

PAIDIKA

The Journal of Paedophilia



Winter 1994 Volume 3 Number 3

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Volume 3, Number 3, Issue 11

Winter 1994

Published biannually

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Paidika

Postbus 15463

1001 ML Amsterdam

The Netherlands

Single copies: The Netherlands: Hfl. 25,-; Europe: Hfl. 30,-; (US\$ 17.00 airmail).

Subscriptions: The Netherlands: Hfl. 95,-; Europe: Hfl. 110,-; (US\$ 68.00 airmail), four issues.

Library subscriptions: US\$110 airmail.

Payment by check or money order. Bank transfer information on request.

Manuscripts, in typed form, with return postage, may be sent to the attention of the editors. The editors and publisher accept no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts. "Paidika Guidelines" sent upon request.

ISSN 0167-5907

Typography by Ad Rem Tekst, Amsterdam

Printed by Drukkerij Ten Brink Meppel bv, Meppel

Cover illustration: Woodcut by Ralph Chubb

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THE SATANIC RITUAL ABUSE PHENOMENON

Gode Davis

In 1632 a boy in Lancashire, England, left his job tending cattle to gather plums. To justify to his parents his disobedient action, he related a fanciful tale:

He had seen two stray greyhounds running toward him. He thought he might use them as hunting dogs. When the boy chased them, a hare crossed the dogs' path, and he noticed that the dogs did not try to pursue it. Angry at their laziness, the cowherd began to beat the dogs. Lo and behold—right before his eyes they transformed into new beings, one a small boy, the other a woman whom the cowherd knew. The woman offered to pay him not to mention the incident, but he refused. "Thou art a witch," he said. The woman then withdrew a string from her purse, which instantly became a bridle, and when she touched the bridle to the head of the small boy, he was changed into a horse. The young cowherd and the woman then flew off on the back of the horse and alighted near a house, which they entered. Joining a company of people there, they partook of a feast.

When pressed, the cowherd later named eighteen neighbors who, he claimed, were present at the feast. Although the boy was familiar with the details of a similar Lancashire story from twenty years before which had resulted in a furious witch-hunt, authorities took his story about the dogs as sufficient cause for a fresh outbreak of witch hatred. The cowherd's claim led to many arrests, and he himself toured as a witch-finder.¹

In 1985 in Bakersfield, California, a jury sentenced a young woman who worked in a fast-food restaurant to 405 years in prison for molesting children. Several older women were also

given harsh "life" sentences of more than two hundred years, with no possibility of early release. The trial examined allegations by several children (none of them older than 8) that several adults met "regularly to sodomize and molest their own sons, daughters, nephews, or nieces," often after forcing drugs or alcohol on them. These and other allegations of abuse were painted in the context of devilish practices. The children claimed that the adults had formed a satanic cult and had, for instance, killed and mutilated babies.²

Of the two accounts just mentioned, one takes place in 17th-century England, the other recently in the United States. While witches are no longer burned at the stake in present-day America, charges of satanism can still be effective in ensuring draconian prison terms for suspected child molesters, even if, as was the case in Bakersfield, the satanism charges appear to have little basis in fact.³ During the 1960s and into the next decade, a period of relatively rational mores in the United States, might have meant that the Bakersfield outcome would not have occurred. But between 1975 and 1985, a burgeoning awareness of child sexual abuse occurred in the United States. Coincident with this awareness, and influenced also by the 1980 publication of the popular American book *Michelle Remembers*, the first instances of satanic ritual abuse were reported in the U.S.⁴

Reports of ritual abuse per se were not altogether new. Beginning around 1975, patients (primarily adult women) had begun telling therapists they remembered having been sexually assaulted by groups of adults performing sadomasochistic acts. Other patients reported being se-

rially raped after being abducted by aliens in unidentified flying objects (UFOs).⁵

By the late 1980s, the number of satanic abuse accounts divulged to American therapists, child-protection workers, law enforcement officials, and religious counselors had reached extraordinary levels, far surpassing the number of other ritual abuse cases being reported.⁶ Compared to more conventional reports of sexual abuse of children and associated reports dealing with intergenerational sexual practices often described as "abuse,"⁷ ritual abuse accounts, and satanic ritual abuse accounts in particular, tended to be atypical in several respects.

Sensational Nature

Satanic ritual abuse stories usually contain litanies of horrific acts perpetrated by Satan inspired adults. The first modern instance in which satanic elements were incorporated into a ritual abuse testimonial was the publication of *Michelle Remembers*, written by Michelle Smith and her psychiatrist husband, Lawrence Pazder. A prototype of the satanic ritual abuse genre, this book spawned several others which also enjoyed commercial success in the media-hyped American literary marketplace.⁸

In *Michelle Remembers*, Smith detailed her ritualized abuse at the hands of an allegedly satanic cult based in Vancouver. While undergoing treatment by Pazder (he was not yet her husband) for clinically-diagnosed depression, Smith spontaneously regressed to a child persona through a self-induced trance and alluded to "a deep dark secret."⁹ Her revelations, accompanied by screaming and yelling, included most of the common folklore motifs found in satanic cult survivor stories; these revelations formed the basis of the Smith-Pazder book.¹⁰

Included in her confessions were stories of participation in ceremonies replete with black candles, black drapes, goblets, and dismembered bodies. Smith also alleged sharing coffins with decomposing bodies and described numerous sexual abuse experiences, including having "colored sticks" first dipped into a goblet and then inserted into various of her orifices.¹¹ In yet

another instance, Smith told Pazder of a "magic operation" performed upon her which was later somehow "undone"—horns and a tail had been surgically attached to her body.¹² The rituals mentioned by Smith were said to have occurred in cemeteries, homes, mausoleums, and office spaces.

Similar published accounts began to be widely circulated in the United States, including ever more graphic details. Victims spoke of atrocities ad nauseam—for instance, some allegedly witnessed older children being forced to slit the throats and cannibalize the flesh of babies sacrificed to Satan. Sordid personal accounts described being initiated as "breeders" for satanic cults, and of having borne, as female adolescents, several—perhaps even dozens of—infants who were later ritually murdered in the victims' presence. Other victims described having been urinated upon or forced to ingest bodily wastes, or being physically tortured in various, systematic ways.¹³

These stories were often divulged to authorities by adult women (and occasionally men) claiming that the events had happened when they were children. These adults typically were diagnosed with severe personality disorders—most having dissociated from their satanic experiences since childhood. As the phenomenon spread, other victims, including adolescents and very young children (especially those attending day care centers), also began to relate similar stories of ritualized experiences.¹⁴ The stories told by minors contained motifs similar to those found in adult satanic survivor stories, although with the children, it was implied that the atrocities were on-going. Thus, the movement to persecute satanic ritual abuse gained a new-found urgency: the protection of children.

Though many elements contained in the stories were far-fetched and showed common themes, believers explained the prevalence and similarity of the accounts by suggesting that an ancient and vast satanic conspiracy existed, characterized as a complex international web of covert covens linked to debauched and corrupted institutions or individuals.¹⁵ Patricia A. Pulling maintains that the satanic ranks are filled with

"doctors, lawyers, clergymen, even police."¹⁶ She believes that "adherents of this violent religion" number about 300,000 in the United States alone. Pulling and other believing self-appointed "experts" specializing in satanic cults often mention that the chief goal of these close-knit organizations is to abuse and sacrifice the bodies of innocent children in the name of Satan. Their implication (if not outright claim) is that evil is more powerful than good. A Massachusetts State Police document used for officer education and training describes traditional satanic cults: "A believer in Satan is predisposed to doing evil, i.e., enticed by his/her own lusts; a good person cannot be overcome and forced to do evil." In what Robert D. Hicks characterizes as "gems of criminal intelligence,"¹⁷ the document goes on to describe the ideal victim: a living creature who is a storehouse of energy; when killed the victim's energy is liberated and produces an extremely high psychological charge to those who commit and witness its death.

The ideal victim is healthy and virgin to insure minimal dissipation of its force. A male child of high intelligence possesses the greatest force and therefore offers the highest spiritual attainment for would-be sacrificers.¹⁸

Besides dissemination through primary sources, word of ritualized satanic abuse and warnings about the satanic conspiracy was actively spread through secondary sources—chiefly through a proliferation of workshops, meetings, seminars, and papers geared to interested professionals. Very often, the proselytizing strategies used in such channels propagated and restored pseudo-scientific "blood libel" myths linked to societal scapegoating and "witch-hunting" in the not-so-distant past.¹⁹ Attempting to explain the recurrence of such myths, American sociologist Jeffrey S. Victor wrote, "Sometimes societies create imaginary forms of deviance to have scapegoats for deep social and political tensions."²⁰

Because violent sadomasochistic acts with children (thought potentially to lead to ritualized

murder of boys) are often incorrectly assumed to be representative behaviors engaged in opportunistically by paedophile men, that population would appear to be a convenient scapegoat in satanic ritualistic cases. Although paedophiles are used as scapegoats, other segments of the population are also branded as perpetrators in such cases—including a surprising proportion of middle-aged and elderly women who have apparently demonstrated no prior sexual behaviors directed toward children.²¹ An a priori assumption by believers in satanic conspiratorial theories is that, in the traditional satanist megacult, populations least open to suspicion actually play dominant participatory roles.

In the United States, the main agency disseminating information about satanist cults to professionals is the International Society for the Study of Multiple Personality and Dissociation, with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. The society sponsors national and regional conferences which regularly include workshops and symposiums on satanic-cult ritual abuse. Victor remarks:

Most of the papers from these conferences are not published. When distributed to those who attend, they are usually marked "not for distribution or reproduction." Therefore, they are not easily available for scientific examination and criticism.²²

Electronic and print mass media completed the information circuit, creating a collective awareness in the United States which subsequently spread to Western Europe.²³

Critics have equated the similarities found in satanic ritual abuse stories with contaminated information. Victor, for example, has characterized the satanic phenomenon as "a sociometric pattern of rumor contagion" displaying a marked similarity to rumors, urban legends, and folk tales. Psychiatrist Pazder's initial reaction to Michelle Smith's victimization statements, in effect validating them, is consistent with other rumor contagion patterns where personal naïveté or biases can undermine objectivity at the rumor's outset. Although stressing the need

for skepticism, Pazder has remarked that Smith's story rings true because he had been to Africa where he "had encountered beliefs and practices that, had (he) not observed them directly, (he) would not have believed could exist within humanity—sacrifices, cannibalism, rituals of every sort."

Reminiscent of remarks made by other credulous therapists about cult survivors' tales, Pazder concludes:

Michelle's reliving was relentlessly genuine. It maintained its remarkable intensity. It was too consistent to be false, had too much information, was too sophisticated from the psychological point of view to have been made up... It simply wasn't the kind of thing you fabricated if you were crazy or hysterical. It was being relived.²⁴

By the late 1980s, hundreds of primarily American therapists, religious counselors, and law enforcement officials expressed similar non-critical opinions averring the veracity of satanic accounts. More recently, some skeptical therapists have voiced concerns about the misuse of hypnosis techniques by colleagues attempting to encourage satanic ritual abuse memories in extremely suggestible patients. Psychiatrist George Ganaway has charged that many therapists previously exposed to satanic ritual abuse education use ideomotor (finger) signals during hypnotic trance sessions with patients to help retrieve the relevant memories.²⁵ According to Ganaway, much of what the "survivors" describe with the finger signals during the sessions is the result of therapists prompting their extremely suggestible patients with leading "yes" and "no" questions about cult-related experiences.²⁶

Because ritual abuse memories are said to be dissociated from conscious thought processes, hypnotherapy is typically used to recover them while patients are under trance or otherwise amenable to suggestion—which, in the case of patients suffering from severe dissociative disorders, is almost always.²⁷ According to the *Oxford American Dictionary*, to dissociate means "to separate in one's thought." Therapists con-

vinced of the reality of satanic megacults also tend to believe that the typical reaction of someone victimized by secret traumas (i.e. sexual or ritual abuse) is to dissociate the trauma, in effect sealing it off from conscious awareness, because society doesn't help the victim integrate the experience as it would with an open trauma (i.e., an earthquake). Contiguous with this perception is the associated belief that a violent abreaction or flashback occurring during an alleged survivor's recounting means that the satanic memory is indeed authentic.

Skeptics, including Ganaway, have found such dissociation arguments dubious if also ingenious. "While the idea that traumatic memories, in all their exquisite detail, are stored away in the unconscious until abreaction during the interview situation is slick, simplistic, and attractive, it's not consistent with a hundred years of empirical evidence," Ganaway has said.²⁸ Empirical testing has further shown memories to be repressed by the subconscious only in rare, extremely traumatic instances.²⁹ Many events detailed in satanic ritual abuse stories (including most instances of sexual contact which were not physically painful) probably would not be especially traumatic except later in an adult context, unless discovery and subsequent psychological conditioning occurred soon thereafter. Most significant events, including even the most traumatic childhood events, tend to be consciously remembered to some extent by victims if they occurred.³⁰ In any case, memories are seldom recalled verbatim, but appear instead to be reconstructed mixtures of fact and fantasy—much like dreams.

To fulfill the therapist's perceived scenario of dissociation, diagnoses of dissociative disorders were often applied to patients. In fact, during the height of the phenomenon, thousands of patients reported satanic episodes while undergoing psychotherapy for severe dissociative disorders, commonly Multiple Personality Disorder or a Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) with a dissociative component.³¹

PTSD is an illness symptomatic of the Vietnam War era; hundreds of cases were diagnosed in men involved in combat who began having

"flashbacks" of horrific war experiences which triggered dissociated memories. While some therapists assert that the significance of PTSD is minimized by applying its diagnosis to satanic survivors, the simultaneous proliferation of Multiple Personality Disorder (the presence of a number of dissociated "split" personalities with sealed-off memories existing within the same psyche) diagnoses was even more controversial.

Prior to 1975, fewer than 200 multiple personality cases (including the famous "Sybil" case) had been reported world-wide.³² During the next decade, accounts of ritual abuse reported by persons diagnosed with Multiple Personality Disorder were rumored to have reached the tens of thousands—with satanists, sado-masochistic groups, and extraterrestrial alien abductors most frequently named as perpetrators.³³ Ray Aldridge-Morris, a British clinical psychologist and lecturer in psychopathology at Middlesex Polytechnic School of Psychology, has written that "multiple personality has been grossly overdiagnosed."³⁴ He also viewed the practitioners who were convinced of the proliferating reality of multiple personality as belonging to a professional subculture which favored hypnotherapeutic techniques. According to Aldridge-Morris, most of an inordinate number of multiple personality cases were being seen by a relatively small number of primarily American therapists.³⁵ In most cases, a diagnostic indicator of dissociation is used to bolster a therapist's opinion that extremely traumatic sexual abuse, often perpetrated through ritualized acts, has indeed occurred.

Lack of Evidence

Despite the widespread geographical distribution of and remarkably consistent detail found in satanic ritual abuse reports, repeated investigations have failed to uncover independent evidence corroborating the existence of an organized satanic network or even physical evidence corroborating most of the folklore motifs incorporated in satanic survivor stories. In fact, hundreds of investigations by local police agencies and the Federal Bureau of Investigation in

the United States (including FBI forensic evidence specialists) eventually proved fruitless in connecting a single documented case of satanic murder, human sacrifice, or cannibalism to a ritual abuse survivor's testimony. Neither satanic abuse "task forces" authorized and funded by 23 of the states nor large-scale cooperative police and social welfare investigations launched in several European nations (including The Netherlands) have produced physical evidence of an organized satanic network.³⁶ Nevertheless, to support the numbers alleged by survivors, believers in the satanic megacult theory have often asserted that up to 50,000 young American children and babies are being sacrificed annually.³⁷ Such a claim actually became ludicrous in light of U.S. Department of Justice figures involving missing children. In 1988, after reviewing a thirty-year dossier of missing person statistics culled from a myriad of disparate sources, the Department stated that somewhere between 52 and 158 American children in any given year may be kidnapped and murdered, most of these being adolescent girls, ages 14 to 17.³⁸

This notwithstanding, even more inflated claims about children vanishing have been made. In 1986, following a second "stranger danger" national media campaign capitalizing upon rising fears about sexual abuse, pornographic exploitation, and kidnapping of children, a deceptive but successful attempt to elicit funding was initiated by representatives of the federal government's National Center For Missing and Exploited Children. Explaining the urgency of the problem to a United States Congressional sub-committee, the representatives stated that 1.5 million American youngsters under age thirteen vanish every year.³⁹

Isolated cases of ritualized child abuse do occur in the United States. These cases, including a small percentage with religious or satanic overtones—have been traced to serial rapists and killers of children, ritual-oriented predatory paedophiles, and other crazed individuals acting independently or within families. Such bogeymen (and occasional women) are real but relatively rare in U.S. society. Similar aberrant

group behavior occurring in isolated cells also has historical precedents but is even less typical; for instance, in Utah and Arizona, a relatively few Mormon-based polygamist splinter groups have been known to incorporate ritualized sexual behaviors toward children.⁴⁰

In order to explain the glaring lack of physical evidence for the existence of Satan-inspired networks, law enforcement officials, therapists, and religious counselors with a vested interest in promulgating satanic megacult theories have often mentioned the clandestine prowess of the conspiratorial forces. For instance, to prevent defections and maintain secrecy, such groups have been alleged to employ various intimidation tactics directed toward child victims including, but not limited to, physical threats, psychological coercion, neurological programming, and systematic mind control triggered by visual cues.⁴¹ Among the recent rash of published "recovery movement"⁴² accounts classified as non-fiction is a book by Daniel Rider, whose qualifications are described in an editorial preface as "a counsellor and journalist as well as a ritual abuse survivor." Rider has coined the term "Marionette Syndrome," implying that satanic ritual abuse victims are often transformed into puppet-like automatons.⁴³ In addition, bodies of murdered victims are said to be burned, buried, or eaten—all without leaving a trace. The very lack of evidence is often cited as "proof" of a traditional satanist organization's extremely successful covert practices, which are said to have been refined over many centuries.

Consequences for Paedophiles

In their diligent, pseudo-scientific pursuit of satanic influences in American society, law-enforcement agencies in the United States have devised a four-tiered satanic-criminal model. Dabblers in satanism, said to be mostly children, teens, or very young adults, comprise the fourth level. They are unsophisticated satanists attracted by fantasy role-playing games such as Dungeons & Dragons, or for instance, heavy-metal rock music with satanic lyrics.⁴⁴ The underlying assumption is that participants in this

game, or youths who are attracted to this music, are by definition dabblers in satanism—a presupposition that is inherently flawed.⁴⁵

The third level in the satanic-criminal model involves "deviant," socially-isolated individuals such as rapists and serial murderers. These self-styled satanists are said to borrow from the occult because satanic ideology permits or encourages their crimes.⁴⁶ Sociopaths or psychopaths, already distanced from common standards of behavior, might well choose an ideology that comports with their behavior.⁴⁷

The second level of satanic involvement includes public groups of organized satanists, such as the Church of Satan and the Temple of Set. Such groups prohibit acts of violence, so the threat here is ambiguous. It is argued that because these groups promote self-indulgence to the point of attracting psychopaths and criminals, the *likelihood* of the groups luring bad people justifies law-enforcement surveillance. Frequent surveillance and occasional infiltration of the New York City-based North American Man Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) is justified in the United States under a similar pretext.

Satan's inner circle, the first level of satanic involvement, is said to consist of the worst ilk. Referred to as traditional satanists, these people comprise the international megacult, tightly organized in a clandestine hierarchy—"members of families who have practiced their beliefs secretly for generations, those who abuse children, murder, kidnap, and rape."⁴⁸ Whole families are said to participate, raising children to a lifetime of animal and human sacrifices, kidnapping, ongoing physical, sexual, and mental abuse, and child pornography, to name the activities most often alluded to.⁴⁹

Although paedophiles (also referred to as "preferential" child molesters)⁵⁰ are supposedly found in all four tiers of the satanic-criminal model, a few kinds of so-called satanist paedophiles appear to merit special attention. For instance, American police often target paedophiles involved in "sex rings," a term synonymous with "paedophile rings" in the United Kingdom. FBI Special Agent Kenneth Lanning defines a sex ring as "one or more offenders

simultaneously involved sexually with several child victims." While satanic overtones are certainly conceivable in such cases, any satanic links have yet to be proven. The most commonly cited reference which fuels law-enforcement speculation about the existence of satanist, paedophile sex rings is a classified advertisement which briefly appeared in several 1975 issues of *Better Life Monthly*, a long-defunct newsletter produced primarily for boy-lovers. The advertisement invited inquiries to a rural North Carolina post office box and mentioned a coven involving boys aged 8 to 15. The ad read:

Boy's Witchcraft Coven: Only one in USA! Seeks support, patronage and location for summer equinox retreat. Legit. cult. Limited supporting memberships include monthly "bulletin", details of activities, ads. Subscribe now: \$35 first year, \$12 thereafter. Cover photos available July 1, order now. 12- 5 x 7 glossies \$16. (free to subscribers) Satisfaction guaranteed. Each coven has warlock and 12 boys ages 8 to 15. Positively no curiosity seekers, only sincere need write...⁵¹

Another frequently mentioned connection between paedophiles and satanic rites involves children being killed during the production of so-called "snuff films." The first U.S. criminal investigation involving snuff films occurred in August 1989. Numerous FBI agents, working with San Jose, California, police officers, arrested two Virginia men for criminal conspiracy. They were charged with devising a scheme "to either purchase or abduct a minor boy" and then, after "holding the boy in captivity for up to two weeks, while videotaping acts of sexual molestation," to murder him and dispose of the body by washing it in acid "to remove incriminating forensic evidence." The U.S. attorney handling the case said that "as far as he knows, the existence of snuff films has been talked about in law enforcement circles for years, but has not been substantiated."⁵²

Similarly, as stricter codes prohibiting child pornography were enacted in the United States

in the 1980s, claims by anti-pornography activists, law enforcement officers, prosecutors, politicians, and others alleging, for instance, the existence child snuff films or satanic molestation rituals in which animals are dismembered, were touted without persuasive evidence of such occurrences.⁵³ In fact, no children appearing in child pornography magazines or films have ever been known or even suspected to have been victims of murder.⁵⁴

Perhaps the most significant indirect consequence of the satanic ritual abuse phenomenon has been a significant shift toward hard-line, adverse societal perceptions and attitudes against paedophiles, in the United States and elsewhere. These opinions have resulted in harsher legislation against paedophile behaviors while providing tacit consent for increasingly-frequent instances of so-called "ped-bashing"—violence directed against paedophiles or suspected paedophiles.⁵⁵

Some Conclusions

The social phenomenon of increasing belief in the existence of satanic ritual abuse evolved primarily in the United States during the 1980s. The American enshrinement of the victim/perpetrator dichotomy in sexual relationships, as well as increased criminalization and stigmatization of sexual behaviors, has been fostered by many segments within society. Christian Fundamentalists and other right-wing conservatives, many feminists, and so-called "politically correct" liberals have supported numerous coalitions ostensibly to protect women and children from "victim" crime. But in promoting what has become derisively known as the "Ritual Abuse Scare,"⁵⁶ they may have gone too far. Their often uncritical support in validating thousands of incredible reports while attempting to document the covert involvement of American institutions in horrific crimes may have undermined and damaged their credibility in far-reaching ways.⁵⁷ In effect, a societal backlash, or unforeseen reaction debunking belief in the phenomenon itself, now exists. The overall incidence of satanic ritual abuse reports in the

United States is declining gradually. In fact, American attention has recently focused on "false memory syndrome"—a phenomenon associated with recollection of satanic ritual abuse, and now centering on the therapeutic professions.⁵⁸

According to an Associated Press item, on 24 March 1994, "a father faced off in court against his daughter's two therapists, claiming they conned her into 'remembering' childhood sexual abuse that never happened."⁵⁹ The lawsuit filed by former wine-company executive Gary Ramona was said to be among the first (in the U.S. or elsewhere) to challenge the validity of so-called "recovered memories" in a case where ritualized abuse was alleged. In the same article, Harvard University psychiatrist Harrison Pope remarked, "There are a certain number of therapists who see sexual abuse in every patient they see. And they can lead a patient by a thousand suggestions and implications, and by reinforcing what they do and don't listen to."

Ghislaine Boulanger is a clinical psychologist in private practice in New York City who began researching Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder among Vietnam veterans in the 1970s. In a recent issue of *Tikkun: A Bimonthly Critique of Politics, Culture & Society*, Boulanger writes:

In the early 1980s, mental health workers treating Vietnam veterans and those working within the Women's Movement, strengthened by others working with Holocaust survivors, forged an informal alliance. But today the greatest danger to the ongoing acceptance and respectability of the concept of psychological trauma comes from within the profession. Now that the use and misuse of the diagnosis have assumed epidemic proportions, we are faced with too many situations in which naive or unscrupulous therapists prematurely seize on the notion of abuse to explain phenomena in their patients' lives that had previously defied understanding, at best reifying and at worst capitalizing on an inchoate despair...⁶⁰

Editor's Note:

Gode Davis is an investigative journalist whose articles have appeared in numerous publications.

NOTES

1. Wallace Notestein, *History of Witchcraft in England from 1558-1718* (New York: Crowell, 1968), pp. 147ff.
2. Robert D. Hicks, *In Pursuit Of Satan: The Police And The Occult* (Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1991), p.16-17.
3. Ibid, p. 17.
4. Michelle Smith and Lawrence Pazder, *Michelle Remembers* (New York: Congdon and Lattes, 1980).
5. Debbie Nathan, "What McMartin started: The Ritual Sex Abuse Hoax." *The Village Voice*, pp. 36-44.*
6. Debbie Nathan, personal communication, January 1992. Nathan mentioned that satanic ritual abuse cases probably reached "several thousand," while other kinds of ritual abuse cases were only in the hundreds.
7. In countries such as the U.S. and the UK, even the slightest innuendo of sexual contact between an adult and a minor under the age of 18 can be construed as "abuse." In most American states, for example, the crime of "fondling a child" can mean a prison sentence of five years to life—with more actual time of that sentence being served than if the child had been murdered without sexual innuendo.
8. Robert D. Hicks, op cit., p.142, "Smith and Pazder have become lecture-circuit regulars and frequent guests on television talk-shows. Presumably, the couple now live off the proceeds. At publication, Smith received \$342,000 in advances for a hard cover and a paperback printing."
9. Ibid, p. 147, "In *Michelle Remembers*, Pazder did not diagnose Smith as having a dissociative disorder, Multiple Personality Disorder in particular, yet on the current lecture circuit, Smith presents herself as an MPD exemplar."
10. Ibid., p. 142.
11. Ibid., p. 143.
12. Ibid., p. 143.
13. The progeny of satanic ritual abuse genre books includes:
R. S. Mayer, *Satan's Children: Case Studies in Multiple Personality* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1991).
David Finkelhor, L.M. Williams, N. Burns, *Nursery Crimes* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1988).
L. Kahaner, *Cults That Kill: Probing the Underworld of*

*[12 June 1990]

Occult Crime (New York: Werner Books, Inc., 1988).

Lauren Stratford, *Satan's Underground: The Extraordinary Story of One Woman's Escape* (Eugene, Oregon, Harvest House Publishers, 1988).

Carl Raschke, *Painted Black* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990).

14. Debbie Nathan, "Day-Care Witch Trials," in *The Village Voice* (26 April 1988).

15. Institutions as diverse as the Mormon Church and the Boy Scouts, and individuals as esteemed in society as corporate CEOs and Roman Catholic cardinals have been "identified" as being involved in the megacult.

16. Robert D. Hicks, op cit., pp. 20-21. An influential speaker, Patricia A. Pulling, who founded Bothered About Dungeons and Dragons (BADD) also describes her credentials as "a private investigator" whose "list of degrees, honors, and awards is innumerable."

17. Ibid., p. 33.

18. Ibid., p. 33.

19. Jeffrey S. Victor, "The Spread of Satanic-Cult Rumors" in *Skeptical Inquirer* 14 (1990), pp. 287-291. Blood-libel myths include, for instance, the rumor panics spread in Germany about Jews prior to the Nazi Holocaust.

20. Jeffrey S. Victor has written extensively about satanic cults from a sociological perspective. He is a professor of sociology at Jamestown Community College in Jamestown, New York.

21. Debbie Nathan, personal communication, January 1992.

22. Jeffrey S. Victor, *Skeptical Inquirer*, op cit., p. 15.

23. Rumor-panics and law enforcement investigations, often instigated by self-appointed satanic cult "experts" on ritualized child abuse, have occurred in the UK, Belgium, France, Germany, and The Netherlands.

