWW, 51.
233. LWW, 292.
234. LWW, 30. The quotation is from one of the Tristan mss.
235. LWW, 257ff.
236. LWW, 212, etc.
237. LWW, 23ff; and the well-known passages in Plato's *Phaedrus*, Plutarch's *Lycurgus*, etc.
238. LWW, 29.
239. LWW, 84; *Ency. Brit.* s.v. Troubadours; Huizinga; and many other commentators.
240. Symonds, ref. 229, p. 80.
241. LWW, 63.
242. LWW, 286ff.
243. LWW, 293.
244. LWW, 294ff: the Dorian parallels were treated in Chapter X.
245. LWW, 298.
246. In the first part of ref. 174a. But we must distinguish the mass taking-over from the resulting loss of original meaning. Cf. Graves's complaints about judging poetry by gleeman standards (ref. 120).
247. LWW, 335.
248. LWW, 69, etc.
- 248a. A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, II, Vienna, 1877, 128-31; cited by F. Karsch-Haack, *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, 23:100-170 (1923).
249. LWW, 104.
250. Published by Cresset Press, and referred to by many writers and anthologists.
251. A. J. Arberry, tr., *The Pennants*, Cambridge Univ. Press.
252. Published by John Murray, Ltd., London. See also ch. XIV, ad fin.; this firm published Byron.

CHAPTER XIII.

253. Cf. Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (var. eds., incl. Modern Library); LWW, 262; Tusiani's translation of Michelangelo's *Complete Poems*, N.Y., Noon-

- day, 1960; 'Pisanus Fraxi,' *Catena Librorum Tacendorum*, 1885 (reprints 1960, 62), xx ff.
254. In his *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*.
255. These terms are Vasari's.
256. Michelangelo was then over 60, and the Colonna was likewise well advanced in years. But more importantly, Michelangelo was here deliberately emulating Dante; he admired this master to a degree unequalled by anyone in the Renaissance, as Tusi-
 ani's introduction points out. Ludwig Goldscheider's intro-
 duction (p. 6) to his Phaidon Press book of Michelangelo
 sculptures mentions Michelangelo's having offered to do a
 tomb of Dante, free, for Pope Leo X.
257. Whom M. had met in Rome, c. 1531-2.
258. Testified to by Vasari's familiar biography (many eds.).
259. Tusiani (ref. 253), 183.
260. Aretino, author of the notorious *Sonetti lussuriosi* (1527) and *Ragi-
 onamenti*, is described unequivocally as homosexual in SIM,
 31.
261. The same sort of androgynous features are on *many* Leonardo draw-
 ings regardless of their gender. Cf. Goldscheider's Phaidon
 Press book of Leonardo paintings and drawings, plates 19, 71,
 92, 107, fig. 52 and *passim*. *Crapouillot* 30 (1955) shows two
 Leonardo drawings side by side, one being the head of a
 young Bacchus, the other an idealized female form; the
 features are identical.
262. Salai became a painter, and his paintings have been occasionally seen
 in exhibits here and abroad. Leonardo's portrait of Salai is
 reproduced on figure 14 of the Goldscheider compilation, and
 plates 13 and 41 may possibly depict him as well. SIM, 32,
 cites Leonardo as having been in trouble with the law ca. 1476
 on grounds of what would now be called corrupting the morals
 of a minor. Cf. also SIM, 33ff; Hirschfeld, *Die Homosex-
 ualität* (ref. 14), pp. 666-7.
263. But see SIM, 34, and Symonds's translation of Cellini's autobiography.
264. This is mentioned in Roger Hinks's monograph, *Michelangelo Merisi
 da Caravaggio*, N.Y., Beechhurst Press, 1953, p. 113 and
 plate 94. Caravaggio's St. Matthew and the Angel is on plate
 20 of this work, and his Amore Vincitore on plate 21.
265. "The book *De laudibus sodomiae seu pederastiae*, which the 4th ed. of
 the *Gay Bibliographie* [des Ouvrages relatifs à l'Amour, etc.]
 (vol. 1, col. 808) records as having been published at Venice
 in 1548, is a bibliographical ghost that refuses to be exorcised.
 Giovanni della Casa, Archbishop of Benevento (1503-56),
 who wrote both in humanistic Latin and in *lingua volgare*,
 composed a poem of 70 lines in terza rima entitled *Il capitolo
 del forno* wherein the sexual act is metaphorically described as
 the baking of bread in an oven. Three stanzas of the poem in
 which the author alluded to pederasty were seized upon by
 Protestant writers for attacks on the Roman church, but as
 they ordinarily knew the composition only by hearsay, they
 eventually ascribed to the Archbishop a Latin work of the
 above-mentioned title that was supposedly published in Ven-
 ice (where he was the legatus a latere) in 1548 (the date of
 earliest Protestant sermon denouncing the poem) in octavo
 (a format employed for his genuine publications.). The entire

matter was treated lucidly and accurately by Gilles Ménage, *Anti-Baillet ou Critique du livre de Mr. [Adrien] Baillet, intitulé Jugemens des Savans* (The Hague: Estienne Foulque et Louis van Dole, 1688), vol. 2, pp. 88-153, who concluded (p. 101) that the 'De laudibus' never existed . . ." Personal communication by Dr. Warren Johansson.

266. SIM, 34.

267. SIM, 41-42.

268. Women did in fact occasionally take roles in private masques and similar entertainments, but not on the public stage until the Restoration—when they produced scandals such as had never been proved against any of the boy actors of female roles! The custom of having boys act female roles on stage is of great antiquity, dating back to the time of Aeschylus. It was rationalized later by Aristotle's opinion that for dramatic purposes women were ill suited. Later on Tertullian and Augustine objected to female stage performers in Rome as whores, probably with some factual basis in the Roman caste of entertainers. In medieval and Renaissance times, boys continued to act in female roles. Classical precedents cited above provided ample justification for the Renaissance writers on the subject. Cf. Angus Heriot, *The Castrati*, London, Secker & Warburg, 1956, 23ff.

269. C. J. Bulliet, *Venus Castina*, 141ff. These kidnapping techniques differed from those of the British Navy's press-gangs (an institution responsible for most of the personnel of the latter until not too many decades ago) principally in that boys were snatched or enticed out of school as well as off the streets, while the press gangs were not known to invade institutions, and they are known to have descended to mugging tactics.

269a. This precise technique is used in a seduction scene in Roger Gellert's recent play *Quaint Honour* (see Chapter XVI of the present volume).

270. John Munro, in *The London Shakespeare*, IV, 1393.

271. Cf. *American Bar Assn. Journal*, XLV, 2:204 (Feb. 1959).

272. In his *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, 1899.

273. In his *The Man Shakespeare*, 1909.

274. In his *A Life of Shakespeare*, Penguin Books.

274a. My conclusion parallels that of K. H. Ulrichs, whose technical name for the class to which Shakespeare belonged was "disjunctive Urano-Dioning." But cf. van Emde Boas' thesis, *Shakespeare's Sonnetten en hun verband met de travesti-double spelen*, Amsterdam, 1951, i.e. "Shakespeare's Sonnets and their relationship with the 'double-disguise' plays," which uses Freudian arguments among others to arrive at the conclusion that Shakespeare, though not allowing himself to perform overt homosexual acts, was nevertheless in an unequivocal and probably partly unconscious homosexual attachment with the "fair youth" of the Sonnets, and that a triangle of rivalry existed between the two of them for the "Dark Lady" of the later Sonnets.

275. C. J. Bulliet, *Venus Castina*, 153-159.

276. Munro, ref. 270, IV, 1387.

276a. The dedication is on his edition of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*,

- "The City of God," englished by John Healey, 1610; Thorpe had published the Sonnets in 1609.
277. In *Shakespeare's Bawdy*, N.Y., Dutton, 1955, 13-18.
278. Ibid., 33.
279. Ibid., 21.
280. Ibid., 14.
- 280a. Cf. Marchette Chute, *Shakespeare of London*, N.Y. Dutton, 1949.
- 280b. W. Robertson Davies, *Shakespeare's Boy Actors*, London, J. M. Dent, 1939. I hereby gratefully acknowledge the help of a research paper on this subject prepared by M. Bradley.
281. In his essay on *Elizabethan Songbooks* in *In the Key of Blue*, London, 1892.
282. London, published by Chiswick Press.
283. In *Cynthia, with Certain Sonnets*. Cf. SIM, 42.
- 283a. An adaptation of Ovid, *Met.*, IV, 288ff.
284. John Aubrey, *Brief Lives chiefly of Contemporaries . . . 1669-1696*, ed. Rev. Andrew Clark, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1898: life of Bacon; Sir Simonds D'Ewes, *Autobiography*, section on Bacon; Bacon's *Essay Of Friendship* (many eds.); SIM, 44-5.

CHAPTER XIV.

285. Bulliet, ref. 275, 162ff.
286. A variorum edition of Rochester's *Sodom*, based on the seven surviving MSS., is now in preparation in England.
287. Cf. E. S. Turner, *The Court of St. James's*, and the Anderson & Sutherland *Eros*, London, Anthony Blond, 1961, 187-88.
288. Angus Heriot, *The Castrati*, London, Secker & Warburg, 1956.
289. Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization*, N.Y., W. W. Norton, 302.
290. Heriot, 12ff.
291. Heriot, 51, etc. See also Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, 1771, *passim*; *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces*, 1773, etc.
292. Jacques Casanova's *Memoirs* for 1754 give details; see also Goethe, *Travels in Italy* (many eds.), particularly the sections on Rome.
293. Cf. SIM, 45-47; the more modern term, of course, is peg-houses. Cf. note to Limerick 522 in Anon. (i.e. G. Legman), *The Limerick, 1700 [i.e. 1739] Examples, with Notes, Variants, and Index*: Paris, Les Hautes Etudes, 1953, p. 403.
294. F. Carlier, *Les Deux Prostitutions*, Paris 1889, *passim*. Partly reprinted in "Les Homosexuels," special number, *Crapouillot* 30, Paris 1955. Cf. also note 84.
- 294a. "Pisanus Fraxi" (i.e. Henry Spencer Ashbee), *Centuria Librorum Absconditorum*, privately printed, 1879; reprinted 1960, 1962, latter as vol. II of *Bibliography of Prohibited Books*, N.Y., Jack Brussel, 1962 (hereinafter Fraxi II), 449ff, quoting Ned Ward, *The London-Spy*, second edition, London, 1704, 32-33. This antedates David Loth's claimed "first," *A Treatise on the Use of Flogging*, 1718. (*The Erotic in Literature*, N.Y., Macfadden, 1963, 199.)
- 294b. This is common knowledge, having been referred to many times, but

- what is not common knowledge is the madam's name. The King visited Mrs. Collett's establishment in Tavistock Court, Covent Garden. Cf. "Pisanus Fraxi," *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, priv. ptd., 1877, reprinted as in note 294a; hereinafter Fraxi I, xlii.
- 294c. Fraxi I, 23; entries in index under "Flagellation" in Fraxi I, II and III (*Catena Librorum Tacendorum*, priv. ptd. 1885, reprinted as in 294a); and personal verification, in that every British eroticon I have seen dated later than the 1770's gives some attention to flagellation, and a great many are devoted exclusively or almost exclusively to this subject. Prior to this date flagellation as erotic stimulus is a minor element only when it appears at all.
295. I am aware that the 5th dialogue ("Libidines") of "Luisa Sigea" (Nicolas Chorier, *Aloisiae Sigee Toletanae Satyra Sotadica de arcanis Amoris et Veneris* . . . Lugduni ca. 1660, 1678, etc.; Eng. tr., *The Dialogues of Luisa Sigea*, Paris, I. Liseux, 1890, esp. 142-151) included a passage on the sexually stimulating properties of flagellation, but most erotic literature of earlier date (e.g., Aretino, and various Greek and Roman works) had nothing to say on the subject. Fraxi II, 442n, confirms Licht that it was unknown to the ancients. Like soixante-neuf, flagellation seems to have been discovered as erotically significant only in recent centuries. But even in Chorier's work, flagellation is a very recessive element: it is introduced specifically as penance for premarital intercourse and proof of bravery, and only a single hint that it might be rewarding: "the harder the correction thou wilt submit to, the greater the voluptuousness thou wilt see thyself filled with," 1890 ed., 148. This is very different indeed from the British attitude, which was that flagellation was its own reward, when mutually done automatically producing sexual excitement, etc. I doubt the British generalization.
- 295a. 'George Coleman,' pseud., *The Rodiad*, London, 'Cadell & Murray, Fleet Street, 1810' (i.e. 1871; cf. Fraxi II, 471ff).
- 295b. Loth, ref. 294a, 206-208.
296. It may be no coincidence, then, that in 1749 John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (the famous "Fanny Hill") contains a most disapproving description of a buggery scene between a young man and a boy, saliva being used as lubricant, and the practice Martial disapproved of (XI, 22: see above, ch. XI) being used to get the boy excitedly co-operative. This scene was expurgated from most later editions, but is restored to the recent Olympia Press version, and is included in Fraxi III, 60-61.
- 296a. Fraxi II, 404-410. The "meat rack" was at the Place des Veuves—"veuves" being French for widows and at that time homosexual argot for passive-feminine types, especially those who enjoyed being buggered. The modern term is "femme": see Glossary.
297. Chorier, ref. 295 above, 1890 ed., 273-278; and see Chapter VI above.
298. Austin Dobson, *Horace Walpole*, 1890. The "Quadruple Alliance" consisted of Walpole, Thomas Gray, Richard West, and Thomas Ashton, while all four were at Eton.
299. R. W. Ketton-Cramer, *Life of Gray*. Cambridge University Press.

300. Winckelmarm, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, 1764.
301. Boyd Alexander, *Life at Fonthill*.
302. Eros (ref. 287), following Boyd Alexander, quotes some scandalmonger in the *Morning Herald*: "The rumour concerning a Grammatical mistake of Mr. B— and the Hon. Mr. C—, in regard to the genders, we hope for the honour of Nature originates in Calumny!"
303. Cf. SIM, 38.
304. Goethe, *Notizbuch von der schlesischen Reise im Jahre 1790*. Ed. Friedrich Zaruke. In: *Goethes Werke*, Düntzer Ausgabe, III i, 255. Leipzig, 1884.
305. SIM, 48.
306. No. 24 of the regular set of *Roman Elegies* (many editions exist) is Goethe's contribution to the Priapea.
307. The ultimate source is Marc-André Raffalovich, who had seen them in manuscript. I quote from his *Uranisme et unisexualité* (Lyon: A. Storck, 1896, 310): "On sait que Goethe, à Rome, a chanté un jeune garçon et on dit que Goethe l'a aimé. Ces deux élégies romaines ne seront jamais publiées, même dans la belle et nouvelle édition de ses oeuvres en cent vingt grans volumes,—mais Goethe en Italie est un des moments les plus intéressants de l'histoire du génie."—"It is known that Goethe, in Rome, wrote poems to a young boy whom he is said to have loved. These two Roman elegies will never be published, not even in the fine new edition of his works in 120 large volumes,—but Goethe in Italy is one of the most interesting moments in the history of genius."
308. *Conversations with Chancellor Friedrich von Müller*, no. 265: Wednesday, 7 April 1830.
309. *Letters from Switzerland*, many eds.
310. Raffalovich (ref. 307, p. 311) says of these, "Et quand il écrivit son *Divan oriental* il écrivit les plus suaves poemes unisexuels auquel on peut rêver quand on s' imagine l'Orient transfiguré."—"And when he wrote his *West-Eastern Divan* he wrote the sweetest homosexual poems one could dream of when one imagines a transfigured Orient."
311. Dr. Warren Johansson tells me that this Prof. Paulus was the chief representative of the Rationalist school of New Testament criticism.
- 311a. This view of Jesus has received unexpected confirmation in Robert Graves's *King Jesus*.
312. SIM, 66. One copy is in the Univ. of Penna. library. There is also a condensed reprint of the 1890's period, which is even rarer.
313. I must unfortunately leave for a subsequent study an account of the role of classical training in British public schools in preserving Greek love on the one hand, and a fussy asexual sort of homosexuality on the other. The Byron case, however, does provide a kind of sociological microscope. See note 344, below.
314. A different version is in the Works, vol. I, eds. of 1853 and 1903, latter ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge (London, John Murray Ltd.), relegating the original version to a footnote. I use the earliest published editions, as mentioned in the text.
315. Byron, Letter to Miss Pigot, 5 July 1807.
316. Letter to Miss Pigot, Oct. 28, 1811.

317. G. Wilson Knight, *Lord Byron's Marriage*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957.
318. Goethe, *Conversations with Eckermann*, March 26, 1826. Cf. also Feb. 24, 1825 and July 5, 1827.
319. Anonymous, *Leon to Annabella*, 1823 (written as though from Byron to Lady Byron); the unique copy is in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. 'Pisanus Fraxi,' Index Librorum Prohibitorum, 1877, 191, mentions 1865 and 1875 reprints, not now known. "George Gordon, Lord Byron" (i.e. Colman?), *Don Leon*, date of first edition unknown and no copy is now known to exist; second and third editions both dated 1866. A copy of one of these is also in the Morgan Library. (I summarize information obtained from Dr. Warren Johansson.)

CHAPTER XV.

320. I use the texts in the Household Edition of his *Collected Poems*, Boston, 1880; many other editions exist.
321. Henry David Thoreau, *Letters to Various Persons*, Boston, Ticknor & Fields, 1865. Thoreau had not seen the "Calamus" poems, of course, but the 1855 edition of L. of G. included "I Sing the Body Electric" and "The Sleepers" as well as several others of relevance.
322. Walt Whitman, *Democratic Vistas*, in *Leaves of Grass and Selected Prose*, ed. Kouwenhoven, N.Y., Mod. Library, 469n; "Children of Adam" section in L. of G., *passim*; "Song of Myself," *passim*; and in his poems generally.
323. Cf. his famous lines, "I contradict myself? Very well, I contradict myself. I contain multitudes."
324. Ralph Waldo Emerson, in *The Poet*, 1844, Cf. L. of G., ref. 322, xi.
325. The first edition (1855) did not contain the "Calamus" (male love) section; the scandal was not so much over homosexual contact as over frank heterosexual panegyrics in the poems mentioned in ref. 321, and over the "Children of Adam" poems in later eds. Emerson's praise (1856) was to have been expected, since L. of G. not only fitted in with Transcendentalist ideas but also fulfilled his own challenge of 1844, as they both were very well aware. The free verse used in L. of G. was actually nothing new; William Blake had used similar long loose unrhymed lines in his Prophetic Books—someday perhaps some mouse o' the scrolls in a university English department will write a learned paper on the effect of these on Whitman, if he hasn't already—and Heine's "North Sea" poems use a somewhat comparable line.
326. *Calamus* ostensibly means a reed-pen. In Nonnos's *Dionysiaca*, book XI, Kalamos or Calamus is described as the son of the river-god Maeander. Kalamos loved Karpos; when this boy died, Kalamos, inconsolable, was changed by the gods into a reed, in whose rustling the ancients heard his immemorial lament. Whitman may well have known the Nonnos work at second-hand or possibly through the edition of the comte de Marcellus (1856) which included a French prose translation. He was at least superficially familiar with most of the better-known classical authors, referring to them in *Democratic Vistas* and elsewhere.

327. For my evaluation of Whitman I draw extensively on APIME, Gay Wilson Allen's *The Solitary Singer*, and *The Riddle of Whitman's Sexuality* which comprised no. 4 (1959) of *Homophile Studies*, the ONE Institute quarterly.
328. pp. 505 and 505n of ref. 322.
329. Richard Maurice Bucke, *Cosmic Consciousness*, Dutton 1901 (reprint 1956), 225-237.
- 329a. Gavin Arthur (personal communication) quotes Edward Carpenter on Whitman to the effect that WW—like Carpenter—was a great cuddler and practitioner of *karezza*, and was averse to being identified with the Symonds clique or with buggery.
330. Whitman, *Specimen Days*, describes these in detail.
331. William H. Sheldon, Ph.D., M.D., personal communication; these researches are nearing publication.
332. I use the texts in the *OEuvres complètes*, ed. Yves-Gérard Le Dantec, Paris, 1951. These do not include Verlaine's pornographic poems.
333. His overtly lesbian poems of *Amies* (some having in the meantime appeared in his *Parallèlement*), together with the male homosexual ones of *Hombres*, and various other heterosexual pornographic poems, were separately issued in *OEuvres libres*, 'Segovia: Pablo de Herlagnez [i.e. Paul Verlaine?], 1868/1891.' The last item in the collection is a Sonnet du trou de cul (Sonnet on the Anus), a collaboration between Verlaine and Rimbaud. Most of these things are magnificent but completely untranslatable, and were they translatable only Olympia Press or some Scandinavian counterpart could safely print the englished versions. More than one edition of *OEuvres libres* apparently exists; all are rare.
334. Even more recent anthologists have fallen into this error. Edward Carpenter's *Iolaus* (Boston, Goodspeed, 1902, second augmented edition 1906) did not mention the Calamites' work, nor is adequate attention given them in the Anderson & Sutherland *Eros* (ref. 287). Literary quality of Calamite material cannot be the sufficient cause, as far worse material is included by both Carpenter and the compilers of *Eros*.
- 334a. He remained celibate, and edited the dull Manilius rather than Catullus or (A.E.H.'s idol among Roman poets) Propertius. His poems manifest his tortured state only too clearly.
- 334b. This shows the beloved as an embodiment of Hermes. Cf. Stefan George's poem The Dancer, from *The Kingdom Come*.
335. Doubtless an outgrowth of Symonds's collaboration with Havelock Ellis on the first edition of SIM (German version). The English version was suppressed in 1896 by request of Symonds's relatives. (Information from Dr. Warren Johansson.) The hand of Symonds is visible in SIM as it now exists.
- 335a. Some of Carpenter's influence survives today in the works of his friend Gavin Arthur, still living, e.g. *The Circle of Sex*, San Francisco, Pan-Graphic Press, 1962. By this book's categories, Greek lovers would mostly be "Pioneers" or "Caesars" rather than the inverted "Dorians" or "Finocchio types."
336. Whereas Ulrichs's pamphlets began to appear only in 1864. See note 11, above.
337. Denton Welch, *Journals*, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1948.
- 337a. Timothy d'Arch Smith, personal communication.

338. Oscar Wilde, *De Profundis*, *passim*. See complete edition in *Letters of OW*, ref. 57a, 423-511.
339. H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Trials of Oscar Wilde*, "Famous British Trials Series"; American reprint is called "The Three Trials of OW."
- 339a. Ref 57a, p. xiii. The Stuart-Young book is there dated 1905 and called "preposterous."
340. Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Gray* seems more relevant to androphilia than to Greek love.
- 340a. Obviously successors to "A Few Maxims for the Instruction of the Over-Educated," *Saturday Review*, Nov. 17, 1894. See ref. 57a, Appendix B.
341. The bibliography of homosexual literature by "Noel I. Garde" mentions a 1906 edition of this which I have never seen.
342. J. M. Stuart-Young, *Candles in Sunshine*, ed. Charles Kains-Jackson, London, Arthur H. Stockwell, 1919. Data from Timothy d'Arch Smith, as no copy of this book appears to be in any library in the United States.
343. Excerpted in the Anderson & Sutherland *Eros*, ref. 287, pp. 245-6.
344. Cf. Anon., "Sex in the Public School," British clipping reproduced in *Mattachine Review*, Dec. 1958; and Arthur Freeman, "School-boy Homosexuality," same Journal, May 1960, reprinted from *University Libertarian*, London. But what is obviously needed is a quantity of interviews with graduates of these British schools. I notice rather marked differences between Freeman's description of schoolboy experiments (casual and Greek love) in England and those encountered by me in boarding schools in the U.S.A., but ascribe them to cultural differences.
345. The boy god—often appearing as androgynous—is one of the most important of the Jungian archetypes. Cf. Jung and Kerényi, *Essays on a Science of Mythology*, revised edition, Harper Torchbooks 1963; reviewed, *Fantasy & Science-Fiction*, Feb. 1964.
346. However, a link with the Calamites may be found in A. T. Bartholomew, who knew Chubb's work.
347. Timothy d'Arch Smith, *The Printed Work of Ralph Chubb*. London, Jonathan Vickers, priv. ptd., 1962; 100 copies.
348. Cf. Claude Bragdon's concept of the Divine Androgynē in *The Eternal Poles*, London, Rider & Co., n.d.
349. Theodore Sturgeon, *Venus Plus X*. New York, Pyramid Books, 1960; second edition, differing mostly in the cover, 1962.

CHAPTER XVI.

350. Roger Peyrefitte. *Les Amitiés Particulières*, in English transl. by Edward Hyams as *Special Friendships*. London: Secker & Warburg; N.Y., Vanguard, 1950.
351. Thomas Mann, *Der Tod in Venedig*, in English transl. as *Death in Venice*. Many eds.
352. Perusal of *Arcadie* and *Der Kreis*, together with the "Noel I. Garde" bibliography and that in the appendix to Cory (ref. 18), will turn up enough titles. I have lately heard also of a Portuguese poet, Fernando Pessoa, who seems to belong to the Genet tradition—his "Oda maritima" is a masturbatory fantasy about being raped by pirates.

353. Ernst Morwitz and Carol North Vallhope ("Olga Marx"), translation of Stefan George's poems, with introduction; Chapel Hill and New York, Pantheon, 1943, 49. First edition has only a selection, with German text facing the English; second edition is complete but has English only.
354. The Wandervogel or German Boy Scout movement was beginning to show some signs of institutionalizing Greek love for purposes of social cohesion—until the rise of Hitler, when all such youth groups were forcibly assimilated to the Hitler Jugend.
355. Hajo Ortil, *Hundert Nackte Wilde*. (*Helios*, special number.) Lauf bei Nürnberg, Rudolph Zitzmann Verlag, 1957. Uniform with the series of *Helios* nudist magazines published in Danish and German editions, but the printed content of HNW consists almost entirely of somewhat sentimental stories—supposedly true—concerning the boys pictured therein, who belonged to a nudist youth group under Ortil's supervision. Other "special numbers" exist in this series, e.g. *Winnie und Wallo entdecken Corsica*, etc. All these are extensively and beautifully illustrated in sepia on semi-glossy paper; all are marked as unlawful for sale to persons under 18 years of age!
356. John Symonds, *The Magic of Aleister Crowley* (biography of Crowley), specifically the chapter on "The Paris Workings." N.Y., 1952, etc.
357. [Aleister Crowley,] *White Stains, the literary remains of George Archibald Bishop, a neuropath of the Second Empire*. [Amsterdam,] 1898. 131 pp. 100 copies printed, most destroyed by British Customs in 1924; a copy is in the library of the Sex Research Institute. Another Crowley work, entirely homosexual but attempting to evoke Middle Eastern attitudes, is *Bagh-i-muattar, the Scented Garden of Abdullah the Satirist of Shiraz, translated from a rare Indian ms by the late major Luting and another*. London, 1910. 137 pp. 200 copies, mostly destroyed by British Customs in 1924. A copy of this also remains in the library of the Sex Research Institute.
- 357a. In 1957 I saw a scrapbook containing 300 of these and they are more frequent now than then!
- 357b. Cf. especially those of the "Grecian Guild" and "Trim" group.
- 357c. Cf. *My Name Is Ivan, Amici per la Pelle*.
358. Melvin Walker LaFollette, *The Clever Body*, San Francisco: The Spenserian Press, box 316, S.F., 1959.
359. Thucydides, 2, 37.
360. Edgar Lee Masters, *Lincoln the Man*. N.Y., Dodd, Mead, 1931, 479.

GLOSSARY

—A—

- ambierotic, “ambisextrous,” ambisexual. Designating a person capable of (sexual) love for individuals of both genders. Preferable to “bisexual” (the commonest term) as this latter has hermaphroditic connotations not intended here. Of the three variants, the second is slang and is commonest, the other two seldom found.
- amphierotic. Same as above. Rare.
- andric factor. Biological (specifically glandular) tendency towards masculinity, in either gender; contrasted to “gynic factor,” q.v. Of two individuals of the same sex, somatotype, age and gynic factor, the one with the higher andric factor will have less breast development, coarser skin, more masculine distribution of body hair, very likely more masculine texture of leg and arm hair, more masculine conformation of pelvis and elbows, and probably broader shoulders. These differences may be very slight or very marked—the whole range exists. Varies to a certain extent independently of gynic factor; individuals may be high or low in either or both. Individuals high in both are often found among ambierotic types. (After W. H. Sheldon, personal communication.)
- androgynous. Having features common to both sexes; in extreme cases, hermaphroditic. As applied to deities, designating those who appear as either male or female at various times. The Shekinah or “Brightness” of the Hebrew trinity (identified with Jahweh in mystical writings) is always said to be feminine; and Pallas Athena appeared at least once during the Trojan War under the male guise of a Trojan prince, Deiphobus.
- androphile, androphilia. Designating a type of homosexual feeling which involves clinging to a Masculine Ideal, generally older and more mature than the individual experiencing the longing; or more loosely, homosexual desires among adults for each other. Opposed to gerontophilia, ephebophilia, paidophilia, qq.v.

—B—

- big embrace. Sexual technique described in Chapter VI, often practiced by a younger boy on an older partner, or by a girl or woman on a partner of either gender; an enfolding embrace including

- rubbing the genitals against some part of the partner's body (frottage) instead of penetration.
- bisexual. Properly speaking, hermaphroditic, i.e. displaying external genitalia of both sexes. In popular parlance, same as "ambisextrous," q.v.
- bloom. Same as "prime." Brief period in a boy's or girl's adolescence during which the skin acquires a peculiar silky texture and color heightens; the period during which a boy was considered most attractive to men, according to Greek poets.
- B-love. "Being-love." In Maslow's terminology, uncritical, completely accepting love of another individual in his uniqueness. A component, together with D-love (q.v.) of human love relationships.
- bugger(y). Anal intercourse; a bugger is one who practices buggery. These terms early became lewd or vile imprecations in Britain owing to abomination of the practice involved.
- butch. Homosexual slang (which has spilled over into general usage) designating a male who has exaggerated masculine secondary sexual traits, or whose behavior conforms to exaggerated masculine stereotypes. Also, the more masculine, or less feminine, role in a homosexual relationship (whether between two males or two females). By extension, as well, an unusually masculine Lesbian; superlatives, "bull dyke" and "diesel dyke."

—C—

- "Caesar" type. Name given by Gavin Arthur to the ambisexual type of individual having strongest combination of heterosexual and homosexual components together, therefore most yang. (See his *The Circle of Sex*, Pan-Graphic Press, San Francisco; its classifications are of great interest even though the psychology is descriptive only and explicitly prefreudian.) Greek lovers are likely to be "Caesars" or "Pioneers," not "Dorians" or "Finocchios," qq.v.
- Calamites. Name given here to a coterie of Victorian and post-Victorian boy-loving poetasters; originally applied by Swinburne to John Addington Symonds's circle.
- casual (sexual) experience. One in which acquaintance or friendship rather than a developed love is the degree of contact considered sufficient for initiating sexual play. Not necessarily identical with one-night stands (q.v.), though often the sexual experiment is not begun with the idea of indefinite repetition. Conversely, one-night stands are almost invariably casual experiences, whether or not prostitution is involved.
- Catharism. Heretical religion commonly professed, secretly or overtly, in various parts of W. Europe during the Middle Ages. Important in the development of cortezia (q.v.) and, according to Denis de Rougemont, implicit in troubadour songs. See Chapter XII, *passim*.
- clitorid type. René Guyon's term for the type of woman whose sexual desires have a peculiarly urgent, intense, hair-trigger quality; contrasted to uterine type, q.v. See "Dirne."
- consensual validation. See note 97d.
- cortezia, "courtly love." Cultural pattern common in the 12th century and after, whereby men conceived passionate extramarital love for unattainable noblewomen, writing poems and songs to them

(or very likely to the Goddess conceived as embodied in them); the origin of the code of chivalry and of the overwhelming "romantic" love of which only debased forms survive today. See Chapter XII and Denis de Rougemont's *Love in the Western World*, *passim*.

—D—

- Deficiency love, D-love. Maslow's term for what passes as affection based on deficiency needs: largely a projection of one's own need to be loved. A component, together with B-love, in most human love relationships, but the amounts of either component vary greatly.
- Dioning. Ulrichs's name for the type of individual who is heterosexual and does not acknowledge any homosexual component in himself. Contrasted with "Urning" and other forms.
- "Dime." One of Otto Weininger's primary types of women; contrasted with "Mutter" (q.v.). Basically, sexual playmate, "clitorid type," contrasted with the woman who is primarily "natural mother." In the schema of note 116, corresponds to the line joining *pornē* and *hetaira*—maximally distant from the *gynē* pole.
- Dorian. (1) Tribes invading Greece sometime before the 8th century B.C., speaking Doric dialects, and settling in Crete, the Peloponnesus, etc.; these tribes, as described in Chapter X, developed an ethic of boy-love which later spread throughout Hellas. (2) Gavin Arthur's term for the primarily homosexual individual ("three-quarters homogenic"), today characteristically fitting the Mattachine Society and One Inc. rubric of "just like everyone else except for being sexually left-handed," devoted to his Masculine Ideal. See below, and cf. "Caesar," "Finocchio."
- Dorian boy-love. The sternly military-oriented kind described in the earlier parts of Chapter X; contrasted with the Oriental kind, which was more sensual and more tolerant of whimsies and even effeminacy.
- Dorian love. A term sometimes misapplied to inversion, q.v., or to homosexual love in general.
- double standard. Lower middle-class folkway whereby a man, once committed to a sex partner, feels himself entitled to continue "playing the field" and seeking other partners, but equally entitled to forbid his partner to do likewise; the enforced unilateral commitment, what passes for love within it often being almost pure D-love with an incredible amount of jealousy and possessiveness unthinkable in any friendship.

—E—

- ear french. In sexual foreplay, to insert one's tongue playfully into partner's ear.
- ectomorphy. Third physical component (contrasted with endomorphy, mesomorphy): emphasis on ectodermally derived tissue (skin, nervous system, sense organs, genitals); when predominant the individual tends to be tall, slender, nearly incapable of

- gaining weight despite a large appetite, and hypersensitive. Cf. Sheldon, *Varieties of Human Physique*.
- ego-ideal. In early adolescence, a young person sets up an ideal to be imitated, on which he or she projects hero-worship feelings and "That's what I'd like to be like!"; often a real individual for whom the youngster may develop a crush or actual love, but sometimes only a fantasy. The ego-ideal's role in development is clearly the constructive or positive counterpart of what the superego or conscience is the destructive or negative aspect. This formulation, common in Freud's earlier writings, was later de-emphasized, and many of his followers no longer use it, but it still has heuristic value.
- endomorph. First physical component (contrasted with mesomorph, ectomorph): emphasis on endodermally derived tissue (digestive organs); when predominant, the individual tends to be soft, rounded, plump and prone to gain weight on even a very light diet—the digestive tract is unusually efficient. Women tend to be more endomorphic than men—a trait explored in many paintings by Rubens and Renoir. Cf. Sheldon, *Varieties of Human Physique*.
- English method. Sexual technique involving copulation between partner's thighs (often oiled or sweaty), particularly along the perineum; so called from its common occurrence in British boarding schools.
- entrapment. Illegal police practice whereby a plainclothes police officer induces his victim to commit an illegal act in order to make an arrest. Especially common where police have monthly quotas of arrests. In present context, ordinarily involves handsome young patrolmen in plain clothes of fashion affected by homosexuals, associating with them and trying to pass as such, in order to flash a badge as soon as a partner has made an overt advance.
- ephebophile, ephebophilia. Noting sexual preference for adolescents. Contrasted to androphilia, gerontophilia. In this book, "paidophilia" (q.v.) is used as a synonym for ephebophilia, as in Calamite practice.
- erogenous zone. A region of a person's body which is especially sensitive to various kinds of stroking or caressing, especially kissing, and which either yields sexual sensations on such contact or heightens sexual sensations already present. The erogenous zones are the same in both sexes—a fact not often mentioned in marriage manuals. They include, among others, the whole genital region, perineal region, inner aspects of thighs, soles of feet (in some individuals), anus, buttocks, certain areas of the abdomen, along the ribs (in some individuals), inner aspects of upper arms, breasts (even in boys), certain areas of neck and throat (in some individuals), ears (in some individuals), lips, inner surfaces of lips, eyelids, and occasionally other regions. Areas not ordinarily regarded as erogenous often become so when the individual is already sexually excited. Many parts of the body in addition to all mucous membranes become swollen during sexual excitement, which may account for the temporary erogenous character just mentioned.
- erōs. (1) Sexual aspect of love; sexual desire; contrasted with philia, storgē. See Chapter V. (2) The Boy God as son of Aphroditē, whim-

sically inciting individuals to become attracted to other ones without preliminaries. Latin, Cupido; English, Cupid. Originally depicted as an adolescent in bloom; but during Roman times depicted as pre-puberal, and from the Renaissance to the turn of the 20th century—for reasons I have not yet been able to learn with certainty—usually as infantile or nearly so. The important exception, of course, is Caravaggio's *Amore Vincitore*, for which see above, Chapter XIII.