24. Robert D. Hicks, op cit., p. 143.

25. George K. Ganaway, "Alternative Hypotheses Regarding Satanic Ritual Abuse Memories." Presented on 19 August 1991 at the convention of American Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Sherrill Mulhern, "Satanism and Psychotherapy: A Rumor in Search of an Inquisition." In J.T. Richardson, J. Best, and D.G. Bromley (Eds.), *The Satanism Scare* (New York: Aldine De Gruyter, 1991), pp. 145-172.

30. Elizabeth Loftus, personal communication, January 1992.

31. George K. Ganaway, personal communication,

January 1992.

32. Source: R. S. Mayer, *Satan's Children: Case Studies in Multiple Personality* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1991).

33. It is difficult to know the precise numbers of patients seen for any particular psychological disorder because such statistics are rarely compiled. But in the late 1980s, it briefly became the American vogue to be seeing Multiple Personality Disorder patients, particularly if you were a therapist interested in ritual abuse perse.

34. Ray Aldridge-Morris, *Multiple Personality: An Exercise in Deception* (East Sussex, United Kingdom: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1989).

35. Ibid.

36. Prodded by so-called child-advocacy lobbies and fueled by generous funding (typical initial grant: \$250,000), many U. S. state legislatures have established ritual abuse task forces to investigate satanic allegations. While no evidence of organized cult practices has yet been uncovered by such task forces in any state, the ritual abuse investigators hired at the outset are usually allowed to retain their employment as "regular" sex-abuse investigators—once the initial rumor-panic has subsided. See also Benjamin Rossen, *Zedenangst: Het verhaal van Oude Pekela* (Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1989. English translation by the author, 1990.)

37. Robert D. Hicks, op cit., p. 56.

38. Ibid., p. 214.

39. Ann E. Weiss, *Lies Deception and Truth* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), p. 51.

40. [Personal communications] About 30,000 polygamists, excommunicated from the Mormon Church or living in secrecy, are estimated to live in the United States, primarily inhabiting southern Utah and northern Arizona. Some of these splinter groups are known to practice religiously motivated sexual customs or rituals involving pubertal children, but are seldom interfered with by authorities. Other tight-knit organizations or cells, including those involving Christian Fundamentalists (e.g., a sect discovered in Island Pond, Vermont) have been suspected of incorporating sexual practices and ritualized sadomasochistic discipline with children of adult sect members.

41. Robert D. Hicks, op cit., p. 57. The Ordo Templo Orientis is supposed to enforce slavish participation in cult ceremonies by using symbols to trigger criminal responses in members: for example, a black rose or a greeting card with a frog in it, both cucing devices like the famous card deck in the film *The Manchurian Candidate* (Advanced ritualistic-crime seminar, Richmond, Va., 22 September 1988).

42. David Rieff, *Victims, All?* (New York: Harper's Magazine, October 1991, pp. 49-56.) "The Recovery Movement's message, like the Reagan-Bush message, is that there are no civic, no social obligations, only private ones." The recovery movement in the United States has been a leading reinforcement in obsessing Americans with a sense of victimization. The movement has been a major societal catalyst encouraging large numbers of adult women (and increasingly men) to "come forward" to report historical accounts of sexual and other abuses which allegedly occurred when they were children.

43. Daniel Rider, C.C.D.C., L.S.W., *Notes on Breaking the Circle of Satanic Ritual Abuse: Recognizing and Recovering from the Hidden Trauma* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: CompCare Publishers, 1992).

44. Robert D. Hicks, op cit., pp. 43-44.

45. Law-enforcement authorities, many with a Christian Fundamentalist bias, reason that engaging in such activities is inherently dangerous.

46. Ibid., pp. 48-50.

47. Ibid., p. 49. This assumption is very plausible in some instances, but should not be applied indiscriminately.

48. Ibid., pp. 56-57.

49. As noted in this article, cannibalism was also frequently mentioned.

50. Robert D. Hicks, op cit., pp. 215-216. According to FBI Special Agent Kenneth Lanning, true paedophiles, in contrast to "situational molesters," are "preferential molesters" who display behaviors of great interest to investigators.

51. Following its appearance in just two issues, the classified advertisement ran with a "cancelled" stamp superimposed in a third issue. Whether this coven engaged in genuine satanic practices or was simply a counterfeit organization appealing to the prurient interests of boy-lovers/paedophiles is open to debate.

52. Robert D. Hicks, op cit., p. 60.

53. Lawrence A. Stanley, "The Child Porn Myth," p. 10. (unpublished manuscript, 1989). An edited version of this article was later published in *Playboy Magazine*.

54. Ibid., p. 11.

55. Donna Hamm, personal communication, March 1994. Violence against paedophiles, called ped-bashing, is increasing in U.S. prisons, according to Hamm. An attorney, Hamm and her husband (an attorney and an ex-inmate) direct a Tempe, Arizona-based organization called Middle Ground which bills itself as "the only national-scope prisoners' rights group in the United States." Many other instances, sometimes associated with "gay-bashing," are occurring outside of prisons where paedophiles or suspected paedophiles are subject to harassment, assault, or worse in a society where paedophiles are now encouraged to be perceived as "sub-human scum." (Source: Maury Povich Show, NBC, aired 11 May 1994).

56. Debbie Nathan, "Satanism and Child Molestation: Constructing the Ritual Abuse Scare," in *The Satanism Scare*, op cit., pp. 75-94.

57. Institutions are often targeted by satanic ritual abuse "experts" and later officially vindicated after the charges have accomplished their hidden agenda-reinforcement of accepted intra-organizational behaviors. In the course of its "defense," the institution ostensibly being attacked is provided with a convenient opportunity to publicly reinforce its most conservative tenets.

58. A term coined in the popular jargon referring to pseudo-memories of adults allegedly abused as children.

59. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 March 1994, p. A18.

60. *Tikkun: A Bimonthly Critique of Politics, Culture & Society*, March/April 1994. In a book review of: Judith Lewis Herman, *Trauma and Recovery* (New York: Basic Books, 1992, 276 pp.).

BOY-LOVE IN MEDIEVAL ARABIC VERSE

Norman Roth

In the ninth century a reaction set in against the confining restraints of conventional Arabic poetry, particularly the *qasida* (ode) with its stylistic divisions including the so-called "erotic" section, or *nasib*, (actually, meaning simply "love") which traditionally described the abandonment of the poet by his beloved. In sophisticated metropolitan Baghdad, or in the cities throughout the former Persian empire, these poems' images of wandering camels and abandoned camps held little meaning. The new poets reacted against the claims of the perfection of the Arabic language and the superiority of pre-Islamic Arabic poets; they created an innovative type of poetry free from the conventions of the past.

The first of the great poets of the new school, Abu Nuwas (his name referred to the curls or locks of hair which fell to his shoulders), wrote poems that were concise and explicit.¹ While he wrote many poems about wine and other themes, his work is particularly notable for its distinct eroticism, particularly in relation to the love of boys. Many of these poems are not only erotic but pornographic, or even scatological.² While he paid for his boldness with imprisonment more than once, he also was immensely popular and set the tone for much of Arabic poetry in the following centuries.

A major theme of later Arabic poetry—particularly that composed in al-Andalus (Muslim Spain)—was *hawa* or *ishq*, both terms meaning essentially lust or passion. Whereas these terms originally applied to the love of women only, they soon came to include the love of boys. It is remarkable that the same expressions of passion-

nate love for the adolescent boy are found in Arabic and Hebrew poetry as in the earlier Greek love-poems, yet there is absolutely no question of influence here since the Muslims were totally unaware of Greek poetry, and even their theory of poetics showed little or no influence from Greek sources.³

Whereas a considerable amount of scholarly attention has been paid to Arabic treatises on poetics and the historical development of poetical theory, very little has been written on Arabic love poetry in general, not to mention the poetry celebrating the love of boys.⁴

That poetry reached its apogee, as noted, in al-Andalus, where it was a dominant theme in Arabic poetry until the 13th century or later. Even after the Christian re-conquest of the Muslim-held territory, the Muslims were not completely driven from their land; they continued to dwell there and write poetry and other works.

Those writers who have dared to discuss the subject at all, in a passing manner and usually with little or no reference to actual texts, tend to dismiss it as "courtly" poetry or "literary cliché" and with no basis in reality. Or they take the ridiculous position that masculine terminology and address were employed in these poems to conceal the real object of affection: a woman! Not only is this specifically contradicted by the very real historical accounts we have of sexual activity between men and boys, but the Arabic verse employs such open and direct reference to the sexual organs, anal intercourse, etc. that there can be no doubt whatsoever as to the intention. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, the same sort

of historical evidence is available for Jews, at least in medieval Spain, and only the total lack of terminology in Hebrew prevented the Hebrew poets from being as graphically descriptive as their Arabic counterparts.

It should be clear, however, that we are not discussing "homosexuals" or "homosexual" poetry—another common misconception. As in Athens, "homosexuals," and particularly those who were in any way "effeminate" (*hiwa*) were treated with contempt.⁵ But, as in Greece, it was considered quite proper and "normal" for adult males, who were either married or basically heterosexual, also to love and engage in sex with adolescent boys up to a certain age.⁶

As in Greece, the proper age for a boy to be considered beautiful, and worthy of amorous attentions, was only until he began to show the first signs of facial hair. There is, in fact, a special term for poetry bemoaning the loss of beauty or sexual allure of the boy whose face has begun to sprout hair: *mu'addar*, which has many meanings. In addition to denoting "beginning of the beard" it can carry connotations of "impossible" and "undesirable." A good example of such a poem is the following by Ibrahim Ibn Sahl al-Isra'ili (d. 1260), a probable Jewish convert to Islam who lived in Seville:

*O you of the white cheeks! You were full
of light until the down came to efface your beauty.
You have remained like the candle of which, on
extinguishing the flame, the wick is blackened.⁷*

Or this, by Abu Muhammed Abd Allah Ibn Sara (Santaren, 12th century) in which the once striking beauty of his dark eyes seems now to have decreased, or been robbed, by the "blackness" of the hairs appearing on his cheeks:

*The nascent down has made subtle the beauty
of this young man, and our hearts have also
been made subtle with love of him.
It is not that blackness has covered his cheek
but that the blackness has diminished his eyes.⁸*

Ibn al Hajj of Lorca (12th century) said of a boy whose beard had begun to grow:

*You were a full moon, until one night you
were infected by decay.
When the down began to grow I said, "Love is
finished, the black raven of down announces
separation."⁹*

There is much wringing of hands today over the possible bad affects on boys loved by ephrophiles who "abandon" the boy when he grows up and is, supposedly, no longer considered desirable. But not every poet or lover automatically parted from a beautiful boy simply because he began to grow a beard. Thus, for example, a 13th-century poet of Valencia wrote:

*If you loved his face because it was
a garden where grew the fragrant narcissus and
glowing rose,
Love it now more and with greater passion,
because now with the down there are also violets.¹⁰*

Presumably, as in the modern world, the amorous attentions of adult men were not always welcome to adolescent boys. Yusuf b. Harun al-Ramadi of 11th-century Cordoba, the leading poet at the court of al-Hakam II, wrote about a boy who had his head shaved to avoid being considered beautiful—to no avail. It did not help: even though his lovely hair is gone, his beautiful face remains:

*He shaved his head in order to clothe it
in ugliness, because of avarice and the fear
he had of his beauty.
Before he shaved it he was night and dawn,
they have effaced the
night and left him in dawn.¹¹*

The fanatical theologian Ibn Hazm was the author of perhaps the most famous Arabic treatise on the practice, not the theory, of love, the *Tawq al-hamama* ("ring-necked dove"). He was born in Cordoba in 994, the son of the *wazir*, and lived there an aristocratic life until he fled during the civil war. Although he is most known for his amorous adventures with women and slave girls, he also loved boys, and in the following poem he attests to the importance of a deli-

cate and thin body, which was considered most desirable in a boy (not necessarily in women):

*They ridicule as delicate him whom I love,
but I do not share the opinion of the censor.
He can well afford to be thin, with the flexible
branch of his figure, when never has ceased
to shine the sun of his smile.¹²*

Love of boys in Muslim society was manifested in different ways: in ordinary lust, or passion, which could find its satisfaction with slave boys or common street boys; with the boy cup-bearer who poured the wine and sometimes danced at all-night wine parties; or with boy prostitutes.¹³ It was possible to fall in love with such boys, and to have that love reciprocated. However, "true love" was reserved for a boy of higher social class. Such boys were expected to be not only beautiful in face and body but well-mannered and eloquent, graceful in movement and behavior, and well-dressed. Nevertheless, high on the list of desirable qualities was physical beauty.¹⁴

We find this also reflected in the poetry, as in this by Ibn al-Sabuni (13th century Seville). Here the robe has become metaphorically red from the blood of his "slain" lover:

*His white figure advanced, covered with
a garment the color of a rose, like the moon
wrapped in the mantle of dawn.
You might say that as often as the spears
of his eyes have spilled my blood, afterwards
he dried them on his clothing.¹⁵*

While few of the Arabic poems of Spain appear to have the explicit sexual terms and references of Abu Nuwas, for example, some carry hidden allusions, the meaning of which was obvious to the informed listener or reader, as in this poem about a boy dancer by Ibn Kharuf of Cordoba.

In the following poem, "branch," while appearing to be nothing more than the usual metaphor for the thin-waisted boy with his graceful movements, also can mean "penis":

*With his shifting movements he plays with
the heart and he is clothed with enchantments
when he is denuded of clothing.
Undulating like the branch in the garden;
playful like the fawn in its lair.
With his coming and going he plays with
the mind of the spectators as fortune
plays as it wills with men.
He touches his head with his feet,
as the sword is bent until the hilt
joins the point.¹⁶*

Muhammad Ibn Malik, secretary to the Muslim ruler of Murcia (12th century), wrote the following audacious lines. The last line implies that they desire to see him prostrated in prayer because in that position they have a better view of his rear.

*I saw a shapely youth in the mosque,
beautiful as the moon when it comes out.
Those who see him bending to pray say:
"All I desire is that he prostrate himself."¹⁷*

Following is an example of the reproach to one who fell in love with a boy of lowly station, a weaver of cloth. The poet who replied was Ibn Ghalib al-Rusafi of Valencia (d. 1177):

*They said to me, insisting on censuring me
because I loved him, "If only you had not
fallen in love with a vile boy of low condition."
I answered them, "Yes, if I were able to control
my love I also would not have chosen him, but
this power I do not have."
I love him for his teeth like bubbles,
for his perfumed breath, because his lips
are sweet and his eyelids bewitching—and his eyes.
He is a little gazelle [ghuzayyil] whose fingers
do not cease to play at spinning thread [ghazl],
as my thoughts, on seeing him, do not cease
to play with erotic poetry [ghazal].
His fingers frolic merrily with the shuttle
over the loom as day frolics with hope.
Squeezing the cloth with his hands or clutching
it with his feet, he appears to be a gazelle
struggling, caught in the nets.¹⁸*

This kind of wordplay was much admired in medieval verse, and the above poem is very reminiscent of an earlier poem by the Jewish prime minister of Muslim Granada, Samuel Ibn Naghrillah:

*God, change please the heart of the dove [gozal]
who stole [gazel] my slumber—and restore to
my eyelids a little sleep! The beloved who
came by thy oath [permission] and gave me
his heart's love, without force, as a gift
has been treacherous, and so every boy is treacherous.
But now, forgive his sin—or if not, punish me.¹⁹*

Not very much Arabic or Hebrew poetry about boy-love is happy and optimistic. There is always the "treacherous" boy who once having consented to give himself now refrains, or who "wanders" either to other lovers or simply moves away. There is the boy who "slays" his would-be lovers with the beauty of his glances, but whose haughtiness or simple indifference makes any tryst with him apparently impossible.

However, it is also clear from the poetry, as well as the various anecdotes in historical sources, that such relationships between adult men and adolescent boys (sometimes perhaps, pre-adolescent, although there is less historical evidence for that) were crowned with success. The bloom of youth—for which there are several Arabic terms—was inevitably destined to fade, the boy to grow to manhood, and the love to end. But in the interim as the poetry often described: what nights of joy, what gardens of delight, what drinking of wine*, the boy's saliva more delicious than the finest wine.

It is instructive in these modern times to realize that such love, as shown in many poems and confirmed in historical accounts, knew no religious or ethnic boundaries. Among Muslims and Jews there were men who loved boys, who were loved by boys, and who celebrated their love in imperishable verse.

Editor's Note:

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*wine

NOTES

1. Hakim Bey (trans. and ed.) *O Tribe that Loves Boys: the poetry of Abu Nuwas* (Amsterdam: Entimos Press, 1993). The volume contains good biographical information about the poet, and a number of useful bibliographic citations.
2. While there is not yet a completely satisfactory and annotated translation of the poetry of Abu Nuwas, one may profitably consult *The Diwan of Abu Nuwas*, translated by Arthur Wormhoudt (William Penn College, 1974), 2 volumes. For the background of the reaction to claims of Arabic superiority, and the subsequent developments in Hebrew philology and poetry, see my "Jewish reactions to the *Arabiyya* and the Renaissance of Hebrew in Spain," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 28 (1983), pp. 63-84.
3. See, e.g., W.F. Trench, "Mimesis in Aristotle's Poetics," *Hermathena* 48 (1933), pp. 1-24; S.A. Bonc-bakker, "Aspects of the History of Literary Rhetoric and Poetics in Arabic Literature," *Viator* 1 (1970), pp. 75-95, and the reservations of Wolhart Heinrichs on the claims of A. Trabulsi, in G.E. von Grunebaum, ed., *Arabic Poetry, Theory and Development* (Wiesbaden, 1973), p. 42.
4. In addition to the above-cited work, especially Heinrichs' essential article ("Literary Theory: The Problem of Its Efficiency," pp. 19-71), see, e.g., G.E. von Grunebaum, tr., *A Tenth-Century Document of Arabic Literary Theory and Criticism* (Chicago, 1950); Vicente Cantarino, *Arabic Poetics in the Golden Age* (Leiden, 1975); and on love in general Lois Anita Griffen, *Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs* (London, N.Y., 1971) or Jean-Claude Vadet, *l'Esprit Courtois en Orient* (Paris, 1968). Neither work makes any reference whatsoever to the love of boys in Arabic poetry. On that subject, in Arabic and medieval Hebrew verse, see my articles: "Satire and Debate in Two Famous Medieval Hebrew Poems: Love of Boys vs. Girls, the Pen, and Other Themes," *Maghreb Review* 4 (1980), pp. 105-13; "Deal Gently with the Young Man"—Love of Boys in Medieval Hebrew Poetry of Spain," *Speculum* 57 (1982), pp. 20-51; "My Beloved is like a Gazelle": Imagery of the Beloved Boy in Hebrew Religious Poetry," *Hebrew Annual Review* 8 (1984), pp. 143-65; "The Care and Feeding of Gazelles. Medieval Arabic and Hebrew Love Poetry" in Moshe Lazar and N. Lacy, eds., *Poetics of Love in the Middle Ages* (Fairfax, VA, 1989), pp. 95-118; and "Fawn of My Delights: Boy-Love in Hebrew and Arabic Verse" in Joyce Salisbury, ed., *Sex in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1991), pp. 157-72. Of pioneering importance on the theme in Arabic poetry of Spain is Jose M. Contente Ferrer, *Aproximación al*

Estudio del Tema de Amor en la Poesía Hispano-Arabe de los Siglos XII y XIII, *Awraq* 1 (1978), pp. 12-28.

5. See, for example, al-Razi as cited in Griffen, op. cit., p. 120, and cf. Contiente's article, pp. 16-17. Ibn Hawqal nevertheless probably exaggerated in praising the people of the "Maghreb" (North Africa and al-Andalus) for not having anything prohibited (*haram*) by Islamic law; e.g., musical instruments or effeminate men (see the ed. and tr. of the text by Slane in *Journal Asiatique* 13 [1842], p. 252).

6. Arguments have, of course, also been put forward for Greek bisexuality, most recently in: Eva Cantarella *Bisexuality in the Ancient World* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1992).

7. This and the following poems from the anthology of the 13th-century Ali ibn Musa Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi, in: Emilio Garcia Gomez (ed. and Spanish tr.) *El Libro de las Banderas de los Campeones* (Madrid, 1942), p. 150 (the Arabic text of this poem is also in Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, ed. R.P. Dozy et al. [Leiden, 1858-61] II, p. 351).

8. Ibn Sa'id, op. cit., p. 170.

9. Ibid., p. 245.

10. Ibid., p. 246.

11. Ibid., p. 192.

12. Ibid., p. 179.

13. On boy prostitutes, see Contiente, "Aproximación. . .", op. cit., p. 18; during the Almoravid reign, boy prostitutes were supposedly driven out of Seville (Muhammad Ibn Abdun, *Sevilla a Comienzos del Siglo XIII* (Madrid, 1948), p. 157, section 170).

14. See the important discussion on this by Contiente, loc. cit.

15. Ibn Sa'id, p. 148.

16. Ibid., pp. 194-95.

17. Ibid., p. 245.

18. Loc. cit. The section with the wordplay is also cited by al-Shaqundi, *Risala*, trans. E. Garcíá Gómez, *Elogio del Islam Español* (Madrid, Granada, 1934), p. 77.

19. *Divan*, ed. Dov Jarden (Jerusalem, 1966), p. 303, No. 176. Both of these poems are discussed in my "Deal Gently" article, op. cit., pp. 28, 36.

SEXUAL CONTACTS BETWEEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Reflections on an Unrealizable Research Project

Marina Knopf

"That she might seduce a helpless child is unthinkable, and even if she did so, what harm can be done without a penis?"¹

This sentence summarizes the attitudes that I was to encounter when I began research into the existence, prevalence, and nature of sexual relations between women and children. The project was begun in the summer of 1989 at the Institut für empirische und angewandte Soziologie der Universität Bremen (Institute for Empirical and Applied Sociology at the University of Bremen), and financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (the German Research Community). The official topic was the "phenomenology of sexual contacts between adults and children." The initial research plan was to carry out interviews with men and women alike who had had sexual relationships with boys and girls. The interviews were to be thorough and open-ended. We limited ourselves to contacts outside the family.

Most research excludes women *ab initio*, and those that do include data about women usually indicate that a very small number of women are involved in known sexual acts occurring between adults and children. The numbers range between 0 and 6% of the recorded cases.² Almost all of the few available works that deal specifically with women relate to cases of incest.³ These cases are always defined as "sexual abuse" or "molestation," the children as "victims," and

the women as "perpetrators" or "offenders." If one is skeptical about the blanket condemnation of all sexual acts between adults and children implicit in these definitions and would prefer, instead, to obtain concrete information about such relations, then there is indeed very little research to which one can refer.⁴

Although paedophile men could be reached for the research interviews through their support groups, there was no known way to reach women; neither organizations nor a subculture seemed to exist. It seemed likely that these women suffered a great deal of isolation, and it occurred to me that perhaps the "refuge" for women involved in such sexually different behavior might be the lesbian scene where there was a breaking with social taboos. Inquiries within the lesbian community, however, proved fruitless.

Through various enquiries I learned of a group of women calling themselves the "Kanalratten" (Sewer rats) existed in Berlin.⁵ When these women appeared during the Berlin Lesbian Week, there was a scandal. They were promoting female "paedophilia" as a means of liberating children. In their publication, *Kanalrattenzeitung* (Sewer rat news), they wrote:

we define female paedophilia as love between girls and adult women which is voluntary and includes sexual satisfaction; it is not a form of domination over other people

since it is a form of life in which we have no need to dominate or possess children.

we wish to live without power over children and without the lifeless sexuality of adults. adult sexuality means the destruction of life and the environment. the destruction of the environment precedes the destruction of child sexuality.⁶

It was very difficult to arrange a meeting with the "Sewer Rats," and when we finally agreed on a time and place in Berlin, the meeting never occurred. It appears that the group's mistrust of the scientific establishment ultimately prevailed.

A further possible source for subjects was clinics with sexual counselling or sexual medicine departments in Hamburg, Kiel, Frankfurt am Main, Heidelberg, and Munich. I also contacted the various women's counselling offices and the Pro Familia organization in Bremen. I thought that perhaps women might turn to institutions where sexual problems were treated. But this, too, turned out to be a dead-end.

Other avenues I tried certainly produced considerable interest and a great many reactions: advertisements in the contact pages of several city papers in Hamburg, Bremen, Berlin, Cologne, and Dortmund, and in two nudist magazines; an appeal in a women's periodical, and an article about the project in a daily newspaper. I received much mail expressing a wide variety of opinions on the subject, requests for information, and even suggestions. Some women related their own experiences, but only a very few were prepared to be interviewed.

At first glance my difficulty in finding subjects might be thought to confirm the notion that sexual contacts between women and children were rare exceptions. Although my efforts at recruitment were disappointing, I was not convinced that the phenomenon was so extremely rare among women. While it cannot by any means be cited as proof, some authors have stated that women could have sexual contacts with children within the context of their daily private or professional lives, while easily keeping the activities hidden.⁷ The thinking here is that tender, caring touching of children by women is

allowed and even considered desirable. Children become accustomed to being touched by women and do not perceive this as remarkable, even if the touching were to become sexually colored. Relationships which are defined by great emotional and physical closeness, such as those between women and children, might be thought to have an erotic tinge. Precisely where the border might lie between permissible affection and forbidden sexuality is not clear.

The mother-child relationship is the paradigm for the woman-child relationship. For all women, socialization includes training in mothering, by which their attitudes toward children are largely determined. The mother-child relationship is characterized by an almost limitless intimacy and by a form of love which suppresses and even denies the sexual. Gunter Schmidt describes the modern parent-child relationship in the nuclear family, which arose during the industrial revolution, as follows:

This closeness creates anxiety about the overflowing of familial affection into the sexual... For this reason, too, one has to guard against the expression of sexuality by children, which indeed reminds one of this possibility. In fact, no family needs the incest taboo as much as the bourgeois nuclear family.⁸

Such a strong taboo could help explain why strong feelings of guilt might emerge from sexual acts between women and children. Such feelings are evident in a letter from a 26-year-old woman who maintained a sexual contact with an 8-year-old-girl for several months and who replied to one of our contact ads:

If my husband or my mother learned of it, my marriage would surely be over and I would kill myself... Yes, I would so gladly blurt out everything. Everything. I have the feeling that things would then be better and the burden would be lifted from me... Write to me quickly, before I lose courage again. I don't believe that I can carry this burden alone for long.

The paedosexual taboo might be felt so strongly by women precisely because the opportunities for breaking it lie so close at hand. Because of their special closeness to children, for women the paedosexual attraction, as well as the taboo, could be greater than for men. The dynamic between the attraction and the taboo could account for the strong reactions and forceful rejections that we encountered among women, especially in "progressive" circles. The magazine *Brigitte*, for example, refused to publish our appeal to their readers. They told us that they found the subject of our research too repulsive. The strongest criticism came from those trying to help the victims of sexual violence. I was asked why I did not want to speak out on behalf of girls mistreated by men, instead of being interested in paedophile relationships involving women and children.

Surely there are good reasons for conceiving of women exclusively as victims in sexual relationships—there is anxiety about surrendering hard-won territory. It is only little by little that a consciousness has emerged about the prevalence of sexual violence by men against women and girls. To suggest that the border between "perpetrator" and "victim" does not always coincide with the border between the sexes is to challenge many prevailing assumptions. Identification with the victim-model serves to protect women from their own sexual desires and accompanying bad conscience; they can remain in a state of innocence. The victim-model also reinforces the image of the desexualized woman. While women are surely also victimized, it does not seem to me to be helpful to fight this by creating additional taboos and forbidden thoughts. We should even have the courage to assess the radical question of whether sexual relations between adults and children are thinkable, that is, relationships in which there are no victims, but only two partners, even if unequal ones.

Not only within the women's movement but also in the sexological community, barriers to the perception of sexual contacts between women and children prevail.⁹ In sexology, the male view determines what is designated as

sexual. The yardsticks used are the definitions and concepts that were first "invented" for the description of male sexuality and which were later applied to female sexuality.

It might often be the case that sexual contacts between women and children do not correspond at all to the picture of sexuality as defined in the male view and might therefore not be perceived as such, even when the woman feels sexually aroused. It is even probable that women—in accordance with the prevailing definition of sexuality—do not experience what they experience with children as "true" sexuality, because women have no sexual definition for what transpires sexually between them and children. It appears at least plausible that women, when approached for our project, did not feel that the questions posed were in any way relevant to them.