—F—

faunet. Nonce-word for a young adolescent or almost-adolescent boy (male counterpart of nymphet, q.v.) whose natural sexiness is manifest; Caravaggio's *Amore Vincitore* and Angel inspiring St. Matthew are typical.

favourite. Boyfriend of young protégé of a king, nobleman or other person of rank. I use the British spelling to mark this as a technical term.

fellation. Applying lips and tongue to partner's phallus. See Chapter VI.

femme. (1) The more feminine role in a homosexual relationship (whether between two males or two females); contrasted to butch, q.v. (2) One who enjoys being buggered. Common homosexual slang in both meanings; orig., French word meaning "woman." In meaning (2), superseded "veuve."

"Finocchio" type. Gavin Arthur's term for the invert (q.v.) who so completely rejects his own masculinity as to become completely homosexual and completely identified with feminine roles; an extreme high in homosexual component combined with nearly or quite zero heterosexual component. Physically, these individuals—among whom the screaming queens are only a noisy minority—are usually moderately high to high in gynec factor and low in andric factor, of balanced somatotype and some delicacy. They often come by their swishing gait naturally, from the conformation of their pelvic region, but tend in many instances to exploit it in furthering their feminine personae. The name "Finocchio" comes from that of a famous female-impersonator establishment in San Francisco. Female impersonators, incidentally, are sometimes heterosexual, being "Don Juan" types in Arthur's system. Cf. "Caesar," "Dorian" types, above.

FKK. "Frei-Körper-Kultur." German nudist movement, possibly somewhat less prudish than its American counterpart.

flagellomania. British fad (c. 1700?-1900?) for using whippings as a source of sexual stimulation.

french kiss. "Soul kiss," "deep kiss"—characterized by exploration (usually mutual) of the interior of partner's mouth with one's tongue.

—G—

gay. Homosexual slang adjective for an individual who has an overt homosexual component, or describing a place frequented by such individuals. I have not been able to find any evidence confirming Cory's derivation of it from French *gaie*, nor for that matter any evidence of the use of this term prior to the early 20th century.

- gerontophile, gerontophilia. Noting sexual preference for older men—middle-aged or still older.
- ghazal. Also gazal, gazel. A kind of Arabic lyric, usually erotic, and sometimes connected with boy-love, found in Persian literature; verse-forms attempting to evoke the atmosphere of ghazals were often essayed by German 18th and 19th century poets.
- Greek love. Love between adult (or older adolescent) and adolescent boy, without prejudice to the other love relationships either party might then or later be involved in. More extended definitions are in Chapters I and V; examples are in Chapters VII, VIII.
- grope. To explore a partner's clothed body, generally to ascertain whether he has an erection, or sometimes to stimulate one; a test of whether a potential partner is in fact accessible.
- gynandroid. Having noticeable traits of both sexes, in behavior or in physique. Not the same as hermaphroditic. "Butch" lesbians and drag queens are notoriously gynandroid.
- gynē. See ch. V, §4, note 116, and "Mutter," below.
- gynic factor. Biological (specifically glandular) tendency toward femininity, in either gender; contrasted to "andric factor," q.v. Of two individuals of the same sex, somatotype, age, and andric factor, the one with the higher gynic factor will have more breast development, finer (feminine) skin, less body hair and that distributed in a more feminine pattern, less leg hair and that finer in texture; wider pelvis (nearer to the typical feminine pattern) and narrower shoulders.

—H—

- hetaira. See ch. V, §4, and note 116.
- heterosexual(ity). (1) Noting sexual interest in members of the opposite sex. (2) Noting primary or even exclusive sexual concern with the opposite sex, with rejection of other sexual possibilities. In sense (2) only, contrasted with ambisexual, homosexual, qq.v.
- heterosexual component. One of two components, the other being homosexual component, thought to make up a person's total sexual drive; either component may be high or low, and the male maximum in both is a "Caesar" type (q.v.), where the minimum in het. component with maximum of homo. component is a "Finocchio" and the converse is a "Don Juan." Cf. Gavin Arthur's book, cited above under "Caesar." These two components are believed to derive from the male and female characteristics biologically blended into each individual. To what extent each becomes manifest is of course a matter of cultural (environmental) factors, aberrative and otherwise.
- hierodules. In antiquity, "holy ones," literally sacred slaves; servants of the Goddess, part of whose function was ritual sexual contact with worshipers. See qādēsh, qēdēshīm, qēdēshoth, below.
- homosexual(ity). (1) Noting sexual interest in members of one's own sex. (2) Noting primary or even exclusive sexual concern with one's own sex, with rejection of other sexual possibilities. In sense (2) only, contrasted with ambisexual, heterosexual, qq.v. See also footnote 1.
- homosexual act. Any sexual act performed with a member of one's own sex; in law, specifically, sodomy or "crime against nature," i.e.

copulating by or with the mouth or anus, or in general any way except with penis in vagina. Homosexual acts are punishable in law; homosexual orientation in general, is not, though many judges in Texas have interpreted known homosexual orientation as evidence of being of unsound mind, with the usual results of sanity trials (before lay juries!) and commitment to insane asylums.

hustler. Prostitute, especially one not connected with a whorehouse or peg-house.

—I—

infatuation. State of being smitten with sexual desire specifically for a particular individual. See Ch. V, §3.

instinctoid need. See ch V, §1.

intercrural, interfemoral. Noting copulation between thighs; English method, q.v.

inversion, invert. (The condition of being) a member of the so-called "third sex;" see note 143, and cf. "subject homoerotic," below.

irrumation. Copulation with another's mouth. See Chapter VI.

—K—

kalokagathía. Global excellence; fine mind in fine body, characterized by natural grace and skill in performing even everyday actions. The Greek ideal; see Chapter X.

Kinsey rating or scale. That used in Kinsey I & II (ref. 22) to express the range between complete heterosexuality (0) and complete homosexuality, sense 2 (6); the ambisexual individual of either gender would rate Kinsey 3, the intermediate stages symmetrically noting slight homosexual involvement in a primarily heterosexual individual (Kinsey 1), more than slight (Kinsey 2) and conversely for ratings 4 and 5. As Kinsey used it, this scale referred mainly to amount of contact with each sex leading to orgasm; it is perhaps more useful in a classificatory sense for individual orientations. The "Caesar" type is likely to be a Kinsey 3, the "Dorian" a 4, 5 or 6, the "Finocchio" a 6 or rarely a 5; the "Pioneer," on the other hand, will be a Kinsey 1 or 2, if his homosexual component becomes manifest at all.

—L—

liaison. Sexual or love affair lasting some time but not necessarily regarded as permanent by either partner, though of course it may become permanent (and thus a "mateship," q.v.). The term is from Ford and Beach, ref. 19.

Lolita phenomenon or syndrome. Willingness to indulge in sex play but unwillingness to indulge in caressing, etc., or to admit to any emotional involvement. After the eponymous nymphet in Vladimir Nabokov's book. The syndrome is found in many young adolescents and notoriously in prostitutes.

—M—

Mannling. Ulrichs's term for a man who finds sexual attraction in feminoid or effeminate males.

- masochism, -ist. Noting the deriving of satisfaction (esp. sexual) from certain types of painful stimuli or from being degraded, humiliated, etc., in certain ways. Origin: "Severin" in L. von Sacher-Masoch's "*Venus in Furs*," 1870. But the British flagellant erotica of 90 or 100 years earlier indicates that some men had discovered this for themselves. See Ch. XIV, above. Cf. sadomasochist.
- mateship. Sexual or love affair regarded by both parties as permanent. Ex Ford and Beach, ref. 19.
- matrist, matrist. G. Rattray Taylor's term for a trait-cluster characterizing an individual, group, phase or period of a culture, etc., emphasizing permissiveness, pro-sexual orientation, high regard for women, etc. Contrasted with patrism, q.v.; and see table above, ch. V.
- Mattachine Society, Inc. Group dedicated to the study of problems of sexual deviation; 693 Mission St., San Francisco, California. Its primary concern is with androphilia, and the present volume in no way represents Mattachine views.
- mesomorphy. Second physical component (contrasted with endomorphy, ectomorphy): emphasis on mesodermally derived tissues (bone, muscle, connective tissue, cardiovascular system, etc.); when predominant, the individual is of athletic habitus—extreme mesomorphs of both sexes commonly become professional athletes. Cf. Sheldon, *Varieties of Human Physique*. Mesomorphs tend to mature and to age earlier than other types: cf. note 17.
- Mike Hammer syndrome. Complete repudiation, by a male, of tenderness; exaggerated virilism, impassivity often mixed with brutality, aversion to gentleness as effeminate. See Ch. IV, §4.
- missionary position. Common South Sea Islander name for the almost universal European/American coital position with man on top, woman below with legs spread apart. This sobriquet arose when missionaries objected to islanders' traditional use of other positions less suggestive of female subservience.
- "Molly houses." Whorehouses specializing in boys and young men for customers jaded or uninterested in women. British, 18th century.
- "Mutter." One of Otto Weininger's primary types of women; contrasted with "Dirne," q.v. Basically, natural mother; approximately the same as "uterine type," q.v.

—N—

- nymphet. Young adolescent or almost-adolescent girl whose natural sexiness is manifest. Female counterpart of faunet, q.v. I know no depictions of the type in visual art, but nymphets in the flesh are very common. Neologism introduced by Vladimir Nabokov in his *Lolita*. (Olympia Press and various American printings.) Sometimes spelled nymphette.

—O—

- object-homoerotic. Common psychoanalytic term (after Sándor Ferenczi) for a male who retains his masculine self-image and seeks men younger or more feminine, or boys. Often has the misconnota-

- tion of naughty person who can and should restrict his sexual attention to women, but has a taste for experimentation, etc., in contrast to the invert or subject-homoerotic, qq.v.
- One Inc. Group dedicated to the study of problems of sexual deviation, primarily androphilia. Its current address is listed along with those of other groups working in this area (none being concerned, to date, with Greek love) in each issue of *Mattachine Review*.
- one-night stand. Casual sex relationship not expected by either partner to be repeated; not necessarily prostitutional. Ex show business slang.
- orthopsychology. Description, generally partly speculative or extrapolative, of healthy mental or emotional conditions; opp. psychopathology.

—P—

- paederasty. Sexual concern with boys. But see variant forms in *pai-* and *pe-*, below.
- paidophilia, -philic; sometimes paidophil(e). Noting love—often sexual—for adolescents; Greek love. Common Calamite term. Not to be confused with “pedophilia,” below.
- passion. See *cortezia*, above.
- patapouf. 18th century British slang for effeminate male homosexual, particularly when a prostitute.
- patrism, patrist. G. Rattray Taylor’s term for a trait-cluster characterizing an individual, group, phase or period of a culture, etc., emphasizing rigidity, antisexual orientation, low regard for women, extreme emphasis on differences between the sexes, etc. Contrasted with *matrism*, q.v.; and see table above, p. 131. In Chapter V I theorize that *patrism* is what the makers of the F scale were trying to measure, and that *patrists* were deprived of cuddling in childhood.
- pederasty. (1) Same as *paederasty*, above. (2) Erroneously used to mean buggery. (3) Misladingly used to mean sexual concern with prepuberal children.
- “pedophilia.” Erroneous term under which rubric are lumped both Greek love and sexual interest in prepuberal children of either gender. Should be dropped as misleading.
- peg-house. House of postitution in which the specialty is teen-age boys. See note 293.
- perversion, pervert. Pejorative term noting, in general, one whose sexual practices differ from one’s own. Sometimes contrasted with invert. Without specific denotation; used indiscriminately on sadists, inverts, Greek lovers, polygamists, fetichists, etc., etc. Should be dropped as misleading.
- philia. Common-interest or shared-concern aspect of love; contrasted with *erōs*, *storgē*, qq.v.; cf. ch. V, §4.
- “Pioneer.” Gavin Arthur’s term for the rough, outdoorsy type of mostly heterosexual male for whom incidental sexual contact with a buddy is an unimportant occasional fact of life. Cf. Kinsey I, 457ff.
- polymorphous sexuality. Capacity to derive sexual pleasure from a variety of sources; the mammalian norm (cf. Ford & Beach, ref. 19). See Chapter VI, §1. Freud’s term translated as “polymorphous-perverse” means roughly the same thing but has a pejorative connotation undesirable here.

pornē. See ch. V, §4, note 116, and “Dirne” above.

pornography. Writings (or, occasionally, visual art or photographs) whose principal and usually sole purpose is to stimulate sexual excitement through vicarious re-experiencing. Cf. “hard-core pornography” as defined by the Kronhausens in *Pornography and the Law*, N.Y., Ballantine Books, 1959. In general, use of pornography leads to masturbation, or occasionally to more satisfying marital sex than would otherwise be possible; it is a crutch, pure and simple. Its disadvantages are in its departures from realism; youngsters may develop inferiority complexes over not being able to match the genital size or exploits of the bedroom athletes therein celebrated. The Kronhausen book is devoted to distinguishing pornography from erotic realism; to these categories I would add erotic surrealism, naming in this class William S. Burroughs’s nightmarish *Naked Lunch*. It goes without saying that the present volume does not fall into the classification of pornography.

pouf. Same as patapouf, above.

prime. Same as bloom, above.

promiscuity. Basically, indifference to the identity or individuality of one’s sex partner so long as he or she fulfills one’s immediate physical needs, without demanding the effort of actually working up a relationship; after Goodman, ref. 67. Commonly misused to designate people who have a plurality or succession of sex partners.

—Q—

qādēsh. (Sometimes spelled qadhesh). Male hierodule (q.v.), among whose duties was ritual sexual contact with worshipers. This is the term generally translated as “sodomite” in the Old Testament. Cf. chapter III, §1, where this biblical material is discussed in full.

qēdēshāh. Female hierodule, as above; sometimes mistranslated as “whore” in the Old Testament. See qādēsh, above.

qēdēshīm. Plural of qādēsh, q.v.

qēdēshōth. Plural of qēdēshah, q.v.

qēṭānnīm. “Little ones,” neophytes; in Matt. 18:6 and Mark 9:42 meaning not children but new proselytes to Christianity. See ch. III, §1, and note 71a.

queen. Also spelled quean (esp. by G. Legman and Gavin Arthur). Effeminate male homosexual; homosexual slang term. Sometimes means only male homosexuals, when used with a modifier: “drag queen” = one given to wearing female garb; “closet queen” = individual who keeps his propensities well hidden; “seafood queen” = the Hart Crane type with a marked predilection for sailors; “dinge queen” = one who prefers negroes. Many other such phrases are in use. The spelling “quean” is more pejorative.

—R—

ressentiment. Free-floating hostility, growing out of one’s life situation and not having an appropriate object. Also applied to the inner corroding effects of such chronic hostility. Ressentient groups

in present-day culture include teachers, musicians, and adolescents (often). Ex Nietzsche, via Edgar Z. Friedenberg.
 rough trade. Extremely masculine individuals (usually extreme mesomorphs with high andric and minimal gynec factors), sexually sought by invert and other homosexuals, in the awareness that such individuals will take only a minimal masculine role in sex, that they are usually incapable of much tenderness, and that they not infrequently follow the orgasm with a beating. Rough trade types are often "Pioneers" in the Gavin Arthur terminology, and those that beat up their partners are acting out the Mike Hammer syndrome.⁸⁵

—S—

- sadism. Obtaining pleasure from inflicting pain, usually but not always in sexual contexts. Ex Comte ("Marquis") de Sade.
- sadomasochism. More modern term denoting the coexistence of sadistic and masochistic urges in the one individual.
- seduction. Pejorative term for sexual enticement.
- sex fascist. The intolerant type who denigrates or attempts to suppress all other forms of sexual activity besides that which he allows himself to indulge in. Usually patrist in orientation. See note 124, and chapter III *passim*.
- sex(ual) reform movement. In Germany under Magnus Hirschfeld, Wilhelm Reich, and lesser figures, much scholarly activity, clinical work and political pressure was brought to bear on the problem of liberalizing the antiquated sex laws; in addition, literary propaganda abounded with the same intent. The movement obtained the support of public opinion and had an excellent chance of succeeding until Hitler crushed it. Quieter counterparts now exist in Britain and the U.S.A. as well as in Germany.
- 69, six-à-neuf, soixante-neuf. Simultaneous oral intercourse by a pair of partners in the head-to-foot, foot-to-head position. See Chapter VI.
- sodomy. Legal term for sexual acts performed by or with the mouth or anus, or in general any sexual congress other than the usual penis-in-vagina action. There is no precise denotation for the term and its use (other than in reference to sex laws) is to be avoided as misleading.
- solicitation. Legal term for any sexual proposal illegal because done in public or because done between individuals not legally entitled to have sexual congress. In our context, generally applied to sexual proposals by one man to another (or to or by a boy) in public places.
- Sotadic Zone. See note 17.
- straight. Homosexual slang term meaning a person without manifest homosexual component.
- storgē. The aspect or component of love consisting of unselfish interest in the other individual in his uniqueness; contrast with *erōs*, *philia*, *qq.v.*, and see ch. V, §4.
- subject homoerotic. Same as invert; Sándor Ferenczi's term, contrasted with object homoerotic. A "Finocchio" type, who is incapable of sexual excitement in presence of the opposite sex, and who seeks a Masculine Ideal; a member of the so-called "third sex." See note 143.

Sufi'ism. See Chapter XII. Symonds spells it "soofyism."

Sullivanian love. Characterized by the other party's welfare becoming as important to you as your own; the capacity for this degree of concern develops in earliest adolescence. See ch. V, §2.

symmetrical relationship. One to which both parties bring approximately equal degrees of maturity, mental age, emotional development, comparable interests, etc.; a relationship of equals, whether heterosexual or homosexual. Contrasted with asymmetrical relationship, in which notable inequalities exist. See Chapter V, §2.

—T—

trade. (1) Sexual partner picked up for the occasion, generally a one-night stand. (2) As (1), but of a masculine kind unlikely to do more than merely take a masculine role in sex, and particularly unlikely to do anything to bring the homosexual to orgasm, or to indulge in tender caresses. The extreme of this last is rough trade, q.v.

transvestite. Individual, whatever his or her sexual predilections, who dresses up in garments of the opposite sex, whether privately or for stage performances. Usually this is a compulsion of unknown origin, and by no means are its victims all or even principally inverts.

—U—

Uranian, Uranism. Homosexuality, especially in sense (2) above. English translation of "Urning."

Urning. Ulrichs's term for a homosexual in sense (2), particularly an invert. (Ambisexual individuals he called Urano-Dionings.)

uterine type. Rene Guyon's term corresponding to "Mutter" and gynē, qq.v.; see note 116.

—V—

validation, consensual. See note 97d.

vellus. The extremely fine short hair, almost transparent, which appears during bloom and gives face and body of adolescents a silky texture.

veuve. See *femme*, above, sense 2.

—W—

Weibling. Ulrichs's term for an Urning or invert attracted predominantly to hypermasculine butch or rough trade types.

—Z—

Zwischen-Urning. Ulrichs's term for a man attracted primarily to adolescent boys.

INDEX OF NAMES

Italicized page numbers indicate quotations.

- Abélard, Peter, 225, 302, 446
 Abu-Nowas, 311
 Achilles, 221, 230-38, 241-42, 245, 283, 307, 309, 319, 325, 327, 399, 400
 Addaeus of Macedon, 262
 Adorno, Dr. Theodor Wiesengrund, 133, 461
 Aelian, 245, 464
 Aeschines, 236-37, 250
 Aeschylus, 231, 309
 Agathon, boy celebrated by Strato, 273
 Ahura-Mazda and Ahriman, 306
 "Alan," boyfriend of "Pierre V.," 163-67
 "Alec," boyfriend of "Harvey W." and brother of "Alice F.," 185-91; boyfriend of J. M. Stuart-Young, 392
 Alexander, "the Great," 262, 319, 464; Pevrefitte's, 413; Virgil's, 283
 Alexander, Boyd, 348, 473
 Alexander, Dr. Franz, 87
 Alexis, boyfriend of Meleagros, 264-65; Virgil's, 283-84, 331, 461
 "Alice F.," fiancée of "Harvey W.," 185-90
 Alkibiades, 258, 294, 319, 353
 Amphion, boyfriend of Martial, 290
 Anderson, Sherwood, 422
 Anakreon, 248-50, 252, 311, 325, 366, 414
 "Angelo da C.," Prof., 158-59, 167
 Anne, queen of England, 343
 Antiochos, beloved of Achilles after the death of Patroklos, 231-33, 236
 Antinoüs of Bithynia, boyfriend of Hadrian, 223, 266, 292-93, 348, 387, 400, 406, 414-15, 467
 Antonio and Bassanio, 326
 Aphroditë, 123, 124, 238, 257, 263, 264, 267, 481;—Ourania, 124, 397, 446;—Pandemos, 124
 Apollo, 242, 252, 265, 388, 465
 Aquinas, Thomas, Saint, 204
 Arberry, A. J., 311, 468
 Aretino, Pietro, 315, 469, 472
 Aristophanes, 126, 129, 251, 261, 345, 461
 Aristotle (Aristoteles), 246, 254, 311
 "Arthur, Gavin," *i.e.* Chester A. Arthur III, 443, 475, 479-80, 482-83, 486-88
 Ashbee, Henry Spencer, 454, *and see* "Fraxi"
 Asklepiades of Samos, 261-62
 "Aster," boyfriend of Plato, 259-60, 355
 Athena, Pallas, 124, 478, *and see* Goddess
 Athenaëus, 243, 250, 459, 466
 Auden, Wystan Hugh, 134
 Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, Saint, 48, 306, 470
 Automedon of Kyzikos, 265
 "Avery G.," 176-77
 Avery and Heath-Stubbs, 311
 Bacon, Sir Francis, 339, 348, 471
 Bailey, Derrick Sherwin, Canon, 43, 59, 295-98, 467-68
 Barford, Dr. John Leslie, 3, 378, 393
 Barnefeld, Richard, 262, 284, 318, 321, 329-30, 331-38, 352
 Barrett, William, 219
 "Barry D.," 179-85, 214
 Barth, Lawrence, 139, 461
 Bartholomew, A. T., 379, 476
 Batman and Robin, 217, 450
 Baxter, Walter, 237
 Baylis, J. W., 283-84
 Bazzi, Giovanni Antonio, called "Sodoma," 315-16
 Beach, Frank A., *see* Ford
 Beaumont and Fletcher, 338, 341, 348
 Bécasse, Achille, 406, 412
 Beccaria, Cesare Bonesana, marchese de, 43, 452
 Beckford, William, 227, 348-49, 473
 Bender, Dr. Lauretta, 24, 34, 70, 212, 451
 Bergler, Dr. Edmund, 10, 21, 27-28, 202, 213-14, 308, 407, 447, 451
 Beyer, Dr. Rudolf, 238, 463-64
 Bion, 262-63
 Blake, William, 41, 78, 94, 137, 379, 404, 460, 474
 Blau, Dr. Abram, 24, 34, 70, 212, 451
 Blox(h)am, John Francis, 378, 386
 Bohier, Nicolas de, 453
 Bonstetten, Charles-Victor de, 348
 Boothby, Sir Robert, 49, 455
 Boss, Dr. Medard, 128, 460
 Bowlby, Dr. John, 98, 99, 125, 458
 Bowra, Sir Charles Maurice, 230, 246, 464
 "Boy God," 252-53, 293, 299, 303, 414, 476, 481. *See also:* Anakreon, Antinoüs, R. N. Chubb, Dionysos, Stefan George, Sturgeon. *See in Subject Index:* androgynous, bloom, transience
 Bracci, Cecchino, 314-15
 Bradford, Rev. Edwin Emmanuel, 78, 137, 228, 360, 378-79, 386, 395, 397-98, 399-403
 Brandt, Dr. Paul, 10 *and see* "Licht"
 Breen, W., 299
 Brown, Norman O., 75
 Brutus, Marcus, 326
 Bucke, R. M., 370, 475
 Bullen, A. H., 329-30
 Bulliet, C. J., 278, 322, 467, 470-1
 Burckhardt, Jakob, 14, 468
 Burger, Franz, 124, 459
 Burton, Sir Richard F., 11, 210, 448-49, 461, 467
 Butler, Samuel, 321
 Byron, George Gordon, Lord, 7, 8, 166, 227, 319, 320, 346, 348, 354-59, 363, 399, 406, 468, 473-74; *see also* Colman, George
 Caesar, Julius, 278, 282, 301
 Champion, Thomas, 329-30
 Caprotti, Giacomo, called "Salai," 315
 Caravaggio, Michelangelo Merisi da, 263, 313, 315-16, 469, 482; *see also* "Amore Vincitore" in *Subject Index*
 Carlier, F., 456, 471
 Carpenter, Edward, 4, 10, 59, 154, 228, 368, 372, 378, 383, 446, 475
 Carpenter, Rhys, 230, 463
 Casa, Abp. Giovanni della, 316, 469
 Cato, Valerius, 279, 282
 Catullus, Gaius Valerius, 260, 262, 266, 272, 274, 278-79, 280-82, 283-85, 301, 357, 444, 466-67, 475
 Cavafy, Constantine P., 417-18
 Cavalieri, Tommaso, 313-14

- Cellini, Benvenuto, 315-16, 378, 469
 "Chaim M.," Rabbi, 159-60, 211
 Chapman, George, 324
 "Charles C.," 194-98, 214
 Chorier, Nicolas, 150, 472; *and see* "Sigea"
 Christ, Jesus, 38, 52, 53, 55, 56, 115, 203, 312, 316, 341, 353, 362, 415, 445, 465, 473
 Chubb, Ralph Nicholas, 379, 399, 404-05, 414, 476
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 277, 294, 319
 Clancy, J. P., translator of Horace, 286-89, 467
 Clare, Earl of, 354, 358
 "Claude M.," 171-75, 214
 Clodia, called "Lesbia," 279-82, 467
 Cocteau, Jean, 375-76, 406, 408, 409-12
 Cohen, Dr. Albert K., 80-81, 457
 Colette, Sidonie-Cabrielle, 94
 Colman, George, 137, 227, 319, 360-63, 413, 474
 Colonna, Vittoria, 313
 Coon, Earl O., 20, 37, 70, 148, 457
 "Corvo, Baron," *see* Rolfe
 "Cory, Donald Webster," 11, 218, 284, 383, 386, 422, 446, 448-49, 463, 482
 Corydon, 283-84, 294, 408
 Cottam, Samuel Elsworth, 379, 386, 393
 Courtenay, William "Kitty," 348-49, 473
 Coward, Noel, 131
 Cowley, Abraham, 281
 Crowley, Aleister, 417-21, 477
 cummings, e. e., 37
 Cupid or Cupido, 112, 277, 288, 481-82; *see also* "Boy God," Erös

 Damhoudere, Joost de, 452-3
 Damon and Pythias, 338
 Damoxenos, 243
 Dante Alighieri, 225, 307, 313, 413
 "Dark Lady," 324-25, 470; *and see* Coddess
 David, king of Israel, 53, 54, 113, 159, 236, 237, 327, 357, 400
 Davies, W. Robertson, 328, 471
 Decius, 300; *see* Collards in *Subject Index*
 Demophilos, boy celebrated by Dioskorides, 263
 Demosthenes, 125
 Dennis the Menace, 199, 207
 Dickinson, C. Lowes, 248, 464, 466
 Dickinson, Dr. Robert Latou, 139, 143, 461
 Dionysos, 250-53, 255-56, 258, 293, 353, 415, 465; *see also* Orpheus; *see also* Boy-love, religious significance, in *Subject Index*
 Dioskorides, 263
 Diphilos, boyfriend of Strato, 269
 Djami, 311
 Dobson, Austin, 394, 398, 472
 Dolben, Digby Mackworth, 399
 Domitian, emperor, 249, 289
 Doyle, Pete, 369
 Drayton, Michael, 318, 329
 Douglas, Lord Alfred, 227, 229, 285, 373, 378, 386, 388, 389-91, 392, 399, 408
 Duffy, Dr. Douglas, 64, 80

 Earinus, cupbearer of Domitian, 249, 289-90
 "Eddie," boyfriend of "Erich von L.," 167-68
 Edleston, John, boyfriend of Byron, 354-57, 360, 363
 Edman, Prof. Irwin, 421
 Edmonds, J. M., 248, 250, 263, 284, 330, 467
 Edward II, king of England, 318-20, 329; *see also* Drayton, Caveston, Marlowe
 Edward, prince of Wales, son of Henry VI, 325
 Elissos, 249, 338
 Elizabeth I, queen of England, 43, 317-18, 326-27
 Ellis, Dr. Albert, 21, 24-26, 36, 89, 132, 139, 144, 383, 429-38, 439-45, 451-52, 461, 463
 Ellis, Havelock, 10, 59, 60, 154, 228, 331, 339, 350, 368, 383, 446-48, 451, 469-71, 473, 475
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 366, 368-69, 474
 Epameinondas, 294, 362
 Epicharmos, 248
 "Erich von L.," 167-68
 Erös, avatar of the Boy God, 112, 251-55, 263-64, 277, 397, 413, 481-82; *see also* Boy God, Cupid
 "Essebac," *see* Bécasse
 Eurydiké, 252-53

 Falstaff, Sir John, 325
 Febo da Poggia, 315
 Feldenkrais, Moshé, 141
 Fenichel, Dr. Otto, 10, 447
 Ferenczi, Dr. Sándor, 139, 434, 485, 488
 Field, Nat, 226, 317, 322, 323
 Fitts, Dudley, 259, 261-62, 466
 FitzGerald, Edward, 376
 "Floyd E.," 199-201, 214
 Ford, Dr. Clellan, 69, 98, 139, 449, 484-86
 "Fraxi, Pisanus," 454, 469, 471-72, 474
 "Fred," 191-94
 Freud, Sigmund, 10, 86, 91, 99, 112, 119, 139, 144, 228, 383, 455, 459, 481, 486
 Friar, Kimon, 222
 Friedenberg, Edgar Z., 11, 19, 23, 60, 61, 63, 65, 79, 85, 92, 101, 105, 106, 147, 211, 218, 358, 449-50, 457, 488
 Friedrich II, "the Great," king of Prussia, 348-49
 Fuller, Dr. John Bernard, 302-03, 458

 Calaesius, 291
 Ganymede(s), 225, 231, 238, 242, 245-46, 270, 287, 302-03, 307, 318, 328-29, 331, 336-38, 353, 366, 394, 413, 463; *see also* Rosalind; Barnefield
 "Garde, Noel I.," 386, 476
 Caveston, Piers, 318-19, 329
 "Gellert, Roger," 229, 407, 425, 470
 Cenet, Jean, 375, 376, 406, 408, 412, 476
 George III, king of England, 39
 George IV, king of England, 344
 George, Stefan, 228, 293, 349, 353, 406, 413-16, 426, 467, 475, 477
 "Certrude," custodian of "Toby" and enemy of "Barry D.," 181-85
 Gesell, Dr. Arnold, 139, 461-62
 Gibbon, Edward, 154
 Gide, André, 284, 322, 376, 389, 406, 408, 412
 Ciles, Nathaniel, 317, 327
 Ciraldus Cambrensis, 302
 Giraud, Albert, 413
 Giraud, Nicolò, 359, 363
 Giustiniani, Vincenzo, marchese, 316
 Gleim, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig, 349
 Coddess, The, "Great Mother," 53, 258, 296, 306, 324-25, 461, 464-65, 467, 480, 483; *see also* Aphrodite, Athena, Héra, Peithô; cf. Dionysos, Herakles, Orpheus. *See also* Catharism, cortezia, Sufism in *Subject Index*.
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 3, 7, 8, 78, 131, 346, 348-49, 350-52, 354, 360, 364, 398, 414, 473-74
 Coffman, Erving, 450