Literary Accounts and Empirical Studies

Autobiographical accounts indicate that sexual encounters between boys and considerably older women appear not to have been unusual until well into this century. The film director Ingmar Bergman describes in his autobiography an experience he had with a widowed acquaintance of his parents, with whom he lived for a time:

One evening I was to be bathed. The housemaid filled the bathtub and poured something in that smelled good. Alla Pitreus knocked on the door and asked if I had fallen asleep. When I did not answer, she entered. She was wearing a green bathrobe, which she immediately took off. She explained that she wanted to scrub my back. I turned around and she also stepped into the bath, soaped me, brushed me with a hard brush, and rinsed me with her soft hands. Then she took my hand, drew it to her, and put it between her thighs. My heart was beating in my throat. She spread my fingers and pressed them deeper into her lap. With her other hand she clasped my sex, startled and wide awake. She cautiously drew back the foreskin and care-

fully removed a white material that had collected around the glans. Everything was pleasant and also did not frighten me in the least. She held me firmly between her strong, soft thighs, and without resistance and without fear I let myself sway in a strong, almost painful, pleasure. I was eight or perhaps nine years old.¹⁰

The first volume of the ten-volume *My Secret Life*, the erotic autobiography of a well-to-do Victorian Englishman, deals exclusively with the boyhood sexual experiences of the author with various adult female acquaintances, relatives, and family servants. There is good reason to think that the experiences reported are authentic, even if the pornographic fantasies and projections of the author do play a role.¹¹ Even if, as Marcus has shown, not all of the episodes described by the author are factual, the book is a vivid and realistic picture of sexual culture in the Victorian age.

Sexual encounters with older women appear not to have been unusual in the period. Scientific publications from the beginning of this century contain innumerable accounts of sexual acts between women and prepubertal boys. For example, Krafft-Ebing speaks in his *Psychopathia Sexualis* of a "rather large number of cases. . . of lascivious servants, nannies, and even female relatives, who in an abominable way use the boys entrusted to them for sexual intercourse."¹² Ferenczi also reports such experiences.¹³

Current criminological statistics regarding adults who as children had sex with either men or women suggest that the number of those who had sex with men was greater than those who had sex with women. The percentage of female "perpetrators" reported is from 0 to 6%, although 16% of the men interviewed said that as children they had sex with women, a disparity of 10%.¹⁴ This 10% discrepancy might suggest that contacts do take place which do not become public and are therefore not included in the criminal statistics.

We might also cite other data: for example, 16% of male university students and 45% of male prisoners questioned by Condy state that before

age 16 they had had sexual experiences with one or more women who were at least five years older than they were.¹⁵ These experiences were mainly with women who were not family members: girl friends, neighbors, teachers, babysitters, and strangers. In the majority of the cases, the sexual acts took place with mutual consent. More than half of the men judged the experiences to be positive. The judgment passed on the sexual contact was largely, although not entirely, dependent on the type of relationship. Extra-familial relationships were more often considered positive than experiences with mothers, aunts, and sisters. Perhaps sexual encounters that take place outside of the family make it easier to withdraw from unwanted acts. Boys, particularly teenagers, might view these contacts as a confirmation of their masculinity. Condy concluded, "The findings indicate that heterosexual activity (between women and boys) does not appear to be such a rarity as some sexology authorities had previously believed."¹⁶

Finkelhor, in the "Nursery Crimes" study on sexual abuse in American day-care centers, found that of 270 cases, 222 were with men and 147 were with women (some cases involved both a man and a woman).¹⁷

The Circumstances of the Relationships

Although the research plan—to gather empirical data systematically, using interviews—failed for various reasons, some interesting and heterogeneous material did emerge from the effort. It is worth presenting here because the state of such research is so dismal. In spite of obvious limitations, the experiences recorded from quite different sources will be used below to construct a hypothesis about the possible structure, emotional as well as sexual, of contacts between women and children. In reviewing all the information obtained from conversations with colleagues, examples from literature, correspondence, and interviews with women involved, three possible models for such relationships emerged. Each is based on a different motivation on the part of the women. The possibilities identified are: relationships in which the child

functions as a substitute for an adult partner; relationships in which the "childishness" is an essential element of the sexual attraction (i.e., paedophile relationships in the classical sense); and experimental sexual contacts. Each of these models is illustrated by examples taken from the discussions with women regarding their experiences.

The Child as a Substitute for an Adult Partner

In this model, the child partners are mostly boys aged 10 and up. The women justify the paedosexual acts because they involved love. They emphasize that the boys participated voluntarily. The relationship, they say, had only positive effects on the child. The sexual acts were a form of sex education through practice. Guilty feelings or a bad conscience are rarely found in the reports of women in this category.

Brandenburg quotes from the interrogation of a 23-year-old female suspect who had worked as a housemaid in a children's home where she had sexual contacts with a 12-year-old boy: "F. awakened in me feelings that I had not known in recent years. I felt myself drawn to him and sensed a genuine love for him. I wanted to wait for the boy and later marry him."¹⁸

In the other reports which we might also include in this category, the women described their sexual relations with adult men as unsatisfactory, and themselves as lonely. Kiefl and Larnack quote a case involving a 28-year-old housewife who, abandoned by her husband, had a five-month sexual relation with a 13-year-old boy who worked for her as a baby-sitter. In her final statement during the court proceedings, the woman said: "I regret it, but I was very lonely."¹⁹

Especially striking for me was the case of Frau A., who had answered one of our ads. She was 26 years old, attractive, aware, and working at the time as a nude model and nurse's aide. She met her 12-year-old, sexually-inexperienced partner in the hospital where she worked. He had been a patient. She said that she really found adult men more interesting, and had several sexual friendships. While the boy was in the hospital, their mutual attraction developed; at

first, her intentions were simply friendly. After the boy was released, the two maintained contact. Then, he declared that he had fallen in love with her and wanted to have sex. At first she resisted him, but when her current love affair broke up, she found the boy's sexual advances increasingly alluring. The final move came from her—she seduced him. A solid friendship, including regular sexual contacts, lasted for about six months. She said that everything he knew about sex he had learned from her, and that this had made him very compatible. From a purely sexual point of view, it had been one of her best, most fulfilling experiences. She thought that he could only have profited from it. More important than the sexuality had been their togetherness, their tenderness, their ability to laugh together. She had never experienced anything as beautiful with an adult partner, though she did say that she thought of the boy more as a man than as a child. In fact, she detested the idea of sexual acts with children. They separated, she said, because her expectations for relationships could not be fulfilled by someone as young as he. This had caused her a good deal of pain; she had been infatuated with him. They still met occasionally, but only in friendship. When we interviewed her, Frau A. was living with a man her own age, and the boy now had a girlfriend his own age.

"Childishness" as the Main Component of the Sexual Attraction

In this category of relationships, the child does not function as a substitute adult, is not conceived of as "almost adult," but rather is desired precisely because of specific characteristics having to do with childhood. These relationships might best be labelled "paedophile." The hairless body, innocence, and unaffectedness are important elements in the sexual attraction. In contrast to the women in the first group, it is striking that these women clearly experienced more guilt. One explanation might be that they had a greater sense of breaking a taboo by sexualizing their relationship with a child. They are conscious of loving children because of their childishness. I was able to interview Frau B., but

Frau C. and Frau D. were not willing to be interviewed because of their anxiety about criminal prosecution; their guilt, or fear, was simply too great. I did, however, correspond with Frau C. and Frau D.

Frau B. is 26 years old and lives with her boyfriend and their five-year-old daughter. She has no professional training and earns money from various temporary jobs. She has tried to hide her feelings from herself, but now admits that her sexual interest centers on girls aged ten to puberty. She catches herself staring at the "place between their legs." She fantasizes about satisfying the girl orally. What she finds arousing is the budding sexuality of the girl and the idea that she would be the one to give the girl her first sudden understanding of it. She enjoys the feeling of superiority that this affords her. She remembers that, when she was about ten years old, she wanted to be initiated into sexuality by an adult man. She wants to do this for the girl, but she also cannot imagine turning her fantasy into reality. There are too many restraints. She also says that she has had lesbian experiences with other adult women, which she did not find so difficult to act out because she did not feel such a strong taboo against it. The need for lesbian sex was also more pressing than the need for sex with a child.

Frau C. is also 26 years old. She had lived with her mother until her marriage the year before. The experience she reported had occurred five years earlier, when she was still attending business school. A neighbor's 8-year-old daughter often stopped by her house; she liked to romp around with the child and enjoyed her warmth and tenderness. She soon began to realize that she also felt physical desire for her. It all came about very naturally and innocently. One day, while playing with the child, Frau C. had gently brought the play around to a sexual game of mutual touching of the genitals. This led to oral-genital contact, and to mutual digital vaginal and anal penetration. The relationship lasted several months. She said that she had enjoyed it very much, but that she had also felt a good deal of anxiety and guilt. She was happy when it was

over, even though she still sometimes looks back on it with pleasure. Because of her strong guilt feelings, she has since visited a psychological counselling center a few times.

Frau D. is exclusively interested in prepubertal boys, and therefore most nearly fits the strict definition of a paedophile. She is 23 years old and works as a children's nurse. Since age 16 she has had sexual relations with boys as young as 6. She can recall at least 10 to 15 different contacts. When the boys reach puberty she loses sexual interest in them. Up until that time she likes their unaffectedness and their hairless bodies. Her current boyfriend is 13. She met him at a nudist campsite about three years ago. They meet once or twice a week. She says that it is very important for the boy that she is older and takes him so seriously. Both of them initiate the sex, which for the past two years has also included intercourse. The boy's parents know about their friendship, but not about the sexuality. She has not had any encounters with the police, but now and then she fears being blackmailed by one of her boyfriends. For the most part, however, she feels secure, because she has not imposed anything on the boys or done anything they did not want.

Experimental Sexual Contacts

It is striking to find in the sexual-abuse literature that those women designated as perpetrators are often quite young themselves, under 20, and that they have had sex with children entrusted to them.²⁰ These cases are sometimes labelled "baby-sitter abuse." The girls are described as lonely and shy. Their stated motive is sexual curiosity and is often with very young and dependent children. The contacts seem to produce less anxiety in the woman than sexual contacts with peers. Frau E., for example, reported that she remembers her 18-year-old nursemaid taking her, as a very young girl, into train station toilets, where her nursemaid had touched her genitals with her hand or mouth. She recalls this experience as being very unpleasant, and it left a deep impression on her.

Conclusions

The assumption that sexual contacts between women and children are structured in a way similar to relations between men and children, and may be researched in a similar way, seems untenable, even given the sparse data available. Women and men have gender-specific, substantially different roles they play in their associations with children. Sexual contacts between women and children also appear to be more of a taboo than sexual relations between men and children. As we have already noted, it is less spoken of, more hidden, and the women do not have any groups they attend or have formed themselves as do men, with the possible exception of the *Kanalratten*. The strength of this taboo might help explain the enormous difficulty we had in finding women to interview.

Those women who do describe their experiences with children as explicitly sexual probably reflect only a part of a wider, more complicated reality that involves sensual or erotic contacts which are perceived by the women as "natural" or "ordinary." These have until now escaped scientific research. Regrettably, they have not escaped media attention, which has generally caused more harm than good. At first the media reported only sexual abuse by fathers and other men, but now women, and especially mothers, have been discovered as a new perpetrator group. Of course, subtleties of differentiation between women and men are unknown in such media descriptions. *Der Spiegel*, under the headline "When mother loves too much," showed a photo of a nursing woman they had captioned, "Satisfying her own needs?" The same magazine claimed that a mother sharing a bathtub with her son was "an excessively intimate relationship."²¹

When sexual abuse was first discussed, it was, perhaps, important to break the long silence about sexual violence against children. Today, however, new taboos and forbidden thoughts threaten a more serious discussion. The so-called openness of the media stresses the monstrosity of such acts. The origin of the incest taboo, the assumptions upon which it is based,

and its function are no longer discussed. Instead, we read such pseudo-historical, ideological remarks as: "From antiquity into the 19th century the child lived during the first years of life in an atmosphere of sexual abuse."²² The way in which the German media seizes on the theme clearly shows that it has no desire to educate the public. The press is more interested in stirring up emotions or exciting voyeuristic, vicarious desires, which, of course, must be mixed with disgust and the call for punishment. In consuming such reports, the public takes "pleasure in an unprincipled swindle," as Katharina Rutschky (1990) has explained.

Far from awakening the necessary surprise of an until-then perhaps unknowing public, taboo violations are staged for the release of sadomasochistic fantasies, against which the consciousness protects itself, in an apparently morally irreproachable way, by taking the side of the victim.²³

There should be no doubt that the debate should be carried out in a more discriminating way, that the matter should be more closely examined, and that hasty judgments should not be made. As far as sexual contacts between adults and children are concerned, "blind apologies are not suitable, nor are moral devaluations and declarations of scruples, impulses for revenge, and generalized positions either pro or con..."²⁴

Sexual relationships between adults and children came to my attention through my work at the Familienplanungszentrum Hamburg (Hamburg Family Planning Center), where I am a counsellor. The Center is often visited by women or girls who were or are exposed to sexual violence by their fathers or other men. They have, thereby, been seriously harmed physically and psychically, often over a period of several years, and especially regarding their sexuality. In work with the Bremer Forschungsprojekt (Bremen Research Project), I have usually questioned paedophile men about their sexual relations with children. From many of the interviews I gained the impression that these relationships *cannot* be equated with sexual violence.

Given the complexity and varieties of paedosexual relations, and given the individual problems these relationships face, simplistic evaluations are inadequate. The contradictions between existing theory and my own observations were all too glaring. These relationships simply cannot be reduced to sexual acts. A discussion of the harmfulness of a sexual act in and of itself is not a sufficient discussion. These relationships, for example, are a form of social relationship whose structure is an important element of the psychosexual development of the child. Questions regarding the gender of the adult or child and the distinction between contacts inside or outside the family are of central importance. More than is the case with other kinds of relationships, relationships between parents and children are distinguished by a power difference which could be used to the disadvantage of the child. There is always the danger that, given the differences in the sexual wishes of adults and children, the limits and wishes of the child might not be respected. Such dangers, however, are not adequate justification for an undifferentiated condemnation of all paedophile relationships.

Editor's Note:

Marina Knopf is a psychologist working with the Hamburg Family Planning Center. This study was originally published as: "Sexuelle Kontakte zwischen Frauen und Kindern. Ueberlegungen zu einem nicht realisierbaren Forschungsprojekt." It appeared in *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung*, 6 (1993), pp. 23-35. Our thanks to the publisher for permission to publish this translation.

Translated from the German by Hubert Kennedy.

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KAROL SZYMANOWSKI, HIS BOY-LOVE NOVEL, AND THE BOY HE LOVED

Hubert Kennedy

Karol Szymanowski (1882-1937) was one of the greatest Polish composers and a central figure in Polish music in the first half of the twentieth century. He left a large body of compositions in nearly every form, most of them marked by strong individuality.¹ He was also the author of numerous biographical and critical articles in several languages.²

That he was the author of a long novel on boy-love was not, however, generally known until after his death, when his friend and literary executor, J. Iwaszkiewicz, allowed a brief passage to be read on Polish radio in March 1939. Although that short fragment was very discreet, it brought an angry letter from Szymanowski's mother. It was probably the title of the novel, *Ephebos*, more than anything else, that caused eyebrows to rise. Then, in September 1939, at the beginning of the Second World War, the house in which the manuscript was kept was burned. Apart from the title page, drafts of a foreword, and a few small fragments, it was thought that the two-volume novel was lost forever. But, in 1981, the Polish musicologist Teresa Chylińska discovered in Paris a 150-page Russian version of the novel's central chapter, "The Symposium," in the collection of the aging Boris Kochno (1904-1990). It was a treasured souvenir of his youth; Szymanowski himself had made the translation as a gift, and had also presented Kochno with four poems in French.

The original Polish of the chapter was painstakingly reconstructed, helped in part by the fact

that Szymanowski's Russian often used Polish grammatical constructions. This, the poems, and a passage from Iwaszkiewicz's memoirs describing the novel are now available in German translation.³

Karol Szymanowski was born 6 October 1882⁴ on the family estate Tymoszkówka in the Ukraine. At age fourteen he was impressed by hearing Wagner for the first time, in Vienna. He studied music in Warsaw (1901-1904) and in the following decade made a reputation for himself by composing music in the German Romantic tradition of Wagner and, especially, Richard Strauss. Then his interest shifted, as described by the British musicologist Christopher Palmer:

The young composer's interest in German musical culture began to decline steeply as a result of his travels with Stefan Spiess, first to Southern Italy and Sicily in April 1911, then to Sicily and North Africa in 1914... It is possible that, like Gide before him, these journeys into exotic lands where forbidden fruit was freely to be had (especially by well-to-do foreigners) enabled him to realize the true direction of his sexual impulses, and that this affected in no small way the blossoming of his creative personality. Szymanowski made no overt declaration of his homosexuality in his music; *King Roger* is the only work in which any kind of homoerotic element is to be discerned, and his treatment of it is unsensational and unselfconscious. Rather

is it his two-volume novel *Ephebos* which is described by Szymanowski's biographer Maciejewski as Szymanowski's "apologia pro vita sua."⁵

Szymanowski's opera *King Roger*, set in medieval Sicily, was begun in 1918 and completed in 1924. As described by Chylińska, "The text, written jointly with Iwaszkiewicz, is based, broadly speaking, on the Dionysian thesis that only through bodily love can the mysteries of divine love be approached or creative work accomplished."⁶ At the conclusion of his description of the opera, Jim Samson wrote:

Here in these final pages, as Roger salutes Apollo in the rising sun, his vocal line achieves a dignity and strength which had formerly eluded it. His life has been enriched and transformed by the truths of Dionysus but he is no slave to them. He stands alone as a powerful symbol of modern Nietzschean man.⁷

Samson concludes, "In purely musical terms the opera has strong claims to be his masterpiece."⁸

The middle period of Szymanowski's musical development, a result of his visits to Sicily and North Africa, was his "period of greatest creative activity."⁹ There was to be a third, "nationalist" period later, when he made much use of Polish folk music, but his middle, "impressionist" period was his most fertile.

Palmer describes the effects of Szymanowski's southern travels on his music: "Szymanowski's contact with oriental and classical antiquity engendered a species of spiritual and aesthetic awakening, a quickened perception, an urge to be made perfect by the love of visible beauty."¹⁰

This "visible beauty" takes on more human form in the memoirs of Szymanowski's longtime friend, the pianist Arthur Rubinstein, who wrote of meeting Szymanowski in Paris in 1921:

Karol arrived two days later in good physical shape after all he had been through... Karol had changed; I had already begun to be aware of it before the war when a

wealthy friend and admirer of his had invited him twice to visit Italy. After his return he raved about Sicily, especially Taormina. "There," he said, "I saw a few young men bathing who could be models for Antinoüs. I couldn't take my eyes off them." Now he was a confirmed homosexual, he told me all this with burning eyes. "Paul [Kochański] told you about all the terrible things which happened to us. I'm happy to tell you that I succeeded in bringing my whole family to Warsaw, where from now on I have to look after them. On several occasions we barely escaped with our lives. The peasants murdered a few landowners in the Ukraine and mutilated Prince Sanguszko, so we can thank God that we are all safe. But, Arthur, you won't believe it, but in Kiev, right after the flight from Tymoszwówka, I found the greatest happiness—I lived in heaven. I met a young man of the most extraordinary beauty, a poet with a voice that was music, and, Arthur, he loved me. It is only thanks to our love that I could write so much music. I even have a third sonata and a third symphony. Since my flight to Warsaw I lost all contact with him, so you can well imagine how I feel now." I hardly recognized the Karol of old; here was a young man in love for the first time.¹¹

The object of Szymanowski's love was Boris Kochno, and there is no reason to doubt Rubinstein's recollection of Szymanowski's emotional state, but his chronology is faulty. It should be noted that Rubinstein dictated his memoirs at age 90, by memory and with no documentation. Here he has confused the sequence of events. Szymanowski met Kochno, not in Kiev, but two years later in the Ukrainian town of Elisavetgrad, which was near Tymoszwówka.

Szymanowski was lame in his left knee as a result of several operations as a child, and so was not conscripted into the Czarist army during the First World War. Those years were musically very fertile for him, for he spent them in semi-

isolation at Tymoszkówka, devoting himself to composing. In addition to the works mentioned by Rubinstein there were, for example, *Mythes* and *Métopes*, and, reflecting Szymanowski's interest in Islamic culture, two collections of *Love-songs of Hafiz*, set to verses of the Persian poet, using the German translations of Hans Bethge.¹² As Chylińska wrote, "Almost all of the works written at this time share qualities of ecstasy and fervour, maintaining the utmost intensity of expression."¹³

This intense period of composing came to an end, however, in 1917, when the manor house at Tymoszkówka was destroyed during the Russian Revolution. Fortunately, the Szymanowski family was in Kiev at the time. In 1918 they moved to Elisavetgrad, where the family owned two houses.¹⁴ In this grim period Szymanowski wrote *Ephebos* as a way of overcoming "days, weeks, and months, of the most depressing circumstances" through "the magic of Italian scenes evoked from memory," as he wrote in his foreword to the novel. Or, as Maciejewski expressed it: "Szymanowski escaped from reality, and wrote a novel *Efebos* [sic] about a beautiful Prince, beautiful Rome, beautiful love."¹⁵

The novel gained added importance in the spring of 1919 with the arrival in Elisavetgrad of the 15-year-old Boris Kochno. Szymanowski fell in love with him, and apparently, as suggested by Rubinstein, the love was returned. A budding poet, Kochno's burning passion was to experience the Ballets Russes in Paris. Szymanowski introduced him to Stravinsky's ballet music, playing four-handed piano arrangements with Henryk Neuhaus, the son of Szymanowski's music teacher. As Wolfgang Jöhling observes, "By his stay in Elisavetgrad, Boris profited richly for the development of his personality, and probably became clear here about his sexual orientation."¹⁶ In December 1919, Szymanowski was able to sell his property in Elisavetgrad, and the family moved to Warsaw, now the capital of a free and independent Poland. In 1920, Szymanowski's "little boy" (Szymanowski used the English phrase in one of the French poems addressed to Kochno) traveled on to Paris with his mother, and Szymanowski lost

touch with him. During this period, he would have made gift of four poems to Kochno, one of which was "Ganymède":

*Little boy—your gaze, mysterious and wild,
Flies toward infinity. Little angel,
Whose eyes are the reflection of heavenly images
And iridescent stars dipped in mire.*

*Your love is paid in pennies—and your soul,
A radiant slave whose price I do not know,
Smiles, careless and chaste,
While your frail little body swoons.*

*Toward what unknown god does your smile fly?
For whom the secret flame of your divine ardor?
The heavens are mute and sad unto death. . .
Under my hand I felt your little heart beat!*

*What are you waiting for? The mystery of love
Is known to you. Your wandering gaze
Fastens cold to my eyes; at dawn
You have read their secret: nothingness!*

*You leave me. On your florid lips
Fades the ardor of my caresses.
You carry off your secret—and forgetfulness,
You leave me alone—in distress.*

Richard Buckle, Diaghilev's biographer, told how Kochno achieved his goal of meeting the impresario:

Boris and his mother reached Paris on 9 October 1920. Among his friends in exile were the painter Sudeikine and his wife Vera [who later married Stravinsky]. Sudeikine, of course, was an old acquaintance of Diaghilev... To Sudeikine and Vera, Boris spoke continually about Diaghilev... whom it was his ambition to meet. While the handsome Kochno sat for his portrait, Sudeikine devised a little plot to satisfy his young friend. Kochno should go to Diaghilev's hotel with a message from Sudeikine...

On 27 February 1921, a Sunday, Boris... walked to the Hotel Continental... He

asked for Diaghilev. The clerk... told him to go straight up. Diaghilev was expecting someone who never came... [Diaghilev] showed no surprise that an unknown young man had called upon him... When he left at one o'clock, Diaghilev escorted him to the door and said, "We shall meet again."

Next morning, when Kochno returned to the Continental, Diaghilev asked him if he would like to be his secretary. The dream began.¹⁷

Boris Kochno gave a condensed version of this meeting in his book about the painter Christian Bérard:

I met [Diaghilev] on February 27, 1921. He asked me my age (I was nearly seventeen)—and about my life in Russia (where he had not been since 1914). I recited my poems to him—in my youth I was a poet—and at the end of our conversation he engaged me as his secretary.¹⁸

Three months later, Szymanowski, who had stopped in Paris on his return from his first trip to the United States, saw his beloved Boris once more. Rubinstein described the poignant occasion:

With the great help of Misia [Sert], who was of Polish origin, we tried to interest Diaghilev in Szymanowski and his music and we succeeded. Diaghilev invited Karol and me for dinner at the Continental.

We arrived punctually, asked the desk to telephone his room and announce our arrival, and sat down and waited in the lobby. After a few minutes we saw the great man appear at the top of the staircase to the second floor and come slowly down toward us, followed by a young man. Szymanowski, who had been waiting indifferently, looked suddenly as if he were about to have a heart attack. He scared me. But in less than a second I saw that his face

was composed again, although there was a tragic expression in his eyes. Diaghilev greeted us graciously and introduced the young man as a new collaborator. Karol murmured something and we went to dinner. I suddenly knew what was wrong; when the young man came down the staircase I saw on Karol's face who he was, and the dinner became a game. Diaghilev showed that he had an inkling that something was in the air and the young man, mortally afraid of losing his position, had to play the extremely difficult rôle of someone who had never met Karol before. And Karol was torn between the wild urge to speak out and the knowledge that the young man would immediately be dismissed and that Diaghilev would have nothing more to do with Karol. I had to play the part of moderator and keep the conversation flowing. The arrival of Stravinsky saved the situation. He involved Diaghilev immediately in a long discussion about their plans, which allowed the other two actors of the drama to exchange a few short glances of recognition. Two or three furtive meetings were all Karol succeeded in arranging, but I think it was a sad end to their love.¹⁹

Apparently Diaghilev never learned that Kochno had known Szymanowski, for the new relationship continued. Kochno had asked what his duties as secretary were, and Diaghilev's memorable reply was: "A secretary must know how to make himself indispensable."²⁰ Kochno took the initiative and made himself indispensable. Diaghilev took other lovers later, but Kochno remained his friend until Diaghilev died in 1929. Buckle reported:

Boris was never paid, but Diaghilev lodged and fed him at the finest hotels in Europe, and dressed him at the best English tailors. He did not mind asking Diaghilev, from time to time, for a few francs to buy cigarettes. Kochno was not attracted by young men and he was prepared to love Di-

aghilev: but although he was handsome in a classical way, he was not Diaghilev's type. As friends, however, they got on very well and remained inseparable.²¹

Kochno's contributions to the Ballets Russes were considerable, especially his libretti for some of its most successful later ballets. Buckle, who called Kochno "the Shakespeare of the ballet scenario,"²² reported that Diaghilev had begun to refer to Kochno as his successor, but due to internal dissension the company was dissolved after Diaghilev's death. When the representative of the Monte Carlo theater asked Balanchine to form the Ballets de Monte Carlo in 1931, Kochno signed a contract as artistic director. But Balanchine was dismissed in 1932 and Kochno resigned. The following year the two formed Les Ballets 1933, whose name, as Buckle remarked, "hardly guaranteed longevity." It did not last the year, and Kochno returned to life in Paris with his friend, the painter Christian Bérard. The two lay low during the Nazi occupation. After the war, in 1946, they founded the Ballets des Champs Elysées, which Kochno directed until 1950.²³ Kochno also wrote a book about the Ballets Russes and assisted in several Diaghilev exhibitions, which always included items from Kochno's own collection.

After the fateful meeting with Kochno in 1921, Szymanowski had returned to Warsaw, where his compositions assumed a more nationalistic style. He was director of the Warsaw Conservatory (1927-1932), but this did not stop his sexual interests. He wrote to his friend, the pianist Jan Smeterlin, in 1929: "Forgive my type-written letter but a small portable Remington is a newly acquire eccentricity of mine (which does not mean that I have rid myself of my other eccentricities that you know so well, and which are less respectable!).²⁴ Indeed, Smeterlin knew his "eccentricities"; a year later Smeterlin wrote from London:

Apparently the soldiers, those fine looking Horse-guards are no longer as free as they used to be. Poor chaps, the military police

are very strict with them, but I rather think that this state of affairs will not last long.

In Paris, as always, I enjoyed myself very much. Once, I was forced to be of use as a Spanish interpreter in a bar in the rue de Lappe—you are aware of what sort of area that is?! A Spanish client was able to understand a little French gigolo; then the Frenchman begged me to help him and when I had finally arranged for them both to sleep together, I demanded some payment for my services, but did not get any. I shall, therefore, continue to be a pianist, which is, after all, a slightly more honorable profession than that of a "Hotel tout"!²⁵

Szymanowski was in ill health in his last years, probably brought on by his smoking more than forty cigarettes a day. He died in Lausanne, Switzerland, on 29 March 1937. Rubinstein commented on the death of his "dearest friend":

Karol was the only composer, after Chopin, who could represent Poland proudly all over the world and deserved all the help he needed from this mean government. When he was no more, the authorities trumpeted pompously the tragic loss of their great son. They prepared a Warsaw funeral with an unheard-of mass of publicity. A hundred thousand people were tightly massed to watch the funeral. A special train transported his body, accompanied by ministers and the family, to Cracow for the grand burial at the church at Skalla, where only the greatest of the nation were allowed to lie. They put on the catafalque the insignia of the Grand Cross of Polonia Restituta, the nation's highest honor. What a bitter irony! For years they had made my poor Karol suffer through their meanness and now they were willing to spend a fortune on this big show. And what really infuriated me was the fact that they asked Hitler's government to make the train with Karol's body stop in Berlin long enough to receive military honors.²⁶

In his foreword to *Ephebos*, Szymanowski challenged the public by avowing that his only concern was "to let the shining light of truth penetrate where only dark shadows and the poisonous viper-hissing of hate-sowing derision reigned."²⁷ More than seventy years later, we smile at these words; the novel could hardly create the sensation today that Szymanowski expected of its publication. This can certainly be said of its central chapter, which is now available in German translation. But it is this chapter that Szymanowski prized the most: "In it I expressed much, perhaps all, that I have to say in this matter, which is for me very important and very beautiful."²⁸

There are six participants in Szymanowski's "Symposium":²⁹

- Alo Lowicki, a Polish prince and the young hero of the novel, is an idealized portrait of Szymanowski as he had been. His age is suggested by the Greek title *Ephebos*; on the title page of his manuscript Szymanowski even wrote it in Greek letters.³⁰
- Marek Korab, a Polish composer, is Szymanowski as he would like to be.
- The German Baron von Rellov first took Alo under his protection.
- The French Charles de Villiers is Alo's bosom friend.
- Bissoli is an Italian professor and jurist.
- Y..., a German pianist, is perhaps based on Szymanowski's friend, the pianist Henryk Neuhaus.

In the discussion, the last two defend conventional, heterosexual love; Rellov and Villiers advocate the cause of "true," i.e., homosexual love. There is some preliminary sparring, in which de Villiers compares the body of a woman with that of a youth and finds the former wanting: her bosom breaks up the plane of belly and breast, her hips are too wide, etc., and Rellov trots out the standard list of great homosexuals of history: Socrates, Plato, Caesar, Cellini, da Vinci, Michelangelo, Lorenzo de' Medici, Shakespeare, and Charles XII (of Sweden). It is interesting to note that these were all manly in-

dividuals. Conspicuously absent, for example, is Henri III of France, who was briefly king of Poland (1574) and well known as an effeminate homosexual; Szymanowski would surely have known about him. It is unclear to what extent Szymanowski was acquainted with the available literature on the subject. All of these men had been discussed in the early 1900s in Berlin—in Magnus Hirschfeld's *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen* as well as in Adolf Brand's journal *Der Eigene*. Szymanowski read German and had visited Berlin, and his views are closer to those often expressed in *Der Eigene*, rather than to the "third sex" views of Hirschfeld.³¹

In response to the argument that homosexual love is not natural, de Villiers argues that the "natural" is reduced to coitus and that from the beginning "true love" is "unnatural." He addresses Bissoli:

Have you finally understood, learned professor? Have you grasped what true human love is? It is boundless in its freedom, the freedom of choice; it is based exclusively on the subjective and individual, psychic and physical characteristics of the human being. And no one and nothing, not even the so-called public, will dare to cut it off from the true, the good, and the beautiful, as perhaps old Socrates would have said.³²

When Bissoli replies that "common sense" still holds same-sex love to be "abnormal," de Villiers notes that, whereas common sense helped the cavemen, it is of little help, when it serves only as a mask for "public opinion."

Rellov then continues the argument that true love implies the freedom to choose: this comes with liberation from the Law of Love in Nature, the sexual difference. In his view, there is no place for woman, who is destined to be (only) a mother. In addition to his anti-feminism, Rellov is also anti-Semitic: he finds the roots of our false culture in the Old Testament (which was taken over by the Germans through Luther). He contrasts it with the "true culture which grew from the pure Aryan root common to us all, somewhere at the foot of the Acropolis."³³

Alo is silently grateful for Relov's words, which he finds liberating. The evening's discussion concludes only at the first light of dawn with the musings of Korab, and it ends on a mystical note when he tells of seeing a certain da Vinci portrait of Christ that allowed him to identify Christ with Eros:

I understood how, in the narrow circle of disciples and believers, simple, raw, and naive men, his words had been superficially and falsely interpreted. Only then did I grasp who He in reality was, He, Christ-Eros! . . .

And he loved his neighbor with that mysterious, burning flame of his whole being, in the ardent wish for union with the everlasting creative essence of the world, which in supernatural light shines in the unfathomable eyes of the Lydian god with the ivy and rose crowned, copper-colored locks, with the blossom-clad Thyrsus staff in his hand.³⁴

The Lydian god with the Thyrsus staff is, of course, Dionysius. Thus Jöhling notes that in this Symposium, "not only does Szymanowski develop a theory about the superiority of homoeroticism, on the basis of his own reflections on Plato and Nietzsche, but the dialogue also reflects his 'private religion,' the trinity of his gods of love and life: Dionysius, Eros, and Christ—a view that in his opera *King Roger* is given an even clearer form musically and scenically."³⁵

Although one must take exception to the anti-feminism and anti-Semitism—which are discussed by Jöhling³⁶—there is much of value in Szymanowski's Symposium, especially in his discussion of the natural. The emphasis on our freedom to choose in love is always welcome.

Editor's Note:

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NOTES

1. For an excellent survey of the life and work of Szymanowski, see Teresa Chylinska, "Karol Szymanowski," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 18:499-504. For an authoritative study of Szymanowski's music, see Jim Samson, *The Music of Szymanowski* (London: Kahn & Averill, 1981).
2. For example: "Frédéric Chopin et la musique polonaise moderne" (1931) and *Wychowawcza rola kultury muzycznej w społeczeństwie* (The educational role of musical culture in society) (1931). Jim Samson reported that Alistair Wightman was preparing an English translation of Szymanowski's articles (op. cit., p. 9).
- *¹ 3. Karol Szymanowski, *Das Gastmahl: Ein Kapitel aus dem Roman "Ephobos"*, ed. and trans. Wolfgang Jöhling (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1993).
- *² 4. Chyliska, op. cit., p. 499. The date given here seems to be the most commonly accepted.
5. Christopher Palmer, *Szymanowski* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1983), p. 25.
6. Chyliska, op. cit., p. 501.
7. Samson, op. cit., pp. 149-150.
8. Ibid., p. 150.
9. Chyliska, op. cit., p. 500.
10. Palmer, op. cit., p. 28.
11. Arthur Rubinstein, *My Many Years* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), p. 103.
12. Hans Bethge (1876-1946) also translated the Chinese poems used by Gustav Mahler as text for *Das Lied von der Erde*. In 1903 Bethge published an article on the German painter Fidus in the homosexual journal *Der Eigene*.
13. Chyliska, op. cit., p. 500.
14. After several changes of name, this town became Kirovograd in 1939.
15. B.M. Maciejewski, *Karol Szymanowski: His Life and Music* (London: Poets' and Painters' Press, 1967), pp. 61-62.
16. Szymanowski, op. cit., p. 117.
- *³ 17. Richard Buckle, *Diaghilev* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1979), p. 3.
18. Boris Kochno, *Christian Bérard* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), p. 12. It should be noted that if Kochno was "nearly seventeen" when he met Diaghilev, then he was born in 1904, not 1903 as given by Jöhling in *Das Gastmahl*. Apparently, Kochno was not consistent in reporting his birth year: some reference works give 1903; *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Ballet* has 3 January 1904.
19. Rubinstein, op. cit., pp. 104-105. Rubinstein's

chronology is again faulty; he placed this meeting before Szymanowski's first trip to the United States.

20. Buckle, op. cit., p. 377.

21. Richard Buckle, *In the Wake of Diaghilev* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1983), pp. 21-22.

22. Ibid, p. 41.

23. Edmund White, *Jean Genet: A Biography* (New York: ^{*}Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1983), p. 262.

White referred to Kochno as "Bérard's lover" (ibid., p. 213).

24. *Karol Szymanowski and Jan Smeterlin: Correspondence and Essays*, trans. and ed. B.M. Maciejewski and Felix Aprahamin (London: Allegro Press, 1970), p. 37.

25. Ibid., pp. 44-45.

26. Rubinstein, op cit., p. 411.

27. Szymanowski, op cit., p. 34.

28. Ibid, p. 122.

29. In his memoir, Iwaszkiewicz listed them from memory (see Szymanowski, op. cit., pp. 18-19), but his list is only partly correct.

30. A photograph of the title page is included in Szymanowski, op. cit., p. 21. In ancient Greece, the term "ephebos" was generally used for a youth in his late teens; in Athens it was legally an eighteen-year-old.

31. *Der Eigene* (The self-owner) was begun in 1896 as

an anarchist journal, in the direction of the individualist philosophy of Max Stirner; its title reflects the meaning Stirner gave the word *eigen*. It was openly homosexual from 1898 and lasted until 1931. Its authors, many of them boy-lovers, "rejected the mounting influence of doctors and psychiatrists in the gay movement, and argued that love and friendship between older and younger males provided the basis for a higher level of social organization (the *Männerbund*) than was afforded by the purely sexual, private bonds characteristic of that most primitive social unit, the family. Yet their belief in bisexuality was genuine and most of the pederast leaders. . . were married." David Thorstad, "For Friendship and Freedom," *Gayme* (Boston), issue 1:2 (1994), p. 5. According to Thorstad, "The modern man-boy love movement can trace its roots to an article from 1899 [in *Der Eigene*] by the painter and poet Elisar von Kupffer (1872-1942): 'The Ethical-Political Significance of *Lieblingminne*'" (op. cit., p. 6).

32. Szymanowski, op cit., p. 57.

33. Ibid., p. 69.

34. Ibid, pp. 86-87.

35. Ibid., p. 124.

36. Ibid., pp. 125-126.

TIME OF YOUTH, TIME OF BEAUTY

The Poet Jan Hanlo (1912-1969)

Hans Hafkamp

Among the widely known Dutch writers there are only two who were ever imprisoned for illegal relationships with minors.¹ I wrote about the poet Willem de Mérode, who was sentenced in 1924 to eight months in prison for sex with minors, in an earlier article. In this article I shall discuss Jan Hanlo, who stood in the dock in 1962.²

Besides having in common their legal troubles, there are several similarities between de Mérode and Hanlo. The most important of these is undoubtedly that both were deeply religious—de Mérode was Protestant and Hanlo Catholic—and both wrestled throughout their lives with the problem of harmonizing their religious feelings with their sexual preference. The critic Pict Grijs wrote about Hanlo that he “lived his entire life between two millstones. The first is the Roman Catholic faith into which he was born. The second is his homoerotic inclination... He wanted nothing to do with the modernization of the Dutch Roman Catholic church in the 1960s. He was afraid that the Pope would accept homosexuality.”³

The work of the two writers, nevertheless, differs widely, especially the amount that each wrote. De Mérode's *Verzamelde gedichten* (Collected poems) comprises 1400 pages, even excluding known but unpublished minor work. In addition, there are also published works of prose. On the other hand, the *Verzamelde gedichten* of Jan Hanlo comprises only 120 pages and fewer than 100 poems. At the time of his death in 1969, Hanlo had published two collections of prose: *In een gewoon rijtuig* (In an ordinary car-

riage) and *Moelmer*. Hanlo's oeuvre was considerably added to posthumously. *Go to the mosk* was published in 1971, a series of travel letters that he had sent from Morocco shortly before his death. This book was followed a year later by the autobiographical account of his admission to a psychiatric institution, *Zonder geluk valt niemand van het dak* (No one falls from the roof, unless he's lucky). In 1974 a collection of his prose works appeared, *Mijn benul* (My notion).⁴ Then, in 1989, his published work was more than doubled when the more than one-thousand-page two-volume *Brieven* (Letters) were published.⁵ Without the letters his work would comprise fewer than a thousand pages, and it is not surprising that Hanlo often called himself “micro-productive.”

Although descriptions of boys appear in the verse of both, the poetry of the two writers differs in most other respects. De Mérode's poems were in form and content quite traditional, whereas Hanlo frequently experimented with both form and content. Jan Schurgers wrote in his book *Jan Hanlo* regarding *Verzamelde gedichten*:

Anyone who reads even scattered selections... will find it difficult to discover any uniformity within the collection. There are nearly as many kinds of poems as there are poems. Hanlo was not a poet, he was a writer of poems in which every sort of style was employed; each of these styles he brought to a high level of achievement.⁶

Early Career

Johannes Bernardus Maria Raphaël Hanlo was born on 29 May 1912 in Bandung, Java, in the former Dutch East Indies. He was the son of Bernardus Josephus Maria Hanlo (1878-1951) and Anna Lucretia Gerarda Maria Crobach (1886-1958). Soon after his birth he was taken by his mother to The Netherlands, to his grandfather's house in Deurne, a small city in Brabant, a predominantly Roman Catholic province in the south of the country. He grew up separated from his father, and for as long as his mother lived, Hanlo was very attached to her. She was interested in art, had a subscription to the progressive Catholic literary magazine *De Gemeenschap* (Society), and was friendly with the painter Otto van Rees. Two of this painter's canvases adorned Hanlo's home after his mother's death.

During his high school years, Hanlo wrote both poetry and prose that he later thought highly enough of to include in books. In his own Introduction to *In een gewoon rijtuig*, he explained the inclusion of these two school pieces:

When I was 18 and in the fifth class in high school, I wrote *De zee* (The sea) (although it says "ocean" somewhere) and somewhat later *Zomeravond* (Summer evening). I got respectively an 8 and a 7 from Father Gerlachus Royen. Quite honestly, I find them extremely beautiful. In fact, I find them the ultimate as far as my work is concerned. Perhaps that is because through them I can see once again with the eyes of a youth.⁷

For his whole life Hanlo remained interested not only in his own youthful creations, but also in the work of young writers. In 1963, for example, he supported the publication of school works by two youths in the magazine *Barbarber*. He wrote to the editors:

I have here two pieces. They were written at my request, after an incident at their home... The one that I would first use (*Combinatietang*) [Monkey wrench] is an

original story written by the sister and revised by her older brother. He has brought out the history better. But I would like to print directly afterwards the original story as written by the girl because it is pleasantly childlike, and especially at the end is elemental storytelling, having the advantage of stark bluntness. (But the first version, the brother's, gives the reader the plot—the point—better.)⁸

This proposal would have come as no surprise to the editors of the journal. Hadn't Hanlo, for his 1957 independently published essay *Niet ongelijk* (Not uneven), provided a drawing for the dust jacket by the four-year-old Michiel Schierbeek; or later that year for his *Maar en toch* (But nevertheless) a dust jacket designed by 13-year-old Hannie Léautaud? And finally, wasn't his poem "Jossie" in *Verzamelde gedichten* accompanied by a drawing made by the subject, Jos Léautaud?

In March 1935 there appeared in the magazine *De Jazzwereld* (The jazz world) what was possibly Hanlo's prose debut—an article entitled "Harlem in Londen, een onverwachte ontmoeting" (Harlem in London, an unexpected encounter). This article was based on a trip to England that Hanlo made in the fall of the previous year. He wrote his mother very long letters and comments occasionally about the charms that various children exerted on him. On 5 February, for example, he wrote his mother about the family with which he was staying:

There is not too much to note about the children... The oldest brought back an excellent report from school. They are all very intelligent, I believe. Not especially attractive. Only the oldest boy, Adrian... has pretty eyes and a friendly face. I really enjoy seeing him.⁹

In 1936 Hanlo was awarded a teaching certificate in English, and thereafter he may have given lessons in a number of schools in the south of the country, though information about this phase of his life is sketchy. He studied Greek and

Latin with a private teacher; certificates in these subjects were necessary for his entry to University. In 1942 he enrolled in the University of Amsterdam, studying psychology. In these years, Hanlo felt very unhappy, as he recollected in *Zonder geluk*: "Evenings, no sooner did I put the key in the door than I realized how completely unhappy I felt."¹⁰

Hanlo was a striking figure at the university. His fellow-student, Frits Bernard, who made friends with him at the time, sketched a fine portrait.

A striking new person came in, and shuffled around rather nervously and eccentrically, sporting a cane and red beard. He sat down near me in the first row. The beard especially attracted attention. They were not all that common then with students. Hanlo was unusual. He was not only older than the average student but his whole appearance differed from the handful of other psychology students who observed him enter. He often wore white gloves, which none of the rest of us did. They were only worn by students from Leiden who had come to Amsterdam when their university closed. He gave off an air of something undefinable, out of the ordinary. A remarkable man, I thought. We called him Barbarossa (Red-beard).

Hanlo possessed charm. His fragile bearing and particularly the whiteness of his skin were striking. His eyes had a friendly look. People felt like asking him questions. At least I did. Hanlo also had things to ask. So it was no wonder that we quickly became friends.¹¹

Hanlo's stay at the university lasted only until the beginning of 1943, because of the threat of being rounded up by the Germans, although Frits Bernard may have been right when he stated that Hanlo did not finish his studies because he "had sought answers in psychology to his own questions. He sought certainties. But true psychology is a profession which sees things as relative." Hanlo returned to his family home,

but was picked up by the Germans in May and sent to Berlin to work in a factory. He managed to get himself leave from work on health grounds and in September was back in Amsterdam, finding employment with an employment agency. When he was picked up by the Germans for the second time and barely escaped, he decided to go underground.



Figure 1 – Hanlo during the Berlin work stay, 1943

Writing Poetry

In those last years of the war, Hanlo began to write poetry. In 1954 he recalled, in an interview, "One day I was lying in bed with the flu and I thought: 'I'll make a poem. Everybody makes poems.' After all, I was in love, so I wrote "Zo meen ik dat ook jij bent" (I believe that you are that way too) and then it really began—in '43 or '44."¹² A perceptive reader can detect in these early poems clear indications of Hanlo's sexual

preference. Sometimes the indications might have seemed too clear to him because we find him altering lines for publication, as in "je bent" (you are). He replaced the original with something far more neutral:

zoals een lief kind onverwacht
en gaarne mij wel tegenlacht
[whenever a sweet kid unexpectedly
and with pleasure smiles at me];

zoals van wimpers ongedacht
een groet mij wel eens tegenlacht
[like unexpected eyelashes
that greet me with a smile].¹³

In the third stanza, however, the poem is more revelatory:

een veulen in de wei
dat lui ligt op z'n zij
te slapen
een oud paard is niet dikwijls blij
maar voor de veulens is het mei

a colt in the meadow
who lies lazily on his side
sleeping
an old horse is not often happy
but for the colts it is May

In August 1945 Hanlo wrote about this stanza to Albert Jan Govers: "I really cannot bring myself to strike out that badly rhymed bit of horse history from that one little poem. The really hackneyed comparison between a young child and a colt pleases me. It is old, it is elemental. I am the 'old horse' myself, and that a horse is never 'happy,' everyone knows."¹⁴

Hanlo wrote most of his poetry in the years immediately after the war. In one year alone (1946) he wrote 23 poems, and that year was also the first year his poems were published. Hanlo had, from 1945, been teaching a course in business English at the Schroevers Institute, and his English language poem, "Illusions," signed with the pseudonym J. Hanes, was published in the Institute's magazine, *De Koerier* (The mes-

senger).¹⁵ That year he sent a collection of poems to the publisher A.A.M. Stols, but they were rejected. In January 1948, with the publication under his own name of some verses in the established literary magazine *Criterium*, the slow but steady acceptance of Hanlo as a literary figure had begun.

For Hanlo, 1947 was a year of misery. His teaching work at Schroevers, which he viewed with a certain amount of irony,¹⁶ occupied a great deal of his time because he had also taken on the lessons of a colleague who had left for America. He slept very little because he wrote poetry at night. Certain issues preoccupied and troubled him, especially that of free will.¹⁷

He was also drinking and smoking excessively, and he finally had an alcohol-induced psychotic breakdown: his behavior became compulsive, he identified himself with Christ, and he attempted to fly by stepping off his balcony. He was, on 2 May, admitted to the St. Valerius mental clinic in Amsterdam. A few months later he was moved to St. Willibrord in Heiloo and, at the end of 1947 was released. He resumed his teaching at Schroevers.

For information about Hanlo's psychiatric collapse we have to rely almost entirely on the account that he wrote himself, *Zonder geluk valt niemand van het dak*, written around 1949 but never completed, and published posthumously. As it happens, letters from this period are very scarce, and neither of the institutions in which Hanlo stayed would release any information.

Hanlo thought that the development of his psychosis happened in less than a week. Before that, in fact, he had developed a number of symptoms. He obsessively tried consciously to identify each of his thoughts and feelings. He described it as an enslavement. He wrote, "I stopped all spontaneous utterances, like laughing. I think that was the main reason that I drank so much. But even when I was drunk I continuously observed myself, or else I was very detached."¹⁸

Hanlo's alcohol addiction and subsequent psychosis is obviously a multi-faceted phenomenon brought on by a multitude of causes and conflicts. Here I shall risk appearing one-sided by

discussing only the role his attraction to boys played. Luckily we have his own words to go on, and as Schurgers said, Hanlo "needed a little room to say a lot."¹⁹

In the period just before his admission to St. Valerius, and even during his stay, boys provided him with a glimmer of light: "After all there were also nice, pleasant, real things worth remembering, things which I still can recall. Not specific things that made me happy, not one that brought me peace, but *beautiful* things. Eyes, one pair, two pairs, three pairs. A voice. A youthful act. It is because of things like this that people decide to keep on living."²⁰

He was learning that he had to approach people in a freer and less strained manner. He also suffered from anxiety that, at the critical moment, he might not dare to carry through something that he had intended, or as he phrased it, "...the fear of being afraid and therefore hopelessly losing my feeling of self-worth."²¹ This he knew he needed to stop, although in his scheme of things, the necessary personal changes could only be achieved by forcing himself. His fear of not daring to do something, for example, was something he had to overcome by inviting a boy out to the theater:

There was a boy who made a deep impression on me. He was, I think, a busboy in a bar, and later, for a short time, the barman's helper. He was good looking and I was crazy about his dark good looks and the simple harmony of his movements.

The Negro ballet, from Pasuka, was coming to the Stadsschouwburg in a week. I have always seen something special in Blacks and black culture, and was a real admirer of authentic jazz, African music and dance. Therefore, I did not want to miss this performance... so, I was one of the first who bought a ticket. That is I bought two, one also for this boy. But then the task was to get him to accompany me. And, I had to ask him publicly: *honi soit qui mal y pense*. People in that bar had surely noticed what I thought about him. There had been winks as I sat silently drinking my beers.

Two days before the show, I was in the bar and had with me the second ticket and a newspaper review that had just come out. I was drinking Coca-Cola; I had to be sober to dare to ask him. That moment was a mountain: would I dare, or would I ultimately fail. All that week I had prayed the rosary every evening: heaven must help me. And I knew, that last day, that I would risk the attempt. The alternative was the collapse of all hope ever to dare or to be able to do anything ever again. And it worked! In an astonishingly commanding manner, although my heart beat hard. The piece in the paper was shown. The question was asked if he might also want to see it, and the ticket was produced. The Colas were promptly paid for and... away I went. What happened next did not matter. Whether in the end he would come, or whether I would ever see him again, these things were not important, although it was a nice ending to the story when he actually did show up.²²

It had been important for Hanlo to prove to himself that he dared, at times that counted, to carry through with his intentions. But he still had to prove to himself that he could look at people in ordinary contacts. He also used a boy's help to prove he could force himself to do this:

Once a week a boy had an English lesson with me. I had previously given him lessons at home. He was 14 years old and fairly big for his age. He had a pleasant, passive calmness about him which made him completely different from "big people." He had something special about his shoulders; I mean in the contour where one can lay between breast and shoulders. I liked it on Friday mornings when his lesson came. I taught him for half price, that is to say, two lessons for the price of one. He was not a fast learner. In the face of my ever more urgent desire to be open and relaxed with people, I formed a plan. My ever shy attitude (something that had con-

cerned me for years, I don't know how long) became unbearable. I would ask *him* if he would look at me. And *keep* looking at me however I might look. I don't believe that I dared to ask him that at the very next lesson, but then I did ask him. I said to him that I thought that he alone could help me with the difficulty that I had, and although he said not a word, he understood me. He looked, and despite the painful grimaces that my face briefly made, he kept looking at me and I at him. During this our lesson continued. And the next time it went the same way, although it was going noticeably easier for me. I also held his hand for a while across the table, but later—was it the last lesson?—no longer, and I just stroked his thumb as we parted. *Enfin*, through the long, weekly meetings with this pleasant, simple, young face, I learned it. What did I learn? How to be crazy? That too, probably.²³

What initially appeared to be a useful therapy—he was now able to look at others in a normal and open manner—degenerated after some time again into compulsive behavior. Just how compulsive was evident from what he did on the day of his being committed. He had the idea that he had been given a task to perform and that he would arrive where he was needed for this task by flying from his balcony. A sheet of paper would blow before him, indicating the direction of the wind. And so, “I arrived at the edge... The wind kept blowing. There was no choice. I jumped. Not without elegance, perhaps.”²⁴

Through pure chance, Hanlo survived the leap to the ground three stories below without serious injury. He returned to his room. A little while later one of his co-workers at the institute came to get him because there were students waiting for him. Hanlo went with him to the school, but his behavior became so extraordinary that he was taken away by a policeman. “I went along, and spoke to the policeman. What I said I no longer know, but I stared at him—wanted him also to learn to stare. I walked backwards before him along the sidewalk. Occasion-

ally I brushed against an iron lantern post, but it was just as if something guided me steadily along—telepathy by way of the policeman perhaps—and guarded me against a collision.”²⁵

In the period just before his admission, Hanlo had experienced a peculiar kind of lucidity that gave certain incidents a poetic sheen. Often these experiences were connected to boys. Hanlo in those weeks had not felt unhappy, but this would change drastically once he was admitted. The experiences in the clinic were so horrible for the writer that when he came to speak of them he expanded instead on events that had occurred shortly before his admission:

It rained. My father and I strolled along the sidewalk... There was a boy playing on the sidewalk. I looked at him, and although I had certainly not been smiling, he smiled at me. My father and I had previously gone for walks in the city, and we had seen two small boys crossing a busy street. They walked with their arms around each other's shoulder, and in the middle of the street one gave the other a kiss on the cheek. I saw that my Papa had also seen it, and we both averted our eyes, as though we had noticed nothing... But then we walked further... after I had seen the boy who smiled at me and I happened to look at my father and saw that he was crying. Considering it afterwards, it could have been my imagination, but at the time it was striking: the boy smiled and my father cried.²⁶

This experience might have served as the inspiration for the following poem:

A Consideration with a Lyric Element

A lad – among his comrades – laughed;
By chance I saw his laugh.