- Goodman, Paul, 6, 49, 78, 85, 119, 139, 141, 158, 179, 216, 235-36, 407, 423-25, 455-56, 459, 463, 487
- Gorer, Geoffrey, 133
- Goya y Lucientes, Francisco, 313
- Gozzi, Carlo, 378
- Graves, Robert, 53, 258, 260, 306, 461, 464-65, 467-68, 473
- Gray, Thomas, 348, 472
- Greeley, Horace, 364
- Greenberg, Noah, 302
- Gregory, Horace, 281, 466-67
- Grey, Richard, 43, 453, 454
- Gross, Rev. Dr. Alfred A., 46, 447
- "Grundy, Mrs.," 214, 389, 395
- "Guendoline, Queen," nymph, 333, 335-36
- Guinicelli, Guido, 307
- Guyon, René, 459, 479, 489
- Hadrian, emperor, 223, 260-61, 266, 278, 292-93, 414-15, 467
- Hafiz, 310, 311, 351-52
- Haggard, Dr. Howard W., 298, 468
- Hailsham, Viscount, 22, 45
- Hammer, Mike, 212; *see also* "Mike Hammer syndrome" in *Subject Index*
- Hanley, James, 217
- Harlow, H. F., 100, 457
- Harris, Frank, 321, 395-96
- "Harvey W.," 185-91, 214
- Harmodios and Aristogeiton, lovers and tyrannicides, 248
- Hearn, Gordon, 93, 449
- Hedylus, boyfriend of Martial, 289
- Hegel, G. W. F., 130, 251
- Heinlein, Robert Anson, 460
- Hektor, 232, 325
- Heliodora, girlfriend of Meleagros, 263
- Hellingrath, Norbert, 353, 414
- Henri III, king of France, 316, 318, 319
- Henry VIII, king of England, 43, 453-54
- Henry, Dr. George W., 10, 447
- Hephaestion, boyfriend of Alexander the Great, 319
- Héra, 124
- "Herakles," dynastic title, 238, 241-42, 307; *cf.* "Hercules"
- Herbert, William, Earl of Pembroke, 324
- "Hercules," dynastic title, 225, 239, 277, 319, 464; *cf.* "Herakles"
- Heriot, Angus, 342, 470-71
- Hesiod, 237, 251-52, 464
- Hesperos, 260
- Hesse, Hermann, 416
- "Heurtebise, Angel," 409-10
- "Hews/Hughes, Willie," 322-23, 388
- Highet, Gilbert, 280, 284, 466
- Hilarius or Hilary "of England," 225, 302, 303-05, 446
- Hildebrand, R., 128, 460
- Hirschfeld, Dr. Magnus, 10, 22, 58, 228, 383, 406, 447-48, 454, 469, 488
- Hitler, Adolf, 45, 46, 228, 293, 347, 376, 406, 414, 415, 426, 477, 488
- Hoffer, Eric, 46-48, 75, 455
- Hölderlin, Friedrich, 352, 353
- "Homer," 221, 230-32, 233-35, 236-38, 242-43, 247, 251, 256, 268, 269, 273-74, 283, 463; *see also* Achilles, Patroklos
- Hoover, J. Edgar, 19
- Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus), 262, 266, 277, 284-85, 286-89, 341, 361, 467
- Hössli, Heinrich, 354, 371
- Hostler, William, 322-24
- Housman, A. E., 7, 376-78
- "Howard," boyfriend of "Floyd" and "Steve," 199, 200, 201-02, 214, "Hughes, Willie," *see* "Hews"
- "Humbert, Humbert," 432, 440-41
- Hyakinthos, boyfriend of Apollo, 242, 388
- Hyde, H. Montgomery, 388-89, 391, 476
- Hylas, boyfriend of Hercules (which one?), 225, 238, 242, 307, 319, 366
- Ibn Said al-Andelusi, 311
- Ihara, Saikaku, 217
- Jacobi, Friedrich, 131, 349
- Jackson, A. J., beloved of A. E. Housman, 377
- Jahweh, 52, 53, 55, 117, 295-98, 478
- James, Saint, the Apostle, 53
- James I, king of England, 43, 318-19, 341, 345
- "Jimmy," boyfriend of "Claude M.," 171-75
- "Johansson, Dr. Warren," 54, 295-98, 363, 454, 464, 469-70, 473, 475
- John, Edmund, 379, 396
- Jonathan, son of Saul and beloved of King David, 53, 54, 113, 159, 236-37, 357
- Jonson, Ben, 274, 317, 322, 328, 378
- Jove, 225, 302; *cf.* Zeus
- Joyce, James, 154, 166, 322, 421
- "Juan, Don," 75
- Justinian, emperor, 42, 47, 48, 224, 295-98, 363, 467-68
- Juvenal (Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis), 278, 292, 453, 467
- Juventus, boyfriend of Catullus, 279-83, 357, 467
- Kai Ka'us ibn Iskandar, 311
- Kains-Jackson, Charles, 378, 393, 476
- Kallimachos, 262, 279
- Kallmann, Dr. Franz Josef, 165-66, 462
- Kaufmann, Prof. Walter, 56, 96, 309
- Keats, John, 179, 395
- "Kenneth," 203-10, 214
- Kephalas, Constantine, 259, 266
- Kerouac, Jack, 411
- "Kertbeny, Karoly Maria," 446
- Ketton-Cramer, R. W., 348, 472
- Kiefer, Otto, 276, 282, 293, 466-67
- Kinsey, Dr. Alfred C., 10-12, 22, 24, 26, 40, 46, 76, 105, 139, 153, 155, 164-65, 178, 202-03, 212, 219, 383, 439, 449, 451-52, 454-57, 462-63, 484, 486
- Klages, Ludwig, 414
- Knight, C. Wilson, 359, 360, 474
- Krafft-Ebing, Richard von, 10, 417, 447
- Kroll, Dr. Wilhelm, 11, 448
- Kynaston, Edward, 226, 340
- Kypris, 263
- Kyrmos, boyfriend of Theognis, 221, 247, 320
- Labouchère, Henry Du Pré, 44, 455
- La Follette, Melvin Walker, 423, 425, 477
- Láng, Paul Henry, 342, 471
- Lattimore, Richmond, 230, 257, 463
- Laureas, Tullius, 265-66
- Lawrence, David Herbert, 114, 399
- Leagros, 256
- Le Dantec, Yves-Gérard, 374
- Lefroy, Rev. Edward Cracroft, 49, 378, 383, 384-86, 392-93, 395, 398
- Legman, Gershon, 447, 450, 471, 487
- Leonardo (da Vinci), 7, 8, 226, 313, 315, 469
- Le Pelletier, Edmond, 373
- "Les," boyfriend of "Richard Y.," 168-71
- "Lesbia," *i. e.* Clodia, 279-82, 467
- Létois, Lucien, boyfriend of Verlaine, 374
- Levy, Reuben, 311
- Lewin, Kurt, 17, 79, 83, 84, 93, 449
- Lewis, Jerry, 423
- "Licht, Hans," 10, 11, 125, 157, 230-31, 235, 244, 246, 248-49, 251, 256,

- 261, 263, 266, 268, 272, 459, 463-64, 466
 Ligurinus, boy sought by Horace, 287-89
 Lincoln, Abraham, 427, 477
 Lindner, Dr. Robert, 79, 139, 457
 "Lloyd," 425
 Lot in Sodom, 50
 Loth, David, 471-72
 Lucretius Garus, 278
 Lyciscus, boyfriend of Horace, 286
 Lycurgus (Lykourgos), 245, 464
- Mackail, J. W., 260, 264
 Mailer, Norman, 279, 467
 Malinowski, Bronislaw, 452
 Mancina, La, 312, 313
 Mann, Thomas, 166, 228, 406, 416, 476
 "Marathus," boyfriend of Tibullus, 284-85
 Marino or Marini, Giambattista, 316
 Marlowe, Christopher, 318-20, 325
 Martial (Marcus Valerius Martialis), 155, 249, 266, 272, 278, 285, 289-292, 294, 341, 472
 Mary I, queen of England, 43
 Maslow, Dr. Abraham H., 28, 72, 96, 97, 98-99, 101-02, 115, 122, 138, 182, 439, 442, 451, 457-58, 462, 479-80
 Masters, Edgar Lee, 427, 477
 Mautet (Mauté), Mathilde, 372-73
 "Maximin," beloved of Stefan George, 228, 293, 406, 414-15, 467
 Maxwell, William, 421
 Mead, Margaret, 215, 462
 Meier, L. H. E., 11, 230, 244, 448
 Meleagros (Meleager) of Gadara, 249, 259-60, 263-65, 284, 294, 381, 444
 Melville, Herman, 368, 376
 Meres, Sir Francis, 318, 320, 325, 331
 Michelangelo (Michelagnolo di Lodovico Buonarroti-Simoni), 7, 8, 250, 312-13, 314, 315, 321, 374, 378, 468-69
 Middleton, Richard Barham, 378, 395, 396
 "Mike," boyfriend of "Ralph R.," 160-62, 167
 Miller, Henry, 3, 191
 Montagu, M. F. Ashley, 100
 Moreschi, Prof. Alessandro, 343
 Morwitz, Ernst, 413, 477
 Moschos, 263
 Müller, C. O., 230, 463
 Munro, John, 318, 323-25, 470
 Murray, F. E., 379, 387, 389, 393, 394-95
 Murray, John, 360, 468
 "Myiskos," boyfriend of Meleagros, 263-64
- Nabokov, Vladimir, 484-85
 Napoléon I, emperor, 224; *see also* Code Napoléon in *Subject Index*
 Nearchus, boy celebrated by Horace, 287
 Neill, A. S., 9, 98, 101, 106, 442, 457
 Nero, emperor, 294, 388
 Neustatter, Dr., 58, 211
 "Newman, A.," *see* Murray, F. E.
 Nicholson, John Cambрил Francis, 378, 386, 387, 392, 394, 395
 Nicholson, R. A., 310
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, 309, 488
 Nightingale, Florence, 27
 Nireus, 245, 287
 Nisus and Euryalus, 283, 357
 "Norm T.," boyfriend of "Fred.," 152, 191-93, 194, 202-03, 211, 214
- Onan, 50; *see also* Masturbation in *Subject Index*
 Orpheus, dynastic title of kings of Thrace, 252-53, 465
- Ortega y Gasset, José, 307, 310, 466
 Ortil, Hajo, 416, 477
 Orwell, George, 52
 Ostler, William, *see* Hostler
 Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso), 302, 471
- Pantarkes, boyfriend of Pheidias, 381-82
 Partridge, Eric, 322, 325-26
 "Pat," boyfriend of "Kenneth," 203-10
 Patroklos, 221, 231-38, 242, 283, 307, 319, 325, 327, 415
 "Paul, Saint," *see* Saul of Tarsus
 Paulus, Prof., 351, 473
 Pavy, Salathiel, protégé and possible boyfriend of Ben Jonson, 317, 322
 Pearson, Hesketh, 322
 Peithō, title of Aphroditē, 258
 Perikles, 221, 327, 427, 461
 Perls, Dr. Fritz, 455
 Peter, Saint, the Apostle, 53
 Petrarch, 312, 315
 Petronius Arbitrator, T., 7, 223, 278
 Peyrefitte, Roger, 406, 413, 476
 Phanes, Orphic name for Erōs, 252; *see also* Erōs
 Pheidias, 381-82
 Pheidon, boy celebrated by Strato, 270
 "Philebus," *see* Barford
 Philippus, of Thessalonica, 260, 265; emperor, 292
 Philo Judaeus, 224
 Philostratus, Flavius, 260, 262, 266, 274-75
 "Pierre V.," 162-67
 Pindar, 222, 250, 257-58, 352, 463
 Platen-Hallermünde, August, Graf von, 349, 352
 Plato, 108, 126, 129, 231, 240, 250-51, 254, 258, 259-60, 306, 311, 354-55, 361, 446, 448, 461, 463, 468
 Plutarch, 245, 247-48, 337, 362, 464, 468
 Poge-Castries, L. R. de, *see* Meier, L. H. E.
 Polemon, 265
 Polykrates, king of Samos, 248, 255
 Poseidon, 247
 Priapus, garden god, 280, 282, 285, 292
 Procrustes, 50
 Prometheus, the Titan, 270;—title of pamphlet, *see* Ulrichs
 Proust, Marcel, 166, 376, 406-08, 412
 Pythagoras, 251-52, 255, 465
- Queensberry, Marquess of, 388
- Raffalovich, Marc-André, 352, 473
 "Ralph R.," 160-62, 214
 Rees, Tudor, judge, 57, 451
 Reich, Wilhelm, 10, 139, 141, 142, 144, 156, 461, 488
 Reid, Forrest, 421
 Reik, Dr. Theodor, 28, 114-16, 451, 458-60
 Reiss, A. J., Jr., Prof., 456
 "Renault, Mary," 27, 260, 262
 Renoir, Pierre Auguste (painter), 147, 481
 Riccio, Luigi del, 314-15
 "Richard Y.," 168-171, 214
 Rimbaud, Arthur, boyfriend of Paul Verlaine, 227, 371-73, 376, 388, 393, 475
 "Robert E.," 175-76
 Robinson, Dicky, 226, 323, 328
 Rocco, Antonio, 226
 Rochester, John Wilmot, Earl, 319, 340, 341-42, 345, 358
 Roditi, Edouard, 302
 Rolfe, Frederick, "Baron Gorvo," 379, 386
 "Ronnie," boyfriend of "Avery G.," 176-77, 214
 Rosalind (in *As You Like It*), 328; (in *Empire City*), 158

- Rougemont, Denis de, 111, 279, 299, 305-10, 468, 479-80
 Rumi, 311
- Sacher-Masoch, Leopold von, 347, 485
 Sade, Donatien A. F., Comte ("Marquis") de, 43, 362, 488
 Sa'di, 311
 "Salai," 315, 469
 Sappho (Psappha), 260, 279, 444
 Sartre, Jean Paul, 309
 Saul of Tarsus, 42, 52, 55, 56, 130, 224, 297, 304, 461
 Schiaparelli, Else, 48
 Schönberg, Arnold, 414
 Schubert, Franz, 172, 349
 Schweitzer, Dr. Albert, 55
 "Scotty S.," boyfriend of "Robert E.," 175-76
 Seredá, Mother, 214, 463
 Shakespeare, William, 73, 248, 250, 303, 317-18, 320-22, 323-29, 331, 338, 362, 388, 413, 470-71
 Sheldon, William Herbert, Ph. D., M.D., 116, 165, 246, 372, 459-60, 475, 478, 481, 485
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe, Mary, and Harriet, 131, 260, 359, 378, 400
 Sidney, Sir Philip, 318, 378
 "Sigea, Luisa," 150, 346, 348, 472; *see also* Choriér
 Simonides, 248, 259
 Skythinos, 249, 338
 Smerdies, boy celebrated by Anakreon, 250
 Smith, Timothy d'Arch, 404, 475-76
 Smollett, Tobias, 227, 345
 "Sodoma," 315-16
 Sokrates, 252, 258, 319, 347, 353, 361, 384-86, 409
 "Solomon," 54
 Sophokles, 399; *cf. also* 250-51, 255-56
 Spenser, Edmund, 318
 "Stalin, Josef," 46, 47
 Statius, 249, 289
 Statyllius Flaccus, 265, 266
 Stead, W. T., 344, 391
 Stearn, Jess, 199
 Steiner, Lee R., 45, 158, 455-56
 Stekel, Wilhelm, 10, 447
 Stenbock, Count Stanislaus Eric, 379
 "Steve," 200-02
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 359
 Strain, Frances Bruce, 6, 139-40, 461
 Strato of Sardis, 259-61, 263, 266-73, 277, 287, 330, 338, 360, 363, 397, 466
 Strutwell, Earl, 346
 Stuart-Young, John Moray, 378, 384, 392-93, 476
 Sturgeon, Theodore, 102, 404, 414, 476
 Sullivan, Dr. Harry Stack, 9, 28, 72, 91, 104-05, 107, 110, 111-12, 113, 117, 122, 130, 209, 310, 439, 451, 458, 489
 Summers, Rev. Montague, 331
 Surianus, 279, 300, 301
 Swinburne, Algernon Charles, 378, 382, 479
 Symonds, John Addington, 4, 10, 49, 59, 154, 228, 230, 241-42, 259, 264, 267-68, 294, 307-08, 313, 329, 368, 371-72, 377-78, 379-83, 384, 393, 446-48, 450, 456, 463-64, 467-69, 471, 475, 479, 489
 Symons, A. J. A., 379
- Taylor, Bayard, 364, 365-66, 474
 Taylor, G. Rattray, 14, 130-32, 137, 225, 229, 299, 316, 456, 458, 460-62, 485-86
- Teale, Christopher, 49
 Telesphorus, boyfriend of Martial, 291
 Tennyson, Alfred, Lord, 376
 Terman, Lewis M., 203, 209
 Tesch, Gerald, 216, 229, 407, 413, 422, 446
 "Theognis," 221, 245-47, 285, 320, 330
 Theokritos, 225, 248, 262-63, 283, 318, 330, 335, 384, 392, 395, 446
 Theoxenos, boyfriend of Pindar, 222, 257-58, 352
 Theudis, boy celebrated by Strato, 269-70
 Thoreau, Henry David, 191, 364, 366, 367-68, 474
 Thorpe, Thomas, 322-25, 471
 Thucydides, 256, 477
 Tibullus, P. Albius, 284, 285, 289
 "Tim," boyfriend of "Charles C.," 194-98
 Timarchos, 236-37, 250
 "Toby," protégé of "Barry D.," 179-85, 210
 Toynbee, Arnold J., 13
 Tristan and Iseult, 279, 307, 309
 Tullia and Ottavia, in "Luisa Sigea," 346
 Tusiani, Joseph, 314-15, 468-69
 Tyrtaeus, 237, 256
- Ulrichs, Karl Heinrich, 10, 58, 59-60, 227-28, 368-69, 371-72, 376, 378-79, 383, 446-47, 450, 456, 462-63, 470, 475, 480, 484, 489
- Vanbrugh, Sir John, 227, 345
 Venus, 277-78, 287
 Verlaine, Paul, 7, 8, 118, 127, 349, 371-73, 374-75, 376, 406-07, 409, 475
 Vidal, Core, 218
 Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro), 225, 262, 283-84, 294, 302, 318, 331, 335, 338, 357, 361, 446
 Voltaire, François-Marie Arouet de, 43
- Waddell, Helen, 299, 467
 Wagner, Richard, 299-300
 Walpole, Horace, 348, 472
 Watson, John B., 98
 Watts, Alan W., 306
 Weininger, Otto, 128, 459-60, 480, 485
 Welch, Denton, 383, 475
 "W. H., Mr.," 322-24, 388 *and see* Hostler
 Whitman, Walt, 7, 27, 59, 191, 227-28, 250, 311, 325, 353, 364-65, 367-68, 369-70, 378, 383-84, 398, 414, 456, 474-75
 Wilde, Oscar, 31, 33, 49, 153, 227-28, 321-22, 324, 347, 355, 373, 376-79, 386-87, 388, 389, 391-92, 408, 455, 476
 Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, 348-49, 472
 Woolf, Cecil, 386
 Wright, Frederick Adam, 282, 467
 Wriothesley, Henry, Earl of Southampton, 324
 Wylie, Philip, 48, 134, 214-15, 271, 353
- Xenophon, 241, 248, 463
- Yeats, William Butler, 49, 455
 Yourcenar, Marguerite, 292, 467
- Zagreus, 252-53
 Zeus, 129, 231, 233, 238, 242, 246, 261, Zschokke, Heinrich, 354, 371
 268-70, 274, 307, 318, 381-82, 465

GENERAL INDEX

The abbreviation GL means "Greek love" throughout.