And this burned not out
Nor was it changed
Why was he so lovely when he laughed
With no one there to see²⁷

The mental state in which Hanlo found himself in these first months of 1947, with a clear eye for the beauty of boys, must have provided him with creative energy. In that year he wrote twelve poems, and I suspect that all of these date from the first four months, namely, from before his admission. That year seems to have been his best for poetry and he wrote, shortly before the full onset of the psychosis, a poem that is one of his most frequently anthologized:

To Archangel

I was walking in the park in spring
 And it smelled of camels
 True there were lots of people
 But still it probably came from
 The water in the ponds
 Camels
 I can't
 Abide
 Your scent
 With camel's hair I'll go fishing
 Amongst the lotuses and rushes
 Without fishing
 Pole or fishhook
 With my angel
 In archangel
 My angel smells of
 Ears of wheat
 Newfallen snow
 And leaves²⁸

When Hanlo was in the Valerius clinic he made periodic attempts to mutilate himself, and also refused to eat. He found the atmosphere in his ward quite terrible, despite finding some of the other patients quite sympathetic. "The best aspect of the ward was one of the roughly eight other patients, a boy in the corner diagonally across from me who lay with his face towards me."²⁹ He goes on to sketch an affectionate portrait of this boy:

He had black close-cropped hair, a round head such as one sees in Roman wall paintings, and black eyes. Sometimes,

when he sat up straight, his sheet hung over a shoulder aslant across his breast, so that he reminded me of a young St. John the Baptist. His name was Johan. Peculiar were the shirts that he wore. Shirts with short sleeves set off with a lace border. I associated this with the way in which I think prostitutes used to dress. It probably made the boy appear much younger than he was. I guessed that he was at most fourteen although I thought he looked twelve. Later I heard someone say that he was seventeen. But I may be mistaken in that. Perhaps he was small and child-like for his age. He had an unforgettable face. A smooth, sallow skin, rather high Slavic cheekbones, a small child-like nose and chin, ears set close to his skull, and rather full cheeks... Johan's eyes, under dark Roman eyebrows, were fascinating. From a distance the dark iris formed with the great black pupil a single entity, a black vertical strip against the white. Lively eyes that always looked back to the entrance (or should I say, the "exit") of the ward, to the left of him, and then back again to me. A mysterious, living black-and-white combination, black as the blackest onyx and white that was whiter than ivory. Secretive eyes from which you could not look away. "Snake eyes," I always thought, by which I did not mean anything wrong, but something strange and attractive, such as the way in which a snake's eyes can move in a stationary head. Later, in H., I wrote a poem about them. Johan's manners were very peaceful. He had to sit once or twice a day with his hand in a bowl, which he did very simply. One rarely or never heard him speak. Sometimes a boyish half-whispered answer to one of the male nurses. For the rest of the day he said nearly nothing, like some of the other patients, although there were also those who were terribly noisy. Only when he had visitors did he speak freely with his father, mother, and brothers. His brothers—they must have been that-kissed

him as though he were holy... on one occasion his little brother held a flat, ring-formed cookie like a cloud above his head—just a split-second. His parents looked very un-Dutch. “A Slavic mine-worker’s family,” I thought when I saw them.

Once I heard his voice loud and clear, and it was something so pure and free that the sound is only now beginning to fade from my memory—alas. He laughed, or shouted something, I no longer know what. Something that was loaded with a living playful urge, unbridled and deep. In any case it was the most beautiful sound to be found on earth, something whole and admirable, something we call “animal” because we come across it so rarely in people.³⁰

Although Hanlo had contacts with other patients—particularly with a boy named Henk—his encounter with Johan was the most important, an importance that he quickly wanted to make known to the object of his affection. “I wanted to show him that he pleased me. This was not intended for him alone, but also—which was hardly possible anyway—and perhaps above all, to the others. I leapt out of my bed and lay down full length on top of him while I put my arms around his head on the pillow. He looked frightened for a moment. I gave him a serious but not unfriendly look. ‘Don’t be afraid,’ he said. As I had intended, I kissed him on the mouth. He smiled. Maybe it was after the kiss that he said not to be afraid.”³¹

Towards the end of *Zonder geluk*, Hanlo wrote, “I would like to say more about the attractive persons, instead of more about the misfortunes that I had to endure there. . . . this unimaginably terrible ‘reality’ which comprised far and away the greatest part of my stay.”³²

After a few more anecdotes, principally about Johan, Hanlo decided to leave the book unfinished. The author Adriaan Morriën, who had much contact with Hanlo in the first years of Hanlo’s literary career and to whom Hanlo at an early stage read aloud fragments from his ac-

count, said in his afterword to *Zonder geluk*, “At that time Hanlo told me that although what he had suffered (in the mental hospital) could never be righted, that there was no sense in publishing the story of his experiences because this would only add to the suffering in the world. This was probably a quick, superficial attitude. He was hiding other, buried conflicting opinions and feelings, even a holy reverence for what he had experienced there, and as well, the fear of calling new evil on himself.”³³ Morriën also thought that it was not by chance that Hanlo’s story ended with the name Johan. “For Jan, the big experience during his illness was his meeting Johan. All the other things were side affairs that he would keep in his memory but perhaps, at the same time, wanted to forget.”³⁴

The final chord of *Zonder geluk* is not only interesting because it gives an indication of the importance that Johan had for him, but also because it shows in a more general way the difficulty that Hanlo was having with his erotic feelings (something upon which I will expand later): “While I sat there staring, Johan rested his round black head on my back, as though a friendly, pretty cat had cuddled against me. I was not prepared for it. My old defence mechanism came into play and I evaded the pleasant contact. Later, another patient said to me—so far as I can tell without any particular motive—but you’re not that way. ‘How,’ I asked. ‘The way you think you are.’ Did they mean that to apply to my reaction to Johan?”³⁵

From a letter that he wrote to his doctors during his stay in Heiloo, it appears that his erotic sensitivity for some students became a subject in his treatment.

Regarding homo-erotic inclinations and theories, I would apply the greatest caution. I doubt as a matter of fact that I went that far over the limit. Genital contact did not occur, and I have always rejected this with great conviction, especially in conversations with a friend who is somewhat the same as I am, but accepts, *theoretically*, a more liberal view.

The only thing that happened was hold-

ing a student's hand, basically because I had a great urge for understanding and friendship, and wanted to discover the same in him. This was a normal contact between a teacher and student. Secondly, I had also once sat in the theater with a boy for whom I had a certain admiration, in order to, as it were, demonstrate... that one did not need to conclude anything bad from it.³⁶

The Years After the Mental Hospital

After Hanlo was released from the institution in 1947, he returned to work at Schroevers and began writing again. During this time, Hanlo came in contact with a number of representatives of the "Vijftigers" (Those from the '50s), the Dutch literary branch of COBRA.³⁷ He contributed to their magazines *Blurb* and *Braak*, and in 1950 his first appearance in book form appeared in the collection *Zes minnaars* (Six lovers). In September of the following year, his first independent publication appeared, *Het vreemde land* (The strange land), a pamphlet with nine poems.³⁸ In December 1951 he was working hard on his first real collection, which was given the bilingual title, *The Varnished—Het geverniste*. The title was based on a quatrain that Hanlo had originally written in English.

I Stock the Varnished

A medal hung around my neck:
it tarnished
And once a child: my memories are
varnished
Varnished eyes varnished breath
I stock the varnished—unto my death³⁹

Before this collection was actually off the press in 1952, the publication of Hanlo's poem "Oote" in the January/February issue of the literary magazine *Roeping* caused a literary uproar that even resulted in its being discussed in parliament.

Oote

Oote oote oote
Boe
Oote oote
Oote oote oote boe
Oe Oe
Oe oe oote oote oote
A
A a a
Oote a a a
Oote oe oe
Oe oe oe
Oe oe oe oe oe
Oe oe oe oe oe
Oe oe oe oe oe oe oe
Oe oe oe etc.
Oote oote oote
Eh eh euh
Euh euh etc.
Oote oote oote boe
etc.
etc. etc.
Hoe boe hoe boe
Hoe boe hoe boe
B boe
Boe oe oe
Oe oe (etc.)
Oe oe oe oe
etc.
Eh eh euh euh euh
Oo-eh oo-eh o-eh eh eh eh
Ah ach ah ach ach ah a a
Oh ohh ohh hh hhh (etc.)
Hhd d d
Hdd
D d d d da
D dda d dda da
D da d da d da d da d da da
da
Da da demband
Demband demband dembrand dembrandt
Dembrandt Dembrandt Dembrandt
Doe d doe d doe dda doe
Da do do do da do do do
Do do da do deu d
Do do do deu deu doe deu deu
Deu deu deu da dd deu

Deu deu deu deu

Kneu kneu kneu kneu ote kneu eur
 Kneu kneu ote kneu eur
 Kneu ote ote ote ote ote
 Ote ote ote
 Ote ote
 Boe
 Oote oote oote boe
 Oote oote boe oote oote oote boe⁴⁰



Figure 2 – Hanlo in Amsterdam with a friend, 1951

Shortly after this poem was published, the magazine *Elseviers Weekblad* dedicated an entire page to it, in which seven supporters and detractors as well as the poet himself commented upon the poem. The most interesting comment from Hanlo was “that I fulfill or exhaust the Dadaists—which amounts to the same thing; my poem is something in between: not words and not music, not a song and not a statement, but mere utterance.”⁴¹ The poet Paul Haimon, who was the first to read the poem publicly, thought there was another meaning to be found: “[I] took ‘Oote’ in hand, read the beginning, saw the instruments of a jazz band in the corner of the hall and associated the daring sound composition

with the music of which Jan was so terribly fond.”⁴²

Whatever may have been the inspiration for the poem, in The Netherlands of the 1950s, which was vigorously pursuing its post-war cultural reconstruction, the poem provoked a lot of discussion. The resistance that the poem aroused was so great that the Dutch parliament dedicated a whole debate to it. After the verse had been recited, the liberal senator Wendelaar declared:

In these times, it is especially artists who have the responsibility to lift us up... It is too bad that there are artists who forget their task and who through their infantile babble make us feel our calamity all the more deeply. Let the State surely withhold any financial support.⁴³

In 1951 Hanlo had already published another experimental poem, this one about the young son of his landlord. The boy to whom the poem is dedicated was born in 1943 and was thus six or seven years old when Hanlo wrote it in the beginning of 1950. Hanlo had taken up residence with the parents of Jos Léautaud in the middle of 1949. Of all the people from whom Hanlo rented rooms during his Amsterdam years, he probably had the most contact with them. He sometimes ate with them and went with them to a café or to church.

Jossie

Jossie dear Jossie. Little Jossie. Nice Jossie.
 Jossie body OK. Face OK. Soul OK,
 think.
 Don't know OK soul Jossie. Ain't seen
 OK soul Jossie.
 Soul Jossie. Nice Jossie is nice soul Jossie
 perhaps.
 Dunno nice soul Jossie. Ain't seen.
 Old Jossie. Dunno old Jossie. Ain't seen
 old Jossie.
 Ain't seen old soul Jossie.
 Old soul Jossie. Young soul Jossie. One
 soul Jossie.
 Or soul change Jossie? Soul becomes

Jossie?
 Me soul me. Me soul young soul Jossie.
 Me soul me? Me soul young soul. Me soul
 old soul.
 Me soul dunno old soul me.

Me soul old soul dunno old soul Jossie.
 Dunno me soul Jossie.
 Me soul young soul. Me soul not nutty
 soul.
 Me soul sometimes soul nutty soul. Joke
 soul.
 Dunno joke soul. Dunno sometimes soul.
 Dunno sometimes soul joke soul.
 Dunno. Sometimes soul joke soul.
 Paper soul.⁴⁴

The poem "Jossie" quickly became one of Hanlo's most popular works and by the end of 1953 it had been published in at least three anthologies.⁴⁵ Hadn't those anthologists noticed anything about the feelings that inspired this poem? Of course, Hanlo was not advertising his paedophile preference during those years. The name Jos is also in Dutch not entirely gender specific. However, "Jossie" is related to another poem he published a year later.

Verse as of 7 June 1951

You mean Josje with the tiny eyes?
 No, with the big eyes.
 You mean Josje with the shrill voice?
 No, with the pretty voice.
 You mean Josje with the hair that smells of
 nothing?
 No, with hair that smells nice.
 You mean Josje that you never think
 about?
 No, that I always think about.
 You mean Josje who doesn't like to note
 down English words?
 No, who does like to.
 But who writes with written letters?
 No, who writes with big printed letters.
 But who always writes the words in a
 sentence separately?
 No, who writes a lot of the words in a

sentence run together.
 You mean Josje who's saving for a boat?
 No, who's saving for a flashlight.
 You mean Josje who doesn't like you at
 all?
 No, I mean Josje who likes to be with
 me.⁴⁶

It appears that Jos Léautaud became one of those boys Hanlo loved the most. Hanlo remained in contact with him when he had grown up and reminisced about their relationship later in the piece run in *De Friese Courrier* on 17 December 1966, "Het stuk serpentine" (The streamer), in which he describes how he unintentionally caused a child's sadness.

The Streamer

Josje had decorated my small box of a room with a length of streamer. Was it purple? Was it brick red? Was it yellow? I haven't known for many years. From one corner of the narrow room to the other, he had stretched it tautly through the air. One single diagonal. I could still walk underneath it. I think that I had to stoop just a bit. After a while, a week or so, I took it down. I thought that it had hung there long enough, I actually thought nothing, I thought that everything had to end in the course of time, must be interrupted, must be broken off. So is life, after all? This is what I thought, more or less. A day or two later Josje saw that the streamer was gone. Did you take it away? Yes, I just took it away, I said. You shouldn't have done that, you should have left that to hang forever, he said. Now, many years later, I know that he was right. That length of streamer was a manifestation of affection that should have been maintained forever; I understand it now, and I am sorry that I took down the paper ribbon. But in my memory it still hangs tautly stretched, yellow or blue or purple, I cannot see it, but I do see very clearly that it is still there.⁴⁷

Near the end of his life, in 1968, Hanlo evoked his relationship with Jos and the reaction of the boy's parents to it, especially his father, in the story "Karel en de vader van Rinus" (Karel and the father of Rinus).⁴⁸ (The complete text of this story follows this article.)

He sometimes feared that his poems would betray his sexual preference, although after his trial in the 1960s (discussed below) he became more emancipated. For example, in 1954 he wrote to his mother regarding the poem "Nieuwe merels" (New blackbirds):⁴⁹ "It is unfortunately a verse that I do not think I can publish. It is too direct. I would perhaps compromise myself. What do you think about it?"⁵⁰ This question, as a matter of fact, causes amazement, posed as it was by a poet who published the poem "Why not" in 1951.⁵¹

Why Not

Why not for once call every lad a prince,
Each man a king?
How are they different

From all those other sweet young princes
Dazzling in Amsterdam
Everywhere dazzling eyes in Amsterdam,

Smilers
Turning one's limbs to liquid?
I hold myself together with my hands.

Hanlo's Paedophilia

The development of Hanlo's views on paedophilia is not difficult to trace, especially since the publication of his letters. In the previously-mentioned letter to his doctor in 1947, Hanlo wrote that he had rejected physical acts "with great conviction, in conversations with a friend who is somewhat the same as I am, but has, *theoretically*, a more liberal view." This friend was Frits Bernard, a psychologist who would later figure prominently in the Dutch debate about paedophilia. Unfortunately, no letters to Bernard from this period have been preserved,

although some insights into Hanlo's ideas about paedophilia in the early '40s can be gained from Bernard's article, "Herinneringen aan Jan Hanlo" (Recollections of Jan Hanlo):

We sometimes spoke about his love for small boys. Hanlo found that unacceptable for a good Catholic... His Catholic teachings were his starting point; the advice of his spiritual directors formed the boundaries within which he intended to preserve himself. Once, when he had just returned from confession, he said, "Everything above the belt is acceptable, everything below is forbidden." He appeared somewhat relieved by this pronouncement. But that did not last long. On another occasion he received from another confessor a less tolerant response. That was perhaps the answer that reassured Hanlo, because it appeared from everything that he could hardly accept his nature... Hanlo was not interested in attempts to add nuances to psychological or judicial insights. For him the case was simple. It was not allowed, it was sinful, it was intolerable. Only platonically, from a distance, was it perhaps allowed.⁵²

In Hanlo's letters from the '40s and '50s, his paedophilia is not discussed. Only at the beginning of the '60s did he become a little more open, such as in letters to the editors of the magazine *Barbarber*.⁵³ Hanlo's most important literary venue in the '60s. But even with the editors J. Bernlef and G. Stigter (writing under the pseudonym K. Schippers) he initially took pains "to say it in a difficult way."⁵⁴ However, he sometimes surprised them with written portraits of boys, which left little to guesswork:

I was in Amsterdam on the Queen's birthday... (and) was walking around the whole evening with an urchin of 9 or 10. A film. We drank cola with a cookie and a croquette in café "De Kroon." Afterwards we went to see the fireworks. Lost him there. Later went to find his father and

mother. They were happy to see the "gentleman." He had been punished. He was a classic type of lower-class city kid. One who by age 6 had the whole city under his thumb. Maybe you have also seen him flitting about somewhere, with a blue paper cape and a white paper French military cap. Absolutely filthy hands. Face, except for slashes of greasepaint, very grubby. The cape and the cap were—according to him—made by his girlfriend—just the same age as him... later he was going to go out with her, but for now he was with this friendly gentleman.⁵⁵



Figure 3 – Hanlo c. 1953

Naturally, Hanlo had already drawn these sorts of portraits in some poems. I do not know why Hanlo became more open about his feelings for children around 1960. It is possible that the publication of Nabokov's *Lolita* and the commotion that followed had an influence. In the beginning of 1961 the book was mentioned in Hanlo's letters to the poet Pierre Kemp: "Did you read *Lolita*? I have it at home in English, but I don't know if I am allowed to read it. I'll ask my most lenient advisor."⁵⁶ Hanlo states his opinion of this book only a few times, such as when he wrote about Petronius' *Satyricon*: "No-

tably, it has one irritating slight imperfection... the same that I find irritating about Nabokov—namely, that reckless, sophomoric, indifferent, quasi-heartlessness in one or another statement the narrator makes about another character."⁵⁷ This criticism was voiced once again several months later: "I read Nabokov (*Lolita*) with pleasure, but he did not especially tempt me to further acquaintance. He is too recklessly conceited for me, I think."⁵⁸

In the beginning of October 1961, mention of his "Verhalen van Kakokof" (Stories by Kakokof) suddenly turns up in his letters. The obvious similarity between the name of Hanlo's protagonist and that of the Russian-American writer was certainly not a coincidence. In the "Verhalen van Kakokof," a fictitious author named Wijnand van der Burcht relates the adventures of his dead friend Kakokof and says that when Kakokof told him his stories he had found them "rather naive and of little importance." He had, however, never forgotten them because they were of some literary value even though K. or Kako, as he comes to call him in the story, "was filled to an abnormal degree with attraction to too-young girls."⁵⁹

Characteristic of Hanlo's opinions about paedophilia is his use of the phrase "to an abnormal degree", which he certainly did not intend to be ironic. Moreover, the double disguise is especially conspicuous: stories of a dead person, drawn by a pseudonymous author. He wrote to Adriaan Morriën after he had offered the piece for publication in *Tirade*: "Yesterday I forgot to say on the telephone that I explicitly want my pseudonym to be kept secret."⁶⁰

Kakokof was strongly attracted to girls with an "unconscious majesty and calm that marks the time just before the loud swagger of ages sixteen, seventeen."⁶¹ He tried to make contact with girls who met this description by speaking to them in buses or in school playgrounds. These attempts were often successful in the stories, but the narrator finds them dubious. In any case, he closes his story with the remark: "How he could tell apart all those stories after all those years... If you did not interrupt, he just kept telling his story. Half-puerile, maniacal, but never lascivi-

ous stories. He invented them, I think."⁶²

When Hanlo submitted these stories to a literary magazine, his own sexual preference, and thereby the possible autobiographical character of the text, weighed heavily in the assessment of them, which does not come as a surprise because of his arrest at that time.

Arrest and Trial

Hanlo was arrested in the middle of June 1962 because he had on the tenth of that month at the Zandvoort auto racetrack, "caressed the breast of a 15-year-old boy with the boy's consent."⁶³ The boy may very well have agreed, but his father filed a complaint with the police. Hanlo was held in pre-trial detention for more than a month (from 19 June to 24 July). In letters explaining his absence, he hid the reason. He wrote to a woman friend from the Haarlem jail, "I will not go into the matters of the case here at all,"⁶⁴ and when he returned home, he wrote to J. Bernlef: "I have been away from V[alken]burg for about a month. I'll tell about it later. Perhaps a little news has reached your ears."⁶⁵

Hanlo's supposition that his secret had gotten out was correct. It was impossible to hide his arrest, detainment, and the resulting trial. Because Hanlo appealed to the Supreme Court, and because its verdict was published in *Nederlandse Jurisprudentie*, we are quite well informed about his case.⁶⁶

The boy appeared as a witness at the trial and testified concerning the events that: "On 10 June 1962 in Zandvoort, first at the racecourse, and later when the defendant sat with the witness in a beach chair, that the defendant unbuttoned the shirt of the witness, and stroked his bare skin on the left breast and nipple and stroked him under the arm, kissed him and called him 'darling'; that the witness found all of this very strange, did not know what he should think of this, and was deeply disturbed by it."

Hanlo confirmed the boy's account, and added: "that the boy... began to cry; that at the time he did all of this he became aware that his actions would arouse tensions in the boy."

Hanlo's lawyer requested a dismissal of the in-

dictment. The question of whether his actions had been lecherous under the law became significant. The Attorney General's remarks about the legal definition is important, and appear at the end, in his summary of the case. They bear quoting in full:

Regarding the meaning of "lecherous contact" and "lechery," as appear in various articles of the *Wetboek van Strafrecht* (Criminal law statutes), the law itself posits no definition. Legal history on the subject of these terms also sheds no light. Among the writers only Pompe gives... a definition, and that is that lecherous contacts are contacts "damaging to the sense of physical shame without reasonable purpose or without reasonable remedy." In my opinion this definition is related to the literal meanings given in the official dictionary where lechery is defined as being "disorderliness, especially in connection with sexual life: lewdness, immorality..." Lecherous actions are, therefore, moral actions which run against order... The concept is broad and does not concern only actions which are purposefully directed toward contact with sex organs... The fingering of the breast of a boy by a man is possibly not by its nature directly in conflict with what is orderly in the moral realm... it is perhaps from its nature not directly damaging to our sense of physical shame... but these actions can certainly take on the character of lecherous actions through the intentions which the perpetrator had. The defendant declared in his statement given in evidence that his actions were "to satisfy his sensual feelings." ...In my opinion this sensuality, the motive in the relationship between a man and a sixteen-year-old boy totally unknown to him and in the actions described in the testimony, the stroking of breast and nipple and underarm, creates an action that goes against what is orderly in the moral realm, and is damaging to our sense of physical shame. The prosecutor can thus in its refu-

tation of the case of the defence rightly speak of "abuse" of the boy by the defendant. The actions clearly were—borne out by the defendant's own reports that he had called the boy "darling" and had kissed him—the prelude to the awakening of more and stronger sensual feelings, feelings in the sexual realm. It therefore appears to me that the defendant, as is apparent from the evidence and especially from his testimony, tried to tempt the boy; that the defendant, when he stroked the boy under his clothing on and around his breast, committed indecent and lecherous actions, and that his actions were therefore lecherous according to its legal use.

[T]he prosecution, in rejecting the defence's claim that the defendant had no lecherous intentions, used the term "erotic feelings."... As to what these words "erotic feelings" mean in this connection, it is in my opinion that the prosecution is not using the term in the sense attached to it by modern psychology, in which the erotic and the sexual are connected with each other, but in the usual meaning of spoken language, which according to the dictionary is "connected with sexual love."⁶⁷

The Supreme Court eventually upheld the earlier verdict in which Hanlo was sentenced to two months' prison, of which one month was on probation. Since Hanlo had already served one month, he did not have to return to prison.

With respect to the reasoning expressed during the trial, Hanlo noted in a letter to Carola Kloos:

I am of the opinion that one must clearly separate the sexual (that is, that which has to do with reproduction) from the erotic. Every caress is erotic. A father or mother who cuddles his or her children is erotic. A kiss that is exchanged with pleasure is erotic. But it is absurd to call this all sexual, and thus lecherous whenever it does not occur between adults of the opposite sex... but it is certainly wrong to call every af-

fectionate/admiring touch sexual, lascivious, and lecherous. I should perhaps have first spoken out about this during the trial. My lawyer was a little vague, which was too bad, because I am someone who values precision.⁶⁸

Hanlo had made the acquaintance of Carola Kloos because she had asked him to translate a number of epigrams from the *Anthologia Palatina*, and Hanlo chose, among others, epigrams from the twelfth book, which are homo-erotic. From Strato he translated, for example, the epigram XII 219, which had significance in his own life.

Schoolmasters—Gods!—do you want
paying, too?

Ungrateful louts! For why? You've got
young boys

To gaze at, chat with, kiss when they meet
you.

It's better than gold coins to have such
joys.

Whoever's got sweet lads—send them to
me

For kissing, and I'll do it for them
free.⁶⁹

He also wrote to Kloos, perhaps in a fit of ambivalence, "I want to ask you seriously if you think that a principled Christian person (which I want to be) simply must keep away from that 12th book... Tell me then honestly if you personally think that these translations can be allowed from a moral, pedagogical standpoint... I obviously am not asking for a judgment about paedophilia—of which so many kinds exist. I have never been convinced that 'noble paedophile' could not exist."⁷⁰

This was only the beginning of a written discussion between them about paedophilia. He wrote further, "I reject sexual paederasty. Whether or not a noble form of flirting is possible, such as I surmise that Plato practiced (I mean, flirting that could be moral) I am not sure. I am not yet convinced that it cannot."⁷¹

Hanlo certainly seems to have felt the need

during this period of his life to exchange thoughts about paedophilia. He did not only question this in his letters to Kloos, but he also sought contact with the author of the brochure *Over pedofilie* (About paedophilia), Victor Servatius. He was not, as a matter of fact, aware that the person behind this pseudonym was his friend from his student days, Frits Bernard, because he would certainly have addressed him more familiarly:

My Dear Sir,

I recently read your brochure "Over pedofilie" and would like to write to you as a result of this booklet and as a result of a personal problem. The problem is not complex; subtle perhaps... I will not bother you with a long letter. It would be a great pleasure to make your acquaintance.

Quite possibly, my poems (in my collection: *V. Oorschot*) are known to you, from which it will be apparent that the subject is very close to my heart.

I would gladly have a note from you.

With the most sincere greetings,

J. Hanlo.⁷²

Although Hanlo was one of the very few who responded to his brochure, Bernard did not answer him. "After all, who knew better than I Hanlo's personal problem? Did I have to tell him how terribly small, how lonesome the world of the paedophile was? I kept silent, because I was afraid that Hanlo had not yet completely taken the step towards emancipation, even if it looked as if he had."⁷³

Hanlo continued to discuss paedophilia and the distinctions discussed in his verdict. He expanded on his own view in letters to Carola Kloos:

Normally sexuality is connected with reproduction... Sexuality is "magnetically" directed at the sex organs—possibly indirectly... Sexuality is only normal if it is *hetero-sexual*: a key belongs in a keyhole, so that is how the beast is made. The *abnormal* can perhaps be understood and per-

missible in specific instances; it still remains abnormal. The erotic is not always abnormal when it is not hetero-"sexual" (hetero-*erotic* is better here). Among young children, homo-erotic contacts are completely normal. And also between children and adults, normal homo-erotic contacts *can* and do exist. If a father gives his small son 10, 20 kisses when he comes home from school, that is utterly normal... but: homo-erotic."⁷⁴

Hanlo also argued that there definitely is a border between permissible intimacy and indecency, but that this border is not clear cut. After more philosophical generalities about sexuality, he arrived at the issue which occupied him most, the permissibility of a man caressing a boy:

It seems to me very wrong to want to call every caress sexual... If a boy, on account of his age and his immaturity and through a sort of strange, beautiful curiosity or that lack of self-consciousness peculiar to youth, shows a certain attraction to an adult man, that is *not* abnormal, because it is a characteristic of his age and almost certainly will come to an end. (Not all boys have it in the same degree). So, if it is not abnormal for the boy to have an adult partner, then it is also not abnormal for the adult, because he is the chosen partner for the normal inclination of the boy.

These things must certainly be kept light in tone, but should they become somewhat less "light in tone," that is still not, in my opinion, lechery.