-A-

- "abomination" (biblical), 50-1; primarily nonsexual connotation, 51
 Achaians, 231, 233, 236-37, 245
 actors: boys in female roles, 226, and see boy actors; protégés in Elizabethan theatre, 217, 317
 actresses, 340, 470; in male roles, 340
 "adhesive love" (Whitman), 368-69
 adjustment, 16, 81
 adolescence, as psychological stage, 9; as sexual peak, 11; difficult period, 78, Gh. IV *passim*, 431; onset of capacity to love, 61, 91-2, 135
 adolescent(s): abolition of means to status for, 62; alienation, see alienation; alleged need for strict limits, 85; as irresponsible children, 64-5, 79; as love objects, 92, and see GL, boy-love and other entries under those headings; as mean between unready child and overripe man, 254; as miniature adults, 64; attachments, 3, and see crushes; awkwardness, 239; beauty as embodying androgynous Boy God archetype, see Boy God in *Name Index*; change in social roles of, 4, 58-66, 426; characteristics, 61, and see crushes, and cf. Sullivan in *Name Index*; communication failure with adults, 84; confusion and "pooling of ignorance" among, 60-1, 63-4, 80, 82, 87-90, 93, 103, 106, 421, 427, 440; difficulty of access to adults by, 60-1, 65, 82; difficulty in finding meaningful work, 62-3, 84; effect on adults, 11, 65, and cf. seduction, younger; effects of child labor laws on, 62; "epicurean confusion" in, 83-5; function of high schools for, 63, 82; gang ethos and, see gangs; hero-worship by, 86, and see ego-ideal, hero-worship; need of adult "buffer" against authorities, 83, 92-3, and see Lewin in *Name Index*; need of ego-ideal, 85-7, 435, 481, and see ego-ideal, hero-worship; needs filled in GL, 73, 79, 83-94; obsession on sex, 90; orgasm in, 143; puberty rites, 62; rebellion, see rebellion; resentment of "dogoodery," 82; search for sex as search for cuddling, 102; unpredictability, 92; wage-earners formerly, 62
 adult-child affairs, 41, 60, 66-73, 429; effect on child of, 71-2; see also prepuberal affection, 97, 134, 182; and parental fear of homosexuality, 101, 183; diminished in expression with increasing age, 101-02; in animals, 97; learning to give requires experience of, 99-100; physical, see cuddling, physical affection; results of early deprivation of, 99-100, 133-34, and see Mike Hammer syndrome, patristic, resentment; cf. also *erôs*, love, *philia*, *storgê*
Affectionate Shepherd, 318, 331-36, 338, 352
 age of consent, 40, 56-8, 64, 76, 454, and see rape, statutory
 age segregation, 60-3, 65, 79, 83, 90, 167
 alcoholism, 30, 180, 185, 372-3
 alienation, between adolescent and adult world, 12, 16, 18, 40, 60-6, 75, 79, 81-3, 86, 221, 432-34, 441, 449, 456; age segregation contributory to, 60, 64, 81-2; and guidance, 79, and see guidance; and leveling trend in high schools, 63; contributory to delinquency, 66, and see delinquency; origin of, 61; stereotype thinking contributory to, 63-4; variable, 82; see also Friedenberg, Goodman in *Name Index*
 ambierotic, "ambisexual," ambisexual, 59, 478; garments, 48; human norm, 11, and see Ford in *Name Index*; ideal, 404, and see Chubb in *Name Index*; obloquy on, 59; cf. also Boy God in *Name Index*
 "Amore Vincitore" (Caravaggio), 263, 316, 469, 481-82
 anal intercourse, 144, 149-50, 153-56, 227, 272, 291, 344, 346, 359, 376, and see buggery; Goethe on, 350
 anarchism, 37-9
 anatomy and pleasure, 155
 andric factor, 165, 372, 478, 482-83, 488
 Androgynê, Divine, 404-05, and see Boy God in *Name Index*
 androgynê, in myth of the third sex, 129
 androgynous: beauty, 249; ideal form, in Renaissance, 312-13, 315, 338, 469; ideal in castrati, 343; statues, 277
 androphile, androphilia, 345-49, 352, 364, 368, 375-77, 389, 406-12, 426, 485; and Marlowe, Shakespeare, 325; appeal to ancient Greece as justifying, 346, 352, 369; commoner recently than GL, 4, 228-29, 376; confused with GL, 76; contrasted with GL, 3, 376, 481; defined, 478
 anger, 140, 181-82
 anomie, 85, 435, and see alienation, delinquency, gangs
Anthology, Greek (Palatine), 259-74, 330, 338, 363, 381, 466
 archetypes, 293, 404, 476, and see Antinous, Boy God, Dionysos, Goddess, Maximin in *Name Index*
 argot, 200, 412, 447, 472, and see slang and entries thereunder
 asceticism, 223-24, 277, 298-99
 asymmetrical relationships, 8, 66-71, 108-10, 120-22, 135; and complementarity, 110, 128; and GL, 110; can diverge further, 108, 121-22; can grow towards symmetry, 108, 122; degree independent of intensity, 108; existential instability of, 122, 130, 135; heterosexual affairs always are, 110; nonpossessiveness needed in, 122, 135; pitfalls of, 122; third party in, 122
 athlete cult, 48, 239, 242, 256-57, 461; cf. also Lefroy, Pindar, in *Name Index*

- Atlas of Sexual Anatomy*, 143
 Attica, Attic dialect, 221, 239
 attraction: Erös and Dionysos in, 253; factors in, 106-07, 146-48; of boy towards man, 106-07, 145-46; of man towards boy, as incentive for ethical-educational role, 15, 17-8, 116, 146-48; specific "types," 23; *see also* beauty, bloom
 "authenticity," in adolescence, 147
- B-
- bananas, alleged addiction to, 20, 439
 bastardy, 58
 baths, Roman, 291, 298; Turkish, 118-19, 291
 beauty: as godlike, 246, 250, 293; *and see* Boy God in *Name Index*; evanescent, 249, 252-55, 269-70, 274-75, 320-21, 404; Greek concepts (form and act), 15, 239, 242-43, 245-46, 254-55, *and see* kalokagathia; Renaissance concepts, 313-14
 Being-love, 114-15, 135; compatible with sexual desire, 115; defined, 479
 biblical texts relevant to sex, 50-54
 "Big Brothers," 17-8, 119
 big embrace, 153-54, 198, 206, 478
 "blind guides," 75, 86, *and see* "Gertrude" in *Name Index*; *cf. also* time-binding
 bloom, 11, 147, 222, 226, 244, 249, 253-55, 258, 268-70, 302, 416, 479, 482
 boarding schools, 18, 21, 49-50, 319, 344, 346, 425-26, 450; contagious homosexuality in, urged as argument for abolition, 49
 bohemians, 131, 171, 184, 279-80, 300, 373, 375
 bondage, 219, 347, *and see* sado-masochism
 boy actors, 226, 317-19, 322-28, 330; emotions depicted by, 328; love scenes with, 328; never involved in scandals, 340, 470; recruitment, 317, 327; rosters, 322-23; training, 323, 327-28
 Boy God, *see* entry in *Name Index*
 boy in GL: active seducer early-maturing, 210; early puberty in, 210, 222, *and see* Sotadic Zone; *cf. also* case descriptions in *Chs. VII, VIII*
 boy-love: as admiration for sheer beauty, 245; cuts across class lines, 354-55; Dorian, 238-48, 251, 283, 307-10, 347, 352, 480; military orientation in Dorian, 240-43, 248; Oriental, 249-50, 258-59, 347; parallels between Dorian and cortezia, 307-10; religious significance in ancient Greece, 238-39, 243-44, 246, 249, 251-53, 258, 353, 416, 465, *and see* Boy God in *Name Index*; religious significance in Chubb, 404-05; religious significance in Sufism, 225, 310; *and see* GL
 Boy Scouts, 162-63; camps, 49-50; work, 119, *and see* "Pierre V." in *Name Index*
 boyhood experiences, reliving, 166, 354, 358, *and see* Byron in *Name Index*
 boyish qualities in a bride, 119-20
Break Down These Walls, 49
 breasts: boys', as erogenous zone, 150, 481; size, fetishistic concern with, 146, 161-62
 brothels, 259, 343-44, *and see* whore-houses; "Molly houses," 343; provided flagellant services, 344; royal patronage, 344, 472
 buggery, 20, 43-4, 49, 51, 144, 149-50, 153-56, 285, 296, 317, 342, 346, 417, 472, 475, 479, 482, *and cf.* anal intercourse; and sorcery or shamanism, 296; disadvantages, 156; forcible, 20, 149, 280, 282; pleasure by passive partner, 155; positions, 154; punishable by death, 43, 154, 453-54
 "bull dyke," 463, 479
 butch, 58, 67, 479, 482-83; and complementarity, 127-28
 buttocks: as erogenous zone, 344, 481; hair on as antifetish, 222; Shakespeare and, 326; *and cf.* flagello-mania
- C-
- "Caesar" type, 443, 479-80, 483-84
 Calamites, 49, 227-28, 347, 349, 365, 376-406, 479, 481
 Canaanitic religions, 50-1, 55, *and see* fertility cults; *cf. also* Goddess in *Name Index*
 caresses, *see* cuddling, foreplay
Carmina Burana, 301, *and see* goliards
 castrati, 226, 342-43, 346
Castrati, The, 470-71
 casual experience, 19, 66-71, 439, 479; heterosexual, provided by a boy's lover, 67
 Catharism, 299, 305-06, 311, 479
 celibacy as path to immortality, 53; *see also* Saul of Tarsus in *Name Index*
Chameleon, The, 227, 378, 386-89
 child(ren), prepuberal or preadolescent, *see* prepuberal; affairs with adults, *see* adult; molestation, 4, 24, 427
 church, role of in antisexual codes, 42-3, 45, 47-50, 298; *cf.* biblical
 civilization, decline and fall, 12-4
 class: lower, 13, 94; lower middle, 212, 480, *and cf.* double standard, Lolita phenomenon, Mike Hammer syndrome; middle, *see* cases in *Chs. VII, VIII*; struggles, 13; upper, *see* "Avery C.," Byron, Goethe in *Name Index*
 classical education, vicissitudes related to those of GL, 4, 223, 225, 228-29, 376, 422
 clergy, 16, 38, 83, 217, 299, *and see* Calamites
 clitorid type, 125, 480
Clouds, The, 251
 coat-mundi, 142
 Code Napoléon, *see* penal codes
 coitus, and alleged substitutes for, 24-5; *see* sexual intercourse
 comicbook heroes, 217, 450
Commentary, 63
 commitment, 64, 72, 103, 116, 241, 244, 247, 262, 480; *and see* double standard
 Communism, Communist, 41, 48, 74
 complementarity, 127-29, 136, 175; and marriage, 127-28, 130; and sexual attraction, 128; lack of, contributory to instability in love, 128
 components: andric, *see* andric factor; gynec, *see* gynec factor; heterosexual, homosexual, 118, 120, 482-83; of love, 123, 459-60, *and see* Being-love, Deficiency-love, erös, philia, storgē; suppression of homosexual, 118-19
 comradely love, 237, 241, 368-70 *and see* Whitman in *Name Index*
 "concubinus," 223
 conflict, 236; among a Greek's various loves, 27, 222 *and cf.* monopolizing; over masculinity, 32-3, 88-9; over need of tenderness, 88; over sex roles, 87; *and see* masculinity, self-image; *cf. also* Don Juan way of life, Mike Hammer syndrome

conformity and culture models, 80-1, 432, 441; *cf. also* adolescent confusion, gangs, subculture
 consensual validation, 104, 458, 489
 conspiracy of silence, 4, 42, 373, 427
 contraceptives, 15, 49, 427
 conversion, forcible, 298
 "corrupting" minors, 6-7, 406, and *see* seduction
 cortezia, 307-10, 347, 479-80, and *see* courtly
 cortigiane, 312, and *cf.* hetairai
 Council of Trent, 315-16, 339, 345
 counselor, 8, 82, 88, 440, and *see* guidance; possible incentives, 17-8
 Counter-Reformation, 14, 226, 315, 347
 courtly love, 225, 352, 307-10, 312-13, 315, and *cf.* cortezia
 "crime against nature," *see* sodomy
 criminal codes, 43-5, and *see* laws and penal
Critique of Religion and Philosophy, 96
 crushes, 3, 9, 36, 61, 91-2, 107, 147, 421, 435, 481; *see also* ego-ideal, hero-worship, GL, seduction, younger
 cuddling, 97-103, 140, 188, 192, 435-36, 443-44, and *see* physical affection; and infant training, 98; and parental fears of homosexuality, 101; and search for sex, 102, 135; as feminine, 103; as instinctoid need, 88, 98-100, 102, 134, 188; communication with child by, 100; confused with sex, 102, 135, 141; consequences of deprivation, 99-102, 133-34, 435, 443, and *see* patrisms; correlated with affection, 97; correlated with evolutionary advancement, 98, 134; decreasing with age, 101-02; in inhuman mammals, 97; in "self-regulated" children, 98; in sex play, 150; in uninhibited cultures, 98; repression of need for, 88, and *see* Lolita phenomenon, Mike Hammer syndrome, patrisms; sex differences in, 102
 cunnilingus, 151-52, 453

-D-

dancing, 161, and *see* rock and roll
De laudibus sodomiae, 316, 469-70
Death in Venice, *see* Mann in *Name Index*
 "decadents," 387, 407-12
 debauchery, 7, 14, 20, 372
 Deficiency-love, 28, 72, 114-15, 135, 480
 deficiency-needs, theory of, 98
 defecation mania, 226, 344-45, 347
 deities, 239, 242, 251, and *see under* individual names in *Name Index*
 delinquency, juvenile, 16-17, 37, 64, 66, 79-83, 87, 159-62, 185, 191-92, 212, 422, 432-35, 442; and Mike Hammer syndrome, 87; and resentment, 101-02, 181-82; as deficiency disease, 101; combatted by GL, 18, 20, 40, 119, 162, 185, 450; increase in, 18; orientation, 84; punitive measures unsuccessful with, 82, 185; sometimes a matter of location, 40; and *see* alienation, gangs
Democratic Vistas, 369, 474
 dependency, 17, 434, and *see* deficiency-love
Design for Living, 130
Direction of Human Development, 100
 Don Juan: type, 482-83; way of life, 75
 Don Leon, 227, 297, 360-63, 473, and *see* Colman in *Name Index*

Dorian: tribes, 221, 239-42, 244-48, 480; type, 479-80, 484
 Doric dialect, 221, 239, 244
 double standard, 67-9, 93-4, 104, 112, 117, 130, 133-34, 480
 drag queens, 483, 487, and *see* female impersonators, gynandroid, queen, transvestism
 drinking songs, 243, 248
 dualisms, 251-52, 306, and *see* Catharism, Orphism

-E-

ectomorphy, 165, 459, 480-81
 education: classical, *see* classical; ethical, 83-6; in ancient Greece, 232, 240, 242; in ancient Rome, 223, 276, 289; informal, 83-5, 242; medieval, 224; of women, 124-25; shakeup in adolescence, 85, and *see* Social Lie
Edward II, 318-20
 effeminacy, 30, 88, 211, 248-49, 258-59, 276, 345-46, 348, 376, 383, 443; confused with gentleness, 75, 87-8, and *cf.* Mike Hammer syndrome, patrisms; of James I, 318-19, 341; *see also* invert, queen, transvestism
 ego-ideal, 85-6, 435, 443, 481, and *see* hero-worship
 ejaculate, characteristics of, 143; *see also* orgasm
 empathetic factor in sexual pleasure, 152, 157, 194
Empire City, 6, 78, 158, 179, 455, 459
 Encyclopedists, 43, 226
 endomorphy, 459, 481
 English method, 150, 153-54, 227, 481, and *see* interracial
 "enthusiasm," 279, 307-10, 343
 enticement techniques, 148-49, and *see* seduction
 entrapment, 19, 21-3, 44, 481
 ephebophile, ephebophilia, 478, 481, 483, and *cf.* boy-love, GL, paidophilia
 epic, 231-36, 245, and *see* Iliad
 Epic Cycle, 231, 238
 Epic of David, 54, 113, 236
 erection, 141-42, 160, 169-72, 200, and *see* sexual excitement
 erogenous zones, 150, 481
 erös, 122-23, 127-30, 133, 135-36, 223, 232, 437, 481, 488; and three-party relationship, 126; as basic human need, 126, 135-36; caste, 136, 437 and *see* porné; in GL, 127; in lesbian pairs, 127; marital role, 123, 127, 136
 Erös: Anderson & Sutherland's, 473-76; Hössli's, 354; Zschokke's, 354
 ethical: code, 198, 232, 237-38; education, 83-6; predictability, 85; relativity, 38, 40; value unaffected by unconscious origins, 27
 ethnic factors and GL, 210-12, 449, and *see* Sotadic Zone
 excellence, global, 239, 242, 246, 353, 484, and *see* kalokagathia; and Michelangelo's passions, 313; and Verlaine, 374

-F-

"F scale," 132-33
 faith and make-believe, 56
 fallacy: early seduction as decisive, 20-21, and *see* seduction; ecological, 33; homophile recruitment by corrupting the youth, *see* seduction; homosexuals' sole desire is forcible buggery, 20, 149; homosexuals attracted to increasingly young boys, 23; non-coital techniques as sub-

- fallacy: (*continued*)
 prostitutes for coitus, 24-6; purpose of sex is procreation, 15, 42, 49, 74; sexual licence killed off civilizations, 12-4; vast increase in homosexual population, 21-2
 "falling in love," 110-12, 129, 135, 144, *and see* infatuation, romantic
 Fanny Hill, 472
 fascist, sexual, 132, 461, 488
 faunet, 482, *and see* Amore Vincitore, bloom; *cf.* Garavaggio in *Name Index*
 favourite, 226, 249, 256, 482
 fear: of adults, 449; of appearance of deviation, 75; of being thought queer, 18, 65, 75; of change, 76; of deep involvement, 349; of forbidden impulses, 75; of the unlike, 75 *and see* Hoffer in *Name Index*
 fellation, 151-52, 227, 454, 482 *and see* irrumation, sixty-nine, sexual techniques
 female impersonators: 326, 346, 482, *and cf.* boy actors, castrati, drag queen, "Finocchio," invert, queen, transvestism
 femininity, and complementarity, 128; function of, in adolescent boy, 146, 194; renunciation of, 120; *see also* androgynous, effeminacy, queen, *and cf.* masculinity
 femme, and complementarity, 127-28; contrasted to butch, 482; role, 472
 fertility cults, 42, 50-1, *and see* Goddess in *Name Index*
 fetishism, 12, 89, 120, 139, 145, 157, 161, 220, 344, 430, 439
 films, *see* motion pictures
 "Finocchio," 479, 482-84, 488, *and see* effeminacy, invert, queen
 FKK, 416, 482
 flagellation, 157, 219, 343-45, 347, 485
 flagellomania, 157, 226, 317, 343-45, 472, 482
 flogging, 276, 471, *and see* flagellation, flagellomania
 "folkknicks," folksingers, 171-72
 foreplay, 24, 151, *and see* big embrace, cuddling, cunnilingus, erogenous, fellation, french kiss, irrumation, sixty-nine; and sodomy laws, 39
 "free agent," 117
 french kiss, 150-51, 453, 482
 Freundschaft und Knabenliebe, 448
 friendship, continuity with love, 104-05; jealousy unthinkable in, 104, 480; "platonic," 104, 108; sexual, *see* GL
 frottage, 479, *and see* big embrace
- G-
- games, Greek, 242-43, 246, 256; *see also* athlete cult
 gangs, 81, 87, 159-61, 169, 432, 442; and age-segregation, 60, 63, 82; and Mike Hammer syndrome, 87; *see also* alienation, delinquency, guidance, resentment, subculture
 gay, 74, 482; bars, 118, 119, 163, 222
 Gestalt Therapy, 455, 459
 ghazal, 352, 483
 gifted children, 169, 185, 199, 203-09
 glandular factors, *see* andric, gynec
 "gnomic" verses, 221, 247-48, 330 *and see* Theognis in *Name Index*
 gods, 239, 242, 251 *and see* individual names in *Name Index*
 goliards, 225, 279-80, 298-302
 Greece, ancient, 12-3, 123-25, 129-30, 136, 167, 221-23, 230-75
 Greece, modern, 222
 Greek attitudes to boy-love, contradictory, 244, 250-51, 258; *see also* boy-love, *and* Plato in *Name Index*
 Greek Experience, The, 230, 464
 Greek love: absent in homosexual case histories, 23, 106, 211, 450; abuses, 29, 373; aims, contrasting, in Attica and Sparta, 221; and heterosexuality, 26-7, 84-5, 88-9, 91, 119, 213, 430, 439; as widespread as mankind, 3, 6-8, 350; averting alienation, 62, *and see* alienation; beneficial consequences, 7, 40, 106, 430, *and see* adolescent confusion, alienation, delinquency, guidance; boy as seducer, *see* younger; complementarity in, 127-28, 131; confused with Roman brutality, 224; confusions about, modern, Ch. II, 41, 60, 66, 76, 426-27, 429-38; de-emphasized in sexual law reform propaganda, 59, 406, *and see* sexual reform; defined, 3, 483; disregarded, 5, 7, 42; distinguished from preoccupation with prepuberal children, 66-71, 426-27;—from Humbert Humbert's motivations, 440-41; Earl Strutwell's version, 346; effect of, on a marriage, 118, 120; erös, philia, storgē in, 127; erotic aspects, *see* sexual techniques; ethical-educational value of, 14-5, 221-22, 239-42, *and see* ethical; fixation in, 73, 430;—refuted, 439, 451; Goethe on, 350; Hirschfeld on, 447-48; impermanence, existential, 94; irresponsible handling, 86, 373; leading away from heterosexuality, 7, 105, 430;—refuted, 439; length of affairs, in antiquity, 222, 244; in modern times, 28, Chs. VII, VIII; like other forms of love, 4, 95, 110, 116; "love that dare not speak its name," 42, 391, 426; marriage, effect of on, 118, 120; more beneficial if man has satisfactory heterosexual life, 36, 84-5, 88-9, 91; objections to, Ch. II *passim*, 429-38; parallels, historical, with heterosexual love, 219-20, 426 *and* Part II *passim*; phila in, Chs. VII, VIII, 240-242; "preparation for the real thing," 36, 78, 194; Renaissance attitudes to, 315; rescue theme in, 167, 212, 424; responsible handling, 32-3, 35, 78, 84, 86, 88-9; scapegoat, 59-60; sex techniques in, *see* sexual techniques; Shakespeare and, 325-26, *and see* Sonnets; "shame" as name for, *see* shame; similarities to parental love, 441; stability of affairs, 28, 74, 93, 213-14, 222, 244; storgē in, 127, 438, *and see* storgē; Strutwell's version, 346. *See also* adolescent, alienation, asymmetrical relationships, attraction, boy actors, Boy God, boy in GL, boy-love, classical, counselor, crushes, cuddling, delinquency, ego-ideal, erös, ethical, femininity, guidance, hero-worship, homosexual, kalokagathia, love, masculinity, matrim, motion pictures, philia, prepuberal, rebellion, seduction, self-image, sex, sexual techniques, storgē, taboo, tenderness, three-party, transience, Wandervogel, younger.
 Greek View of Life, The, *see* Dickinson, G.L., in *Name Index*
 grope, 70, 148, 170, 483
 "gross indecency," *see* Labouchère in *Name Index*
 guidance, 15-8, 64, 82-3, 87-90, 158-59, 163, 203, 209, 213, 441; and alienation, 64, 82; and ethical value of GL, 15; and masculinity, 87-8;

and sex, 18; communication failures in, 83, 88, 90; "contaminated," 15; difficulties in obtaining, 60-1, 63-4, 82; incentives for, 15, 17-8; lacking in delinquents' development, 16, 82, and *see* alienation; parental limitations in, 16, 64; professional limitations in, 15-6, 64, 82-3; why minimized, 18
 "guide-companion-friend," 221
 "guide-philosopher-friend," 8, 17, 70, 79, 86, 430, 440
 guilt feelings, 19, 29-38, 42, 47-9, 67, 73-4, 137, 144; and patrisim, 133
 gymnastics, 239, 242-43, 277; despised by Romans as effeminate, 406; *see also* games
 gynandroid, 210; 483; *see also* androgynous and homosexuality, constitutional factors in
 gynē, 124, 459, 483; *cf.* hetaira, pornē, women
 gynec factor, 165, 372, 478, 482-3, 488; *cf.* andric factor

-H-

Hadrian's Memoirs, *see* Yourcenar in *Name Index*
 hair: long, abominated by St. Paul, 52; long, in all images of Jesus, 52; on head, in bloom, *see* bloom; on thighs and buttocks, as antifetish, 269-70, and *see* bloom; pattern in andric and gynec factors, "Finocchio" types, 478, 482-83
 hatred, 47-8, and *see* Mike Hammer syndrome, patrisim
 hegelian, 130, 251
 hermaphroditism, 478-79
 hero-worship, 86, 92, 145, 328, 435, 443, 481; *see also* adolescent, crushes, ego-ideal, GL
 Heroic Age, 230, 236, 238
 heroism, 223, 232, 243; need of immediate emotional support for, 232
 hetaira (i), 124-26, 222, 226, 312, 459, 483; caste, 124-25; comparable to keepers of salons, 124;—to geishas and royal mistresses, 125; contrasted to prostitutes, 125, and *cf.* gynē, pornē; cortigiane as, 312-13; education of, 124
 heterosexual: component, 483; love, affairs enhanced by homosexual experience, 118, 193-94, 201-03;—and myth of the third sex, 129;—, complementarity in, 127-28;—, historically parallel with GL, 4, 219-20 and Part II *passim*; *see also* Kinsey scale, love, matrisim, patrisim; *cf.* double standard, jealousy, possessiveness
 heterosexuality: alleged threat from homosexuality refuted, 8, 11, 20-1, 75, 162, 177; and GL, 26-7, 84-5, 88-9, 91, 119, 213, 430, 439; constitutional factors in, 165-66; obsessive-compulsive, 75, 107, 138 and *see* Mike Hammer syndrome
 hierodules, 51, 296, 483, 487, and *cf.* Goddess in *Name Index*
 hip(sters), 279-80, 300
Histoire de l'amour grec, *see* Meier in *Name Index*
 hoboes, 218
 "Hombres," in *Oeuvres libres*, 375-76, 407, 409, 475
 homosexual: acts, compared to penalties, 58;—, consequences of, 58, 74;—, immoral vs. illegal, 56; adult case histories lack a GL element, 23, 106, 211, 450; advances made only where welcome, 74; al-

leged attraction to increasingly young boys, 23, 42, 73; and myth of the third sex, 129; arrests mostly from public solicitation, 213; behavior, inhuman mammalian, 15;—, other significances (Coffman), 450; blamed for natural catastrophes, 224, 295-98; castrati, 343; component, *see* components; death penalty for, 43, 224, 295-98; exclusive, and GL, 164, 212; experience, allegedly turning boys away from heterosexuality, 7, 11, 20, 28-9, 58, 73, 105, 164, 430, 439;—as beneficial to heterosexuality, 193-94, 201-03; literature in Rome, 277-78;—, modern, Ch. XVI;—, GL recessive element in modern, 422; period or phase, 91, 105, 159; population, compared to racial minority, 46-7, 74;—, vast alleged increase in, 21-2; propaganda, 319, 346, 374, 406, and *see* sex reform movement; relationships, instability of, 74, 93; simulation by plainclothes police for entrapment, *see* entrapment; "third sex," *see* "Third Sex" theory; "typical," 66, 407-08

Homosexualität, Die, 447-48, 454, 469
 homosexuality: as inhibition of heterosexual side, 107; as limitation, 21, 29, 439; as "proselytizing religion," 22; claims of hereditary origin, 59, 371, and *see* "Third Sex" theory; constitutional factors in, 165-66; etiologies, possible, 21, 59; feared by patrists, 131; independent of disease, depravity or inferiority, 59, 371; not associated with early sex experience, 21, 34, 70, 439; Shakespeare on, 325-26, and *see* Sonnets; "sublimated," 119; theories of origin, 58-60, 200, 371;—, contradictory, 200; *see also* "Third Sex" theory; Whitman's disclaimer, 371; *see* androphilia, comradesly love

Hours of Idleness, 354

-I-

Ideal, Masculine, *see* androphilia
 "Ideal Soulmate," 129
 identical twins, 165-66
Iliad, 230-35, 238, 240, 242, 244-46, 283, 463
 Illinois revised penal code, 40, 44-5, 76
In the Key of Blue, 379, 468, 471
 infatuation, 14, 74, 117, 130, 484; and "falling in love," 113; and marriage, 14, 130; contrasted with (Sullivanian) love, 14, 113-14; necessary precondition for heterosexuality, 114, 135
 "inspirer," 221, 244
 "instinctoid" needs, 98-100, 484
 intercrural or interfemoral copulation, 150, 198, 484; *see* English method
 invert, 10, 58-60, 154, 211-12, 228-29, 376, 389, 406, 462-63, 482, 484, 486, 488-89; compared with "pervert," 59; easier object of legal relief than boy-lover, 59-60, 228; *see also* androphile, "Finocchio," queen, "Third Sex" theory, Urning
 irrumation, 49, 151-52, 454, 484; *see also* fellation, sixty-nine

-J-

Jahrbuch f. sex. Zwischenstufen, 10, 447, 468
 jazz, 161, 188, 193

jealousy, 74, 93-4, 104, 117, 130, 135, 138, 161, 163, 169, 194, 216, 373, 401, 436-37, 444, 480; and Oedipus complex, 117, 135; *see also* double standard, possessiveness, *and cf.* patristism
 Jésus (French boy prostitutes), 343, 412; —, petits-, 343
 jewels, on boy actors and favourites, 327, 329-30, 332
 Judgment Day, 55, 224
 judo, 19

-K-

kalokagathía, 221, 223, 225, 238-39, 242, 246-47, 445, 484, *and cf.* excellence
 Kinsey reports, 40 *and see* Kinsey in *Name Index*; — scale, 212, 484
 kiss: french, *see* french; games, 140; methods, 150-51; names for, 280; *see also* foreplay
 kleptomania, 181, 183

-L-

Lady, Beloved, 254, 307-10, 312; Dark, 324-25; *see also* Goddess in *Name Index*
Last of the Wine, The, *see* Renault in *Name Index*
 latency, 145
 laws: antisexual, 4-5, 13, 27, 29, 39-40, 42-6, 76, 224, 229, 250, 295-98, 317, 377-78, 452-54; doubting wisdom of, equals interest in violating, 5, 41; path to desuetude, 40, 44, 74; "protecting" teenagers and denying sexual freedom, 5; punitive equated to moral, 39, 41, 295-98; "sodomy," 39, 296, *and see* "sodomy"
Leaves of Grass, 227, 365, 368-71, 456, 474
 Lesbians, 36, 55, 58, 66, 127, 153, 479; poetry, 372; subject to death penalty in Europe, 43, 453
Letters: Beckford's, 348-49; Byron's, 356-57, 473; Goethe's, 350-51, 473; Thoreau's, 367, 474; Wilde's, 388, 455, 476
 liaison, 68-9, 71-2, 484
Life Against Death, 75
 Lolita phenomenon or syndrome, 66-70, 88, 103, 107, 161, 174, 484; as inhibition, 107
 love: and David & Jonathan, 54, 159; —, rabbinical attitudes thereto, 54, 236; arising from hero-worship, 145-46; as projection of need to be loved, *see* Deficiency-love; boy-, *see* boy-love, GL; characteristics, 92, 104-05; conditional, 215, 432-33, 441-42; confused with sex, 102-03, 421; contrasted with friendship, 54, 104, 138; — with infatuation or "falling in love," 14, 110-12, 135, *and see* "falling in love," infatuation, "love at first sight," romantic; continuity with friendship, 104-05, 135, *and see* spectra; dissociated from sex, 349, *and see* "Salomé complex"; *cf. also* Lolita phenomenon; effect on recipients, 9, 430-45, *and see case histories in Chs. VII, VIII*; etiology, 105, 115-16; grows from pre-existing friendship, 105, 146; homosexual, *see* androphilia, homosexual, homosexuality; —as means of social cohesion, 240-42, 369-70, *and cf.* alienation; independent of age or gender, in Michelangelo, 313; in

Verlaine, 374; in Whitman, 370; instinctoid need for, 99, 434, 441-42; led to by infatuation, 145-46; meaning in ancient Rome, 223; nonjealous, nonpossessive, 93-5, 130-31, 133, 136, 434, 436; onset of capacity, 61, 91-2; orthopsychology of, 96-103; "platonic," 108, 110; Reik on, 114-16; rejection of, in Mike Hammer syndrome, 87; significance to youngsters, 102; spectra of, 104-10, 135; stability needed in, 92; Sullivan on, 104-05; three-component theory, 459-60; three-party affairs, *see* three-party; unrequited, 92, 115. *See also* androphilia, asymmetrical, boy-love, comradely, cortezia, courtly, double standard, erös, Greek love, hero-worship, infatuation, matristism, philia, storgé, symmetrical.
 "love at first sight," 112-13, 126, 129; illusion, 112; *see* infatuation
Love in the Western World, *see* Rougemont in *Name Index*
 lover, 27, 105; functions, 79, 83-6, 88-90, 92-4, 105; requirements, 83, 85-6, 88-9, 91-4; usually a married man, in Greece, 27, 222
 "lustless mechanical sex," 214

-M-

Madison Ave., 12, 422
 make-believe as origin: of faith, 56; of unquestioning acceptance of mores, 56
 male supremacy, 52, 223, *and cf.* Mike Hammer syndrome, patristism
 mammalian heritage, 97, *and cf.* Ford in *Name Index*
 Manichaeism, 224, 277, 306, 311
 marasmus, 98-9
 Marinism, 316
 marriage: and complementarity, 127-28, 130; and GL, 26-7, 118-20, 212; and romantic ideal, 111, 129-30; arranged, 111, 312, 444; erös, philia, storgé in, 127; "falling in love" as motivating, 111-12, 130; growth of love in, 111, 444; in ancient Greece, 125, 222; pitfalls in, 112, 130; quasi, between boys (E. E. Bradford), 398; Renaissance, 312. *See also* asymmetrical, erös, philia, storgé, symmetrical, three-party; *and cf.* double standard, jealousy, possessiveness
 "Masculine Ideal," 58, 60, 376, 406, 478, 488; *see also* androphilia, invert, "Third Sex" theory, Urning
 masculinity, 31-3, 35, 75, 87-9, 147-48, 276; and cuddling, 103; anxieties over, 35, 75, 82, 87-8; complementarity and, 128; Elizabeth I and, 318; maximal in "Caesar" types, *see* "Caesar"; questioning as insult, 87; renunciation or rejection, 88, 482, *and see* "Finocchio," invert, queen, "Third Sex" theory, Urning; sources of boys' ideas about, 87, 89
 masochism, masochist, 19, 285, 485, 488, *and see* sadomasochism; psychic (Bergler), 213-14
 masturbation, 24, 52, 140-42, 144, 439, 449; and the law, 49, 455; methods, 141, 150; mutual, 20, 70, 144, 150, 198, 455; unmentioned in the Bible, 50
 masturbatory fantasy, 161, 412, 476; type of girl, 120
 mateship, 68-9, 71, 127, 484-85
 matristism, matrist: characteristics, 131,

136; factions, societies, 14, 276, 427-28, 445, 460-61; individuals, 132; language, 326; nonpossessive love and, 133; periods, 219-20, 226, 229, 312, 426; sex reform movement and, 133; themes, 404-05
Mattachine Society, 5, 42, 46, 213, 398, 485

mean, golden, 238, 254-55

Memnon, 447, 450, and see Ulrichs in Name Index

Men and Boys, 322, 395-97

ménage à trois, 118, 130, and see three-party

mesomorphy, 210, 459, 480-81, 485, 488

Miké Hammer syndrome, 75, 87, 89, 90, 99, 212, 485, 488

"missionary" position, 42, 485

"molesters," 4, 24, 427

"Molly houses," 343, 485

"momism," 48, 214

monasteries, 224, 298-301

monastic vows, 224, 299

monogamy, compulsive, 117, 145

monopolizing one's sexuality, 26

moralistic impulse, 75, 427

moralizing as betrayal, 79, 433

motion pictures relevant to GL: *Amici per la Pelle*, 477; *Cinderella*, 423;

Delicate Delinquent, *The*, 423;

My Name Is Ivan, 477

mourning, 232-37

mucous membranes, 141-42

"muscular Christianity," 384

music, in Orphic-Pythagorean religion, 252-53

Myth of the Charioteer, 250-52, 254, 354

-N-

National Game (dating), 163, 174, 216, 335

neoplatonic, 42, 224, 306, 311

neurosis as deficiency-disease, 102

Never the Same Again, see Tesch in Name Index

Normal Sex Interests of Children, see Strain in Name Index

Novellae, 295-98, and see Justinian in Name Index

nudism, 160, 167, and see FKK

nudity, 49, 160, 162, 256-57, 291, 366; see also physical-culture magazines

nymphets, 174, 484-85

-O-

"object-homoerotics," 10, 485, 488

objections: irrational, 75-6; to GL, Ch.