What lechery is, is when these things become deliberately sexual: thus whenever *general admiration*, that also includes the spiritual, is restricted to the sexually erotic. To be permissible, the erotic (in this case thus the homo-erotic) must be kept at a distance; we must keep in mind the need to maintain some distance with respect to the use of the sex organs.⁷⁵

What is, of course, noteworthy here is that Hanlo was not at all interested in discussing the legal aspects of paedophilia, but was grappling rather with its moral dimension, which he hoped to clarify through a discussion of the "normal" and "abnormal." Hanlo's thoughts about sexuality were more and more determined by his Roman Catholic convictions, but he also allowed himself to be influenced by certain current theories about homosexuality, as is clear from the following extracts from two of his letters:

You ask questions. About the permissibility of certain things. I do not know the answer. For example, homosexuality (not homo-eroticism). The Bible does not in fact say much about it so far as I know, but somewhere there is certainly a very definite pronouncement. In the Old Testament, I don't know where, there is something like this: the sleeping of a man with another man as if he is a woman, is in God's eyes an *abomination*... It is an art to interpret biblical words (to interpret them well!). But the intention certainly appears to me to be clear. When is a man a "man", or a woman a "woman"? Why should the physical form be the determinant of the basic nature more than a possible spiritual sexual inclination?... one must certainly be careful about calling a man—who is physically completely a man—"a woman." The female characteristics in that man could be temporary and thus changeable. It appears that there are men with female sex cells... The Catholic theologians are getting some understanding of this. I was myself conservatively raised, and I shall not easily waver further.⁷⁶

It is clear from his last sentence that Hanlo found homosexuality unacceptable. To get around this in his personal life, not only did he distinguish between the sexual and the erotic, but he also distinguished paedophiles from homosexuals. In a letter dated December 1966 he stated this very clearly:

I believe that homosexuality is not permissible, except perhaps in the case of men who are completely, in their inner selves, female. I don't think that when that is the case the body has to come before the inner nature. Paederasts and paedophiles are, in my opinion, not homo- but *hetero*-sexuals ... The law (the judges) do not really believe in this distinction; but the typical... *citizen* does. Women (mothers) are often quite sympathetic regarding paedophilia, although they do not accept the sexual aspect.⁷⁷

Hanlo wrestled not only in his writing with what is acceptable in paedophile relationships, but also in his daily life. At the same time that he was corresponding with Carola Kloos, he also exchanged letters with a boy, Ronald Dietz. The first letter to Ronald was dated 14 May 1962 and was a reaction to a fan-letter from the 15-year-old student. A lively correspondence quickly developed; they began to meet. In these letters, Hanlo certainly made no allusions to his erotic preference. At the time of the trial, he did not inform Dietz of the exact details. He did ask him for sympathy, but cloaked the request in obscurities: "The day after tomorrow I will receive the verdict in that matter—about which I shall one day tell you further. It is all a bit complicated, you might call it a traffic infraction; at least if it is judged an infraction, and that is the question. You have been very sympathetic... It will come out all right. It has always come out all right."⁷⁸

On the basis of this sort of cryptic remarks Ronald could not have guessed what sort of charges there were against Hanlo. It was only after a year-and-a-half that Hanlo promised to clarify the matter for the boy. As Dietz later recalled,

Between the 8th and 13th of August, Jan Hanlo and I were together. I was staying in his cottage in Valkenburg. Jan Hanlo told me at the time very clearly the problems he was having with his erotic feelings. He gave me a detailed story which he had al-

ways kept out of his letters. I was very surprised because I had only a faint idea of these "problems."... We agreed to leave for Paris... and when we arrived, Jan ignored several red stop lights, which was not so serious. What scared me was his request to kiss me once. He asked it softly and humbly, in the Paris hotel room, after he had prayed in front of the bed on his knees to the Creator. But I got scared. Then, after I rather roughly and firmly refused, there was something wrong between us. I wanted to return to The Netherlands the following day.⁷⁹

This incident appears to confirm Frits Bernard's doubt as to whether or not Hanlo's letter to him was an effort at emancipation. However, Hanlo did begin to make an effort towards a sort of coming out, not only by discussing the matter more openly in letters, but also in his published work. In a review in the popular *Elseviers Weekblad* of two books by Astère Michel Dhondt with paedophile themes, he wrote for example: "If Astère Michel Dhondt knows something of my own small oeuvre, he knows that I am on his side."⁸⁰

Not only was he increasingly open about his paedophilia, but in the late 1960s his ideas about sexuality in general also began to shift. For example, he wrote to Carola Kloos in October 1967: "I still believe there is a distinction between the erotic and the sexual, but I also increasingly think that homosexuality is more permissible than I had previously thought."⁸¹ In the same letter he also mentioned the forthcoming publication in the magazine, *Podium*, of his article, "Waar of niet waar" (True or not true). In this article it seems as if his doubts about accepting the views regarding homosexuality arose not so much from skepticism but from a conservative viewpoint.⁸²

In this article, Hanlo also contested the opinion that a paedophile contact was *always* damaging to the child:

The children also have their own moral opinions. (They do!) They will really not

do or allow to be done to them everything that is proposed to them. They distinguish between that which—according to their own feelings, their instincts—is *allowed* because it is nice, or at least has something really pleasant about it, and that which they—tactfully and politely—decline because it is not entirely pleasant (the really pleasant, the amusing, the "innocent," that which is not incompatible with their practical and still paradisiacal world). Children are for the most part not afraid of going "too far," but they use somewhat different (and perhaps more fitting, fresher, unfrustrated) means than adults.⁸³



Figure 4 – Hanlo, c. 1965

To get along well with children, a paedophile really must adapt himself, and that is, according to Hanlo, not always simple:

The best restraint for paedophile adults is: to become one with the children. Not: to consider them as a desirable object, but to be taken into their circle. In that way the adult would find it unjust, that is, immoral, to do things that are not usual among children (I am not talking about psychopaths). True? Yes, it could be true, but one

does not easily become "one of them," perhaps for a few hours, yes, but to remain so?⁸⁴

A much greater stumbling block, to which Hanlo does not draw our attention in this article, but which he knew from experience, is that society does not see an adult as "one of them." On the contrary, not only do people consider these contacts wrong, but they have even been made punishable.

Towards the end of 1968 Hanlo had another run-in with the law, although precisely what happened is unknown as an official report was not made public. What we do know is that Hanlo had invited a boy to his house, and that this boy filed a complaint. As a result Hanlo was ordered to leave his residence for a year.⁸⁵ He went to stay with friends, but in February 1969 he travelled first to Spain and then to Morocco. There he was to meet, quite by chance, the twelve-year-old Mohamed, the great love of his life. The story is told in the book *Go to the mosk*, which many think to be his best work.

Go to the mosk comprises a series of travel letters written between 4 March 1969 and the beginning of May 1969. The tone is set from the very first. Hanlo lovingly describes several boys playing together.⁸⁶ He goes on to talk about his experiences with Moroccan street boys. Accompanied by two boys, he wanted to visit a garden: "The two 'oldest' brought me to a quiet place where there was a tiled pool with turtles, obviously not so much to show me the turtles as to make jokes and do 'fak-fak.' I said that I found them sweet but had no plans to do fuck-fuck."⁸⁷

In a letter home dated 16 March he first mentions Mohamed, who would dominate the rest of his life. He describes him in loving detail:

He has a sweet face, upon which sorrow and longing also dwell and all kinds of life experiences I'm not familiar with. He told me with hanging head and graceful indolence that he had no parents; there was grief written on his usually cheerful, friendly, wise face.

His clothing is the prettiest thing about him, because it reveals so much of his beautiful dark brown body, and because it is what clothing must be, namely completely subordinate to the body. A torn pair of blue jeans. But it can still be worn. On top, a rudimentary pullover underneath which a longish white (well, once) shirt, that flaps above his pants. His friends kid him sometimes about these tatters, although perhaps they are actually jealous of his beautiful broad, dark chest that the shirt and pullover reveal. He does not allow these rags to hinder him, and successfully defends himself with limber, courageous judo chops of his own invention. The boys fight with pleasure among themselves, but this is really only—at least, as much as I have observed—shadow play. The question of honor, which in The Netherlands so often turns such horseplay into bloody seriousness, does not seem to occur here too often. He is so sturdy that he is a match for them, although the flesh beneath the veneer of his dark brown skin looks too soft to armor him properly. He says so himself. If I say that I believe that he is strong, he says, "Not very." His teeth are an immaculate white and stand separated from one another. He is not so terribly special; I have certainly seen more beautiful boys or girls, sometimes even unforgettably beautiful, but I shall certainly not forget him, Mohamed.⁸⁸

And, as Hanlo continues: "Although I find his tattered clothing perfectly beautiful—it having taken on an indefinably alluring hue—I understood that his clothes were a source of pain to him: he had to walk around in them, and his friends therefore had something about which they could tease him. I knew beforehand what I would do: that I would spoil a piece of Morocco and that I would also spoil his appearance a bit for myself, but I did it anyway: I offered to buy him a new pullover."⁸⁹

Hanlo invested in a complete new set of clothes, and was rewarded with a kiss on both cheeks. Two days later, Hanlo and Mohamed and two other boys visited a Turkish bath, which Hanlo describes in a letter dated 17 March:

The boys went into a fairly large shower cubicle (in which there were 2 tubs of cold water, for the eyes, as Moroccans are less accustomed to soap in their eyes than we are). There was a shower. Lovely. But the boys (including the smallest, with an unusually fine, lovely bottom) did not wash themselves, and waited only for the fak-fak pleasure. That was for me a bit too dicey. I did see, however, that all three were unusually pretty. My Black, twelve-year-old boy Mohamed won the crown. He was "Africa" in its (her) full, rugged mystery. I kissed him. I really think that he loves me a little. I also kissed the older boy too. Before the smallest was led by the others to a separate bath cubicle. I let them go because I do not know what is and is not allowed here. They have to lead me. Certainly everyone was pleased by the end. I left the shower cubicle first, and signalled to the two young beauties: just do with each other what can be done here and what you wish to do. (But they wanted me, and I am 56! Now, ask yourself, are these angels sweet-hearts, or are these sweet-hearts angels?)⁹⁰

When Hanlo sent this letter to the editors of *Barbarber* the following day, he wrote in a covering letter: "I can only leave Mohamed with difficulty; he now calls me Papa. I wish I could just bring him back to Holland (for a couple of months, for example). Although I do not know, of course, if I would be doing him a service to take him away from the sun and from his life here."⁹¹ After a visit to Mohamed's house, a change in his plans to take Mohamed to Holland occurs:

He (M) sleeps rarely at home. He sleeps in the medina (the inner city). Where? On the ground, or—mostly—with men. He is a complete sex maniac. A fak-fak maniac. Of course he's become this because he hasn't any parents, and through circumstances here—where this is not in fact thought to be so terrible. When he is doing "fak-fak," he is already longing for the next time. While with one man (woman also?) he is thinking already about the next. He is completely crazy about bodies and fak-fak. And still he is a delightful child of 12, with the delightful breath and beauty of a child. And completely with all the mannerisms typical of his age. . . . In short: he is a terrific sweetheart, despite everything...

But how can you help such a person? He simply *will* not leave the medina... In any case, it appears to me impossible to introduce him to you, if perhaps you have taken my proposal seriously. He would fak-fak *all of you* on a conveyer belt, all the while thinking about what's in the next street in Valkenburg.⁹²

Had Hanlo kept to these thoughts he would have prevented a lot of trouble and disappointment. Initially he found it quite difficult to deal with Mohamed's promiscuous behavior, and his ambivalence about the boy grew when it appeared that he had, with probability if not certainty, stolen from him. On 30 March he reported to the recipients of his travel letters that the love had cooled considerably:

And anyway, always having to have the thought that when you kiss him (and get those wonderful, passionate kisses from him) that for the first quarter of an hour you are busy kissing off the layers of saliva from lovers of the previous night (Moroccan and white), doesn't attract me so much in the long run (N.B. "me", the hygiene scruple!). It is true that whenever his mouth becomes very wet it begins to smell of wonderful flowers. The flowers of the

flesh of a 12-year-old (perhaps even somewhat younger) child."⁹³

Hanlo is ambivalent, but he also seems to be giving in to the boy. In the same letter he also describes the following incident:

On the way to church, the first or second day that he had those torn jeans on, in a quiet side street, his cock fell out through the irreparable breach. "Take it," he said. I fondled it for a moment. A few steps later, again, "take it." It was then standing stiff out of his pants, as hard as a Moroccan smoked sausage. I gave him a hard squeeze, which pleased him; he laughed. Anyway, in the long run you will say: what can you really do with such a cock, it is really simply nonsense, and such a stubborn circumcised sausage. But Mohamed does not find it nonsense.⁹⁴

In the beginning of April Hanlo began to think again about taking Mohamed to The Netherlands for a while. He wrote to his publisher Van Oorschot:

I have enclosed a photo of the boy whom I find so sweet and beautiful, but who is found sweet and beautiful by too many to make it really possible for me to get along in that ever-changing array... Will you have him as a boarder for a month?...

I do not know if I will be able to get a passport for him, but I would like to try. I will fly him home immediately if he gets homesick. Such a one as he is not to be taken from the nest for longer than a few weeks, I think... He would like it very much. He wants everything. Much more than I!⁹⁵

Although Hanlo showed in this letter again that he was aware of the dangers of his plans, he went ahead anyway. He met Mohamed's parents, who were most assuredly still alive, and were not opposed to the plan. He consulted the Moroccan authorities about the necessary

formalities and continued to ask his friends in The Netherlands for a place to stay for his young guest. This seemed to cause the most problems, because on 9 May he observed with disappointment: "no one in Holland (I have written to various people) want him as a paying guest. I will have to fix something up all by myself."⁹⁶ A few days before, namely on 5 May, he had once again put down his thoughts about the whole undertaking:

Yes, it might be difficult to completely control this puma, this lynx (with his actor's tricks), this strong beautiful twelve-year-old addled asocial animal destructive biting tormenting hating, middle African of Haussa origin (or whatever he is), so that our "éducatif et touristique" trip to Holland does not become for me, and him, an agony. I hope that some things will change in our understanding. Quite a few.⁹⁷

Precisely a week after Hanlo confided these laments to paper, the official documents were signed⁹⁸ and five days later Hanlo and Mohamed stepped into the airplane. In a letter dated 30 April, Hanlo had written: "My letters are coming to their end. For the recipients a continuation will appear (I hope!) in due course: *Young Friday with Robinson in the Western World*."⁹⁹

Unfortunately, this sequel never appeared. For the events that followed, we have to rely on several different eye-witness accounts. Before they left for Hanlo's very small cottage in Valkenburg, they stayed first in Belgium with a number of acquaintances of Hanlo, one of whom was the poet Marcel Wauters. On 22 May they finally arrived at Hanlo's home. During this time it appeared that the painful fears Hanlo had formed in Morocco were all too true. A niece of Hanlo's recounted Mohamed's visit to The Netherlands: "Jan wanted so much for Mohamed to be accepted by our family, but, no, that really could not happen. That boy was half wild. He came here once to play, but he wrecked everything in just a short time."¹⁰⁰ After less than a week had passed Mohamed was

put back on the plane. Hanlo's neighbor, the writer Corrie Hafkamp, remembered the event: "He had brought a boy back from Morocco, Mohamed. Mohamed showered at our house, and watched television, learned to ride a bicycle, and played with our boys. Of course this lad could not stay in Jan's gatehouse. That was only just large enough for Jan who lived there in his own peculiar way. The boy did not fit in there. But the way in which the boy was taken away by the police was unnecessary and inhuman. I still feel guilty about that. Because I stood by when he was taken away and I thought that it was wise to stay out of it. But it was not. It was expediency."¹⁰¹



Figure 5 – Hanlo with Mohammed, Morocco 1965

Hanlo himself described the events in a letter to Marcel Wauters dated 31 May. They had

lodged with him during their first week in Belgium.

[I] cannot describe my experiences with Mohamed in full detail. A volume would be necessary for that. In Zepperen at the boarding school he was *very good*, considering the circumstances, but unfortunately they could not keep him there because the school is not equipped to deal with such unusual cases.

After telephoning a police official, I took him to my place in Valkenburg. The officer advised me strongly to keep him in Belgium, which advice I very much wish I had taken.

After barely a week in Valkenburg he has now been taken away by the police and has been (or is being) sent today by plane back to Morocco. Actually, I had forgotten to ask for a visa in Morocco. I was not aware of the need for a visa (residence permit in The Netherlands), because there is no requirement for one to go to Morocco.

Too bad. He's such a good boy. I cannot bear to hand him back to that life there in Marrakech. I must try a second time to get him back to Belgium or The Netherlands. In Marrakech he will fall apart physically and mentally.

My "prior history" (1 month arrest in 1962 because of briefly stroking the breast of a fifteen-year-old boy, actually the only sentencing that I have received) obviously played a role with that narrow-mindedly legal official who decided this...

For Mohammed, a visit back to his home town is perhaps not too dissatisfying. He has now had a strong taste of the western world and can now make his own comparisons. If I suggest to him that he come with me a second time, he will know more what he is doing. It is also possible that a quick return to his mother is good. He is actually still so small (born in 1957, thus 11–or maybe 12–years old)...

Yes, Mohamed has definitely had a crash

course in meeting the world of "les rouges," and your first reception of him, and me, made that very simple and easy.

But the Pilates of the Dutch police and prosecution (may I be so sharp—of course not) have momentarily given a twist to this situation. It really will turn out all right. But what a difficult kid, that Mohamed! It was actually beyond my strength to love him as a son and at the same time to guide and punish him as if he were a pesky, naughty boy. But I always saw that "mythical" mysterious element in his psyche: that longing for the complete good, the complete, *distant* good. And anyway I did not disdain his rascallious pubertal recklessness; only—how difficult it was to endure. *Enfin*, you have also been around him, you know about it!¹⁰²

This is the last known letter from Hanlo. On 14 June, his other love, motorcycling, proved fatal. While passing a car in very bad weather, he collided with a tractor which was making a left turn without signalling. Hanlo was actually accustomed to riding recklessly. He had once written about it to someone, "Whoever minimizes the danger will die from it."¹⁰³ Less than a year before his death, he had also written, "I even realize that motorcycling in The Netherlands is a very risky business... The highway is a history of bones."¹⁰⁴ Two days after the accident, on Monday 16 June, he died in a hospital in Maastricht.

Less than two weeks later, riots broke out in the Stonewall Inn in New York, which ultimately would change the entire perception of homosexuality. Gert Hekma was of the opinion that there was a "kind of justice" in the fact that

"the homosexual revolution and the chaste, paedophile poet missed each other by a hair."¹⁰⁵ Perhaps he is right. In any case, political slogans for a number of years won out over the kind of lofty, innocent beauty that Hanlo glorified in his last poem, written in October 1968:

About Children

every child smells burnt
burned sterile
every child is made of marble
it moves
before whom shall we kneel
only before god¹⁰⁶

Editor's Note:

Hans Hafkamp is the editor of the following books: Naar vriendschap zulk een mateloos verlangen, an anthology of Dutch homosexual poetry 1880-1980 (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1979-1980); Hoeveel vrienden heb ik gevonden, a collection of new Dutch gay fiction (Amsterdam: De Woelrat, 1987); and together with Maurice van Lieshout, De Leeslijst, a bibliography of homosexuality (Amsterdam: De Woelrat, 1986), and Pijlen van naamloze liefde, a collection of biographical essays about pioneers of gay emancipation (Amsterdam: SUA, 1988). He is a member of the Editorial Board of Paidika. His article on the poet de Mérode appeared in Paidika 1:1 (Summer 1987) pp. 42-56. We would like to thank Hanlo's publisher, Van Oorschot, for permission to publish the story, "Karel and the Father of Rinus."

Translated from the Dutch by Joel Crauford.

***Tabula, 1987 (cf. *Paidika* 1, p.53, note 6; p.55, note 18)**

NOTES

1. Between 1911 and 1971 the age of consent for homosexual contacts in The Netherlands was 21 years. It was then reduced to 16, the same as for heterosexual contacts. Recently a law was passed allowing non-interference under certain circumstances in sexual relationships between adults and minors between the ages of 12 and 16. For a discussion of the early age-of-consent laws, see: Hans Hafkamp, "The Life of a Christian Boy-Lover: The Poet Willem de Mérode," in *Paidika* 1:1 (Summer 1987), pp. 42-56; for a discussion of the recent changes in the age-of-consent law see: Jan Schuijjer, "The Netherlands Changes its Age of Consent Law," *Paidika* 3:1 (Spring 1993), pp. 13-17.
2. The title for this article was borrowed from Hanlo's poem "Wij komen ter wereld" in *Verzamelde gedichten* (Collected poems), pp. 26-28. The title phrase appears on p. 27.
3. Piet Grijs, "Het flesje van Hanlo's taalgenie" (The little bottle of Hanlo's genius for language) in *De Volkskrant*, 3 March 1989.
4. In the preparation of this article, I have used the following editions of Hanlo's works:
Verzamelde gedichten, expanded edition. (Amsterdam: G.A. van Oorschot, 1974, 3rd edition [1st edition 1958]).
In een gewoon rijtuig (In an ordinary carriage) (Amsterdam: G.A. van Oorschot, 1978, 2nd edition [1st edition 1966]).
Moelmer (Amsterdam: Querido, 1967). Included in *Mijn benul* from the third printing, q.v.
Go to the mosk (Amsterdam: G.A. van Oorschot, 1975, 2nd edition [1st edition 1971]) Note that the title was in English in the original.
Zonder geluk valt niemand van het dak (No one falls from the roof, unless he's lucky) (Amsterdam: G.A. van Oorschot, 4th edition, 1989 [1st edition 1972]).
Mijn benul (My notion) (Amsterdam: G.A. van Oorschot, [1974]).
A bibliography of the complete oeuvre of Jan Hanlo, including published books and articles in newspapers and magazines as well as a wide selection from the secondary literature, has been assembled by Hans Renders and published in *Bzzlletin* 12:116 (May 1984), pp. 106-120. ******
5. Jan Hanlo, *Brieven* (Letters) (Amsterdam: G.A. Oorschot, 1989), 2 volumes. Additional correspondence addressed to Colla Bemelmans during the years 1961-1963 was published in *Raster* 47 (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1989), pp. 16-32.
6. Jan M.G. Schurgers, *Jan Hanlo* (Valkenburg: Het Land van Valkenburg, [no date]), p. 23.

[1972]

7. *In een gewoon rijtuig*, p. 7.; the score 7 or 8 would be on a scale of 10.
8. Letter of 31 January 1963 to J. Bernlef, *Brieven* II, pp. 28-29. Regarding the two young writers, he further reported: "They are both intelligent. The girl especially gets very high marks at school (9's for languages, 10 for history). She is very good looking and still child-like. It is lucky that Nabokov is not a neighbor."
9. Letter to L.A.M. Crobach-Fenseling and A. Hanlo-Crobach of 5 February 1936, *Brieven* I, p. 41.
10. *Zonder geluk valt niemand van het dak*, p. 17.
11. Frits Bernard, "Herinneringen aan Jan Hanlo" (Remembrances of Jan Hanlo), in *Maatstaf* 37:7 (July 1989), pp. 2-6.
12. Adriaan Morriën, "Gesprek met Jan Hanlo in mei 1954," included in *Mijn benul*, originally published in *Tirade* 2:14 (May 1958), pp. 49-58.
13. The first version was given to Albert Jan Govers as a transcription made by Hanlo in 1944. See: Albert Jan Govers, "Ontmoetingen met Jan Hanlo 1943-1953" (Meetings with Jan Hanlo) in *Bzzlletin* 12:116, pp. 36-47, in which the relevant transcript is reproduced on p. 43. **[1984]***
14. Letter of 15 August 1945 to A.J. Govers, *Brieven* I, p. 105.
15. Reproduced from the original publication in *Bzzlletin* 12:116, p. 6; a Dutch version of the poem was published in *Verzamelde gedichten*, p. 24.
16. *Verzamelde gedichten*, p. 50. I Am the English Master // I'm in the stuffy class-room / And I'm the teacher there / But now the seats are empty / Like nests made by a mare // Sometimes-I think-I'm doing / Not quite so very bad / All Masters after all are / Just a trifle mad // I teach-so it will happen- / More than I know myself / The dictionary helps me / Two volumes on the shelf // I am the English Master / - Which proves this poem best- / I spice my lessons sometimes / With condescending jest // I am quite a nightmare / Not frightful-only sad / I am the English Master / And only slightly mad
17. *Zonder geluk valt niemand van het dak*, pp. 14-15. "I could keep myself busy for hours thinking over something, attempting to put things into words. Lichtenberg said, 'Philosophizing is expression,' and I agreed. What I most wanted to do was to express what seemed to me the most inexpressible." Hanlo wrestled his whole life with the problem of free will, as is apparent from his correspondence with various clergymen. Regarding Hanlo's rather relentless penchant for intellectual exploration, Frits Bernard noted, "Hanlo had difficulty studying. His predilection for detail made it impossible for him to be content with the broad picture. Every lecture yielded insoluble prob-

lems. He was stuck on the first page of the introductory textbook on psychology and asked me if I had understood it. He would not read further until he understood what he had read. He did not realize that he would understand as soon as he could grasp the whole."

18. *Zonder geluk valt niemand van het dak*, p. 17.

19. Schurgers, op. cit., p. 36.

20. *Zonder geluk valt niemand van het dak*, p. 11.

21. Ibid., p. 37.

22. Ibid., p. 38-39.

23. Ibid., p. 46-47.

24. Ibid., p. 78.

25. Ibid., p. 83.

26. Ibid., p. 53.

27. *Verzamelde gedichten*, p. 53.

28. The poem was translated by James S. Holmes in: *Dutch Interior: Postwar Poetry of the Netherlands and Flanders*. Edited by James S. Holmes and William Jay Smith. With an Introduction by Cees Buddingh. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), p. 91.

For an interpretation of the poem see: Rob Schouten and Peter de Boer, "De geschiedenis van een geur. Over het gedicht 'Archangel' van Jan Hanlo," (The History of a smell. About the poem "Archangel" by

[1984] Jan Hanlo) in *Bzzlletin* 12:116, pp. 91-95. One possible interpretation of the poem is, of course, to see it in the light of Hanlo's attraction to boys. Regarding this, a remark of Hanlo to the poet G. Stigter about one of that poet's poems is relevant. Hanlo wrote, "Now I think that I, perhaps through circumstance, perhaps by development—it is a little difficult to say—see more than others in, for example, the freckled boy in your poem." To G. Stigter, 7 July 1961, *Brieven* I, pp. 513-514.

29. *Zonder geluk valt niemand van het dak*, p. 97.

30. Ibid., pp. 97-100. Hanlo apparently found this portrait so successful that he had published it by 1966, with a few small variations, in his collection *In een gewoon rijtuig*, pp. 13-14, under the title "Fragment."

31. *Zonder geluk valt niemand van het dak*, p. 104.

32. Ibid., p. 109.

33. Ibid., p. 122.

34. Ibid., p. 124.

35. Ibid., pp. 116-117.

36. Copied from a portion of a letter to his doctors, 1947, *Brieven* I, pp. 116-117.

37. COBRA, an acronym from COpenhagen, BRussels and AmsterdAm, is the name of an art movement founded in Paris in 1948 by an international group of painters and writers. The most important of these are Asger Jorn, Dotremont, Karel Appel, Pierre Alechinsky, Corneille, and Constant. The movement was

founded in reaction to the theoretic estheticism of the Surrealists. The participants searched for a spontaneous, experimental way of painting, which has some similarities with Abstract Expressionism. Writers in both The Netherlands and Belgium made important contributions to the movement.

38. Jan Hanlo, *Het vreemde land* (The strange land) (Kerkrade: O.J.C. van Loo, 1951).

39. *In een gewoon rijtuig*, p. 216. The secondary Dutch version was published in *Verzamelde gedichten*, p. 66.

40. *Verzamelde gedichten*, p. 79-80. Although the American-Dutch translator James S. Holmes described this poem as "his untranslatable nonsense-syllable poem 'Oote boe' (Oh taboo!)" (*Dutch Interior*, p. 284), Hanlo himself said "that it does not need a translation in any language" (*In een gewoon rijtuig*, p. 25). In a letter he further pointed out "I would not care if the Americans said Oote as oet or oeti and ote as oot, deu as djoe, or Hoe boe as hobo." (To S. Vinkenoog, 26 March 1952, *Brieven* I, p. 198).

41. *In een gewoon rijtuig*, p. 25.

42. Cited in: Aldert Waldrecht, "Het oer-typoscript van 'Oote'", in *Bzzlletin* 12:116, p. 80-87.

43. Proceedings of the Senate, 37th session, 22 April 1952, cited in *Brieven* I, p. 720.

44. I cite here the translation of Ethel Portnoy which includes a number of changes by Hanlo, included in a letter of 27 February 1952 to Simon Vinkenoog (*Brieven* I, p. 195-196). In a letter on 26 March 1952 to Vinkenoog, he wrote: "I find her translation of 'Jossie' beyond criticism, and I don't know of anyone I would sooner trust with a translation." (*Brieven* I, p. 198). A reproduction of Portnoy's translation such as was published in the poetry pamphlet *Oote* (1954) can be found in *Bzzlletin* 12:116, p. 8. The Dutch original is to be found in *Verzamelde gedichten*, p. 73, opposite which is reproduced a childish drawing made by the subject of the poem.

45. In the anthologies *Atonaal* (1951), *Stroomgebied* (1953), and *Nieuwe griffels schone leien* (1953). **1954**

46. Translated by James S. Holmes. *Dutch Interior*, p. 93; Dutch original: *Verzamelde gedichten*, p. 87. "Josje" and "Jossie" are the Dutch diminutive form of Jos.

47. *Mijn benul*, p. 33.

48. Ibid., p. 218-222.

49. "New blackbirds" // for A.M. // There was a man / who at every stanza / that he heard from / the blackbird / said / darling darling / and there came again / new blackbirds blackbirds / And with every boy / that he saw on a / bicycle or walking / he thought / and said / beauty beauty / And that man / is myself *Verzamelde gedichten*, p. 90.