II *passim*, 429-38, and see rationalizations of prior aversion

occupations: and GL, 178; of ambiguous sexuality, 75, 165

"odor of sanctity," 298

Oedipus complex, 117, 135, 145

Oeuvres libres, 407, 475, and see "Hombres"

oil: athletic use, 256-57, 266; use in sex

play, 150, 153, 184

One, Inc., 5, 42, 486

One (monthly), 75, 429

one-night stand, 486 and see casual

operas, 342-43

opposites, world as synthesis of, 251

oral sexual techniques, 24-5, 144, 150-

53, 227; disadvantages, 152; rare

in antiquity, 150, 223; see also

cunnilingus, fellation, irrumation,

sixty-nine

Oration Against Timarchos, 236, 250

orgasm, 15, 24-5, 31, 145, 152-53, 191-

92, 279; as safety valve, 140; be-

fore and after reproductive period,

15; in prepuberal boys, 15, 154; in adolescent boys, 143; noncoital, 144; noncyclic in man, 15; oral, 139; process described, 141-43; self-limiting, 140

Orphism, 244, 251-55, 306

orthopsychology, 137-45

-P-

pacifism, 194-98

paidophilia, see boy-love, GL

Palladis Tamia, 318, 325

panic, 19, 30, 72, 183

parents, 16-7, 30, 32-3, 38, 70, 74, 85,

87-90, 140, 185-202, 204; authority

figures, 17, 83; limitations as coun-

selors, 16-7, 83; role in etiology of

homosexuality, 88; surrogates, 71

Parents Day, 179, 407, 423, 455

Passionate Pilgrimage, *The*, 325, 331

passivity, 142, 277

pastoral tradition, 262-63, 283-84, 335-36

patapoufs, 343

patrim, patrist: affection-deprived, 133,

136; ancient Rome, 223, 277; and

double standard, 133; and F scale,

132-33; and Puritanism, 132; and

rightwing extremism, 132; charac-

teristics, 131, 136; factions, socie-

ties, 14, 427, 445, 460-61, 486;

homosexual-haters, 131, 133, 202;

individuals, 132, 202, 488; lan-

guage, 326; periods, 229, 339;

proselytizers, 132

"peaceniks," 195

"pederasty," as buggery, 154, 486; as

child-seeking, 5, 486

pedication, see anal intercourse, buggery

"pedophilia," 429, 486

pelvic conformation, 478, 482-83, and

see andric, "Finocchio," gynec

penal codes: alternative, 76, 427; Amer-

ican, 44; Code Napoléon, 43-5,

58-9, 224, 227; English, 43-5; Illi-

nois, 40, 44-5, 76; medieval, 42-3,

224, 295-98, 452-53; New Jersey,

45; New York, 44; Nordic vs. Latin

countries, 45

"perversion," "pervert," 5, 7, 30-1, 59

petits-jésus, 343

"petting to climax," 25, 144

philia, 118, 122-23, 127-30, 133, 136,

223, 232, 437, 486, 488; and three-

party relationships, 126; basic hu-

man need, 126, 135; caste, 136,

437; contrasted with *erôs*, *storgê*,

127-30, 486, 488; in GL, 127; in

lesbian pairs, 127; marital role,

123, 127, 136

"philosophical sin," 346

physical affection, 18, 101-04, 174; al-

legedly absent in 'normal' male

friendship, 104; continuity with

sex, 18; decreases with increasing

age, 101-02; see also affection, cud-

dling

physical-culture magazines, 48, 229,

239, 422-23, 466

"Pioneer" type, 479, 484, 486, 488

Play of Daniel, 302

Playboy, 286

"playing the field," see double standard

Poems upon Several Occasions, 341

police, 4, 17-24, 29-30, 49, 70, 74, 76,

169, 184, 186, 191, 214, 339-40,

481; breaking into residences with-

out warrant, 45; entrapment, see

entrapment; plainclothes, 20-3, 44

and see entrapment

political parallel to sexual freedom, 37-9

polygamy, 116-17, 123, 458 and see

three-party

- pornē, 124, 222, 459, 487, and cf. gynē, hetaira, women
 possessiveness, 117, 130, 135, 138, 161, 163, 401, 436, 444, 480, and see double standard, jealousy, patristic
 post-orgastic experience, 143-44, 462
 pregnancy, 189-90; premarital, 35, 57-8; sex in, 24
 premarital sex: acceptability criteria, 6; interdict, 57; see also virginity, pregnancy
 prepuberal child(ren): affairs with adults, analyzed, 70-72; —, effect on child, 34-5, 70-2; —, harm in, 70; as seducers, 70, 72, 263, 271; as sex objects, 5, 7, 23, 41, 60, 66-72, 345; "bundle of needs," 72; capable of orgasm, 15, 143; Cupid/Eros depicted as, 482; homosexual impulses in, 60, 263, 271; incapable of love, 23-4, and see Sullivan in *Name Index*; vocal roles, 342
 press-gangs, 317
 Priapea, 292, 467, 473
 priests, as guides, 16; disadvantages as marital counselors, 16; see also clergy
 "prime," see bloom
 prison, 49, 213; argument for abolition, 49, 455; see also police
Problem in Greek Ethics, A, 463-64, 467
Problem in Modern Ethics, A, 378, 383, 446-48, 450, 456, 475
 prohibition (18th Amendment), 29-30, 41
 promiscuity, 216, 487
 propaganda, 10, 46, 248, 319, 373-74
 prostitution, 19, 45, 55, 67, 69, 211, 222, 249, 251, 259, 261, 271, 277, 310, 343, 345, 456, 471, 484; religious, see hierodules; scorned in ancient Greek boys, 222, 259; see also pornē
 prudery, 149 and see "Certrude" in *Name Index*
 psychiatrists, 16, 18, 29, 76, 169, 197, 201; see also "Third Force"
 "puppy love," 9, and see crushes
 Puritans, 14, 46, 226-27, 317-18, 327-29, 339-40, 345
- Q-
- Qabus Nama*, 311
 qādēsh (pl. qēdēshīm), see hierodules
 qēdēshāh (pl. qēdēshōt), see hierodules
 qētānnīm, 51-2, 487
Quaint Honour, see "Gellert" in *Name Index*
 Quakers, 194-95
 queen, 46, 88, 165, 185, 191, 211-12, 345, 482, 487; and constitutional factors, 165; see also "Finocchio," invert
 queer, 30-1, 85, 104, 149, 194, and cf. fear
 quota system of arrests, 481
- R-
- rape, 19, 30, 44, 47, 66, 77, 223, 250, 454; spurious claims, 77; statutory, 29, 57, 66, 454, and see age of consent
 rationalizations: of age-of-consent laws, 57; of limitations, 74; of prior aversions, 41-2, 73-6, 137, and see taboo; of sexual desires, 8, 42, 74
 rebellion, 9, 17, 79, 165, 167, 215; and age segregation, 79; directed against those who love, 79, 215; not automatic proof of emotional disorder, 79. See also alienation, gangs, delinquency
 "recruitment" of boys, 18 and see seduction
 "reform" school, 29, 49, 73, 185, 451; homosexual contagion urged as argument for abolition, 49
 reincarnation cycle, 255, 323
 religious festivals, 237, 246, 250
 reliving boyhood experiences, 166, 354
 rescue theme in GL, 167, 212, 424
 resentment, 101-02, 487-88
 "rimming," 151
 rock-and-roll, 142, 160, 185, 188
Roderick Random, 345-46
 Roman degeneracy, 3, 52, 223, 293
Romance of Youth, 399-401
 romantic ideal, 111, 117, 126, 130-31, 307-10, 480
 Rome, ancient, 12-3, 223, 276-94
 "rough trade," 58, 376, 383, 408-11, 488
- S-
- sadism, sadist, 19, 24, 70, 157, 276, 488; institutionalized, 62, 276; see also flagellomania
 sadomasochism, 68, 70, 139, 145, 157, 289, 347, 376, 401, 407-12, 426, 485, 488
 "Salomé complex," 14
 Saracen sex practices, 48, 302
Satyricon, 7, 278, 289, 292
 "scandalize any little child," 51-2; no sexual connotation, 52
 scapegoat, 47-8, 195-96
 school, see boarding; cf. also adolescent schoolmasters, 317, 344-45
 scoutmasters, 162-63, 166
 seduction, 21-3, 42, 73, 81, 430, 439, 488; and alleged increase in homosexual population, 21-3, 75; blatant, by younger boy, 171-72, 457; techniques, 145, 148-49. See also adult-child, younger
Select Epigrams, 260, 264
 selective breeding, 245-47
 self-doubt, 87-8; see also Don Juan way, masculinity
 self-image, based on illusion, 130; masculine, 19, 32-3, 67, 87-8, 103, 149, 485
 self-transcending experience, 279, and see Dionysos in *Name Index*
 serenaders, 261, 263-64
 sex: and cuddling, 88, 102; and excrement, 49; and procreation, see sexual intercourse; as status symbol, 90; confused with love, 102, 421; crimes, 133; — of violence, 19, 30, 46-7, 77, and see rape; differences, 131, 133, 202, and see matrist, Mike Hammer syndrome, patrist; information sources, 89-90; magic, 417; most selfish and generous of pleasures, 142; no form of expression forbidden in Ten Commandments, 51; orthopsychology of, 137-45; play, 8, 24-5, 144-61, 172, 175, 187, 199; — among boys, not causing exclusive homosexuality, 21, and see homosexuality; — and caressing, 88, and see cuddling; — between adult and child, 70, and see adult-child; — in boarding schools, 21, and see boarding; —, incentive for Dorian GL, 244; —, passivity in, 88; —, similar in male and female, 144
Sex in History, see Taylor, C. Rattray, in *Name Index*
Sex Without Guilt, 25, 89, 452
 sexual: ambiguity in occupations, 75; attraction, see attraction; climax, 138, 143, and see orgasm; contact, adult-child, see adult; —, casual, see casual; —, continuity with

- physical affection, 18 *and see* cuddling; —, fear of, 18; desires, 8; —, and counseling, 17-8 *and see* GL, guidance; excitement, 140-43; experience, early, 20, 439, *and see* seduction; exploration, mutual, 81; fascist, 132, 461, 488; freedom, 38, 40; —, for adults only, 5, 10; —, interdict and birth-control, 57, *and see* sexual reform; games, 160; intercourse, 15, 25, 137-45, *and see* coitus; —, premarital, 6, 35-6, 57, 93, *and see* pregnancy, virginity; —, procreation as sole alleged purpose, 15, 42, 49, 74; —, with Jewish, Saracen or Turkish women held as capital offense of sodomy, 43, 452-53; organs, alleged misuse in homosexual play, 24, 42, 73-4; —, shapes, 24; pleasure, empathetic, 152, 157, 194; positions, 24, 42, 89; reform, 45-6, 76, 229, 376, 383, 388, 406, 426, 448, 455, 488; satisfactions, independent of age or gender, 144, 152, 157; status quo, 41-2, 76, *and see* laws, anti-sexual; superstitions, 87, 89, 291, 295-98; techniques, 20, 24-5, 66, 70, 89, 144; between adult and child, 70, 457; in ancient Greece, 150-51, 153-54, 156-57, 223, 272; in casual encounters, 66, 456-57; in GL, 145, 149-157; noncoital as "unnatural," 26; similar regardless of gender, 150, 152-53; tabooed, 137
- Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, 449, 451-52, 455, 457, 462-63
- Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, 449-51, 457, 462
- Sexual Inversion in Men*, 447-48, 451, 456, 469-71
- Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*, *see* "Licht" in *Name Index*
- sexuality, female, in art, 313; polymorphous, 139, 145
- Shakespeare's Bawdy*, 322, 325-26
- shame, bodily, 49, 140; Douglas's name for GL, 389, 391, 421
- sibling rivalry, 169, 171
- silence, conspiracy of, 4, 42, 373, 427
- Sittengeschichte Griechenlands*, *see* "Licht" in *Name Index*
- Sixth Man, The*, 199
- sixty-nine, 144, 150, 152, 156-57, 161, 472, 488
- slang, homosexual: *see* ambisexuals, bisexual, butch, bull dyke, Dorian, femme, gay, grope, one-night stand, patapouf, queen, rough trade, straight, trade, veuve, in *Glossary*
- slaves, 125, 223, 231, 251, 277, 286, 304
- "Social Lie," 85, 129, 191, 215, 426
- social workers, 16, 166, 169, 184, 215
- "sociological microscope," 203, 473
- Sodom, 50; nickname of Wadham college, Oxford, 319
- Sodom* (drama), 341, 345
- "sodomy," legal term, 39, 44, 339, 454, 483, 488; misnomer for buggery, 154; understood in British law as buggery only, 454
- soixante-neuf, *see* sixty-nine
- soldier-buddy attachments, 231-37, 241; erös, philia, storgē in, 232
- Song of Songs* ("of Solomon"), 54
- Sonnets: Barnefield's, 318, 321, 331, 338-38; Goethe's, 352; Lefroy's, 384-86; Platen's, 352; Shakespeare's, 318, 320-26, 338
- Sotadic Zone, 210, 448-49
- Sparta, 221, 245
- Special Friendships*, 406, 413, 476
- spectra of love, 28, 104-10, 135
- stability of attachments, 4, 74, 93-4, 213-14, 222, 244; and complementarity, 128; in ancient Greece, 222
- storgē, 122-23, 127-30, 133, 135-36, 223, 232, 437-38, 488; basic human need, 126; caste, 136, 437 *and see* hetaira; in GL, 127; in lesbian pairs, 127; marital role, 123, 127, 136; three-party relationships and, 126
- subculture, 61, 80-81 *and see* delinquency
- "subject-homoerotics," 10, 486, 488, *and see* androphile, invert, "Third Sex" theory, Urning
- "sublimation," 4, 118-19, 163, 313, 405
- substitution, 71, 119-20
- Sufi'ism, 225, 254-55, 299, 310-11, 351-52, 365, 489
- Summerhill*, 9, 101, 457, *and see* Neill in *Name Index*
- superstitions, 87, 89, 291, 295-98
- surrogate, 20, 71, 175, 180, 210
- symbolic ravishment, 246-47
- symmetrical relationships, 68-70, 108-10, 120-21, 135, 489; can grow asymmetrical, 108, 121; pitfalls of, 121; rare instance in GL, 205; third party in, 121
- Symposium*, 129, 251, 446
- T-
- taboos, 4, 31, 35-7, 43-4, 46, 49, 56-8, 73, 75-6, 88-9, 103, 137, 153-54, 163, 167, 344, 346, 349, 364, 386, 445; anal, 44, 49, 75; and age of consent, 57-8; and age segregation, 63; on buggery, 43-4, 49, 344; on cuddling, 101-02 *and see* Lolita phenomenon; on nonprocreative sex, 49; on representing in art boys as sexually desirable, 304; on tenderness, 376, *and see* Mike Hammer syndrome; on various sexual positions, 49, 89; stronger on boy-love than on androphilia, 4, 31, 49; *see also* age segregation, rationalizations, virginity
- Talmud, 50-1, 159, 406
- tantrums, 235
- Taoism, 219
- Ten Commandments: no form of sex activity forbidden by, 51
- tenderness, 75, 87, 133, 212, 216, 398-99, 488; virtually absent in Rome, 223; *see also* cuddling, matrisim, Mike Hammer syndrome, patrisim
- Terminal Essay*, 448
- Terror, Reign of: churchly, in Counter-Reformation, 14; French, 227; Puritan, 226, 339
- theatre, 226, 470; Elizabethan, 226, 316-20, 322-30; Restoration, 226; *see also* actors, actresses, boy actors
- "Third Force," 28, 138, 442-43; *see also* Goodman, Maslow, in *Name Index*
- "Third Sex": myth, 129; theory, 4, 58-60, 65, 229, 371-72, 376, 488
- Thousand Nights and a Night*, 311, 448
- three-party relationships, 117, 123, 128-30, 188, 460; and complementarity, 128-9
- threefold division of female roles, 125, 129; and complementarity, 129-30
- time-binding, as helping perpetuate distortions, 56, 215
- "Times Square kid," 19, 456
- Toward a Psychology of Being*, *see* Maslow in *Name Index*
- tragedy, 230, 309; Greek, 231, 255-56
- tragic hero, 253, 309
- transience, cult of, 255, 293 *and see* Boy God, Dionysos in *Name Index*
- transvestism, 211, 219, 326-27, 489 *and see* drag queens

- "travesti-double" roles, 317-18
Tree of Knowledge, 398-99
 Trent, Council of, 315-16, 339, 345
 troubadours, trouvères, 225, 229, 299, 303-12, 468
 truancy, 174, 181
 turkish baths, 118-19
 Turkish sex practices, 48, 227
 twin studies, identical, 165-66

 -U-
Understanding Juvenile Delinquency,
 see *Steiner in Name Index*
 "unfinished business," 166
Uranisme et unisexualité, 473
 urine, 143
 Urning, 10, 58, 353, 371-72, 406-07, 446, 489; *see also* androphile, invert, queen, "Third Sex" theory
 uterine type, 125, 479, 489; *see* gynē

 -V-
 validation, consensual, 104, 458, 489
 vandalism, 160, 167, 169, 171, 184 and
 see delinquency
Vanishing Adolescent, The, *see* Friedenberg in *Name Index*
 vase-paintings, 231, 256-57, 466
 vellus, 147, 489, and *see* bloom
 Verona, 278-79
 veuve, 472, 482, 489, and *see* femme
 virginity, 35, 37, 57-8, 93
 vocal training, 323, 327-28 and *see* boy actors

 -W-
 Wadham college, 319, 340

 wandering monks, 224-25 and *see* goliards
Wandering Scholars, The, 299, 467
 Wandervogel movement, 406-07, 414, 477
 wars: civil, British, Greek, Italian, 14; Spartan, 221; Trojan, 230; World War II, 232
 weeping, 98, 143, 184, 189, 193, 197, 206-07, 232-37; psychological function, 235-36
West-Eastern Divan, 8, 351-52
White Goddess, The, *see* Graves in *Name Index*
 "White Negroism," 302
 whorehouses, 124, 344, 484; flagellant, 344; "Molly houses," 343; *see* brothels
 whores, 93, 284, 470; *see* pornē, and *cf.* hetaira
Wilhelm Meister, 78
 women, status of: in ancient Greece, 124-25, 240, 253, 461; in ancient Rome, 223; in the Renaissance, 225-26; *see also* gynē, hetaira, Lady, marriage, *ménage à trois*, pornē, romantic, three-party

 -Y-
 younger boy as seducer, 18, 34, 70, 148, 170-72, 187, 213; and *see* adult, attraction, boarding, boy in GL, prepuberal, seduction, sex, "Times Square kid"

 -Z-
 zone, *see* erogenous
 Zoroastrian, 251, 306