50. To A. Hanlo-Crobach. Sunday evening (1954).

*c.1968

Brieven I, p. 243.

51. Translated by Anthony Reid. To be published in the second volume of *The Eternal Flame: A World Anthology of Homosexual Verse (2000 BC - 2000 AD)*, edited by Anthony Reid. In my article about Willem De Mérode, I wrote that this voluminous anthology would be published in 1988. Up to the present, only the first volume has been published, in 1990.

52. See note 11.

53. "Barbarber liberated itself from poetic metaphor. . . because that lengthens the gulf between reality and language. 'Barbarberism' works within the existing daily space. . . . 'Reality' also plays an important role within the *Barbarber* poetics. The reality must be shown in an objective manner: what is written is what is written. . . . Not to alter reality. . . but to look at reality in another way, a 'révolution du regard,' that stands at the forefront of the neo-realism of *Barbarber*. The light-footed humor leaves no room for artistic nihilism, but does admit games and riddles. . . . The element of play, the methods of chance, and the usefulness of trash—these are the Dadaistic aspects of *Barbarber*-texts." (Siem Bakker, *Literaire tijdschriften. Van 1885 tot heden* (Literary magazines from 1885 to the present), (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1985), pp. 376-377.) Compare in this regard Hanlo's previously cited "Het stuk serpentine," published in *Barbarber*.

54. See the letter to G. Stijter, 7 July 1961, cited in note 31.

55. Letter to J. Bernlef, 11 May 1962, *Brieven I*, p. 578-579.

56. Letter to P. Kemp, 17 January 1961, *Brieven I*, p. 473.

57. Letter to J. Bernlef, 10 March 1961, *Brieven I*, p. 480.

58. Letter to J. Bernlef, 25 August 1961, *Brieven I*, p. 529.

59. The *Verhalen van Kakokof* were originally published in *Randstad* 5 (1963), pp. 119-132, and later collected in *In een gewoon rijtuig*, pp. 117-131.

60. Letter to A. Morriën, 5 October 1961, *Brieven I*, p. 540.

61. *In een gewoon rijtuig*, p. 118.

62. Ibid., p. 131. Hanlo would not honor the request to publish this story under his own name. However, he lifted the veil in a bio-bibliographical notation at the end of the journal that concludes as follows: "I want to report, reluctantly, that I am the author—Jan Hanlo." (Sent to S. Vinkenoo, 27 March 1963, *Brieven II*, p. 67.) Hanlo was apparently quite charmed by the author Wijnand van der Burcht and his character Kakokof; he used them both twice more: in the short stories *Kako* 2 (originally published in *Tirade* 9:97, and

later collected in *In een gewoon rijtuig*, pp. 219-228) and *De boodschap* (*Kako* 3) (published in *Roeping* 19:3*, and collected in *In een gewoon rijtuig*, pp. 239-243). In the second Kakokof story he happened to do what the *Randstad* editors had requested in the first story: "The many arrows of Eros which had found him an easy prey. . . to all those young girls, now to his amazement caused him to be smitten by a young boy."

63. This description is given by Hanlo in *Go to the mask*, p. 30.

64. Letter to M. Pinckers-Verdaasdonk, 8 July 1962, *Brieven I*, p. 603.

65. Letter to J. Bernlef, 27 July 1962, *Brieven I*, p. 604.

66. The verdict was followed by a commentary by W.P.J. Pompe which appeared in *Nederlandse Jurisprudentie* 1964:108, pp. 234-238. This text was photographically reprinted by Boudewijn Büch in his article "Bibliopolis 1" in *Maatstaf* 35:2 (February 1987), pp. 66-67. It was finally reprinted in its entirety in *Brieven I*, pp. 740-748.

67. The beginning of this citation makes it apparent that the verdict set a precedent because it is one of the few cases in Dutch jurisprudence in which any definition of "lechery" has been attempted, and not because, as Gert Hekma remarks in his article "Jan Hanlo (1912-1969)" [*Homologie* 11:4 (July/August 1989), p. 39,], it established an "overly broad interpretation of the word 'lecherous'." As a matter of fact this was one of the reasons that Hanlo appealed the first verdict, as is apparent from a letter to J. Bernlef: "I would like once and for all to get a precise statement about the definition of lechery. . . . I do not wish to be tried according to some opinion of a Haarlem court, but according to the Dutch law." (Letter to J. Bernlef, 19 September 1962, *Brieven I*, p. 632.)

68. Letter to C. Kloos, 16 January 1963, *Brieven II*, p. 15.

69. Translated by Anthony Reid. Manuscript.

70. Letter to C. Kloos, 18 October 1962, *Brieven I*, p. 653.

71. Letter to C. Kloos, November 1962, *Brieven I*, p. 663.

72. Letter to Victor Servatius, 14 September 1962, *Brieven I*, p. 626. This letter was cited in part by Frits Bernard in his article "The Dutch Paedophile Emancipation Movement" in *Paidika* 1:2 (Autumn 1987), pp. 35-45. This was followed by the publication of a translation of the brochure to which Hanlo responded: *On Paedophilia: A Center for Paedophiles?—The Meaning of Paedophilia*, in *Paidika* 1:2 (Autumn 1987), pp. 46-48.

73. See note 11.

74. Letter to C. Kloos, 22 March 1963, *Brieven II*, p. 24.

[1965]

75. Ibid., pp. 24–25.
76. Letter to C. Kloos, 22 March 1963, *Brieven II*, pp. 65–66.
77. Letter to P.J. den Ottolander, 19 December 1966, *Brieven II*, p. 457. Hanlo did not further explain why paedophilia should be considered to be heterosexual. For a recent, similar attitude see: Edward Brongersma, *Loving Boys*, Vol. 1. (Amsterdam/New York: Global Academic Publishers, 1986), p. 74. Compare also Hanlo's letter to T.M.F. Steen, October 1967, *Brieven II*, p. 490. "Yes, boys and girls. . . . I am not that familiar with girls. A girl begins where her skin begins, a boy doesn't. He begins before that (one could say "astrally"). A boy is not where he is. A girl is. But this also depends on a subjective judgement." In short, Hanlo had very gender-specific interests.
78. Letter to R. Dietz, 18 January 1963, *Brieven II*, p. 19.
79. R. Dietz to the editors of Hanlo's letters, 29 May 1984, cited in the notes of *Brieven II*, p. 629.
80. *Mijn benul*, p. 169.
81. Letter to C. Kloos, 16 October 1967, *Brieven II*, pp. 487–488.
82. *Mijn Benul*, p. 169.
83. Ibid., p. 169.
84. Ibid., p. 170.
85. More information about these events is to be found in the notes of *Brieven II*, pp. 642–643.
86. *Go to the mosk*, p. 12.
87. Ibid., pp. 14–15.
88. Ibid., pp. 20–21.
89. Ibid., p. 21.
90. Ibid., pp. 28–29.
91. Letter to the editors of *Barbarber*, 18 March 1969, *Brieven II*, p. 602.
92. *Go to the mosk*, pp. 33–34.
93. Ibid., p. 36.
94. Ibid., p. 39.
95. Letter to G.A. van Oorschot, 11 April 1969, *Brieven II*, p. 606.
96. Letter to E. and G. Stigter, 9 May 1969, *Brieven II*, p. 616.
97. *Go to the mosk*, p. 86.
98. Printed in *Brieven II*, pp. 618–619.
99. *Go to the mosk*, p. 86.
100. Cited in Aldert Waldrecht, "Rondom de dood van Jan Hanlo," (Concerning the death of Jan Hanlo) in *Bzzilletin* 12:116 (May 1984), pp. 30–33.
101. Cited in Schurgers, op. cit. (see note 6), p. 45.
102. Letter to M. Wauters, 31 May 1969, *Brieven II*, pp. 620–621.
103. Letter to J. Bernlef, 6 November 1961, *Brieven I*, p. 544.
104. Letter to C. Kloos, 26 June 1968, *Brieven II*, p. 535.
105. Hekma, op. cit. (see note 67).
106. *Verzamelde gedichten*, p. 126.

KAREL AND THE FATHER OF RINUS

Jan Hanlo

Karel had left that house. Why he had left, had nothing to do with it. He was comfortable there, at that old address, and he stayed there a long time, because you know how much he loved little boys. He also loved little girls, but they had to be really young, otherwise they did not feel any connection with him, and he didn't with them. The younger they were, the better they understood him and he them. At least, so it appeared to him, and after all you live according to such beliefs. Men interested him the least. The mother of that boy was completely free of jealousy and frustration; she did not begrudge him his relationship with her son. Now, if you have the mother in hand, then you have a lot in such circumstances. Of course, first you must have the child, but then the mother. The father, in fact, leaves such matters to his wife's discretion. However, if he should object, then that is definite, although that does not happen very often. Men are mostly hen-pecked and let the wife run the children. The father of Rinus (that was the name of the boy) was clearly hen-pecked. He had a tendency to go out and drink, but he really wanted to stop because of all the trouble it caused. His wife worked hard and earned her own money and she was the only one who knew how to keep her husband in tow and even reduce his dependence on drink by various, sometimes devious, sometimes forceful means such as ultimatums: lock the door, threaten to leave home with the children, put some sort of anti-alcohol pills in his food. Even when Karel moved out, Rinus went to visit him every Wednesday in his new rented room, usually alone, but sometimes with a friend. Karel gave him Meccano sets, Donald Ducks, bottles

of Hero soda, and pastries, and Rinus played there with his new toys. Sometimes Karel would kiss him, and such. Now Rinus's father had at last found out about them. He had always been suspicious, and had in the past stormed into Karel's room, when Rinus crept into a corner behind the bed just in time and Karel threw his jacket over him—Rinus was nowhere to be seen. And Rinus had been allowing Karel to carry him down the stairs on his shoulders so that Rinus's father would hear just one tread on the stairs and if they were caught they could always claim that they were only playing a pleasant game of horseback ride. But now Rinus's father was finally certain, because he came looking for Karel. Karel offered him a chair and the father got right down to discussing the situation—Karel had something going with Rinus. This is never a pleasant moment for a paedophile, when the father of his young friend broaches such a subject, so Karel braced himself, with a certain resignation but also a certain optimism which was part of his character. After all, this was one of the few topics that truly interested him. Obviously, the father had come to cook his goose, but the results were not at all clear. Karel also had a precious arrow in his quiver, by which I mean a mitigating circumstance. He had a sensitive conscience, what an Englishman might call "scruples," and recently he had told Rinus's mother everything because he was not entirely comfortable with the fact that Rinus kept coming back to see him and might be experiencing mental distress—as was so often claimed. Karel had waited for her at her work and had confessed everything to her right there in the street. The boy's mother actually seemed relieved. She gave

a dismissive wave of the hand. "What do you mean?" she asked while Karel was going on about Rinus's pants. "That you *love* that child? Oh, now..." She wanted to know if Karel was physically healthy, which fortunately was the case. "Well then..." She had nothing further to say about this matter. And Rinus kept coming on Wednesdays. And so, knowing nothing of Karel's confession to his wife, Rinus's father had come to visit Karel. He said something like this to Karel: "I saw an angel standing behind him, and then I knew that Rinus was in danger from you," or he said something like that. He claimed he had gotten it out of Rinus. But Karel played his trump card and told him that Rinus's mother knew everything. There comes now a point in the story that is a bit difficult to describe, subtle as it is, but which is really the reason that I have related all this in the first place. I need to explain first that Karel, ten years earlier, had become a little crazy. For about six months he was quite psychotic, and that had started with experiencing feelings of freedom, that is, liberation from those very psychological problems that had been so burdensome. He had also won out over his heavy drinking, and had even stopped smoking. He was, in fact, elatedly happy and thankful; he could hardly believe how well-behaved he was acting. He knew that Rinus's father had also been battling against alcoholism, and at the moment was sober. Karel thought to himself that, Christ, Rinus's father was possessed. And he said to him, with the intention of warning him about unfounded feelings of excessive religiosity, "I've been through that same stage after giving up drinking and smoking. I felt like such a *good* person, so liberated. Of course, I quickly learned that even when one is truly religious one shouldn't give much weight to such feelings or visions." (That angel, you know.) Or perhaps I'm not telling this story accurately, but could it have been that Karel felt so virtuous and elated because he had experienced liberation in another area, and that he suspected that Rinus's father felt that way because he was freed from alcohol—that really doesn't matter very much. But

Rinus's father wasn't crackers at all, I have no idea why he brought that angel into his discussion about his son. Perhaps he thought—and he could have been right—that it would have more of an effect on Karel, who thought about angels and such. Karel also warned him—quite sincerely he thought, "It's really wonderful that you've been able to stop drinking, it's something to be really thankful and happy about. But you really have to keep your feet on the ground." The shoe was on the other foot now, Karel's trump card, you know, and that the father was now the candidate for a psychiatric institute, and Karel was the only friend who, with such heart-felt words, was trying to keep him from further psychiatric adventures. Luckily for Karel and everyone concerned, the conversation did not go any further than that. Rinus kept coming back to see Karel, and indeed kept it up until he found himself a girl, married and had little Rinuses. What ended up tipping the balance in Karel's favor was something quite different; it was the fact that the father was a real Amsterdammer (the mother was not). Say what you will about Amsterdammers, and maybe rightly so, one thing is certain and that is that they have a sense of humor. Long afterwards during a party for one of his daughters and after he had downed a few the father said to Karel, "You thought, that time that I came to see you, that I had gone crackers." And one could see that inwardly he didn't really know how to deal with the humorous aspects of that situation. Karel understood all this immediately, so he laughed, and quickly changed the subject.

It is comical, but what I suddenly can't laugh about anymore is that Rinus's father had found out about him and Karel by beating the truth out of the boy. When he had seen that angel. He furiously beat him. That is how it really was. Too bad for the story. There it goes. It collapses. But, maybe it was not all that bad, because Rinus and his father still manage to get along fine together. Somewhere the thin shadow of the Phoenix of humor must take flight. For a father's anger and a son's sorrow will pass.

BOOK NOTES

Compiled by Frits Bernard, Joel Crawford, Joseph Geraci, and Will Ogrinc.

Books

Abu Nuwas. *O Tribe that Loves Boys: The Poetry of Abu Nuwas.* Translated by Hakim Bey. Amsterdam-Utrecht: Entimos Press-Abu Nuwas Society, 1993.

A welcome addition to the growing body of research about boy-love in Islam, with very readable adaptations of boy love poems, some quite erotic, and a reliable, scholarly essay about the poet. Illustrated with photographs by Lehnert and Landrock of Arab boys c. 1915.

Aldrich, Robert. *The Seduction of the Mediterranean: Writing, Art, and Homosexual Fantasy.* London-New York: Routledge, 1993.

An interesting historical-biographical study of various "homosexual" personalities who travelled to, or settled in, the Mediterranean region in pursuit of more freedom of desire. Much of the discussion is about boy-love desire and social attitudes. Unfortunately has many mistakes and inaccuracies in its details.

Bahnen, Peter (et al.). *Homosexualität und Wissenschaft II.* Berlin: Rosa Winkel Verlag, 1992.

Contains essays about Gustav Wyneken and paedagogical eros, and also about paedophilia and boy love.

Bender, Hans. *Bruderherz.* Munich: Carl Hansen, 1987.

Short stories about relationships, including sexual ones, between boys in a boarding school.

Braudeau, Michel. *Le Livre de John.* Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1992.

A beautiful fifteen year-old-boy goes to live with his mother's best friend. The man falls in love with him.

Caignet, Michel (ed.) *Palaestre.* Paris: Les Dioscures, 1994.

New French bi-monthly scholarly journal about boy love, although some of the articles are not properly documented. The first issue contains several articles by and about Hans Blüher and the Der Eigene group. A worth-while addition.

Davies, Terence. *Hallelujah Now.* London: Faber, 1992.

Novel. A Catholic youth in Liverpool and his first sexual experiences and SM fantasies.

Drakulic, Slavica. *Marble Skin.* London: Hutchinson, 1993.

Novel about incest between mother and daughter.

Dunde, Siegfried Rudolf (ed.). *Handbuch Sexualität.* Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag, 1992.

Has positive sections on paedophilia and child sexuality.

Eberle, Paul and Shirley. *The Abuse of Innocence: The McMartin Pre-school Trial.* Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1993.

Excellent, critical study.

Eyben, Emiel. *Restless Youth in Ancient Rome.* London: Routledge, 1993.

Examination of the Roman perceptions of youth as regards law, education, the military, love. According to the author, the Roman youth's most characteristic feature was *ferocitas*, i.e. "hot-headedness".

Foreman, Martin. *A Sense of Loss.* London: Gay Men's Press, 1993.

Short stories. The title story is about Tadzio (the boy in Mann's *Death in Venice*) and relates his version of the encounter with Von Aschenbach.

Gamble, Peter. *The More We Are Together: Memoirs of a Wayward Life.* Stamford (England): Paul Watkins Press, 1993.

Frank, well-written autobiography of a boy-lover. Some of the book is quite funny, and some descriptions of various relationships with boys quite touching and thoughtful. The author, who worked as a teacher in various boarding schools and as a minister, is a pacifist and conscientious objector, and there is a certain moral sense that comes through the story that is convincing and leaves one pondering. The main flaw of the book is that it is too long (459 pages) and the last third is not as interesting as the rest. Still, all said, it is an uncommonly good book.

Geiser, Christoph. *Wunschangst.*

Stories. "Initiation" describes a young boy's first sexual encounter. [Hamburg: **Männerschwarm-Skript, 1993**]

Giebel, Marion. *Sappho.* Utrecht: Kwadraat, 1993.

This study compares Greek Sapphic eros and boy-love.

Glück, Scholten, Strötges. *Heisse Eisen in der Sexualerziehung.* Deutscher Studien Verlag, 1993. Progressive child sex education book.

Golden, Mark. *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.

Important study, though not specifically on sexual themes.

Goldschmidt, Georges-Arthur. *Een tuin in Duitsland.* Trans. by Rosalie Siblesz. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1990.

Dutch translation of the French novel *Un jardin en Allemagne* (1986). A ten-year-old German boy is obsessed with nakedness. He is sent to a French boarding school at the outset of World War II.

Heller, Erdmute & Hassouna Mosbahi. *Hinter den Schleiern des Islam.*

Thesis of this study is that Islam is less prudish about sex than is often said, and examines the

Islamic tradition of "inspiring the senses," including through love of boys. [München: **C.H. Beck, 1993**]

Higham, C. *Howard Hughes: The Secret Life.* London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1993.

Claims that when Hughes was a boy he had a sexual relationship with his uncle, although Higham is a popular biographer and not always reliable.

Janssen, Rosalind M. and Jac J. *Growing up in Ancient Egypt.* London: Rubicon Press, 1990.

History-of-childhood book, scholarly and important.

Jourdan, Eric. *Das Brot der Liebe.* [Hamburg: **Kellner, 1993**]
German translation of the French novel, *Charité* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1991), not yet available in English. A man is simultaneously in love with a woman and a boy.

Kilmer, M. *Greek Erotica.* London: Duckworth, 1993.

Erotic art of the Red Figure period, some of which depicts men and boys.

Kristof, Agota. *Le Grand Cahier.* Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1986.

———. *La Preuve.* Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1988.

———. *Le Troisième Mensonge.* Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1991.

The three volumes also appear in Dutch, translated by Henne van der Kooy.

———. *Het dikke schrift.* Amsterdam: Van Genneep, 1986.

———. *Het bewijs.* Amsterdam: Van Genneep, 1988.

———. *De derde leugen.* Amsterdam: Van Genneep, 1992.

Novel trilogy. The young twins Claus and Lucas try to adapt to a hostile world. They write about their experiences in a large notebook, including a paedophile encounter with a soldier. In the second volume there is a loving relationship with a young boy. The books are exceptionally well written, and powerful evocations of childhood, youth, and boys' feelings and emotional lives.

Lautmann, Rüdiger. *Die Lust am Kind.* Hamburg: Ingrid Klein Verlag, 1994.

New study with some quite positive results.

Lawrence, T. E. *The Diary of T.E. Lawrence, 1911.* London: Garnet, 1993.

Diaries containing some references to boys and love of boys. Also adds letters not in other editions. Illustrated with photographs by Lawrence. This is, in fact, the fifth edition, though this is not stated. A limited edition of 203 copies was published by Corvinus Press in 1937. Doubleday published its own limited edition of 56 copies in the same year. It was reprinted in trade editions in England and in the U.S. with additions in *Oriental Assembly* edited by A.W. Lawrence. A facsimile of this last was published in 1991 in 500 copies by the Imperial War Museum, London, which also reproduces five original photographs from 1911 not in the new version (plus more than a hundred from World War I not elsewhere reproduced); it is still available (1 January 1994) from the museum.

Leyland, Winston (ed.) *Gay Roots: An Anthology of Gay History, Sex, Politics and Culture.* San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1993.

Reprints some boy-love works, including Frits Bernard's *Costa Brava*.

Lucian. *Lucianus. Liefde, vriendschap en laster.* Trans. by *Heim L. van Dolen. Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, 1993.

Dutch translation of the *Erotes*, *Toxaris*, and *Apophras*. (see Schedler, below).

Lysias. *Redevoeringen.* Translation and Introduction by Jeroen A. E. Bons. Groningen: Historische Uitgeverij, 1993.

Dutch translation. One of Lysias's orations concerns the jealousy between two boy lovers over a slave boy.

Marceau, Willy. *Frédéric ou l'amour inachevé.* Paris: Éditions de la Mouette, 1993.

Boy love novella.

*Hein (cf. p.66)

Meier, Beat. *Paedophilie und Kindersexualität. 100 Fragen und Antworten.* Preface by Frits Bernard. Unter-Boezberg, Switzerland: Sexuelle Randgruppen, 1991.

Pragmatic but overly simplistic book by one of the founders of the Swiss paedophile groups.

Moix, Terenci. *Garras de Astracan.*

Spanish novel about a philosophy professor who falls in love with his best friend's young son.

[Barcelona: Planeta, 1991]

Montherlant, Henri de.

Several recent works have been published in France that re-examine the life and writings of this French writer who wrote one of the greatest of the boy-love classics, *Les Garçons*. These include:

—**Sipriot, Pierre.** *Montherlant sans masque: Biographie 1895-1972.* Paris: Laffont, 1993.

—**Saint Robert, Philippe de.** *Montherlant ou la relève du soir.* Paris: Belles Lettres, 1992.

A recent review of Montherlant's work in the *Times Literary Supplement* (6 October 1993) by Patrick McCarthy made note of the fact that Montherlant was in the habit of picking up young boys in movie theaters and parks. He was arrested in Marseilles for sex with minors. Here are some surprising extracts from that review: "*Les Garçons* may be read as an apology for pederasty as well as the tale of Montherlant's life. . . it depicts love between young males both as burning sexuality and selfless purity. Such love incarnates the innocence of childhood and freedom from the power of politics. . . Father Pradts (an "atheist" priest and teacher at the school where the novel is located) is converted on his deathbed to the realization that his life has been spent loving boys. . . *Les Garçons* is one of the great novels of this century. . . Montherlant is not read as much as he deserves. . . but, there seems to be no reason why sublimated pederasty should not make a comeback." Indeed!

Müller, Claudia. *Kindheit und Jugend in der griechischen Frühzeit. Eine Studie zur pädagogischen Bedeutung von Riten und Kultur.* 1990.

Discusses briefly the importance of boy love in ancient Greek culture.

[Frankfurt-am-Main: Taschenbuch]

Parker, Canaan *The Color of Trees*. Boston: Alyson, 1992.

Novel. A young black teenager from Harlem attends a posh New England boarding school and discovers his homosexual desire. It is graphically and convincingly written, and is a cut above most books of the year. Recommended.

Pasolini, Pier Paolo. *Petrolio*. Turin: Einaudi, 1992.

Posthumous novel reconstructed from fragments after Pasolini's death, with his usual theme of street boy pick-ups.

Pears, Tim. *In Place of Fallen Leaves*. London: Hamilton, 1993.

Novel: a shy aristocratic man has a relationship with a thirteen-year-old girl.

Peper, Rascha. *Rico's vleugels*. Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 1993.

During the absence of his wife a man falls in love with a fourteen-year-old boy.

Piñera, Virgilio. *Kleine Manöver*. 1991. 1990

German translation of a boy-love novel by a "paedophile" Cuban writer of some importance, who died in 1979. [Frankfurt-am-Main: Suhrkamp; translation by Wilfred Böhringer]

Plutarch. *Plutarchus. Huwelijck: Moraal en Praktijk*. Translation and Introduction by Hein L. van Dolen. Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak & Van Genneep, 1993.

New Dutch translation containing a seldom-published dialogue on boy-love.

Raphael, Lev. *Winter Eyes: A Novel about Secrets*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

A boy is kept in semi-isolation by his parents but is befriended by his uncle. After his parents' divorce he goes to live with this uncle and falls in love with another boy.

Robbins, Peter. *Ruined Boys*. London: Trouser Press, 1993.

Popular novel about a homosexual teenage boy.

Rolfe, Frederick. *The Desire and Pursuit of the Whole*. Edited and Introduction by Andrew Eburne. London: Quartet Books, 1993.

This is the first complete edition of this famous boy-love work.

Saintogne, Pierre de. *Livre d'Or des Textes Pédophiles: Des Origines à nos Jours. Tôme II*. Paris: Société Corydon, 1993.

See *Paidika* 3:1 (Winter 1993), p. 69.

Schedler, P. *Das Hohelied der Freundschaft: Ein Vergleich zwischen Lukians Toxaris und Pseudo-Lukians Erotes*. Zürich: Zart und Heftig, 1992.

Study of Lucian's texts on friendship and eros.

Schwarzenbach, Annemarie. *Freunde um Bernhard*.

Affecting novel about a small boy.

Takacs, J. *Transgenerational Homosexual Practices and Male Domination in Papua New Guinea*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam/ACCESS, 1993.

Tibul. *Tibullus. Elegieën*. Trans. John Nagelkerken. Baarn: Ambo, 1994.

New Dutch translation from the Latin. Includes boy-love verse. (There has been a rash of recent Dutch translations of Greek and Latin authors that have contained boy-love material!)

Torren, Merik van der. *Zoete zoenen*. Amsterdam: Stichting Rode Emma, 1992.

Boy-love poetry.

Vaughan, Paul. *Something in Linoleum: A Thirties Education*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994.

Autobiographical account of an American boy sent to an English boarding school and the author's reflections on sexuality in the school. Rather well written. Mostly, he treats the sexual goings-on with humor rather than approbation.

Vogel, Wolf. *Staatsgewalt Gegen Kinder*. Privately printed, np, (1993).

Argues against some of the false accusations in the press and government about abduction of children, incidence of child abuse, etc.

Winkler, Josef. *Friedhof der bitteren Orangen*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1990.

Novel about an Austrian paedophile living as a writer in Sicily, Naples, and Rome. He is obsessed with street boys and reflects on the attitudes towards children he encountered during his life.

Articles and Stories

Bartholomae, Joachim. "Dieser nebelhafte Knabe, mein Freund. Erotische Motive in schwuler Literatur." *Literatuzzi* 13/14 (1993), pp. 6-12.

Filter, Cornelia. "Falsche Kinderfreunde." *Emma* Sept/Oct (1993).

A long and very negative German article about the current paedophile "lobby," including criticisms of *Paidika*. Mentioned here as it clearly summarizes a negative feminist position.

Gommers, Leon. "Het slavenkoor van Folkestone." *De Revisor* 5 (1993), pp. 2-8.

Short story. A young sailor reflects on the behavior of his captain, who, it seems, is always accompanied by two young boys.

"Jugendsexualität wird kriminalisiert." Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sexualforschung. *Sexualmedizin*, 21. Jahrgang, Nr. 6. Wiesbaden 1992.

The most comprehensive discussion we have seen about proposed changes in the German age-of-consent and child-sexuality laws.

"Sexualität und Kinder." *ZEGG extra Sonderheft*. (1992), pp. 1-39.

Wagner, Wolfgang. "Pädophile, Kinderschänder und Gelegenheitstäter: schwule Pädophile und die Sachliteratur zum sexuellen Missbrauch." *Literatuzzi* 13/14 (1993), pp. 26-28.

Rediscoveries

Dilke, Christopher. *The Rotten Apple*. London: Macdonald, 1968.

English-boarding-school genre novel that handles the theme of homosexuality amongst the boys with wit, frankness, and sympathy. The plot revolves around two pairs of boys. One pair is caught in bed together; the other pair are involved with girls. The "homosexual" pair are treated in a rather more enlightened way. One of the "heterosexual" boys complains to his Headmaster, "As you know, sir, the main topic of conversation in a House is homosexuality. There are references to it in almost everything that's said. Quite a lot of the boys go in for actual homosexual experiences, and even when they're discovered nothing's done about it and it's all hushed up. Yet if two of us have a more or less innocent meeting with some girls, we seem to be regarded as criminals." (p. 50)

Fowkes, Aubrey. *The Star Brooch*. London: The Fortune Press, 1969.

English-boarding-school genre novel that is remarkably positive about sex. The narrator is a fourteen-year-old English boy who has been living in Germany and comes back to spend a year at Repton (one of the top English boarding schools). This was Fowkes' last published work, and he seems to have allowed himself more positive, forthright attitudes here than in his other books. The final chapter sees the hero in Germany and ends with his sexual experiences encounter with two German boys, one his age and the other younger. The book is also unusually well written and deserves to be reprinted.

Orton, Joe. *The Orton Diaries*. Edited by John Lahr. London: Methuen, 1986.

The overtly paedophile content of these diaries, by one of England's most important twentieth-century playwrights, has been overlooked by reviewers and critics. Yet, throughout the book, especially from the Morocco sections onwards, Orton's attraction to young boys aged ten to fifteen, (and sometimes even to three-year-olds), are graphically described. Some of the most

erotic passages in the book have to do with young boys, as in the following:

How incredible it is, I thought later as I watched him take a shower, to really see a nude fifteen-year old. That small waist, sudden jutting of the bum; it wasn't just sex, it was an aesthetic experience. Sitting in the bath, he looked as if he were on canvas by a French impressionist—some painter of the stature of Renoir. There was a faint blush of hair in the small of his back, spreading out to the top of his buttocks... (p. 199)

Later on, under the entry for 4 July, Orton is enraged that the age of consent has not been

lowered further than twenty-one. He says, "I like boys of fifteen." A friend warns him, "Most people are shocked by paederasty. You mustn't let people know you fuck little boys." (p. 233) Perhaps the most extraordinary passage occurs near the end of the book. He is visiting friends in the countryside. They have two sons, thirteen and eleven, and he reflects on how unattractive he finds them, and how attractive he would like to find them. The Italian maid's three-year-old son comes into the kitchen. Orton writes, "The child is v. (very) attractive, V. sexy. Even at the age of three. He suddenly came and flung himself into my arms. I wasn't sure whether it was a blessing or not that he wasn't ten years older." (p. 263) "V. sexy" does not appear in the diaries very often. The capital "V" is deliberate.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Benjamin Britten: A Biography, Humphrey Carpenter (London: Faber and Faber, 1992), 680 pages. Reviewed by Howard Simmons.

Benjamin Britten was one of the greatest composers England has ever produced, perhaps the very greatest in this century. His output was prolific, embracing virtually every musical form, but was particularly impressive in opera, which had been neglected by British composers for two centuries. Humphrey Carpenter's massive study of this musical genius is bold and penetrating, yet judicious in its treatment of varied and sometimes conflicting sources of evidence. What is of particular interest to readers of this journal is the revelation that Britten was strongly attracted to young boys and that this created a tension in his life affecting both the subject-matter and the emotional character of his music.

Certainly, a large number of Britten's works involve boys as characters or performers or both. It is also true that many of these works deal with the subject of the outsider, at odds with society. Consider, for example, Britten's first great operatic success, *Peter Grimes*. The interpretation of this opera is as problematic as its music is unquestionably brilliant. It seems to be at least partly about "child abuse," in the sense of physical cruelty to children. Grimes appears to have been guilty of this and may indeed have gone as far as murder. But he is depicted in the opera in a sympathetic light and it is left unclear whether he really did kill his young apprentices. His neighbours in the borough, on the other hand, are convinced of his guilt and make him the object of a witch-hunt. It is thus the plight of the individual, accused and misunderstood by the rest of society, which emerges as the dominant theme of the opera.

Another important opera is *The Turn of the Screw*, based on the novella by Henry James. On the surface, James's tale was a simple ghost story about a Victorian governess seeking to protect a

young boy and his sister from a malign supernatural presence. However, the story had deeply ambiguous aspects. For example, the role of the governess is not so straightforward as it seems at first glance. Her frantic concern for the boy sometimes appears suffocating and destructive, as harmful in its own way as the influence of the ghostly Quint. Indeed, it is her final questioning of the boy that leads to his death. In Britten's opera, with its libretto by Myfanwy Piper, this ambiguity is, if anything, amplified. The housekeeper's account of events prior to Quint's death ("when Quint was free with everyone—with little Master Miles... and he had his will, morning and night") makes the sexual nature of Quint's relationship with Miles abundantly clear. But this does not mean, as one might expect that it is depicted as unequivocally evil. Carpenter explains how the music Britten gives to Quint—involving "natural" pentatonic scales, but also semitonal clashes—creates uncertainty about whether we are to regard Quint as basically good or evil. "...Britten wishes us to consider with open minds the moral balance between Quint and his rival for Miles's love, the governess." (p. 340)

Carpenter believes that the writing of this opera enabled Britten to work through some of his own experiences with young boys, and he expands upon this thesis with specific examples. I shall have more to say about this aspect of the biography, but I wish first to turn to the work which, more clearly than any other, declared Britten's love for boys, his last opera, *Death in Venice*.

For those readers not acquainted with the Thomas Mann story on which the opera is based, it can be simply stated. The writer Gustave Von Aschenbach, exhausted by the rigours of his work, takes a holiday in Venice. Staying in the same hotel is an aristocratic Polish woman and her family. The young son Tadzio overwhelms Aschenbach with his extraordinary

beauty. As the story proceeds, it becomes clear that Aschenbach is falling in love with Tadzio, though at first he hides these feelings from himself by wrapping them in mythological fantasy. Matters are brought to a head when cholera begins to sweep through Venice. Aschenbach cannot tear himself away from the city, since to do so would mean leaving Tadzio. His pursuit of the boy has become an obsession. Eventually he dies on the beach, within sight of the object of his affections.

Since so many of the key events in *Death in Venice* are filtered through Aschenbach's mind, the story did not lend itself naturally to operatic treatment. Yet critics generally agree that Britten's work is a masterpiece. As with *The Turn of the Screw*, Carpenter makes clear how certain characteristics of the music suggest particular interpretations of the subject-matter. Thus, for example, Tadzio (who, incidentally, never speaks in the opera, but communicates solely through dance) is given music which has its roots in the Balinese gamelan. This creates an exotic quality, in contrast to the rather stark character of Aschenbach's music. It thus appears that the latter is being drawn into another world, outside the bounds of his normal, orderly existence and may even suggest an interpretation of Tadzio as "seducer" and Aschenbach as his "victim."

Carpenter makes a convincing case that Britten identified with Aschenbach in his struggle to reconcile somehow his sexual desires with the constraints of public respectability. But Carpenter also quotes the tenor Robert Tear, who has sung the role of Aschenbach: "Musically, it's a masterpiece. But there's a cop-out. It mustn't be called sexual lust. It's Beauty, or it's Greek. And that's a cop-out" (p. 552). Carpenter's response is that the opera is not simply about Aschenbach's feelings for Tadzio, but more broadly about the guilt and tension to which such feelings can give rise (p. 553). I agree, and would stress the fundamentally sexual nature of Aschenbach's attraction. Act One of the opera ends with his fateful "I love you," immediately following an incident in which he tries to speak to Tadzio, but cannot bring himself to do so. He has, in his own words, behaved exactly like "the

crestfallen lover." In Act Two, Scene Thirteen, he dreams of participating in an orgiastic ritual, as far removed as one could imagine from his earlier "classical" musing. So Tear's interpretation seems incorrect. While it is true that the attraction is portrayed early on in "respectable" terms, this is actually revealed later to be Aschenbach's own self-deceit. The real problem with the opera seems to me to lie rather in its association of sexual desire with loss of reason. Aschenbach never comes to a full and healthy acceptance of the physical aspect of his attraction to Tadzio. At best, he only allows himself to regard it as a dangerous means to the end of appreciating Beauty in the abstract.

The original story of *Death in Venice* was, as Carpenter reminds us, based on true incident. During a visit to Venice, Thomas Mann was struck by the beauty of a young boy and became, for a short period, obsessed with him. (In the sixties, a certain Polish count, Wladyslaw Moes, claimed to have been this boy.)¹ Britten's opera, it seems, had a similar link with the real life of its creator. In 1969, Britten had been approached by the mother of the talented fifteen-year old pianist Ronan Magill, who was having difficulty with his playing technique. Britten agreed to help him, and a friendship developed which still existed when *Death in Venice* was being composed, at which time Magill was about eighteen. Carpenter quotes Magill at length in a passage that includes the following:

He probably thought I was some sort of escape, a sort of Tadzio-like youth, and I think there's certainly a relationship [to the opera] there, though it's not generally known. The theme in the opera when Tadzio is winning all the games, wanting to succeed, wanting to show how good he is, there's certainly a link there. But Tadzio—the fragility of the man, being devastated by it—that's why, whenever I hear that motif, it's with very deep emotion. (p. 539)

Magill also told Carpenter that Britten had wanted to move their relationship to a physical

level, but that he had not wanted this, not being homosexual himself (p. 538). So his relationship with the composer seems to have been a deeply intimate one, but not overtly sexual.

This relationship was one of the last in a long series of friendships, many described in detail by Carpenter, that Britten had over the years with various young boys. Some of these boys were performers in Britten's operas. David Hemmings, who sang the part of Miles in the original *Turn of the Screw* at the age of twelve, admits that Britten was "infatuated" with him, but he says that "of all the people I have worked with, I count my relationship with Ben to have been one of the finest... And it was never, under any circumstances, threatening" (p. 358). That Britten treated boys with the greatest respect and consideration is confirmed by all those whom Carpenter interviewed on this subject. Kisses and cuddles were frequently given. But did Britten actually have sex with any of these boys? Carpenter never found any who would admit to this. That Britten often wanted to take these relationships further is, however, demonstrated by the case of Ronan Magill as well as by other incidents, such as the amusingly related, unsuccessful seduction of the eighteen-year-old Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy (pp. 350-351). But did he ever succeed? Carpenter is inclined to think not. He believes (an orthodox psychoanalytic belief, we might add) that much of Britten's inspiration for his music lay in the conflict between his desires and their suppression, forced upon him by circumstances.

Britten was, of course, not only attracted to young boys but also to adult men. He enjoyed a significant long-term relationship with the tenor Peter Pears. Pears sang key roles in many Britten operas (including *Peter Grimes* and *Aschenbach*). This relationship might best be described as a "marriage," but it did not stop Britten from forming intense attachments to young boys. Clearly, for all its nurturing and stabilizing character, the relationship with Pears lacked something that his infatuations with boys provided. Carpenter likes to portray Britten as a man who, unlike his operatic hero, *Aschenbach*, was able to control the "dangerous" tendencies within

himself.² It has to be noted, however, that there were occasions when the only thing preventing him from engaging in a physical relationship with a youth was simply the reluctance of the boy concerned.

Carpenter cautiously speculates on the origins of Britten's paedophile impulses. He discusses the claim made by Eric Crozier, one of Britten's librettists, that Britten had told him that he had been raped when at school. He also draws attention to the claim of Myfanwy Piper that, according to Britten, his father had been an active paedocrast and "had sent him out to find boys" (p. 23). Carpenter expresses skepticism about these incidents, which find little or no corroboration in the testimony of Britten's other surviving friends. Perhaps, he suggests, Britten's imagination had been working overtime. But, of the two, he does seem to attach slightly more credibility to the rape claim, arguing that if it did indeed occur, it would have left a lasting effect on its victim, and that it may have been through writing *The Turn of the Screw*, in particular, that Britten was able to work through his feelings about the matter. But as an explanation of Britten's sexual orientation itself, he doubts its plausibility. He is more inclined to agree with those friends of Britten who say that he was "born homosexual" (p. 20).

We can say with some certainty that Britten's attraction to young boys had certain characteristics, perhaps affected by early experiences, even if we cannot cite these as causes of paedophile desire. For example, during his time at Gresham's, the Norfolk boys' public school, we are told that the young Britten was outraged by the bullying that was a regular element of life there. In later years, he spoke with strong feeling about his abhorrence of cruelty towards children (p. 498). The experience of seeing younger boys victimized may have pushed him to express his own feelings through tender protectiveness, feelings which certainly had a strongly erotic character.

Britten was, of course, a life-long pacifist and a conscientious objector during World War II. Physical cruelty and "corruption of innocence" are common themes in his works. *Peter Grimes*

has already been mentioned, and the sadistic aspect of *Billy Budd* (which has, under the surface, a lot to do with the life of an English all-male school, according to Carpenter) is also relevant in this context. Again, it is interesting to note that the pacifist hero of *Owen Wingrave* is greatly affected by a tragic incident in the history of his ancestors (portrayed at the beginning of Act Two), in which a father murders his son for refusing to meet the challenge of a fight. But this is a very complex matter, since those characters, such as Grimes and Quint, who seek out the love and companionship of boys, also tend to be portrayed in Britten's works as possible threats to them, rather than as protectors. Carpenter's claim that this represents Britten's ambivalence about his own feelings in relation to boys is plausible. It is hardly surprising that a man with a basically conventional upbringing, such as Britten's seems to have been, should have been inclined to think that simply by pursuing intimate relationships with young boys, he might have been potentially or actually harming them, especially living in the social and legal climate that he did, and which, we might add, still prevails today.

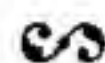
This biography has caused something of a stir in Britain with its no-holds-barred approach. Some would say that it is sensationalistic, but in point of fact, Carpenter is quite undogmatic and objective in his approach to the evidence that he considers. Apart from its interest as a frank and revealing account of the life of a great composer, it is tempting to hope that the book will serve, at least in some small way, the wider social purpose of achieving a more profound and humane understanding of paedophilia.

Editor's Note

Howard Simmons obtained a Ph.D. in Philosophy from McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, and an M.Sc. in Computer Studies at the University of Essex, U.K. He presently teaches Computer Studies at Palmer's College, Grays, Essex.

NOTES

1. Donald Mitchell (ed.), *Benjamin Britten: Death in Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 184–185.
2. Donald Mitchell takes a similar view. See *ibid.*, p. 23.



Die Lust der Götter: Homosexualität in der italienischen Kunst. Von Donatello zu Caravaggio (Desire of the Gods: Homosexuality in Italian Art. From Donatello to Caravaggio) Andreas Sternweiler (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1993), 320 pages. Reviewed by Will H.L. Ogrinc.

Alongside James M. Saslow's *Ganymede in the Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society* and Leonard Barkan's *Transuming Passion: Ganymede and the Erotics of Humanism*¹ there is now a third study which deals extensively with the representation of homosexual themes in art between c. 1400 and c. 1700. The book is a revised version of the dissertation *Zur Ikonologie der Homosexualität in der italienischen Kunst des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts: Donatellos Bronze-David-Michelangelos Vittoria-Caravaggios Amor vincitore* (With Respect to the Iconology of Homosexuality in Italian Art from the 15th to the 17th Century: Donatello's bronze David-Michelangelo's Vittoria-Caravaggio's Amor vincitore), for which the German art historian Andreas Sternweiler obtained his doctorate at the Freie Universität, Berlin, in 1992. The contents and images of this book, therefore, partly overlap those of the two other studies.

The printing quality of many of the images leaves a lot to be desired: some images have been printed too small to fully support the line of reasoning. For example, in the reproduction of Caravaggio's "Saint Francis in Ecstasy" (p. 239) it is no longer possible to see the saint watching the angel with his right eye. On the other hand,

the author provides reproductions of work not included in the other two studies. Taken together these three works now give us a nearly complete collection of art images with a "homosexual" theme from this period.

The scope of Sternweiler's study is much broader than that of his predecessors. He poses here the same question as he poses in the catalogue of the Eldorado exhibition in Berlin, 1984.² These questions can be summarized as follows:

- Did homosexuals of the period react in a special way to art, and if so what kind of reactions did they experience?
- What was the real life situation of those artists whose biographies confirmed their homosexuality; did their psychosexual disposition influence their work, and in what way?
- Did these artists share some of the same themes?
- How did critics and art historians react to their work?

Sternweiler claims that he is not as much interested in "the erotic motives of the artists," as in the possible "emancipatory value of these identity models for the individual homosexual during his process of self discovery and acceptance of his own proclivity" (p. 7). He has so many ambitious aims, in fact, that he cannot handle all of them thoroughly, and so the final results are almost bound to be disappointing.

There are methodological problems with this study. As readers we are curious to learn whether the works of art illustrated and discussed here were seen by their contemporaries as models for homosexual identity. One would only be able to comment on their "emancipatory value" if the works of art were trying to achieve this. Sternweiler fails to discuss these kinds of problems. For example, there is no discussion about the possible psychological make-up of homosexuals in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, even though there is a significant body of literature on the subject. Should we conclude therefore that Sternweiler views the human psyche as a constant and that the artists discussed acted out of the same psychic motivations as a "gay" person from the twen-

tieth century? Did they experience the same traumas, and were these given the same weight as they would be today? It seems as if Sternweiler has not even asked himself these questions. When I read this book as a modern-day, homosexual quest for possible identity models in the distant past, I have no problems with Sternweiler's study; but when the historian in me gets the upper hand, I would almost rather look for my salvation in a monastery.

This said, however, Sternweiler's thesis does contain a number of intriguing things for the interested reader. I can even live with the fact that the subtitle is inaccurate. After all, even Dover did not bother to differentiate between homosexuality and boy love, though I still find it a form of intellectual laziness.³ Boy love or, even more precisely, ephebophilia, is in fact the subject of this book. Through the unravelling of the meaning of three important works of art from the period—Donatello's "David," Michelangelo's "Vittoria," and Caravaggio's "Amor vincitore"—Sternweiler sketches the socio-historic context of boy love between 1400 and 1700. The artworks have not just been iconographically analyzed, but they have also been subjected to extensive iconological research. We learn a great deal about the artists and their patrons, about their sexual proclivities and their ideas, and to what extent these accorded with those of their contemporaries. He discusses statements on boys, love, and nakedness in the contemporary literature, philosophy, law, and, though insufficiently, theology. Similar and related themes in the works of other contemporary artists are discussed and analyzed extensively to serve as cumulative proof for his views or hypotheses. Sternweiler is at his best in the description and interpretation of a series of decorative images by Annibale Carracci in the Galleria Farnese in Rome (pp. 258-273); even though this wonderful section is immediately followed (pp. 289-302) by all kinds of far-fetched and silly speculations.

In the main Sternweiler's conclusion conforms to those in the two previous studies mentioned above, namely that the enlightened urban aristocracy and the clerical dignitaries

around them were very receptive to boy-love, chiefly because of the rediscovery of Plato's philosophy of love. Sternweiler's opinion about the evolution of boy-love in the works of art of this period as a gradual transition from the glorification of a pure, metaphysical love to a more secularized, sexual pleasure is quite convincing. However, his argumentation is often weak, especially because of his failures in iconographical interpretation.

Sternweiler is too stuck in his own post-Freudian, psychosexual attitudes. This adversely affects his view of the past. As a post-Freudian, for him images of nakedness *always* refer to sexuality; the combination of a naked boy's buttocks with arrows *always* has to do with homosexuality. The same applies to the symbolism of wings (Donatello and Caravaggio) and ropes/strings/cords/festoons (Donatello, Michelangelo and Caravaggio). If Sternweiler had consulted Leo Steinberg's magnificent study *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*, he would have learnt that in this period a "sexual image" often conceals a theological tract.⁴

Sternweiler's shortcomings are most obvious if we compare his passage on Caravaggio's "Saint Francis in Ecstasy" with Bert Treffers' in his *Caravaggio: Genie in opdracht* (Caravaggio: A Genius on Command).⁵ Treffers not only explains to us the presence of the winged angel, he also thoroughly explains from an art historian's point of view the iconography of why the angel's shoulders are bare, and why his hand is hooked behind the belt of Francis' habit. Sternweiler pays too much attention to Freudian symbols and not enough attention to the historical context of the works. It is not clear whether this is out of ignorance, lack of research or psychoanalytic prejudice.

The author also does not seem to be very critical. Moreover, he makes many mistakes which no art historian should make, and which no art historian needs to make. For example, he claims as the origin for Caravaggio's "Amor vincitore" (p. 250) Alciatus' emblem "Potentia Amoris." His argument, however, rests on a description in a secondary source and if he had consulted the

original he would have noticed that Alciatus's emblem does depict a *laughing* boy, but instead of a *sitting* boy with *long* wings Alciatus depicts a *standing* boy with *short* wings⁶, which surely undermines his argument that Caravaggio directly copied it.

The author constantly returns to the theme of the hermaphrodite, yet he does so without discussing some of the ways in which boys were being depicted: for example, in the Italian art of the period mentioned they often are depicted with female buttocks! Had he more clearly seen his study as being about "boy-love," rather than "homosexuality" he might have avoided these failures. In the context of this study it would have been better also to elaborate on the "putto" theme, such as Siegfried Weber attempted at the end of the last century.⁷

Editor's Note:

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NOTES

1. J. M. Saslow. *Ganymede in the Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); L. Barkan. *Transuming Passion: Ganymede and the Erotics of Humanism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).
2. Catalogue. *Eldorado: Homosexuelle Frauen und Männer in Berlin 1850-1950. Geschichte, Alltag und Kultur* (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1984), pp. 74-92.
3. K. J. Dover. *Greek Homosexuality* (London: Duckworth, 1978).
4. L. Steinberg. *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (New York: Pantheon, 1983).
5. B. Treffers. *Caravaggio: Genie in opdracht. Een kunstenaar en zijn opdrachtgevers in het Rome van rond 1600* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1991).
6. A. Buck (ed.). *Andreas Alciatus. Emblematum Libellus* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991), p. 170.
7. S. Weber. *Die Entwicklung des Putto in der Plastik der Frührenaissance* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1898).

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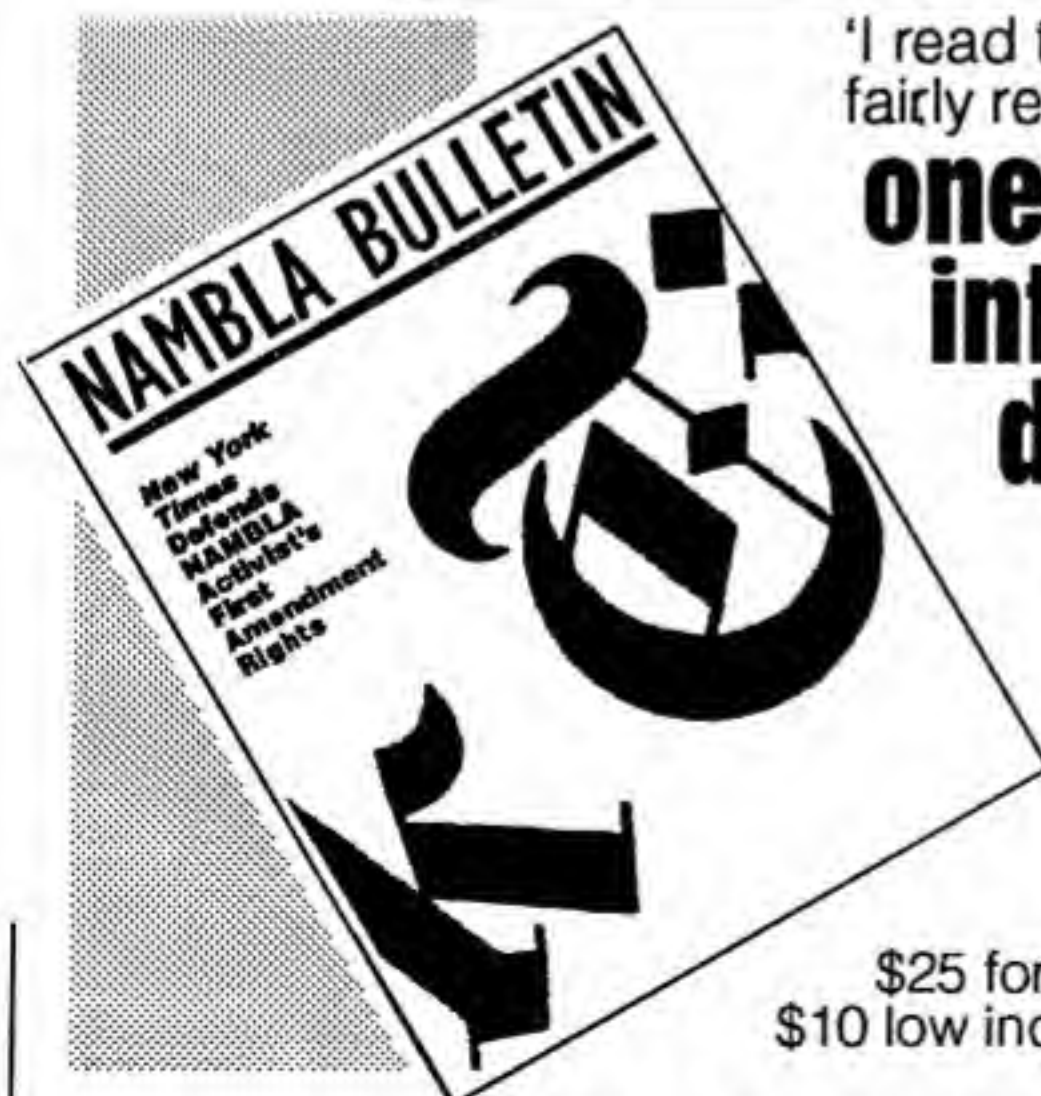
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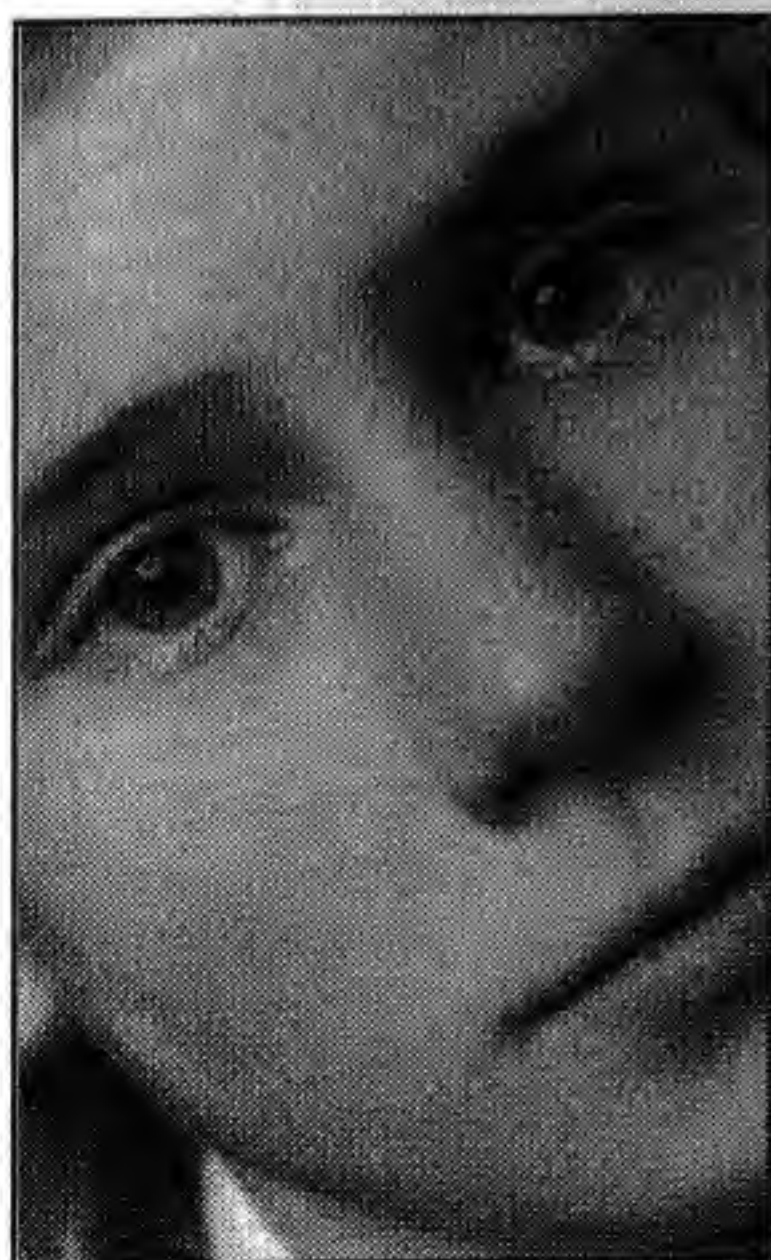
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